BODY ADORNMENT AMONG THE SAMBURU: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

RUTH NYAMBURA NJOROGE

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University.

Signature: _____ **Date: _____**

Ruth Nyambura Njoroge

Reg. No: AD11/0390/13

RECOMMENDATION

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University supervisors:

Signature: _____ **Date: _____**

Prof. Reuben Matheka
Department of Philosophy, History and Religion
Egerton University

Signature: _____ **Date: _____**

Dr Peter Waweru
Department of Public Affairs and Environmental Studies
Laikipia University

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, John Njoroge and Margaret Njeri, my brother Emmanuel Wang'ombe, and my son Pure Bliss. They have been my love and strength.

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"Ultimately, Thank you Lord for always being there for me."

ABSTRACT

Self-adornment plays a significant role in ensuring the continuity of the political and cultural life of pastoralists. This study outlines changes in Samburu body adornment from the pre-colonial period to the present. In the study it is argued that Samburu body adornment in the pre-colonial period was influenced by interaction with neighbouring communities like the Rendille. Colonial policies and mingling of cultures in the post-independent period also shaped Samburu body adornment either positively or negatively. The study employed cultural theory of history. Cultural history combines the approaches of anthropology and history to look into popular cultural traditions and cultural interpretations of historical experience. The ideas were borrowed from Edward Tylor and Simon Gunn. Tylor's main concern was on the evolution of human culture. He stated that culture developed from primitive stages. He argued that communities within each stage of development had distinct traits which show slow replacement as new generations set in. As societies advanced some traits survived to present day culture. On the other hand Gunn had interest in periodization of body history and stated that modernity was specifically focusing back to the changes in the ancient symbols with the belief inspired by modern science towards social and moral development. Thus there is need to write a history of historically specific bodies, which provides an understanding of the body that is neither static nor coherent. Data was collected from literature search in the libraries and Kenya National Archives, photography and oral interviews on individuals and groups. Data from both primary and secondary sources was analyzed chapter by chapter within the parameters set by the research problem and the theoretical framework. Findings indicate that forms of body adornment among the Samburu are pre-historic. Many forms of traditional body adornment have evolved overtime and still exist within the community, however, examples of recent forms of body adornment, show that although still very much in practice, in many cases the meaning has been lost. The impact of Christianity, colonial policies, trading of new materials, have all played a major part in the evolving patterns of Samburu body adornment. Tourists brought new fashions, materials, creations and designs that changed Samburu views of everyday body adornment. Body adornment among the Samburu is today is based on what looks good as apposed to a ritual or rite of passage that marked one's body. The study will contribute to the preservation of the Samburu cultural values in Kenya's historiography. Further, the research findings will used as reference for researchers who may want to understand similar or different aspects of the Samburu cultural practices and of other communities in Kenya.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ADC	African District Council
BCMS	Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
EAP	East Africa Protectorate
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GNP	Gross National Product
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAR	King's African Rifles
KLC	Kenya Land Commission
KLDP	Kenya Livestock Development Project
KNA	Kenya National Archives
LKA	Laikipia (District)
LNC	Local Native Council
NFD	Northern Frontier District
OI	Oral Informant
PRS	Proto-Rendille Somali
SAM	Samburu (District)

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Adornment: Decoration of the body. It includes tattoos, incisions on the body, body- painting, attire and ornaments.

Aesthetic: Something that decorates.

Body: Human anatomy from head to toe.

Cultural globalization: The fusing of western or external cultures with local or traditional cultures.

Culture: Sum total of ideas, beliefs, values and representations shared by members of a community.

Symbol: Something that stands for or represents something else, especially an object representing an abstraction.

Symbolism: The use of symbols to represent something.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. *Alliam* - Charm to protect a child and for good health
2. *Askari (*Swahili) - Soldier
3. *Arata el mongo* - Used to address *murran* in the same age-set
4. *Baraza (*Swahili*)* - Public meeting convened
5. *Boma (*Swahili*)* - Fortified government post during the colonial era
6. *Ilconone* - Blacksmith
7. *Kub* - Roundly shaved hairstyle
8. *Lbuutan* - A goat slaughtered by a father to celebrate birth of a child
9. *Lchatata* - Bundle of wired beads on the neck
10. *Lkigerot* - Beauty scars on the bosom
11. *Lkileku* - Age-set initiated in 1921
12. *Lmekuri* - Age-set initiated in 1936
13. *Lkereti* - A skin charm worn by a new born to wish him/her good health
14. *Lkaria* - Red ochre
15. *Lkimaniki* - Age-set initiated in 1948
16. *Lkishili* - Age-set initiated in 1961
17. *Lkiok* - Round plug of the earlobes holes
18. *Lkiripa* - Plate- shaped beaded neck adornment
19. *Lkiroro* - Age-set initiated in 1976
20. *Lkishami* - Age-set initiated in 2004
21. *Lmanjeu* - Hair cut for young male initiates
22. *Lmasi* - Long, twined hair
23. *Lmasi lo ngorio* - Head adornment
24. *Lmewoli* - Age-set initiated in 1990
25. *Lmugit* - Ceremonies observed by *murran* in the passage to elderhood
26. *Loibonok* - Traditional Samburu healer
27. *Lodi* - Beaded ear adornment
28. *Logesana* - Leather skirt for married women
29. *Lorora* - Group of *Manyattas* to form one big settlement
30. *Lpironito* - Permanent patterns formed after cicatrization
31. *Lpisiai* - A fertility head band made by a husband to the wife
32. *Lpulkel* - The dry and hot lowlands to the north of Samburu County
33. *Lunlu* - Tradional chalk
34. *Ltirriangani* - Earings worn by a Samburu bride
35. *Maawa* - Artificial flower head adornment
36. *Manyatta* - Homestead consisting many families
37. *Marinai* - Beaded bangle
38. *Marrsante* - Beaded necklace indicating status of the mother of *murran*
39. *Miintoi* - Aluminum ear adornment
40. *Mparruai* - Herbal tree in Samburu
41. *Mporo* - Red glass beaded necklace given to a bride by the mother
42. *Munken* - Pieces of lion skin worn below the knees by an initiate's father
43. *Mutai* - The ecological catastrophes that ravaged Samburuland in the last two decades of the nineteenth century
44. *Naitulu* - Chest and back painted with red ochre

45. *Namka* - Shoes
46. *Nanka* - Cloth worn over the upper body and lower body
47. *Naungurie* - A Samburu traditional herb
48. *Nchapukur* - Leather skirt for unmarried girls
49. *Nchidai e lpapit* - Hair pin
50. *Nchipi* - Belt worn by an initiate
51. *Nkaibartani* - A circumcised Samburu girl
52. *Nkaiweli* - Loop chain draped from ears to below the lower lip
53. *Nkarawa* - Beaded plate chest adornment
54. *Nkopiro* - Feather head adornment
55. *Ngenee nkosheke* - Leather waist belt worn after childbirth
56. *Nkupuli* - Metal ankle adornment
57. *Ntwala* - Small bell made with old metal tied below the knees for small children
58. *Ntoree* - Beaded waist belt
59. *Posho*(Swahili) - Food ration
60. *Riati* - Wooden talisman, tied on the child's neck to scare the evil eyes
61. *Rrepeta* - Traditional song sung by elders
62. *Sae e ngwe* - Beaded head adornment
63. *Sae nkeju* - Anklet made of bead strings
64. *Saen nanyori* - Green beaded adornment that decorates a gourd
65. *Saen pusin* - Strands of wired beads of two alternate colours
66. *Sakara oirena* - Hairstyle worn by *murran*
67. *Sakara olaa* - Hairstyle worn by *murran*
68. *Sengei* - Copper bracelet worn by married women
69. *Sikirai* - Charm of a four cowrie necklaces worn by the mother to twins
70. *Singira* - A hut constructed for an unmarried girl
71. *Sorror* - Long *murran* braids, at times grow to the hips level
72. *Surutiai le ngaina* - Spiral brass wire worn on the upper arm by married women

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

'In all ages, far back into pre-history, we find human beings have painted and adorned themselves.'[1]

1.1 Background to the Study

There is no known culture in which people did not paint, pierce, tattoo, reshape, or simply adorn their bodies.[2] Whether with permanent marks like tattoos or scars, or temporary decorations like makeup, clothing, and hairstyles, adornment served as a way of signaling an individual's place in society. Scars were incised for ethnic identity, such as the royal marks of Oyo during circumcision. This was done through drawing patterns on the whole length of the arms and legs. As Polhemus and Randal put it:

> Humans are the only species which deliberately alters its appearance. We get up, peer into the mirror and ask ourselves 'What should I wear today?' But this customizing of our bodies goes far beyond the clothing which we wear as a second skin.Flesh can be tattooed, pierced, scarred and adorned with anything from flowers to precious jewels. Hair offers infinite possibilities for creative modification. Even the actual shape of the body can be compressed with corsets, padded out in the 'right' places or physically redefined by cosmetic surgery.[3]

Body adornment falls under two categories: body art and body modification. Body art refers to the practice of physically enhancing the body by styling and decorating the hair, painting and embellishing the fingernails, wearing makeup, painting the body, wearing jewelry, and the use of clothing. Body art practices are by definition temporary. Temporary body designs lasted afew days, weeks or months.Body modification, on the other hand, refers to the physical alteration of the body through the use of surgery, tattooing, piercing, scarification, branding, genital mutilation and implants. Body modifications are permanent and alter the body forever.[4] Man's use of body adornment is thus a reasoned and deliberate attempt to leverage him psychologically.

[1] H. Wells, *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*, London: Greenwood Press, 1968, p. 123.
[2] M. Featherstone, *Body Modification*, London: Sage, 2000.
[3] T. Polhemus & H. Randal, *The Customized Body*, London, 1996, p.178.
[4] M. Domello, *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment*, London: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Human beings use their bodies as mediums of artistic expression, by endowing the skin with special significance.[5] As MacCormack notes, "Skin is the site of encounter between enfleshed self and society. The skin is where the self involutes into the world and the world into the self".[6] Body adornment carries powerful messages about the decorated person. They communicate a person's status in society, display accomplishments, encode memories, desires and life histories. For example, the Maasai find beaded collar necklaces very attractive, especially the way they sway as a woman dances. Among the Kuna, slender limbs are thought beautiful, so women wrap *wini* (long strings of beads) around their arms and legs to make them look thinner and appealing.[7] Body adornment is relevant to the historian because it is an indicator of social change and cultural influence. Africans have ancient traditions for decorating and accessorizing the body in rich and varied ways. Traditionally, many Africans wore little to cover their bodies, leaving their skin exposed and available for decoration. Differences by gender, age, marital status and social position were thus expressed. Ethnic identity was reflected, often by scarification in Tunisia and Morocco, while headgears or hairstyles could be a sign of ethnic, class or religious affiliation.[8]

Many pre-colonial Kenyan communities placed great significance on decoration of both functional and ritual objects, and the body. Among communities such as the Kuria and the Samburu, this was raised to the form of high art.[9] The Samburu place great significance on beauty and body adornment especially among warriors, who take great care of their physical appearance, using hair styling and body painting to create an impression of great delicacy. It was this trait that led neighbouring communities to call them *Samburu,*[10] meaning butterflies. Samburu County covers an area of roughly 21,000 km² (8,000 miles^2) in northern Kenya where the Samburu community live. It stretches north from the Wuaso Ng'iro River to the south of Lake Turkana and also includes Mount Kulal which lies just east of Lake Turkana. The County has three constituencies: Samburu East, North and West. The County is predominantly rural with

[5] T. Ezeajugh, "Body Adornment Practices in Nigerian Culture: A Multi-Ethnic Investigation," PhD Thesis, Azikiwe University, 2010.
[6] P. MacCormack, *The Great Ephemeral Tattooed Skin*: Body *& Society*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2006, p.59.
[7] J. Handy, *Adornment from Head to Toe,* New York: Appleton, 2006.
[8] D. Anorld, *Art History: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
[9] P. Spencer, *The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
[10] The name Samburu has a specific origin and not this one given by neighbouring communities.

more than 87% of its population living in rural areas. The County's headquarters is Maralal. Other main administrative centres are Poror, Wamba, Archer's Post and Barsaloi. The County is divided into six administrative divisions: Baragoi, Kirisia, Lorroki, Nyiro, Wamba and Waso (see map, page 4). Tourism potentials exist in the County. People travel from far and near to visit Samburu National Reserve, Buffalo Springs National Reserve, Mount Ng'iro, Ndoro Mountains, Mathews Range (Ol Doinyo Lenkiyo), Kirisia Hills, and Loroki Forest. These tourist attractions have contributed immensely to the development of the County.[11] The Samburu originated from Sudan, settling north of Mount Kenya and south of Lake Turkana in Kenya's Rift Valley region. Upon their arrival in Kenya, in the about fifteenth Century, the Samburu parted ways with their Maasai cousins, who moved further south while, the Samburu moved north.

Similar to other northern Kenyan pastoralists, the art of body adornment was a cultural practice taught by the elders and passed down to each generation. Cole asserts that during the first millennium CE, Nilotic speakers came to constitute a significant element in Kenya. The first group was the southern Highland Nilotes, who trekked from the southern Sudanese borderlands into the western highland escarpment of the Rift Valley. There, they interacted closely with many of the indigenous hunter-gatherer groups, as well as the Southern Cushites. These Nilotes apparently adopted cultural institutions, including cycling age-sets and circumcision from the Cushitic speakers.[12] Being Samburu is in certain respect a statement of body adornment. Body adornment is symbolic and is not just for aesthetic purposes among Samburu. The Samburu are facing modern influences resulting largely from trade, entertainment industry and advancement of technology within the textile and fashion industry which local artisans in Samburu should match up to.

This study aimed at tracing change and continuity of Samburu body adornment from the pre-colonial to post-independence era. The forms of body adornment discussed include scarification, cicatrization, body painting, beadwork, jewelry, piercing, dress and hairstyling.

[11] P. Spencer, *The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
[12] J. Sutton, ''East Africa before the Seventh Century,'' in G. Mokhtar *Ancient Civilizations of Africa.* UNESCO, London: MacMillan, 1981, pp.586-88.

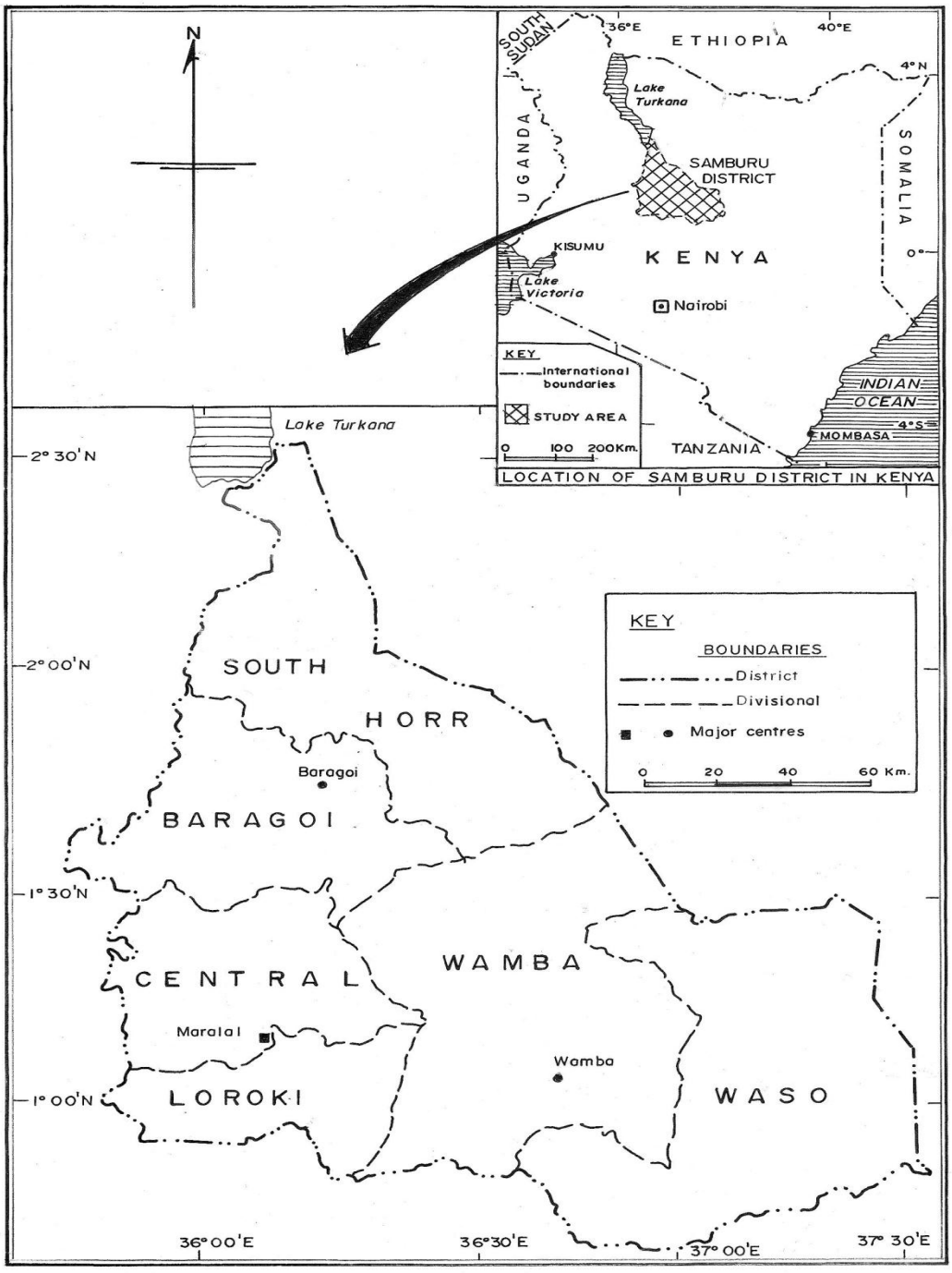

Figure 1: Location of Samburu County in Kenya
Source: Adapted from Samburu 100/75 Topographical map of 1975.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

A considerable number of studies have examined the Samburu body adornment. However, these studies have mainly been anthropological, with little attention being paid to the historical development of Samburu body adornment. Body adornment is a key aspect of the cultural history of the Samburu. Body adornment is important especially due to its symbolism, use in rituals and cultural identity.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study was to outline change and continuity in Samburu body adornment from the earliest recorded time to the present. The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

(i) To highlight aspects of Samburu body adornment in the pre-colonial period.

(ii) To examine the impact of colonialism on Samburu body adornment.

(iii) To analyse the impact of globalisation on Samburu body adornment in the post- colonial period.

1.4 Research Questions

i) What were the main aspects of Samburu body adornment in the pre-colonial period?

ii) In what ways did colonialism influence Samburu body adornment?

iii) What impact has globalisation had on Samburu body adornment in the post-Independence period?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study of body adornment provides insights into cultures, histories, and individual identities. Historians, teachers, anthropologists and sociologists will gain better knowledge about the history of body adornment among the Samburu over the centuries as well as the significance associated with their traditional institutions. Students who want to pursue courses in fashion will benefit from the study as it will contribute to an understanding of Samburu body adornment. Equally important, the study will be useful to the policy makers in the Ministry of Culture and

Heritage in promoting indigenous Samburu body adornment. The understanding of Samburu body adornment will lead to appreciation of Kenya's diverse cultural practices and help in promoting cultural and ethnic identities among Kenyans.

1.6 Justification of the Study

History gives people a sense of identity and belonging. This is through knowledge of their culture. Body adornment is an important aspect of cultural history. It is a reflection of a people's identity and, in fact, a vivid statement of the total cultural expression of a people and their well being. Nowhere is this more expressive than among the nomadic pastoralists of East Africa. The study is justifiable as it highlights the crucial role body adornment plays among the Samburu community and the contribution their dressing "uniqueness" gives to Kenya's tourism. The debate that still rages in Kenya on whether we need a national dress, similar to "*kente*" for Ghanaians or "*agbada*" for Nigerians only proves that the debate is far from being concluded. This study offers the pride of African identity in post-independence Africa.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study covered pre-colonial to the post-colonial periods. Specifically, the study encompassed all aspects of Samburu body adornment. Change and continuity of Samburu body adornment was analysed. There were limitations in the study. Some of the information, especially those from elders was not complete due to age and loss of memory. To cover this, the study combined information from informants, records from the Kenya National Archives and recent publications on Samburu body adornment. Most members in the community communicated in *Maa* only, thus language barrier served as a challenge. A translator and creation of good rapport with the elders who later introduced the researcher to the inhabitants enhanced collection of data.

1.8 Literature Review

The available literature on Samburu body adornment is generally anthropological. However, the few studies contributed to the understanding of the subject. In this study literature was reviewed as follows: pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods in Kenya's history.

In their article, Simpson and Waweru examine the origins of the Samburu. Their study put the relatively recent development of the Samburu, into historical context and argues that one can best understand the pastoralists' ethnogenesis by examining a host of complex and dynamic variables. The authors emphasize the significance of environmental factors, as well as the Samburu's interactions with neighboring ethnic groups, for their coming into being as a distinct community and argue that only by critically analyzing a variety of sources can one gain a clear understanding of events for which there is a paucity of reliable written documentation.[13] Sobania reconstructed history of the peoples in northern Kenya and southwestern Ethiopia, including the Samburu**.**[14] These works were useful in illustrating the origin of the Samburu and cultural interactions with their neighbours leading to shared forms of body adornment.

Pavitt has provided useful background information for the study. His work contains information on Samburu ceremonies and traditional forms of body adornment that accompany them.[15] Similarly, Magor traces the history of the Samburu and ascertains that they seem to have displayed traits similar to the communities in the Sudan region. Some of the traits include mass circumcision and application of red ochre for the new initiates which was reflected in the Samburu.[16] The two sources were informative and have contributed much to the understanding of the origin of the Samburu, their ceremonies and forms of body adornment. The works, however, failed to illustrate influence of neighbouring communities and traders to Samburu body adornment in the pre-colonial period.

Gilbert wrote on the communities who occupy the Rift Valley, from the Gulf of Aden down to the great lakes and plains of Kenya, Tanzania, and Malawi. He acknowledges the decorations among warriors of the Maasai, Samburu, the Mursi, specifically the lip-plates and scarification. He states that the ability to withstand the pain as the elongations were done on the lips, signified strength and courage to endure future wars with other communities.[17] Although the Samburu did not elongate their lips, the study came in handy in understanding scarification as a form of body adornment among the Samburu in the pre-colonial era.

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[13] G. L. Simpson Jr. & P. Waweru, "Becoming Samburu: The Ethnogenesis of a Pastoral People in Nineteenth-Century Northern Kenya," *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 2012, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp.175-197.
[14] N. Sobania, "The Historical Tradition of the Peoples of the Eastern Lake Turkana Basin c. 1840-1925," Ph.D Dissertation, University of London, 1980.
[15] N. Pavitt, *Samburu*, London: Kyle Cathie Ltd, 2006.
[16] T.Magor, *African Warriors: The Samburu*, London: Harry N. Abrams, 1994.
[17] E. Gilbert, *Tribes of the Great Rift Valley*, Michigan: University of Michigan, 2008.

Chamberlain focuses on rock art and cattle branding traditions among the Samburu in the pr-colonial period. She acknowledges their rich cultural traditions and associated rituals in the face of the growing influence from the western world. She asserts that rock art and cattle branding practices have changed as a result of social development and increased contact with the rest of the communities in Kenya.[18] Though the author does not discuss body adornment, her work generally brings out a clear picture of the external factors that shaped Samburu culture in the pre-colonial period.

Fratkin offers information on the Samburu perceptions on the environment and the medical knowledge based on herbs. Fratkin explains that, the Samburu made use of a wide range of plant resources comprising of about 120 species. These species consisted of a variety of fragrant shrubs that were used as toothbrushes and deodorants. In ceremonies, many plant species were used to bless warriors and newly wed couples. For instance, *Malvaceae* (Samburu name not known) was used as a protective wrist band for the bride.[19] The paper does not have historical background but gives an ethnographical description of the herbs among the Samburu as a source of body adornment.

Khasadi *et.al*, in their article argue that, Samburu ornaments played various roles in the community such as beauty, identification and conveying status.The authours further explain that Samburu ornaments were ceremoniously put on to convey a specific message about the wearer. In their view, they concluded that, Samburu ornaments play a role in the propagation of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and that much has not been achieved despite the campaigns to condone the practice.[20] In the same vein, Leeuween revealed that the Samburu exploited colour and compositional structure of their ornaments to express different messages and meanings. He emphasized that "ornaments among the Samburu act as a language."[21] Although these authors

[18] N. Chamberlain, *The Samburu in Kenya: A Changing Picture*, London: New Castle University Expedition Committee, 2005.
[19] E. Fratkin, "Herbal Medicine and Concepts of Disease in Samburu", Seminar Paper No. 65, Presented at the Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi, 1975.
[20] V. Khasadi, *et.al*, "The Samburu Traditional Communicative Ornamentation Identity and Female Genital Mutilation in Kenya" *International Journal of Social Sciences and Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 1, No. 11, 2014, pp.47-60.
[21] V. Leewen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design among Pastoral Communities in Kenya*, New York: Routledge, 1999.

did not identity the specific body adornment that communicate specific message about a person, the article compelled the author to examine traditional forms of Samburu body adornment and meaning attached to them.

Another contribution to the study is by Parris on the Rendille. He states that the community occupies northern Kenya and has had a strong cultural relationship with the Samburu since time immemorial. He further affirms that the community has a symbiotic relationship with the Samburu because the southern Rendille known as Ariaal are a mixture of Rendille and Samburu. They speak Samburu language and practice their culture.[22] Kratz also indicates that the Ariaal attract the opposite sex through the exchange of beads between unmarried men and women.[23] Sato provides a description concerning the Rendille, who build social relations from the transfer of beads similar to the Samburu.[24] Watts argues that Samburu women were known to lavish beads given by their warrior lovers. The beads were part of the gift exchange between the kin groups of the bride and groom during the marriage preparation and negotiation process.[25] These works help us understand the influence of Rendille on Samburu body adornment.

Spencer conducted a pioneering ethnographical study focusing on the age system and gerontocracy among the Samburu.[26] His views on colonialism as good fortune to the Samburu who he stated as militarily weak and prone to attacks from their neighbours.Although Spencer says nothing about the condition under which the Samburu entered the colonial situation, the theme of Samburu conservatism is the most prevalent in this work. Colonial policies and regulations are presented as extraneous factors which altered the community's social life. For instance, Spencer ascertains that from the 1930s the *murran* had to cut their long braids after recruitment into the KAR. This reduced their visibility and power in the community.

Lafforgue and Ledoux observe that the Samburu and Rendille communities though unrelated shared a common passion for beads.The two scholars focused on the close forms of body

[22] R. Parris, *Rendille*, New York: Rosen Publishing Book, 1994.
[23] C. Kratz, "Beads and Gender: Culture of the Patriarchal Pastoralists," *Africa Report*, 2000, Vol. 3, No. 33, pp.16-21.
[24] S. Sato, "Human Relations built up on the transfer of Beads: Pastoral Rendille women in Northern Kenya," *The Quarterly Journal of Ethnology*, 1979, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp.48-54.
[25] J. Watts, *Perspectives on the Material Culture of East African Societies*, New York: Abrams, 2011.
[26] P. Spencer, *The Samburu: A study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe*, London: Routledge &Kegan Paul, 1965.

adornment shared between the Samburu and Rendille in the pre-colonial and colonial periods.[27] This was a very informative account that illustrated some of the factors that influenced Samburu body adornment in the pre-colonal and colonial periods. Such factors included neighbouring communities such as Rendille. The scholars also covered tax that was introduced in the colonial period to make pastoralists embrace monetary economy.

In *Nomadic in Alliance,* Spencer discusses the social interaction between the Samburu and the Rendille. He mainly focuses on the conflicts between the Samburu and Rendille against colonial government ownership of the well-watered Lorroki Plateau.[28] Colonial policies and regulations presented in this work bring out a clear understanding of the response of the Samburu to colonial intrusion and how their economy was affected. This was notable on diffrences in body adornment in the the two regions.The women in the low country (*lpurkel*) did not have enough animals to skin in order to make the waist belts. Generally these women had fewer articles of body adornment, which were less expensive as compared to those of the women in Lorroki.

Waweru's M.A thesis provided useful background information for this study. The thesis contains information on the Samburu's pre-colonial methods of environmental management. Of significance was the last chapter of the thesis that gives an account of the ecological catastrophes that assailed the Samburu and their pastoral economy between 1880 and 1900. This chapter provided a basis for establishing the conditions under which the Samburu entered the colonial epoch.[29]

The Maasai body adornment has been discussed by Saitoti and Beckwith who state that a variety of materials were used in the making of Maasai jewellery. The materials included wood, metal, seeds, ivory, beads, stones, bones, ostrich shells, leather and feathers. Jewellery varied with the age of the girl and woman or boy and man. For example, a young unmarried woman could wear the necklaces or arm ornamentations or ear-rings of a married woman or a widow. One glance at

[27]E. Lafforgue &S.Ledoux, *Fighting for Beads: Samburu and Rendille Passion for Beads Ornaments*, London: Academic Press, 2012.
[28]P. Spencer, *Nomads in Alliance: Symbiosis and Growth among the Rendille and Samburu of Kenya*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
[29] P. Waweru "Ecology Control and the Development of Pastoralism among the Samburu of North Central Kenya, 1750-1909", M.A Thesis, Kenyatta University, 1992.

a woman's ornaments made her status obvious to others in her community. Ochre was found in some areas of Maasailand and widely used after mixing with sheep fat for body decoration and adornment, to colour the braided hair locks of the Maasai *murran* and to give hides and skins used for aprons for young girls and dresses of the warriors (*toga)* the brown colouring that was associated with the Maasai.[30] Jacobs has extensively focused on the history of pastoral Maasai. He illustrated their colonial political structures, chronology and economy.[31] The three scholars observe that, with introduction of Christianity and schools in the 1930s the Maasai discarded their ornaments and skin apparels for uniforms and modern attires. These studies provide valuable background information to the history of *Maa*-speakers in general and pastoral Maasai in particular.Some aspects of Maasai body adornment such as use of red ochre and jewellery were similar to Samburu.

Another scholar who has explored the Maasai is Tignor. He focused on the warrior age-grade, which he identified as an obstacle to social change. The warriors viewed colonial forces of transformation as a challenge to their social status in the community. The author ably examines the conflict between the colonial government and the Maasai.[32] This was helpful in the understanding of the resistance of the Samburu to colonial rule between 1936 and 1963.

On the question of Samburu response to colonial capitalism, Waweru focuses on the various forms of colonial experience among the Samburu of north-central Kenya. He asserts that colonialism significantly redefined their social, economic and political domains. Initially the colonizers viewed this nomadic community as timid and threatened by their more powerful neighbours hence amenable to *pax Britannica*. However, as the demands on the Samburu by the alien state mounted, it brought in its wake negative consequences for their pre-capitalist economy. Their confinement within constricted boundaries, which took no cognizance of their transhumant patterns or the natural distribution of pastoral resources such as watering points and saltlicks, took a toll on their stock wealth. Besides, the European ranchers in neighbouring Laikipia District were casting their envious eyes on the Lorroki Plateau, the only well-watered

[30] T. Saitoti and C. Beckwith, *Maasai,* New York: Harvill, 1980.

[31] A. Jacobs, "Pastoral Maasai and Tropical Land Development" in R.H. Bates and M.F. Lofchie (eds.) *Agricultural Development in Africa*, New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1980.

[32] R. Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu and Maasai from 1900 to 1939*, Passim: Princeton, 1976.

part of their arid and semi-arid district, and were putting pressure on the colonial administration to have the plateau alienated for their use. Matters were worsened by the government's conservation decrees which introduced stock quotas, grazing schemes and the punitive destocking programme.[33] The work was of significance in understanding how changes in Samburu economy in the colonial period affected Samburu cultural practices.

Fumagalli studied the social-cultural changes among the Samburu. His discussion entailed features such as the linearity of the Samburu age-set system, the composite ancestry of the ritually senior Masula, and the function and role performed by the two age-groups of elders and warriors. He further states that the colonial government introduced health services, roads, shops, modern currency, military service and education that laid the foundation for future change in the economic sector and, as a consequence, in the social fabric and interactions among the Samburu. Such social consequences include change in body adornment practices such as beading and *murranism*.[34] From a historical perspective, the work offers very useful insights into the relationship between colonial policies and effects on Samburu cultural practices, moreso body adornment. The work, however, fails to provide the background conditions under which colonialism was imposed.

Fratkin offers an insight into the relationship between colonial capitalism and Samburu pastoralism. He asserts that the Samburu suffered British intrusion, manipulation and measures of control of their physical environment was taken by the colonial government.[35] The work was helpful in regards to the policies introduced by the British to contain the Samburu pastoral life thus affecting their overall culture.

Lesamana's work was an investigation of the process of development strategies amongst the Samburu leading to a transition from subsistence to a monetary economy in the colonial period.[36] Her findings reveal that, a historically forced first stage of transition to monetary economy

[33] P. Waweru, *Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism: Under Colonial Rule, c.1909 – 1963*, Saarbrucken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012.
[34] T. Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya, 1900-1975," PhD Thesis, University of Nairobi: Institute of African Studies, 1977.
[35] E. Fratkin, "The Organisation of Labour and Productionamong the Ariaal Rendille," Ph.D Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington DC, 1987.
[36] J.Lesamana, "Transition from Subsistence to Monetary Economy, A Counter Discourse to Mainstream Development Strategies: Case study from Samburu District, Kenya," Masters Thesis, University of Agder, Kristiansand, 2009.

indeed changed the Samburu culture. Alien rule transformed Samburu cultural way of life to make it more ameniable to foreign tastes including modern dressing.

Kithure examined how the Samburu perceived western education and how those perceptions influenced their attitudes towards it. Kithure identified schools as an agency of social change anmong the Samburu.[37] The author examined how introduction of schools led to shunning of most of the Samburu body adornment as they were replaced by uniforms in the colonial period. Equally the consfication of spears changed *murran* body adornment given that the spear was supposed to be part of the warrior's attire.

Literature on the impact of modernity and westernisation on pastoral body adornment and Samburu in particular is inadequate. However, there are some few scholars in Africa who have approached this subject from different perspectives. Ezeajugh for instance, focuses on body adornment practices in Nigerian culture. He argues that modernity and gloabisation have no doubt impacted on traditional attitudes towards body decoration. He was categorical that many practices have heen gradually and sometimes hurriedly dropped. He concludes by stating that, many urban elites see facial marking as connecting them to an unenlightened past.[38]

Wasamba in an attempt to examine Samburu tradition has in particular focused on the *murran*. In this paper, he argues that the title of *murran* is a metaphor for heroism due to the military and aesthetic exploits *murran* are famed for. Basing his analysis on the data gathered during fieldwork in the community between 2004 and 2008, he interrogates the concept of heroism in the Samburu *murran* ethos. He contends that though threatened with modernity, *murranism* is still a coveted institution among the Samburu that promotes comradeship, self-esteem, courage, strength, perseverance, self-sacrifice and adventurism in young men. Of particular importance to

[37] N. Keeru Kithure & E. Mwenda "The Impact of Samburu Culture on the Development of Western Education in Samburu Community during the Colonial Period in Kenya" *International Journal for Academic Research*, Vol. 3, No. 21, 2013, pp. 128-133.
[38] T. Ezeajugh, "Body Adornment Practices in Nigerian Culture: A Multi-Ethnic Investigation" PhD Thesis, Azikiwe University, Nigeria, 2010.

the study is his argument that "*murranism* is a stage of life that is not only marked by weaponry but involves a sharp focus on body art."[39]

Keti has made useful general contributions to our knowledge of the importance of tourism as a vehicle for poverty alleviation among the pastoral communities in Kenya. His work is mainly centred on the Il Ngwesi and Samburu communities living in Samburu-Laikipia region. He asserts that development of markets for sale of Samburu cultural heritage gave opportunites to the locals in the region to shape their livelihoods and validate poverty reduction policies and programmes.[40] The Samburu sold their products and earned an income creating an alternative livelihood from pastoralism.

Bussmann in his study on the ethnobotany of the Samburu, states that, the Samburu made use of the wide range of traditional herbs for medical purposes, firewood, tools and food. The most significant part of his paper is where he asserts that many species had a specific ceremonial significance, mostly associated with blessings, age-rites and witchcraft. Nineteen species were used ceremonially. For instance, a large number of Cyperaceae was used as blessing of marriages, while Malvaceae were used as protective wristbands and necklaces. Other species most commonly *Justicia lorata, Dichrosephala*, *chrysanthemifolia* and *integrifolia* were specifically used as perfume, normally with dried plant material used as necklace for good smell.[41] This study makes an informative reading on Samburu appreciation to wild plants for body adornment. In addition, change from nomadic to a more sedentary lifestyle affected the Samburu use of traditional plants due to overgrazing and overexploitation such that they were no longer used for body adornment in ceremonies in the post-independent period.

Kyoto has made the most significant contribution towards our understanding of the Samburu body adornment. The author notes the religious significance of Samburu body adornment in various ceremonial contexts. The work also contains coloured photographs displaying some body

[39] P. Wasamba "The Concept of Heroism in Samburu *Moran* Ethos," *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2009, pp.1-10.
[40] D. Keti "The Efficacy of Tourism as a Tool for Poverty Reduction: A Case Study of Samburu in Laikipia Region," *Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2002, pp. 94-113.
[41] R. Bussmann "Ethnobotany of the Samburu of Mt. Nyiru, South Turkana, Kenya" *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine*, 2006, pp.1-10.

adornment among the *murran.*[42] Her work though illuminating to a historian does not give the chronological accounts on how changes in Samburu social system relate to changes in body adornment.

Kyoto describes the changing process of the Samburu age system in north-central Kenya focusing on *murranhood*. He notes that, in the twenty first century circumsicion among the Samburu is performed rarely, leading to the gradual disappearance of age-set system. Consequently, many youths in Samburu have begun to shun the traditional attire and have moved out of Samburu in search of employment elsewhere.[43] Unfortunately, the study, though covering the post-independent period, does not examine the impact of westernism on other aspects of Samburu body adornment.

In another article, Kyoto has made useful contribution to our knowledge of impact of cultural tourism on Maasai and Samburu communities. He asserts that the Samburu and Maasai were more exposed culturally after independence.[44] Klumpp conducted a similar study of the body adornment of the Maasai, who share their language, *Maa*, and many cultural aspects with the Samburu. Her description covers colour patterns and ornamental beadwork designs in realtion to Maasai beliefs and identity. It also discusses a shift in the economic use of ornamental beadwork in the context of tourism and capitalisation.[45] The two studies elucidate what kind of impact cultural tourism has had on the economies and the cultural identities of local communities in post-independent Kenya. From the study, it is clear that cultural tourism provided the opportunity to the *Maa*-speakers to market their traditional dances, ceremonies and attires to tourists.

Meiu illustrates how Samburu men, from the 1980s, begun travelling to Mombasa and developed relationships with white female tourists. The Samburu men were able to acquire more items for

[42] N. Kyoto, *Adornments of the Samburu in Northern Kenya: A Comprehensive List*, Kyoto University: The Center for African Area Studies, 2005.
[43] Kyoto, N. "Social Change in the *Moranhood* of the Samburu Age-set system: Individual Circumsicion and Irregular Marriage" in J. Skinner & D. Hedossopoulous (eds.). *Great Expectations: Imagination and Anticipation in Tourism*, London: Berghahn Books, 2011, pp. 159-168.
[44] N. Kyoto, "Exploring the Possibility of the "Maa" Cultural Tourism as the Economic & Cultural Resources" *Cultural History*, Vol. 31, No. 24, pp. 6-12.
[45] D. Klumpp, "Maasai Art and Society: Age and Sex, Time and Space, Cash and Cattle," PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1987.

their body adornment such as buttons, pins and plastic. In addition they earned money to open businesses in Samburu and elsewhere.[46] This study was key in illustrating how the Samburu body adornment has undergone change in the post-independent period within the context of globalization.

Straight's main focus lies in the Samburu beads referred locally as *mporo. Mporo* beads were supposed to be worn by married women only and were given by the groom as part of bride price. The article offers a history of the *mporo* beads from the date of manufacture, about 1880s. The beads were brought to northern Kenya by Venetian traders. She asserts that, since the 1990s, the *mporo* beads have undergone intense recommodification in the western markets. They have been replaced with plastic and metal. Cosequently, *mporo* has become available and is now worn by other communities in Kenya and elsewhere.[47]I t is from this article that we appreciate modernity as, of course, taking its toll on many communites in Africa including the Samburu. But the same modernity, by means of the consumer goods it places on the market and the reformulation of the consumer through them, provides individual communities with means to create for themselves individual and social identities whose variety and diversity leave little hope for the authentic forms of body adornment.

Kasfir focuses on the Samburu *murran.* She weaves a complex history of colonial influence on Samburu warriorhood. She makes a bold statement about the links between colonialism, the Europeans' image of Africans, aesthetics, practices and the global trade in African art. Specifically, Kasfir focuses on how the Samburu were introduced to the Hollywood movies in 1990s.To her, exposure created a new avenue for the commodification of the Samburu warrior image. This was where tourists would travel to Northern Kenya or buy movies to see the "wild, warlike inhabitants."[48] What is missing in this account that Kasfir gives is a sense of how the Samburu *murran* reacted to the new culture.

[46] G. Meiu, "On Difference, Desire and the Aesthetics of the Unexpected: The White Maasai in Kenyan Tourism" in J. Skinner & D. Hedossopoulous (eds.). *Great Expectations: Imagination and Anticipation in Tourism*, London: Berghahn Books, 2011, pp. 96-116.
[47] B.Straight, "From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact: The Cross-Cultural Consumption of *Mporo* Marriage Beads," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No. 1, 2002, pp. 7–21.
[48] S. Kasfir, *African Art and the Colonial Encounter*: *Inventing a Global Commodity*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

In their article, Nyambura, Matheka, Waweru and Nyamache discuss hair as a mirror that reflected identity and status in Samburu community in the pre-colonial period. The authors cover an important period in the history of the Samburu and Kenya in general. It was a period of new tastes enhanced by introduction of Christianity, education and increased contact between Samburu and other communities in the period of decolonization. The Samburu hairstyles in particular, those of young unmarried males were more adorned with beads, pins, bottle tops and other materials.[49] The authors largely used oral interviews which makes the study original and interesting. However, the study just discusses hair in the colonial and post-colonial periods without mentioning other aspects of Samburu body adornment. Anthoney examines the Samburu during the post-independent period. His interest was on the *murran*, elders and women who he states that they treasure the traditional shuka in their ceremonies and rituals.[50] This is an interesting review, though it only focuses on dress without outlining factors leading to continued use of dress by the Samburu despite modernity in the post-independence period.

At the continental level, the present author's book is a historical perspective of cultural changes such as hairstyles, shoes, handbags, cosmetics, beads use, lingerie and colour symbolism in Africa. She affirms that culture has grown through a combination of the processes of invention and diffusion. In the last chapter the author adduces that human beings are the only species who deliberately alters their appearance and surroundings by customizing their bodies far beyond the clothing which are worn as a second skin.[51] Though the bulk of this study falls outside the period and object of the current study, it was possible to adduce evidence that communities in Africa have adorned themselves since time immemorial.

The literature available has demonstrated that body adornment can be investigated from various angles: looking at similarities and diffrences in adorning style among ethnic groups, gender, age, social categories; from analysis of body adornment as tools for expression of identity;relation to colour, design, usage in art and fashion. There are still gaps in our knowledge on factors that

[49] R. Nyambura, R. Matheka, P.Waweru and T. Nyamache "Hair: A Samburu Identity Statement" *Journal of International Academic Research for Multidisciplinary*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2014, pp. 281-290.
[50] J. Anthoney, "A Case Study on Preserving Culture Identity of Samburu Tribe in Kenya," *International Journal of English Language, Literature and Translation Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2015, pp. 149-154.
[51] R. Nyambura, *Fashion and Beauty: A Historical Perspective*, Saarbrucken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012.

influenced Samburu body adornment either positively or negatively in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Equally the studies are inadequate in illustrating how western education, Christianity and cultural globalization influenced Samburu body adornment. This study hopes to fill these gaps.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The study employed cultural theory of history. Cultural history combines the approaches of anthropology and history to look to popular cultural traditions and cultural interpretations of historical experience. Jacob Burckhardt helped found cultural history as a discipline in 1852. While earlier historians had concentrated on political and military history, Burckhardt wrote "and all things are sources, not only books, but the whole of life and every kind of art and spiritual manifestation."[52]

Burckhardt inspired an English Anthropologist Edward B. Tylor who published his book in 1871. In his book Tylor stated that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[53] Tylor's main concern was on the evolution of human culture. He stated that culture developed from primitive stages. In the primitive stages there exisited one culture but there was progression as human beings interacted. Tylor argued that communities within each stage of development had distint traits which show slow replacement as new generations set in. as societies advanced some traits survived to present day culture. He further illustrated that, no matter where people lived, they shared commoncultural traits like having some sort of art and body ornamentation which would be assumed to have originated from one place.

Tylor's ideas on culture were critiqued to be too static without a clear explanation on how modernity and post-colonialism affected culture.[54] However, his ideas were key in this study in illustrating origin of Samburu body adornment that displayed similar traits from the communities of the Sudan where they originated from. Tylors ideas came in handy in explaining continuity of

[52] D. Alexander, *The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955, p. 3.
[53] E. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, New York: Harper & Row, 1871.
[54] V.E. Bonnell& L. Hunt (ed.), *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

some of the Samburu body adornment despite modernity and westernism. Such forms include use of red ochre and beads.

It was important to seek for an appropriate analytical tool for examining the impact of colonialism, modernity and westernism on indeginous Samburu culture in general, and body adornment in particular. Traditional' historiography had, for a long time, focused on writing the histories of 'big men;' the important political or military figures in history. In the 1960s and 1970s, this approach received more and more critique, especially from 'New Social History', which argued that this type of analysis left out the marginal, lower class and non-conforming groups in history. The New Social History sought ways to insert these excluded groups into historical writing, to provide a more complex picture of the past, by using the same 'objective' methodology that the traditionalists had used. In this way, they were able to show the limited and ideological character of the traditional historiography and could thus argue that the traditionalists wrote partial and political histories.[55]

The "new social history" of the 1960s and 1970s was succeeded by "new cultural history" in the 1980s. The new cultural historians, inspired by the linguistic turn and rejecting social history's positivism, borrowed methods from anthropology and literary studies to study and interpret culture and language in the past. This focus on culture and language 'tilted cultural history towards idealism, and an exclusive focus on the function of symbolic language and discourse in the codification of human consciousness. All these approaches to human subjectivity have emphasized the underlying collective psychological social or linguistic structures or patterns that determine human thought and behaviour. Gunn argues:

> For the effects on history have been weak. Of all the subjects in the humanities and social sciences, in fact, history is perhaps the discipline where cultural theory has been most fiercely resisted and where its impress has consequently been most superficial. Also, the historians who did direct their focus to discourse, culture, and power relations have met resistance from within the discipline.[56]

[55] Bonnell and Hunt (eds), *Beyond the Cultural Turn.*
[56] S. Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory*, London: Pearson, 2006, pp. 196-197.

Gunn further argued that "it is important to accept that human agency is not the only form of historical agency. The natural and material worlds have agency too. The human, the natural and the material worlds are involved in complex interaction with each other and history is a product of this interaction. Let us consider a broader understanding of historical agency, to overcome the opposition between human and nature, and include the material and the natural in our analyses.[57]

His ideas were supported by anthropologists like Arcangeli who whose main intrest was culture and periodization. Arcangeli stated that cultural history focuses on the changes and practices in human agency. Cultural history enlightens issues on gender, the family and sexuality, the body, senses, emotions, images, material culture, media, ideas and believes. They are interested in bringing back ancient symbols. They will ask about the origins of each art form, for example music, dance and divination. They also enquire on the values that each art form reinforces and periodization and chronology that such art adopt.[58]

In recent decades, cultural history theory was superseded by the modernization paradigm. Cultural theory classified societies as either "traditional" or "modern" depending on a a number of characterisitcs or values ascribed to each. Its proponents pointed out that the "modern" socieities had once been in the "traditional" stage and their "path of progress" could be replicated by those struggling to develop. This process, the theory alleged, could be made possible through innovations such as capital inflow, imported expertise and the breaking up of "traditional" structures that hampered the rise of the entrepreneurial elite meant to guide this development process.[59] The modernization theory concentrated on the issue of colonial exploitation. The failure of the many development projects intitiated among pastoralists such as the Samburu such as schools, hospitals, was blamed on the Africans' resisitance to innovation. Modernisation paradigm was based on the racist idea that backwardness of African social, economic and political structures had everything to do with the exisiting precapitalist social formations which needed external agency to have them transformed. These shortcomings made the theory

[57] Ibid, p. 192.
[58] A. Arcangeli, *Cultural History: A Concise Introduction*, New York: Routledge, 2011.
[59] I. Roxborough, *Theories of Development*, London: Macmillan, 1979.

unsuitable for examining the impact of colonialism and post-colonialism on Samburu body adornment.

Gunn stated that modernity referred to both modern social and cultural formations and the conceptual apparatus through which knowledge of these formations is acquired. Modernity implied a temporary, "pre-modern", "before" and a "post-modern", "after".[60] Eley dated the beginnings of the 'post-modern age' after the late 1950 with the completion of the reconstruction of the western economies after the Second World War and the development of new information technologies.[61] For Gunn, the idea of being modern was specifically focusing back to the ancients changed with the belief inspired by modern science towards social and moral development. Such ideas were found useful in this work and especially in determining the process of change in Samburu body adornment with establishment of new social amenities as discussed in chapter five.

Since the late 1980s the cities and towns of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have attracted growing attention from historians and other scholars as the locus of new enviroments and experiences, experiement in modern living. "This is clear that western thoughts have been profoundly influenced by the dichotomies of body and culture".[62] Gunn argues that there is need to periodize body history:

> When we focus on practices in which the body is enacted, performed, experienced, observed, classified, examined and touched, all different sorts of aspects surface, and complexity and multiplicity become evident. Most importantly, different knowledges of the body emerge: by zooming in on the body in practice, new source material needs to be called upon besides medical literature, and as such different knowledges of the body, like lay knowledge, become important in practice. Furthermore, an analysis of the body in

[60] Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory,* p. 22.
[61] Eley, G., *A Crooked Line:From Cultural History to the History of Society* Ann Arbor 2008.
[62] Canning, K. "The Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in History"*Gender and History, Vol.*11, No.1, 1999, pp. 499-513.

> practice elucidates that the body *does* multiple things and is an agent in its environment instead of merely being an empty shell that awaits discursive inscription.[63]

Roy Porter claimed in 1991 that the research done on the history of the body was at best spotty.[64] By the time he wrote his reflection in 2001, the historiographical situation had completely changed. Body as history had become very popular, so much that a historian, Jenner stated that 'we are living in somatic times.[65] This popularization has been linked to the rise of the new cultural history, which, opened up the field of body history, with the body as the main site of reference and representation. Crozier stated that:

> Bodies are mediated through a variety of discourses and arrangements of power. … They are deeply imbedded in culture.' the body is highly unstable, historically changing and fragmented into a'myriad of discursive schemes. The body should not be understood outside techniques of control, modification and representation.[66]

Gunn supported the above ideas by affirming that we:

> Need a history of historically specific bodies, which provides an understanding of the body that is neither static nor coherent. Most importantly, there is a demand for writing histories about real, living bodies, instead of their representations as discursive bodies that are denied an ontological – or foundational – existence. Human body changes with particular periods in history.[67]

By using the "new cultural history" as the unit of analysis the Samburu body adornment has been illustrated better in the Kenya's colonial and post-independence era. It is authentic and flexible

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[63] Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory*, p. 190.
[64]R. Porter, "The History of the Body Reconsidered" in P. Burke, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 233-260.
[65] M. Jenner, "Body, Image, Text in Early Modern Europe", Social *History of Medicine*, Vol. 12, No.1, 1999, 143-166.
[66]I. Crozier, "Introduction: Bodies in History, the Task of the Historian," in I. Crozier, (ed.) *A Cultural History of the Human Body*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 21-22.
[67] Gunn, *History and Cultural theory*, p. 198.

given that it acknowledges that "a period should be treated in it's entirely, with regard not only to its painting but for the social institutions of its daily life as well."[68]

1.10 Methodology

This is a piece of historical research seeking to investigate and explain a phenomenon that has already occurred.Consequently, manipulative control of the factors under scrutiny and randomization are not possible as is the case with experimental inquiry. The study adopted the *ex-post facto* approach as its research design. A preliminary study in the National Museum in Nairobi on the diverse Samburu body adornment was important.The weaknesses of the research design were mitigated by the extensive and intensive use of primary sources and an adequate and representative sample. In addition, the reliability and validity of the sources have been tested through the external and internal criticism. A pilot study was also conducted. In this way the authenticity of the sources has been ascertained.

Secondary and primary sources were used. Secondary data included books, journals articles, seminar/conference papers as well as theses and dissertations. Such works were obtained from the libraries of both public and private universities in Nakuru and Nairobi. Others were sought from Egerton University Library, Laikipia University Library, Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library of the University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University Library, the Macmillan Library of the City Council of Nairobi, and the Kenya National Library Services in Nairobi. Literature was also obtained from the District Cultural Office in Maralal. Primary data was obtained from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi. The main documents included Samburu District Annual and Quarterly reports. Field research involved an oral interview, with knowledgeable elders in the community, sellers of beads and dresses, body painters and other experts. Informants included both genders. The researcher made contact with the District Officer, who in turn introduced her to local bead makers, traditional leaders and elders in the community.Cassette tape-recorder was used to record information from interviewees.The interviews covered topics related to the cradle land of the Samburu, migration patterns, nature and types of body adornment, relationship between body adornment in Samburu with those of the neighbouring communities, and change and continuity of body adornment practices from the pre-colonial to

[68] Alexander, *The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, p. 4.

post-colonial era. A digital camera was employed for taking photographs to illustrate the different forms of body adornment. A notebook was used to record the summaries and observations during the research.

Beside interviews at individual levels, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were also employed. As indicated by Marshall and Rossman, many participants (as in a group discussion) allow for more in-depth information gathering, as the ideas, believes and opinions presented by other members of the group will be reflected and added to by other members. Focus group discussions are richer than one-on-one interviews, as participants are able to reflect on the topic being discussed and share ideas with the rest of the group.[69] FGDs consisted of members of same age and gender. English, Kiswahili and *Maa* (with the assistance of a translator) languages were used in the interviews as appropriate to the group respondents. The participants were informed of the aims and procedure of the interview and their consent sought.Both the structured and unstructured forms of interview were employed.While the structured form was underway, the unstructured form made it possible to explore statements that came out during the course of the interview to extract more information from the interviewee/informant.

Photographs on the various forms of body adornment and related activities were used. This was reinforced by non-participant observation.Non-participant observation also referred to as snapshots or glimpse, involved the researcher not intruding but casually sitting and watching.[70] Members were observed individually and at other times as a collective within the community on the way their identity was conveyed in their body adornment, style of adornment and the body part on both genders. The study employed purposive and snowball sampling procedures.[71] Purposive sampling is the type of sampling in which the researcher selects samples based on experience and knowledge of the group to be sampled.[72] Specifically, in this kind of non-probability; the researcher has some belief that the sample being picked has the desired responses, which are also representative.[73] Other informants were identified through snowball

[69] M. Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (3rd ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. 2002.
[70] E. Reischer & K. Koo, "The Body Beautiful: Symbolism and Agency in the Social World," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 297-317, 2004.
[71] D. Kasomo, *Research Methods in Humanities and Education*, Nakuru: Nakuru Publishers, 2006.
[72] L. R. Gay and P. Airasian, *Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis and Applications*, New Jersey: Pearson Education Ltd, 2003.
[73] M. B. Ogunniyi, *Understanding Research in the Social Sciences*, Ibadan: University Press, 1992, p.66.

sampling technique. Feldman, Bell and Berger observe that "having someone who will vouch for you in the field can help the researcher build webs of relations. Being identified early on with certain people can aid a researcher and provide both lateral and vertical connections to people."[74]

Sixty informants from the Samburu community were interviewed. The informants were selected from all the six divisions: Lorroki, Nyiro, Baragoi, Wamba, Waso and Kirisia. The informants from both genders were identified based on their knowledge and experience of the diverse body adornment in the community. Age was also an important factor while interviewing elders. Elders constituted of age-sets between 1921 and 2014.[75] Women whose ages correspond to those of men in the said age-sets were interviewed. Other groups included *murran,* young maidens, married women, artisans and children.

Data analysis started from the time of data collection. At the end of the data collection, the data from the archives, oral interviews, and secondary sources was analyzed to provide a detailed description of the case, identifying emerging themes, sub-themes. While it proved difficult to quantitatively measure change and continuity of Samburu body adornment for a period spanning from pre-colonial to post-colonial period, qualitative change was easily deduced through people's interpretations and perceptions of the period 'before' colonial and 'after' the colonial to post-colonial phenomenon as reflected in oral interviews.

The data collected was categorised in relation to the research problem variable, that is, continuity and change in body adornment. The results obtained were assessed against the theoretical framework adopted for the study. In this way, the risk of data interpretation-potentially a major weakness in *ex-post facto* research-was minimised. On account of the long period the study covered, the data was interpreted both chronologically and thematically. The chronology attempt was to paint a broad picture that facilitated conceptualization of the changes or continuity of Samburu body adornment that occurred from the pre-colonial to post-colonial periods. The thematic analysis was then focused on the dynamics of Samburu body adornment as it evolved in the pre-colonial to post-colonial periods.

[74] C. Feldman, B. Berger, *Gaining Access: A Practical and a Theoretical Guide for Qualitative Research,* Walnut: Creek, C.A: Attamira Press, 2003, p. 57.

[75] Age-sets are identified as groups of men who are initiated in youth. Among the Samburu it takes a span of fourteen years.

CHAPTER TWO

PRE-COLONIAL SAMBURU BODY ADORNMENT

2.1 Overview

A People's culture is synonymous with their civilization, with all its processes of change and continuity. Culture finds expression in a people's values, beliefs and rituals as well as possessions. It is reflected in people's social, economic, judicial, political and value systems. The implication here is that the cultural identity of a people is based upon, and consists of, the totality of their values, norms, traditions, language and their inward and outward manifestations. All these combine and bestow upon a people or ethnic group a particular identity and niche.[1]

Prior to the colonisation of Kenya, the indigenous communities adorned themselves. The Samburu in particular engaged in production of valuable material culture. Trade was an important means through which the Samburu got supplies of raw materials for their costumes and ornaments. The Samburu community is made up of pastoralists who belong to the *Maa* speakers. The term *Maa* speakers denotes the large cultural affiliation of herders who share language, economy, social organization and history. These include the Samburu, Illchamus and the Maasai. These herders are nearly similar in personal adornment, which could be explained by a shared place of origin and their interactions, which shaped their technology and body adornment practices.[2]

Samburu body adornment is a subject about which historians should have much to say, yet they have remained silent. Indeed Samburu body adornment has been presented more in anthropological texts. Why should historians bother about adornment? Because around the globe, man does something to adorn himself. In addition, the Samburu body adornment has changed significantly from the pre-colonial to post- independence period. With this in consideration, this chapter highlights aspects of Samburu pre-colonial body adornment and how neigbouring communities and traders influenced Samburu body adornment either positively or negatively.

1, B. A. Ogot, "New Trends in Cultural History 'The Silence in Old Narratives,'" *Journal of East Africa Research and Development*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1992, pp. 38-39.
[2] J. Holtzman, *Samburu*, New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 1995.

2.2 Forms of Pre-colonial Samburu Body Adornment

Body adornment was a significant cultural activity which was widely practiced by Samburu. Some of the forms of body adornment were temporary while others were permanent. Forms of body adornment emphasised power, wealth, age and social status within the community. Art historian, Hebert Cole elaborates on the importance of body adornment:

> Personal decoration is of such importance in Northern Kenya that clearly a person is naked without some form of self-decoration, although he may wear little or no real clothing in sense of the word.[3]

The Samburu body adornment revolved around their place of origin, migration and settlement pattern, contact with their environment, neighbouring communities and trade. Linking the origin of Samburu body adornment with their homeland, Pavitt hypothesizes that the Samburu were plain nilotes who had body adornment practices affiliated to ancient Egyptians and communities living in the Southern Sudan region.Some practices included shaving of women's heads, removal of two teeth from the lower jaw, one legged posture while standing and elaborate dressing. Ancient Egyptians' circumcision ceremonies were similar to the Samburu. There were accounts of mass circumcision and men holding the backs of the initiates which are reflected in the Samburu practices today.[4] Magor further adds that the Samburu warriors have similar body adornment patterns with communities living in ancient Sudan like the use of red ochre and long braided hair.[5] From the foregoing analysis, it appears like the Samburu adopted their body adornment from ancient Egyptian and Sudan communities.

The Samburu adopted elements of body adornment from the Pokot. This includes, use of long, oval shields, seclusion period and "coming out" ceremony after circumcision.[6] Cohen, a social anthropologist, summarizes the general characteristics of the initiation ceremony through close examination of the Samburu, Maasai and Pokot as follows:

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[3] H. Cole "Vital Arts in Northern Kenya," *African Arts*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1974, p.134.
[4] N. Pavitt, *Samburu*, London: Kyle Cathie Ltd, 2006.
[5] T. Magor, *African Warriors: The Samburu*, London: Harry N. Abrams, 1994.
[6] J. Brad, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination,* Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.

It is conducted by elders in specified time. It is done in seclusion and in small groups of same age. The novice is subjected to trials and both genders are involved. Rules are directed at the group rather than individuals. Non-participants are excluded and there is a ceremony after the healing process.[7]

By early sixteenth century, the camel-herding Proto-Rendille Somali (PRS) culture inhabited the lands extending from Lake Turkana to the Juba River. The PRS culture could be identified not only by its Somali language, but also by its possession of an age-set system and lunar calendar.[8] Ancestors of the Samburu are thought to have lived somewhere along the fluid boundaries of these two linguistic groups, that is: the western fringe of the PRS culture and the northern edge of the *Maa.* The interaction of the north *Maa* and the western elements of the PRS culture are evident from mutual words borrowing. Schelee and Shongolo contend that most ornaments worn among the Rendille *murran* are of Samburu origin and have Samburu names. The term, *ilkaria* (red ochre) is of *Maa* origin. Others include *ilmasi* for long braids, *nkeri* for long beads worn across a *murran's* chest, and *ilkatar* for the arm bracelets worn by women.[9] Furthermore, the Samburu influenced the people who would become the Rendille in the way they pierced their earlobes and removed their lowenr incisor teeth. While circumcision appears to be originally a Cushitic practice, the Rendille likewise may have adopted some Samburu aspects of the initiation rite.[10]

Dunlap suggests that after settlement in their present homeland the earliest forms of body adornment among the Nilotes were items obtained in the hunt. "A proud hunter proclaimed his achievement by arranging a feather crown on his head to display successful acquired spoils of the chase".[11] Animal products from ostrich feathers, giraffe hides were used to decorate the skins made from slaughtered animals.[12] The male Samburu considered himself the epitome of human

[7] G. Cohen, *Aesthetics and Colour among the Maasai and Samburu*, London: Duke University Press, 1988, p. 46.
[8] E. Fratkin, "Age-sets, Households and the Organization of Pastoral Production: The Ariaal, Samburu and Rendille of Northern Kenya," *Research in Economic Anthropology*, Vol.8, No.2, 1987, pp. 295-314.
[9] G. Schelee and A. Shongolo, *Islam and Ethnicity in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia*, London: James Currey, 2012.
[10] T. Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya, 1900-1975", PhD Thesis, University of Nairobi: Institute of African Studies, 1977.
[11] Dunlap, "The Development &Function of Clothing," p. 69.
[12] Sutton, ''East Africa before the Seventh Century,''

perfection and the decision maker. Production of body adornment was mostly done by women. This due to the fact that, it fell into the category of work that would mitigate male perfection if performed by males. Therefore, it was relegated to females who were already believed to be givers of life and creators of designs. There were blacksmiths who made spears, knives and jewellery. The blacksmiths families whose trade was inherited were known as *Ilconone*.[13]

Samburu community is organized in specific age and gender. Each category is expressed by specific body adornment pattern.[14] For this reason, this section below focuses on the Samburu social categories in relation to gender and age and the significance of the body adornment.

2.2.1 Body Adornment in Relation to Gender and Age

Among the girls, red ochre was rubbed into clean shaved head**.** Red ochre was also ground into a fine substance which was mixed with soot for a more attractive colour. It was applied on the eyebrows with a thin bone or stick. *Lkaria* was kept in a small leather container under the mother's bed. Scars, *lkigerot* were also incised on the waist. The scars were made with acacia thorn. These scars could be made as early as seven years old. The scars beside beauty were stimulating to both sight and touch by the *murran*.[15] Although informants did not have a clear explanation for scarification, Radcliffe Brown in his study on African cultures offered a possible reason:

> In Africa scarification was a mark symbolizing added value to all boys and girls who were at the threshold of adulthood. The individual was made to feel that his value, strength and qualities of which he may be proud, was not by nature but was received by him from the society he was admitted to. The scars on his body were the visible marks of this admission.[16]

[13] P. Spencer, *The Pastoral Continuum: The Marginalization of Tradition in East Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
[14]B. Straight. 2007. *Miracles and Extra-ordinary Experience in Northern Kenya.* London: University of Pennslylvania Press
[15] Sopin Naiserian, OI, 22 November 2012.
[16] R. Brown, *A Handbook of African Laws & Customs*, London: Heinemann, 1935, p.315.

On the same issue, Radcliffe notes that women among East African pastoralists were known to scar themselves from the mid eighteenth century to display responsibilities and roles within the community. The programme of marking followed a traditionally prescribed order. The first phase concentrated on the torso, at the age of about ten. The second phase was carried out under the breasts after menstruation, and on the back, arms and legs after the birth and weaning of the first child. Radcliffe adds that scarification was not the only body modification used to denote rites of passage for a woman. Once the scars healed, a girl wore a goat's skin (*nchapukur*) to cover her pelvic area and was allowed to dance and relate with the *murran*.

On the night of her wedding which could be between the age of ten to twelve years, the girl was circumcised. A newly circumcised girl was called *nkaibartani,* meaning pure and good person (Appendix 1A). The name was derived from Nkaibaibartak, the constellation Orion's belt. According to the Samburu, the four stars on the Orion symbolized the groom, the companion, the mother and the bride walking towards the new groom's home. Female circumsicion was a ritual symbolizing full submission to the husband. Girls exposed their breasts as part of the initiation rites to imply that they had attained maturity status, that is, they had the right to be counted among adult women and hence men could ask for their hand in marriage. Sometimes girls were circumcised without immediate prospects of marriage. To signify their status after circumcision, they wore a plaited reed headband hanging down their back.[17]

Cicatrization later followed. This was a special form of scarification that required a more intensive craft. The process involved a systematic cutting out of some flesh from the thighs, creating a gash which bulged after healing forming permanent patterns known as *lpironito*. Young girls understood the importance of cicatrization as not only a physical change, but also a psychological change which allowed them to give birth and become sexually identified through their husbands. Pavitt observes that, "cicatrization was usually effected at the time of puberty. It was done to girls as a mark of bravery and a part of the fertility rites connected with coming of age ceremony."[18]

[17] Magor, *African Warriors.*
[18] N. Pavitt, *Samburu*, London: Kyle Cathie Ltd, 2006, p.163.

Getting suitable body adornment for a wife was the husband's duty. The bride dressed in her wedding gown made of three goatskins which were oiled and covered with red ochre. The gown was specifically made by the husband. Her hair was shaved clean by her mother. She carried on her back a gourd full of milk and a small wooden jar containing butter. Her entire body was covered with a hide apron known as *logesana.* This apron was given by the husband to signify to the rest of the community that she had abandoned all her amorous affairs with the *murran* and that her husband had power over her procreative life. The woman decorated her head elaborately using a thin string from a goat skin, *lmasi lo ngorio* that hang at the back creating false hair. The false hair was often done in very long hide plait. She also wore wooden earings on her earlobes which were refeered as *ltirriangani*. These earings were put on the bride and were removed in the evening, inside her husband's home (Appendix 1B).

When the woman gave birth she received a hide waist belt (*ngene e nkosheke*) from her midwife to restore her shape to what it was before birth. This belt was worn to the time of weaning the child. The pain caused as the band restricted the growth of extra fat bore witness to her acceptance of her new role within the community. Anyone refusing to undertake the rite of passage was certain to be ostracized from the community. Radcliffe asserts that this practice was noted among Southern Sudan communities in the fifteenth century.[19]

The husband slaughtered a goat or sheep called *lkupoket* and let the blood drip down. The meat was eaten by females only (excluding the baby's mother). From the skin of this animal, three pieces were cut to make a charm known as *lkereti.* The first was from the right front leg, including the hoof, and was worn by the baby's mother to prevent bad luck like consecutive deaths or miscarriages. The other from the right hind leg, including the hoof, was separated into two and was worn on the wrist by the newborn and the midwife. A wooden talisman, *riati*, was tied on the child's neck to scare the evil eye.[20]

[19] Pavitt, *Samburu.*
[20] Lekelei Lainaina, OI, 16 April 2013

A husband took pride in letting the community know he was fertile by making his wife a special head adornment known as *lpisiai.* This was made from long root strands collected from the forest. Liquid green juice extracted from the trees was added.[21] The *lpisiai* was an indicator of the husband's procreative abilities as elaborated further by Bianco:

> Given that motherhood was highly valued and publicly celebrated in African communities, body adornment worn by postpartum women emphasized a man's hope to affirm power through his wife's body. The woman was a kind of asset in which the ability to produce more assets (children) created more wealth for her husband.[22]

Using acacia thorn, holes were made on the upper and back parts of the ears and wooden earrings known as *lodin le nkiok* inserted. Henceforth, a woman continued to receive more materials from her husband to adorn herself and thus enhance her feminine appeal as she continued bearing more children. [23]

Boys were generally scantily adorned. This was a way of training them to overcome the vagaries of weather since every boy was expected to grow up into a warrior and protector of the community. They also needed agility for herding and fighting. While on the fields tending the herds they tied a piece of goatskin over their waist which also acted as a charm, *nokore*. Another charm made from thin strips of a leopard or lion skin was worn on the neck, ankle or around the wrist to wish the boy good health in future. This charm was reffered to as *alliam*. Similarly scars *lkigerot* were made on the stomach. Time was spent hunting birds, guinea fowls, butterflies and fancied themselves as great warriors in future as they went out armed in small bows and arrows. It was common for little boys to mimic the stance of their elder brothers by leaning on their staff and holding a club between their legs.[24] (Appendix 1C).

When a boy reached twelve years, his father informed elders who held the boy's head between his knees and extracted two incisors from the lower jaw. This was referred to as *mbuata*. It was done for beauty and as a precaution in case a person fell into unconsciousness and he clenched

[21] Lenakala Lelei, OI, 16 April 2013.
[22] Barbara, "Women and Things," p. 775.
[23] Musa Lekamario, OI, 22 May 2013.
[24] A. Swadener, et.al, *Does the Village Still Raise the Child: A Collaborative Study of Changing Child Rearing and Early Childhood Education in Kenya*, Albany: New York Press, 2000.

his teeth so tightly he could not take anything into his mouth. In such cicumstances, the gap in the teeth could be used to feed the person. On approaching the age of circumcision, the boy's upper part of the ears was pierced and wooden earings (*udoto e nkeper*) inserted.[25]

Circumcision rite took place at intervals of seven years. The boys were circumcised around 7-14 years. It took place in full moon and in the wetter months of the year. The boys were circumcised early in the morning with the mothers shaving the boys' heads except a tuft on the very top of the head, *lmanjeu*, to symbolize end of boyhood and initiation into warriorhood. The hair was not supposed to fall to the ground but was collected and burnt to avoid curses or illnesses befalling the boys. The mothers then made black skin outfits smeared with soot, *lkilaa orok*, and fastened them to the right shoulders from where they fell loosely to the feet. Each boy was then supported by two patrons in black skin robes, *lkilaa orok*. The patrons were either godfathers or uncles. The father was blessed by elders by smearing his head with animal fat. This enhanced his authority over the son. This ceremony was known as *arata e l mongo* and marked the beginning of a new age set. [26] (Appendix 1D).

The following day, elders visited the homes where each father of the initiate was blessed by tying pieces of lion skin, *munken*, below the knees. The young initiates' hunted birds, squirrels and other small animals they came across using a special arrow known as *lbaa* tipped with gum from trees, *naingurie*. This exercise was known as *ngor nkweny*. They sang *lebarta* to cause elders to bless and give them food. This exercise lasted for a month and the new initiates sang *lebarta* to uncircumcised girls, shooting arrows at their legs. In the evening, they and returned to their mothers' huts. This is a stage where they were supposed to heal and feed on special diet, not to touch any sharp item or have sexual intercourse. The initiates were referred to as *laibartak*. For a month the *laibartak* wore a headdress of ostrich feathers fastened to a narrow band of plaited fibre which fit tightly round his forehead. [27](Appendix 1E).

[25] Lelei Latoyani OI, 5 December 2013.
[26]Musa Lekamario, OI, 6 December 2012.
[27] J. La Fontaine, *Initiation: Ritual, Drama and Secret Knowledge across the World*, USA: Manchester University Press, 1986.

After *laibartak,* the initiates went through several ceremonies in preparation for *murranhood*. The ceremonies originate from beginning of the late 1790s when the Samburu community divided itself into generations and eight exogamous phratries composed of several clans. *lminong* was invented where *murran* were barred from going out or eating in the presence of married women. *Murran* were advised to associate only with girls and if caught with the elders' wives, they would be cursed. From then on, a man was to participate in five ceremonies (*lmuget*) during his passage through *murranhood.* Each ceremony marked a change in social status.[28]

The 1790s also marked the origin of the Samburu beading culture using carnelian beads. These beads had been acquired from the Rendille since the 1760s. Arab and European traders had brought beads to the interior of East Africa as early as 1000AD with the main aim of encouraging indigenous consumption of foreign goods.[29] The Rendille acquired carnelian beads from Marlie European traders in exchange for ivory from 1500s.[30] These beads were acquired by the Samburu who had been intermarrying with Rendille since 1760s.[31]Their intermarriage brought forth the Ariaal or Masagara community whose dialect has been drawn from Samburu and Rendille communities. Falkenstein states that Ariaal are ''an outcome of the coalition between the Samburu and Rendille." More evidence is available from oral traditions.[32]

Swadener elaborates that there was a big inter-generational fight all across the community territory, something that caused a huge division among the married and non-married. The fight was when the sixth generation was circumcised and this was between *Lkukuyat, Lwantaro* and *Lg'erejon*. One of the *murran* leaders at that time of the *Lkipipilat* generation was found chatting with a married woman by the girl he had beaded the married woman's house. She therefore decided to steal the spear which is normally left outside the door of the house. She took the spear

[28]H. Cole, "Living Art among the Samburu" in J. Cordwell. (ed.) et al, *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*, London: Mouton Publishers, 1979, pp.87-103.
[29] M. Fitzgerald, *Beads Become Big Business*, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992.
[30] It is important to note that there is evidence of Carnelian beads around Lake Turkana region from as early as 400BP although there is no evidence of any cultural significance of these beads to pastoralists.
[31] M. Amin. et.al, *Beautiful People of Kenya*, Nairobi: Camerapix Publishers International, 2009.
[32] P. Spencer, *Nomads in Alliance: Symbiosis and Growth among the Rendille and Samburu of Kenya*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, Oral traditions aver that ''for many centuries, the two [Samburu and Rendille] fought against their common enemies together, migrated to new tracts of land together, and lived interspersed with the Samburu herding their cattle and the Rendille herding their camels together.''

and hid it in her 'singira'. When the warrior came out of the woman's house, he found that the spear was not there. He got so much worried that he called for an urgent crisis warriors' meeting where he told the warriors what had just happened. After the warriors' meeting, elders were called upon to help in solving the problem. One elder, a community leader, gave the affected *murran* two choices: either to go for raids with other *murran* at Mount Tirre (in southern Ethiopia) and get as many cows as possible as the only way to cover the scandal or have sex with all married women in the *manyatta.* The warrior took the first option. He went for raids and led his fellow *murran*. When they succeeded, the elders decided to put the rule of warriors 'beading girls' using the newly acquired beads so that they do not keep on seducing married women.[33] More beads were exchanged with cattle from Swahili and Arab traders in the region and *murran* would continue giving to the girls as a symbol of affection. Mostly the relationships took place within clans but did not lead to marriage.

The carnelian beads vibrated the Samburu body adornment and were intensively used from the 18th century. For instance, besides each initiate wearing a black skin robe, *lkilaa orok,* during the accoasion, purple beaded neck straps, *nchipi,* given by the mothers were worn to wish them good health and courage in their future life. The two patrons who held the initiate during circumcision cut two strips of hide, *lkila,* from the chest of an ox or sheep and tied them below the boy's knees. This tied the bond between them and the initiate who would never again call them by their real names. A month after the *Lmugit Loolbaa* the new initiates were invited by the firestick elders to the *lolora* in the *lmugit lewatanta,* ceremony of the roasting sticks. This was the most important of all *lmuget* ceremonies as it ushered in the status of *murran*. [34]

The *murran* were the most striking members of the Samburu community. Afew days after acquiring the status of *murran*, elders pierced upper parts of the initiate ears. They inserted into the holes a beaded adornment, *lodiin le nkiok,* the distinguishing mark of the status of *murran.* On the earlobes an ivory earplug *lkiyia* was worn. The *murran* wore the *lkiyia* till marriage. Many hours were spent by warriors braiding each others' hair, *lmasi*.The hair was left to grow to hip length, *soror*. It was coloured with red ochre which was mixed with sheep or cow fat and

[33] A. Swadener, et al, *Does the Village Still Raise the Child: A Collaborative Study of Changing Child Rearing and Early Childhood Education in Kenya*, Albany: New York Press, 2000, p.87.
[34] K. Waweru, "*Muget*, Samburu Culture that makes them Real Men," *Standard*, October 2013, p.38.

applied on the head and body. Sometimes it was applied on the shoulders, chest, back and on the legs. Geometric designs, *naitulu,* were made from the chin to the neck**,** eyebrows and eyelids.[35] (Appendix 1F).

Seven years later, elders met and selected *murran* from the *lmasula* clan who killed by suffocation a white bull, *laingoni*. Elders lit the fire and roasted the meat to symbolize closure of the age set where no more boys may be circumcised into it. After eating the meat the *murran* were permitted to marry. The long braids, *lmasi* were cut in preparation for marriage in a ceremony known as *lodi*. This was done by the mother inside her hut. The shaving marked a transition from a care free lifestyle to that of a full responsible man and elder. The hair was not supposed to fall on the ground to avoid a spell by one possessed by evil eye: rather the son accompanied the mother to the nearest flowing river and cast the hair there. It was an emotional ceremony for the man who had not eaten in his mother's hut or in the presence of women for all his duration in warriorhood. After this stage the *murran* married and joined elderhood.[36]

Elders were believed to possess spirits that could confer blessing or curse. Their body adornment was simple since they were settled for marriage and other important roles in the family. Elders preferred carrying a short black wooden stick, *siere* and another longer stick, *sobua.* The two were both ceremonial and for herding. During meetings the elders carried a hanging a beaded leather container for tobacco known as *lkidong lo lkumpou*. (Appendix 1G).

The Samburu did not believe in life after death. When a man died the immediate family shaved their hair as a sign of respect and mourning. The man's strongest bull was castrated to symbolize that he will have no more children. The body was wrapped in a piece of hide and left out in the bush to rot. His body adornment were covered in fat and divided equally among his children. When a *murran* died his fellow warriors in the same age-set shaved their hair and threw it into the bush to signify death of a comrade.[37]

[35] Leleshani Loloita, OI, 9 February 2013.
[36] Magor, *African Warriors.*
[37] Lelei Lelelupe, OI, 9 February 2012.

2.2.2 Ecological Disasters and Samburu Body Adornment

The period 1800 to 1900 was characterized by major change on the trend of Samburu body adornment. This emanates from the many ecological disasters that occurred in this period. During the first four decades of the nineteenth century, the Turkana engaged in a number of wars of expansion in which they drove the Samburu beyond the tip of Lake Turkana. In this process, the Turkana acknowledge to have assimilated many of the Ngikor. This explains the massive adoption of Samburu *murran* practice of adorning themselves with ochre adopted by the Turkana. On the other hand, to emulate an appearance that was different to their own, *murran* adopted the elaborate Turkana hairstyle of plastering the crowns and backs of their heads with blue clay. Larik further argues that such borrowing could have included weapons like spears and bows.[38] The Turkana hairstyle lasted for fourteen years, by which the Samburu moved to the north of their former homeland and the *murran* resplendent once more in traditional ochred braids.[39]

In the 1840s, the Samburu had moved to an area near Lake Baringo. By they lacked the cohesion and political structure of an identifiable community as the Turkana were still forcing them out of their territory.Here they were allied to the Ilchamus who still live on the shores of Lake Baringo.[40]The closeness is affirmed by Pavitt who states that "the Ilchamus have close kinship ties with a section of the Lmasula, the largest, of the eight Samburu clans."[41]Similarly, Anderson contends that:

> Strongest and most dominant cultural influence on the Ilchamus has undoubtedly come from the Samburu. This is reflected in language, mode of dress, the arrangement of the clan system and the various other social institutions.[42]

Between 1840 and 1860, the Samburu were living around Mount Nyiru and Mount Kulal. Here they wrestled against the Galla and they were able to acquire herds and arms that made them expand further to the pastures along the eastern shores of Lake Turkana. Many Galla families

[38] R. Larick, *Sedentary Makers and Nomadic Owners: The Circulation of Steel Weapons in Samburu District, Kenya*, Nairobi: Institute of African Studies, 1984.
[39] Pavitt, *Samburu.*
[40] P. Spencer, *The Pastoral Continuum: The Marginalization of Tradition in East Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
[41] Pavitt, *Samburu*, p.9.
[42] D. Anderson, "Cow Power", *African Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1, 1983, pp. 227-260.

were assimilated into the Samburu community to the extent that a number of Galla clans can trace their origins back to them. The Samburu- Galla alliance was able to contain the Turkana who had occupied as far as Elbarta Plains but this was for a shortwhile.[43]Ettagale states that as the Samburu assimilated the Galla they also acquired few trade items which had been introduced to the Galla from Arab traders who had been sailing down the East African coast in dhows from around 1855. The Arab traders introduced tiny, colorful glass beads which were uniform in size and had been imported from Czechoslovakia. These beads, already drilled with precise centre holes, could easily be strung on threads or sewn onto leather. Their variety meant they could also be arranged in contrasting colours and geometric patterns. This revolutionized body adornment in East Africa and other parts of the continent.[44]

In 1869 a cholera epidemic struck, marking the beginning of catastrophes among the Samburu. The seriousness of this epidemic is vividly recounted by James Christie, a medical doctor in Zanzibar in the early 1870s. According to him, Venetian traders who had gone to Samburuland contracted cholera and out of 150 that started the journey home, only seven reached the coast alive.[45] In this period "trade routes carried four epidemics of cholera and possibly new trails of venereal diseases."[46] As the epidemic spread south across Maasailand, it killed thousands of people. The Samburu suffered greatly from this scourge given that it spread from their country to the south. The disease spread fast due to the mobility of traders, warfare and clustering of large defensive settlements. Indeed, the first explorer to cross Samburuland in 1888, Von Hohnell, realized that the Dassanetch and Marlie European traders had participated in regional trade with Samburu and Rendille in the 1870s and had introduced Venetian beads to the area. Venetian beads comprised of red and white glass beads. The beads were strung on giraffe tail hair. The beads acquired a local name *mporo.*[47] The Venetian beads were significant in body adornment of the ailing Samburu population as observed by Hohnell:

> The Venetian trade beads soon became available to the Samburu and Rendille and were named after and used to replace the pre-existing beads. This pattern of beads acquisition

[43] Magor, *African Warriors.*

[44] B. Ettagale, *The Glory of African Beadwork*, Oxford*:* Oxford University Printing Press, 2000.

[45] P. Francis, *The Story of Venetian Beads*, Lake Placid: Lapis Route Books, 1979.

[46] Ilife, *Africans*, p.185.

[47] *B.* Straight*, "From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact: The Cross-Cultural Consumption of* Mporo *Marriage Beads,"* American Anthropologist, Vol. 104, No. 1, 2002, pp. 7–21.

> led to *mporo* necklace revolution. The natives bought beads in large quantities, which increased the size of necklaces from the pre-existing bead hung on a giraffe tail hair. [48]

Samburu women's neck adornment, worn by married women in wedding ceremonies generally grew quickly as affirmed by Straight:

> Over the years in their marriage, Samburu women amassed a collection around their necks that weighed twenty to thirty pounds. The *mporo* beads served to elongate their necks and created a pleasing sound when they she engaged in dances.[49]

Meanwhile in the Lake Turkana basin the Turkana had consolidated their gains by the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continued to terrorize the Samburu to the eastern side of Lake Turkana. Unfortunately for the Samburu, this challenge occurred at a time when they had been weakened by the spread of smallpox from Abyssinia.[50] As Kjekshus observed:

> Small pox in the 1890 attacked the adults as well as the young and it therefore seems possible to conclude that the disease was re-establishing itself in this period after many years absence from East Coast.[51]

The Samburu associated smallpox with the Somali who were traversing northern Kenya during this period on trading missions. The community believed that due to mixing with many people, in the course of trading, the Somali were responsible for the spread of the afflictions and measures were taken to avoid coming into contact with their trading partners. Similarly, rinderpest wiped out the Samburu livestock, wrecking their economy. This was affirmed by an informant who stated that "The Samburu could no longer make clothes from animal skins, pay bride price or trade with neighbouring communities."[52] To replenish their depleted herds, the Samburu were forced to provide menial services to the Rendille so as to rent some of their herds.

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[48] L. Von Hohnel, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie: A Narrative of Count Samuel Teleki's Exploring and Hunting Expedition in Eastern Africa*, London: Longmans, Greens and Co, 1894. p. 146.
[49] Straight, "From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact, p. 8.
[50] Ilife, *Africans*
[51] H. Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika, 1850-1950, Nairobi*: Heinemann, 1977, p.132.
[52] Leshonga Leina, OI, 4 April 2013.

Payment involved loans of a few cows, with promise of some calves and full rights over the milk produced by the rented herd. This is how the Samburu were able to partly revive their economy.[53]

Some of the Samburu groups moved to live among the Elmolo who lived on South-east shores of Lake Turkana. The Samburu depended on the Elmolo diet based on hunting, honey gathering, bee-keeping and fishing. Most Samburu however, families were destitute after losing all their stock and undertook other activities such production of mats, baskets and shoes from hippopotamus hides.[54] While the Elmolo embraced the Samburu language, circumcision and use of spears as affirmed by Spencer,[55] the Samburu on their part acquired hides, skins and ivory. This was crucial to the Samburu adornment since from the 1890s the *murran* abandoned their wooden earplugs and instead used the Elmolo ivory earplugs.[56]

Warriors procured ivory earplugs from curved raw ivory. Informants from Lmekuri age-set stated that ivory earplugs are believed to protect a warrior from harm and other misfortunes.[57] This information was affirmed by Bronner who stated that:

> A Samburu is strictly forbidden from consuming certain animals such as warthogs, zebra and elephant no matter the circumstance. The Samburu believe that cattle would perish from the smell if elephant meat is brought into a homestead. An elephant is a second god to the Samburu. However from the 1890s the Samburu embraced ivory as part of their dress code.[58]

[53] P. Spencer, *The Pastoral Continuum: The Marginalization of Tradition in East Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
[54] Pavitt, *Samburu.*
[55] Although Spencer affirms that the language replacement of Elmolo by Samburu had already been completed before the turn of the nineteenth Century, Brenzinger disputes this and affirms that between 1890 and 1900 the Elmolo spoke a mixture of Elmolo and Samburu, kept no livestock and male circumcision was not practiced, two features in Samburu culture.
[56] Pavitt, *Samburu.*
[57] O. Kahindi, "Cultural Perceptions of Elephants by the Samburu People of Northern Kenya," MA Thesis, University of Strathclycle, 2001.
[58] G. Broner, "Vegetation and land use in the Mathews Range area, Samburu District, Kenya," PhD Thesis, Albert-Ludwigs University, 1989.

As part of Samburu body adornment, ivory symbolized status. Each phratry and age-set had only one ritual leader, *launoni* with certain duties and ritual powers. The phratries performed their activities at different times, places and followed different codes. Arnoldi and Ezra noted that at the close of the 19th century all Samburu *launoni* wore ivory finger rings and an elephant tail tip, (*lenyau*) on their chest to signify their importance and status in the community.[59] Besides symbolism, the Samburu used ivory as a protective charm. To protect babies from dying at birth, Samburu put a necklace talisman, *riati*, made of ivory, on the child immediately after its birth. Similarly, during the *mutai* famine in the 1890s, food was scarce and boys undergoing circumcision lost a lot of blood due to poor feeding. Boys were given ivory bracelets, (*rap*) to protect them from death and confer them blessings to prosper and maintain their family line.[60]

The Samburu continued to trade with Somalis for hides and skins and in return acquired cattle and beads. In this way the Samburu were able to rebuild their cattle herds after the great disaster of the 1890s. Sobania acknowledged the existence of trade between the Samburu as follows:

> Not only livestock, grain and other agricultural products such as tobacco and gourds but household and personal objects such as carved milk and fat containers, porridge bowls, sleeping skins, cloth, beads, wild animals' hides sandals also passed from friend to friend in the maintenance of active partnerships.

Lynch and Robbins in their study on the relationship between art and ownership among East African pastoralist noted that "there exists a strong relationship between an engraved mark on an animal in a herd and a mark branded on the owner of that herd."[61] They observed that brands on animals were made using a hot iron to differentiate sex and species of the animal. This was a common practice among Turkana, Maasai and Samburu pastoralists. The said pastoralists since antiquity branded similar marks on their bodies especially on the upper arm and thighs. On the contrary, Gartner states that branding as a body adornment practice may have been picked by the

[59] M. Arnoldi and K. Ezra, *Elephant: The Animal and its Ivory in African Culture*, California: University of California, 1992.
[60] Kahindi, Cultural Perceptions of Elephants by the Samburu People of Northern Kenya.
[61] M. Lynch and L. Robbins, "Animal Brands and Interpretation of Rock Art in East Africa" *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1977, p. 538.

Samburu from their interactions with the Elmolo in the 19th century.[62]Pavitt emphasizes on branding:

> When the Samburu moved in with the Elmolo there was need to brand each animal, so as to make work easier when looking for a missing one. Each animal was branded with the individual marks of a particular section or clan and ears cut in a special way to identify the owner's family.[63]

In addition, Larik contends that:

> The Elmolo were known to have good craftsmen who also made mats and dresses from hides and skins. They also had blacksmiths who composed songs and sang as they worked especially when smelting using bellows. They scarified their bodies to wad off tiredness. This exercise brought enjoyment of the work and admiration from the onlookers who would often come to watch the blacksmiths or wait for their gadgets to be made. The blacksmiths sung to praise their works, tools and beautiful bodies, relate their experiences or expectations. This encouraged the onlookers who would request for similar marks on their bodies by the blacksmiths. Some of the onlookers were Samburu young men.[64]

The 1890s calamities among the Samburu were attributed to pollution influences that blocked internal digestion and blood circulation. These pollutants included eating the wrong foods, introduction of contagious substances from ill people and sorcery. Treating these health problems aimed at relieving blockages through herbal purgatives, laxatives and consultation of diviners, *loibonok* who dispensed protective medicines. Among the Samburu over 120 species of trees and shrubs were employed as purgatives, emetics and poultices. The plants, trees and shrubs were used by the Samburu to cleanse and protect the body from evil people. The

[62] U. Gaertner, *Elmolo*, New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 1995.
[63] Pavitt, *Samburu*, p.16.
[64] R. Larik, "Spears, Style and Time among *Maa* Speaking Pastoralists" *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1985, pp. 206-220.

protective charms are worn to date to protect cattle and children from evil people.[65]One informant affirmed:

> Immediately after birth, a string known as *alliam* is tied to the umbilical cord. It is made from traditional herbs known as *mparruai*. The *alliam* naturally falls off after some days. Its aim is to protect the child from evil eyes[66]

In addition, from the 120 species the Samburu discovered that a variety of fragrance shrubs could be chewed and used as toothbrushes and deodorants while others like *Malvaceae* (Samburu name not known) were used as a protective wrist band for the bride.[67]

The Dasanetch who inhabit the Omo Valley in southern Ethiopia also welcomed the Samburu in their midst just like the Elmolo. The Dasanetch grew tobacco and cereals. Having settled among these agriculturalists, the Samburu took to cultivation, and as the physical environment improved they kept cattle through which they would revert to pastoralism.While some of them accumulated enough stock and rejoined their kinsmen to the south, others settled permanently among the Dasanetch and are today represented by the *Kuro* clan which traces its descent from the Samburu. The *Kuro* clan speaks a mixture of Samburu and Dasanetch languages. They are farmers but practice the Samburu culture.[68]

Having acquired cattle, the Samburu moved into the Leroghi and Laikipia plateaus in the early 20th century. Leroghi plateau had been a home to the Laikipiak clan who were part of the Maasai since the 15th century. The Laikipiak had clashed with the Purko and Kisongo sections of the Maasai and were defeated in the 1880s. However, Joseph Thomson, one of the earliest European explorers in the area, states that this defeat did not result in the complete disappearance of the Laikipiak. The Laikipiak families were absorbed by other neighbouring groups including the Turkana, Ilchamus around Baringo, and the Samburu on the Leroghi. Rainy explains that the

[65] E. Fratkin, "Traditional Medicine and Concepts of Healing among Samburu Pastoralists of Kenya," *Journal of Ethnobiology*, Vol.16, No.1, 1996, pp. 63-97.
[66] Lediran Lesilele, OI, 8 October 2012.
[67] Fratkin, "Traditional Medicine and Concepts.
[68] P. Gifford, "Observation of Modern Settlement as an Aid to Archaeological Interpretation," PhD Dissertation, University of California, 1975.

demise of the Laikipiak Maasai is believed by the Samburu to have been due to their selfish behaviour. In *Maa* languauge, Laikipiak literally means "the selfish ones".[69] Bathelelme noted that the Samburu intermarried with the Laikipiak in the early twentieth century and shared cultures.[70]Although, oral sources attest the presence of Laikipiak in the Leroghi was a distinct entity.

Ettagale argues that from the twentieth century the Laikipiak and Samburu used the same colours as symbols in their functions. For instance, blue represented the sky and embraced *Nkai* who was the creator and giver of life. Green represented grass, a sacred element revered because it nourished the cattle which played a central role in the cycle of life. White was the life-sustaining colour of milk.[71] An informant supports findings pointed out that:

> Children are very important in our culture. They are a symbol of wealth. If a woman has a child or two yet fails to become pregnant again for some while, she will affix to her hair long strands of blue and pale green beads which will hang down her back as a good omen for pregnancy. Old women will advice her on the best months for wearing the beads but August is often favoured because *Nkai* blesses us with rains which replenishes the grass. If she conceives, she will continue to wear the beads until she gives birth and after birth pour her first milk to *Nkai* as a form of thanksgiving. The Maasai also have a similar practice.[72]

The foregoing evidence indicates that the Samburu used coloured body adornment to appease their god and protect themselves from the evil spirits in the community. Ettagale further adds that red is the most significant colour among the Samburu and Maasai. It represents life, purity, youthfulness and vigour. In the context of this argument, Ettagale adds that Samburu women's and young men's red ornaments is a form of colour coding. Colour coding is key because the power of beadwork to communicate meaningfully very much depends on the design and

[69] M. Rainy, "Samburu Ritual Symbolism: An Adaptive Interpretation of Pastoralists Traditions," *Journal of Social Science Information*, Vol.28, No.4, 1989, pp.785-819.
[70] J. Barthelme, *Fisher-Hunters and Neolithic Pastoralists in East Turkana, Kenya*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
[71]Ettagale, *The Glory of African Beadwork.*
[72] Lolopida Lewoso, OI, 6 December 2012.

patterning of colours.He defines colour coding as the use of various colours to convey meaning in a given context.The author goes on to discuss the colour schemes of the traditional style of Laikipiak and Samburu:

> The Maasai and Samburu combine the following colours in their body adornment: white, light blue, green, yellow and red. They never have such colour schemes as black, pink, brown, orange or purple. These colours are associated with evil and bad omen. Of them all, red is the most dominant.[73]

This position is inconsistent with the views of Ellis and Westermarck in their study on African pastoralists and their extensive use of red ochre. They maintain that the original purpose of red ochre was to attract attention to the genitals and their erotic functions thus increasing the observer's sexual interest in the wearer.The use of red ochre provided a major induction of individual's willingness to participate in a free 'sexual market.'[74] An informant added that long red ochred hair among the *murran* was a sign of peace, beauty and strength.[75]Another affirmed, "the reason why the Samburu *murran* painted their hair with red ochre was to create a shade to shield their eyes from the sun and the enemy. Similarly red ochred hair attracted women."[76]

From 1900, Laikipia was left open for encroachment though still dominated by Maasai. Waller argues that because of the severity of the situation, violent raids during this time were acts of desperation rather than strategically motivated.[77] Land in Laikipia became available and many different pastoral groups slowly started to migrate towards the area. These included the Pokot, Tugen and Samburu. The Laikipia plateau gained another interest group of white settlers who started to arrive in the early 20th century.

2.3 Summary

Body adornment has enormous significance in the Samburu community. The quest for beauty is central into their culture. Their body adornment shows traits of ancient Egyptians and the Sudan

[73] Ettagale, *The Glory of African Beadwork,* p. 178.
[74]J. Ellis & E. Westermarck, *African Pastoralists*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1903.
[75] Lekamario Sidai, OI, 6 October 2012.
[76] Lekiyani Lekupe, OI, 7 October 2012.
[77] D. Waller, "Pastoral Poverty in Historical Perspective" D. Anderson & V. Broch (eds.), *The Poor are Not Us: Poverty & Pastoralism in Eastern Africa,* Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1999, pp. 20-50.

communities. That is shaving their women's heads, removal of two middle teeth from the lower jaw, performance of initiation rites and adoption of a one legged stance while herding.

In this chapter, evidence was adduced to indicate that Samburu body adornment has existed due to contact with the environment, their political and social institutions, religious values, warfare and trade. Contact between the Samburu and other communities such as Turkana, Rendille and Ilchamus contributed to a great extent to the evolution and development of Samburu body adornment in the pre-colonial period. For instance, The Rendille community shares common boundaries with the Samburu in the region of the Ol Doinyo Lenkiyo, Ndoto and Nyiro Mountains. Though Cushitic, the Rendille shares similar cultural traits with the Samburu, like the *murran* age set system. Evidence indicates that the *mporo* neck bead worn by a Samburu bride has its origin from the Rendille community.

This chapter expounded on the impact of the late 1790s onwards where the Samburu divided the community members into generations. It is from the generations that a man was to participate in five *lmuget* ceremonies during his passage through *murranhood*. The ceremonies were marked by changes in social status marked by body adornment. Among the key body adornment was the origin of the practice of warriors beading girls. The ecological disasters of the period between 1800 and 1900 was characterized by major changes in Samburu body adornment For instance Samburu *murran* adopted the Turkana hairstyle of plastering the crowns and backs of their heads with blue clay, a style that lasted for four decades. Similarly, Samburu contact with the Galla led to acquisition of colourful beads which had been introduced to East Africa by Arabs. By the end 1890s ivory acquired from the Elmolo became part of Samburu body adornment symbolizing status of warriorhood and as a protective charm. Contacts with their environment made the Samburu make use of over 120 species of trees and shrubs. The species were employed to cure, protect the body from evil people and most importantly as toothbrushes and deodorants. From the findings, it was evident that colour was key in Samburu body adornment because of the power to communicate different aspects of the Samburu culture. Red colour was the most dominant and significant. Formal colonialism did impact on traditional Samburu body adornment where modernity was introduced through formal education and Christianity. Many body adornment practices were gradually and even sometimes hurriedly dropped as will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

IMPACT OF EARLY COLONIALISM ON SAMBURU BODY ADORNMENT, 1896-1921

3.1 Overview

Joseph Thompson and other European explorers had already brought news of the vast open 'landscape' to their posts at the coast. The arrival of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) in 1888 marked the start of the British colonial venture in Kenya. By 1 July 1895, when the British government promulgated the East Africa protectorate (later Kenya), most communities including the Samburu were trying to revive their economies from a decade of social, economic and political turmoil brought about by ecological catastrophies in the 1880s and early 1890s.The impact of colonialism sought to transform the Samburu body adornment to make it more amenable to foreign tastes.This chapter will dwell on British colonial administration in Samburuland and how the British positively and negatively intervened to contain Samburu body adornment practices that seemed to undermine what the colonizers saw as their civilizing mission. Further, the chapter will outline the changes that took place in Samburu body adornment following the creation of Northern Frontier District in 1909 until 1921.

3.2 European Perceptions and Samburu Body Adornment in the Early Colonial Period

According to Sortland, ethnic identity in the Rift Valley during the pre-colonial period was fluid. People shifted according to their economic needs and no group could afford isolation. The more adaptable a group was, the more successful it was likely to be. Hodgson and Straight, writing on the Maasai and Samburu respectively, argue that mutual ethnic symbiosis was key to the survival of pastoralism as a mode of production. The two writers further stated that pastoralism depended on a vast space to have the appropriate pasture in any given season. Being able to marry across ethnic boundaries also increased the number of wives as pastoralists of various ethnicities all shared a common stock-based value system which depended on mutual understanding and cooperation. Socially, livestock was vital to any man's social status.[1]

[1] E. Sortland, "Pastoralism in Transformation Conflict and Displacement in Northern Kenya," MA Thesis, University of Bergen, 2009.

Broch-Due argued that, any European state interested in acquiring a colony needed to comprehend its local communities so that they could be organized to satisfy traditional state requirements such as taxation, conscription, and control. This was not an easy task, considering Kenya's vast diversity in ethnicity, culture and livelihood. Waller stated that pastoralism was seen as a "shield against progress" because colonial policy makers believed that the pastoralists' livestock wealth made them "idle" and consequently uninterested in selling their labour and livestock. The "idle" pastoralist in colonial discourse was associated with images of "the lazy native," "spoiled" by his "selfish" pastoral subsistence.[2]

Indeed, Europeans generally viewed pastoralists, especially the Maasai and Samburu, as arrogant, recalcitrant and ferocious. [3] As observed by Lugard:

> In some respects rinderpest has favoured our enterprise. Powerful and warlike as the pastoral tribes are, their pride has been humbled and our progress facilitated by this awful visitation. The advent of the white men has never been so peaceful.[4]

Waller further explains that the early colonial policies were focused on trying to force pastoralists into agricultural subsistence, but these efforts were futile for several reasons. First, giving up one's stock wealth in order to start agriculture challenged the pastoral judgment regarding good economy and moral living. Secondly, the semi-arid environment in Northern Kenya was not very suitable for any kind of agriculture without substantial cultivation. Finally, the ownership of cattle was equated with wealth, and thus non-pastoralists or agriculturalists were regarded as marginalized, poor and non-Maasai, or non-Samburu. For the Samburu, a cow could be loaned to one family by another, and this was considered a unifying factor. [5]

The imposition of colonial rule in Kenya not only destroyed the social, economic and political foundation of many communities but also led to collapse of local traditions and norms that dictated adornments in the communities. Indeed, Joseph Thomson, one of the earliest European

[2] E. Sortland, "Pastoralism in Transformation Conflict and Displacement in Northern Kenya," MA Thesis, University of Bergen, 2009.
[3] D. Waller, "Pastoral Poverty in Historical Perspective," in D.Anderson and V. Broch-Due (eds), *The Poor Are Not Us: Poverty & Pastoralism in Eastern Africa,* Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1999, pp. 20-50.
[4] J. Ford, *The Role of Typanosomiasis in African Ecology*, London: Clarendon Press, 1971, p. 66.
[5] Waller, "Pastoral Poverty in Historical Perspective".

explorers in Samburuland argued that "activation of the colonial powers' domination in the first decades of the 1900s signified political and socio-economic turning point in the history of the Samburu community."[6]

While much of the East Africa Protectorate had by 1905 been brought under effective British control, the communities residing in northern Kenya namely Rendille, Samburu, Gabbra, Boran, Ajuran, Garreh, Degodia and El Molo, largely remained untouched by British rule. The region was barely known to colonizers except through accounts by explorers and ivory hunters who had ventured into the region from the 1880s. They had given accounts of difficult terrain, aridity, banditry, abundance of game and the alleged warlike nomadic population.[7] This was a perspective shared by the Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate then, Sir Charles Eliot, who was shocked by the tradition between the *murran* and adolescent girls and stated that:

> It is extraordinary that a custom which must be disastrous for the physical well being of the race, and is doubtless responsible for its decrease in numbers should be tolerated. Here exists a group that live under conditions of indescribable filth in an atmosphere of moral, physical and mental degradation.[8]

The only existing company was the Boma Trading Company, which the government licensed in 1907 to establish a trading centre at Marsabit in close proximity to the Samburu and Rendille. The company exchanged cattle, mules and *Amerikani* cloth for Samburu goats. The Samburu embraced cloth in different colours and most of them abandoned animal skins.[9] In addition, the company built a station that was expected to serve as a base camp for civil and military supplies destined for the remoter stations of the north, that is, Marsabit and Fort Harrington (Moyale). Up to 1909 the British government policy towards the pastoral communities in northern Kenya was characterised by observation only. Sir Geoffrey Archer, one of the earliest administrators in the region observed:

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[6]R. Larik, "Spears, Style and Time among Maa Speaking Pastoralists," in *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1985, p. 206.
[7] Sortland, "Pastoralism in Transformation" p. 68.
[8] P. Spencer, "Age systems and modes of predatory expansion". In E. Kurimoto and S. Simonse (eds). *Conflict, Age and Power in North East Africa: Age Systems in Transition*, Oxford: James Currey, 1998, p. 168.
[9] C. Salvadori, *We Came in Dhows*, Nairobi: Paper Chase, 1996.

> There is only one way to treat these Northern territories, the home of nomadic camel, cattle and sheep owning people…. It is important to give them protection… or otherwise leave them in their own customs, as far as possible under their own chiefs. Anything else is certainly uneconomic.[10]

The isolation of the territories was motivated mainly by the colonial image of the environment and the people living in the region. According to Sortland, "the image of the 'landscape' was wild, untamed and unpredictable and was relatively similar to the image of the pastoral groups living in the area."[11]Kenya's boundary with Ethiopia was still undemarcated and Menelik collected taxes as far south as Wajir. In 1909 a police post was set up to protect caravans heading north or south. The post came to be known as Archer's Post after its founder Sir Geoffrey Archer.[12]This followed the establishment of the Northern Frontier District (NFD) by Sir Percy Girourd, the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate in 1909.

The British hands-off policy towards northern Kenya could not be sustained for long. The Ethiopian government regarded the territory as no-man'sland and had even sent their troops to enforce tax compliance to the Amharic government. Sir Archer reported to the colonial government:

> In the northern rangelands including Samburuland there is an important difference between pastoral and agricultural economies. In a pastoral economy only a few of the young males are needed for reproductive purposes except where they are used for transport. Many young males tend to be idle and dangerously in possession of arms. Pastoralists are not completely able to control the exchange value of their livestock or produce. Taxation should be introduced to make something meaningful out of it.[13]

In 1902 the District Ordinance Act and later the Special District Ordinance Act in the same year declared northern Kenya a closed district to all travellers and traders. The colonial regime's

[10] D. Killingray, "The Maintenance of Law and Order in British Colonial Africa", *African Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 3, 2005, p. 340.
[11] Sortland, "Pastoralism in Transformation Conflict.
[12] Waweru, "Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism".
[13]Kervin, *Customary Commerce:* p.18.

primary interest was to maintain security in this region. Consequently, efforts made in establishing markets or encouraging development were few. No roads, schools, or hospitals were built, and even Christian missions were not allowed in, for "the administration feared they might instill new desires in the local population which could not be satisfied later".[14]

As a result, the NFD lagged behind the rest of the colony in terms of the spread of formal education, development of socio-economic infrastructure and delivery of services. Being a closed district one needed a special permit in order to enter NFD, and in general only administrative officials were allowed to cross the border. NFD boundaries were roughly Lake Rudolf (Turkana) on the West, Abyssinia on the North, Uaso Nyiro River and Meru on the south.[15] Upon creation of the NFD, the administration divided the region into six "tribal areas" with the following headquarters respectively: Wajir (Borana, Ajuran, Sakuye and Somali), El Wak (Garreh), Moyale (Boran, Ajuran and Sakuye), North Horr (Gabbra), Marsabit (Rendille) and Archer's Post (Samburu).[16]

Archer's Post was located in the arid lands referred to by the Samburu as *lpurkel* which was far off from the community's best grazing grounds of the Leroghi plateau. The colonial state realised that turning Kenya into a flourishing European colony would never be achieved as long as pastoralists continued to hold possession of some of the best lands in the country. They came up with strategies to acquire land such as the First Maasai Agreement of 1904 which led to the creation of the Northern Reserve to accommodate half of the Maasai. The Second Maasai Agreement of 1911 dissolved the Northern Reserve and the Maasai were finally driven to Kajiado Reserve an expanded Southern Reserve (Narok) to create room for European settlement in Laikipia. However, when the Maasai finally moved to Kajiado Reserve in 1912 the Samburu reclaimed Leroghi, which being within the NFD boundaries became part of the crown land. The Samburu were moved from the Leroghi plateau which they considered not only as part of their territory but core area in their transhumance pattern. In addition to the loss of Leroghi plateau,

[14]Schlee, "*Identities on Move*," p. 78.
[15] KNA/PC/NFD7/1/1, Samburu District Annual Report, 1920, p. 99.
[16] G.L Simpson, "On the Frontiers of Empire: British Administration in Kenya's Northern Frontier District, 1905-1935," PhD Thesis, West Virginia University, 1992.

the Samburu were evicted from the Kulal and Marsabit mountains which were declared part of the Rendille 'tribal' district.[17]

By the time First World War broke out in 1914 the colonial government was actively resisting Abyssinian banditry and in 1915 the administrative and transport departments at Archer's Post were amalgamated with the officer in charge assuming the role of transport officer. His role further increased when the accounting and recording departments in NFD were shifted from Moyale to Archer's Post. Besides aridity, the station was susceptible to outbreak of malaria, dysentery and bovine trypanosomiasis. Poor sanitation aggravated the situation making the station unable to attract or retain European residents and control the surrounding people. To enable the colonial government maintain order, there was need to impose taxation and appoint local agents such as chiefs and headmen.[18]

Appointment of chiefs and headmen proved difficult for the Maasai and Samburu who were rigidly structured through a male dominated age grade system of which elders exercised a wide range of political power. The non-observance of cultural values and norms was enforced through paying fines, lashings or ex-communication. Elders served also as the custodians of law. Thus the people appointed to positions of headmen and chiefs were generally unable to mobilize the people and their resources for the colonial economy because they had no blessings and permission by the elders. The Samburu could not trust the appointed chiefs and headmen on matters pertaining to their grazing land. Under such circumstances, where chiefs attended *barazas* they had to be accompanied by an elder.[19] The European settlers were unhappy with this situation and described the appointed chiefs and headmen as "cunning, swollen headed and not reliable".[20]

The introduction of taxation by the colonial government brought changes in the NFD. Levying of taxes among the Samburu commenced in 1911.[21] This is when the state ordered the taxation of NFD communities as a sign of submission and maintenance of the colony. Tax demanded from these communities was in the form of tribute, which was a proportion of their total mature stock.

[17] Pavitt, *Samburu*.
[18] L. Sperling, "Wage Employment among Samburu Pastoralists of North Central Kenya," *Research in Economic Anthropology*, Vol. 2, No. 9, 1987, pp.167-190.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid, p. 169.
[21] KNA/PC/NFD7/1/1, p. 16.

As a result of the introduction of tax on mature stock, the number of animals owned by each family decreased because much of the stock had to be sold in order to pay tax. The reduction therefore impacted negatively on Samburu culture as stated by an informant:

> The coming of colonialism made us loose our sheep and cattle which we would have used in our ceremonies, such as, *lmuget.*[22] One requirement of *lmuget* was slaughter of cattle and the presentation of gifts in the form body adornments such *urrauri, nkiripa* and *massante,* which are important for a circumcision ceremony. To make these articles of body adornment we required beads, skins and hides, which could not be acquired as the animals which could have been used to acquire them were given away as tax.[23]

Another informant added:

> When a woman's time to give birth arrived, no sacrifice was made unless the birth was delayed. The husband quickly put on a black gown (*lkilaa orok*) made from animal skins, a goat or sheep called *lkupoket* was slaughtered outside his *kraal* and the blood was left to drip down. It was believed that the spirits would consume the blood and allow the woman deliver safely. From the skin of this animal, three pieces were cut to make a charm known as *lkereti*. The charm was worn by the baby's mother to prevent bad luck like consecutive miscarriages and child deaths. The midwife was rewarded with a heifer and became a special family friend. Now that we had no animals to perform these rituals, the community feared for the security of its women and children.[24]

An elder affirmed:

> According to our culture, a large ceremonial settlement (*lorora*) was built before the circumcision ceremony took place and was to be used for the next several months. We considered availability of water, shade trees, grazing area, and firewood. A *lorora* could be big enough to house two hundred families. But when the white man came, families could not live within the *lorora* for fear that they would lose their cattle for payment of tax.[25]

[22]A circumcised boy will participate in five *lmugit* ceremonies to adulthood. Every ceremony is marked by slaughter of a bull, thus the reason for naming the ceremonies *lmugit*, "death of cattle in one place".
[23] Lepesan Nasul, OI, 1 December, 2012.
[24] Lolopida Lewoso, OI, 1 December, 2012.
[25] Moses Lekamario, OI, 8 December, 2012.

The government viewed the Samburu *murran* as an idle group whose labour could be harnessed for public work in and out of their district. As Sandford further adds:

> It was apparent that the Samburu warriors were relatively small in regard to population and that therefore specialization was necessary if the attributes of the 'tribe' were to be utilized to their fullest capacity.[26]

As a result of the above observation, many Samburu young men were recruited into the King's African Rifles (KAR). Indeed, their recruitment as military auxiliaries in an expedition against the Turkana in 1915 was meant to keep the"*elmurran* in employment and doubtless preventing them from causing any trouble".[27] Thus the officer in charge of the district was of the opinion that the government ought not to lose contact with these young and energetic men. Under British tutelage they would come to gradually appreciate the fruits and dignity of labour.[28]

Hardwick, an explorer in Samburu in the early 20th century described the first Samburu girls and *murran* he encountered as follows:

> The girls were well built, plump, very pretty, and undeniably saucy and spend time dancing with *murran* dressed in brightly coloured beads. The *murran* on the other hand appeared colourful in ochered hair and decorated spears.[29]

Recruitment of the *murran* as military auxiliaries had a great impact on their body adornment. The colonial government made sure that the *murran* had their heads forcefully shaved in an effort to reduce their visibility and influence within the community. Among the Samburu, warriorhood and the possession of weapons, especially the spears bind the members of the age group. The size, shape and decoration of a spear symbolised the warrior's position within the age set, physical stature and strength. The more decorated the spear, the more popular and influential the warrior was.Without a spear and long ochered braid the *murran* lost vigour that they once had. The *murran* tried to adopt new mechanisms to cope with the new system**.**

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[26] H. Sandford, *New Pastoralism: Poverty and Dependency in Northern Kenya*, Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 1994, p. 78.
[27] KNA/PC/NFD1/4/1: Uaso Nyiro Half year Report, 1915, p. 25.
[28] Ibid.
[29] A. Hardwick, *Things to Tell from Northern Kenya*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1903.

Change was notable in the social structure of the community which was based on the age set and grade system. The life span of a male was divided into three age grades: boyhood, *murranhood* and elderhood. The age grade proved invaluable as the *murran* had to carry an identification pass to carry on their duties. This is because British officials were suspicious of nomadic people. They distrusted mobile craftsmen, warriors and traders who hawked their goods in the region and pastoralists who changed their places of residence every season, moving in search of good pastures for their herds. The colonial government wanted to rule over a settled disciplined population. Such a population was easy to identify and control.[30]

Not all *murran* were recruited as military auxilliaries; those in the lowlands like Baragoi and Wamba were reluctant and were referred to as the bush *murran* for they were still adorned in their traditional outfits. They composed songs comprised in praise of cattle and their beautiful girlfriends, and in condemnation of colonial rule and its impact on their prowess. They stated that "food taken by the *murran* who had been recruited as auxilliaries weakened them sexually because it had no blood and meat. Thus the *mzungu* diet made the *murran* not slim or tall enough to attract any woman".[31]

The British also found it hard to impose their will on the Samburu elders who demanded to know or be told what the white men were looking for in their country. In Samburu tradition, elders were supposed to possess spirits that called for blessing or curse. Their other responsibility was that of controlling the *murran* while guiding them slowly to elderhood. Unfortunately the British never understood the Samburu language. The elders accused them of ignorance of their culture and composed a song known as *rrepeta* to curse the British. The song was a mockery of British colonial practices such as the use of the fifty cent coin and telephones.To Samburu elders, the fifty cent coins were harmful as they could be swallowed by children, adversely affecting their health. [32]

[30] P. Spencer, "Age Systems and Modes of Predatory Expansion," in E. Kurimoto and S. Simonse (eds.). *Conflict, Age and Power in North East Africa: Age Systems in Transition*, Oxford: James Currey, 1998, pp. 168-186.
[31] S. Tamale (ed), *African Sexualities: A Reader*, Nairobi: Pambazuka Press, 2011.
[32]R. Pkalya, et al, *Indigenous Democracy, Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet: Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanism*, Dare Salam: Intermediate Technology Development Group.-Eastern Africa, 2004.

3.3 Wildlife Conservation and Samburu Body Adornment

In the pre-colonial era, it was commonplace for the Samburu to identify and beautify themselves with wild animals' products. Fratkin affirms that the Samburu had a special attachment to elephant, which they regarded as distant relative of the human race. Early explorers in northern Kenya recorded a large presence of elephants in Samburu country in a belt stretching from Mount Marsabit to Lake Turkana through the Mathew ranges and Ndoto Mountain. The explorers affirmed that "elephant numbers in the whole district ran into their thousands and increased every year".However, the Samburu did not hunt wild animals for food except during severe drought and famine when specific animals could be killed for sustenance. Large carnivorous animals were killed for predating on livestock. Customarily, a Samburu was strictly forbidden from the consumption of such as warthog, zebra and elephant no matter the circumstances. The Samburu believed that cattle would perish from the smell if elephant meat was brought into a homestead.[33]

The other communities in the district, mainly Elmolo and Turkana, participated in hunting elephants for ivory. The Elmolo made ivory earplugs, which they would barter with the Samburu *murran* for cattle and sheep. In addition, the *murran* lived apart from their families and wore a twisted feather from an ostrich in their hair smeared with ochre into a cone shape to symbolize that they ate away from the village. Every *murran* had to carry an oval shield made of buffalo hide and wore rhino hide sandals to enable them survive in the thorny shrubs and over rocks in the bush. Animal fat, especially from lion and cheetah, was an important component not only in their diet but was used as a medicine. Fat was mixed with powdered seeds of wild fruits to cure worms, heal wounds and relieve chest pains. If a *murran* killed an enemy in the forest, he wore a claw on the neck acquired from a vulture and a lion mane to show that he was a brave warrior.[34]

Wildlife conservation among the Samburu commenced in 1902 when the government created the Northern Game Reserve. The game reserve stretched from Marsabit to near Lake Baringo. The reserve turned the entire Samburu territory into a wildlife conservation area. The state banned

[33] P. Lane, *An outline of the Later Holocene Archaeology and Pre-colonial History of the Ewaso Basin, Kenya,* New York: University of New York Press, 2009, p. 92.
[34] E. Fratkin, *Why Elephant is an Old Woman: Animal Symbolism in Samburu,* Smithsonian Institution Libraries: Washington, DC, 1974.

Africans from hunting wild animals, which led to conflict between people and wildlife. Europeans depicted Africans in general as destructive of wild animals and their habitat, hence the enactment of laws meant to protect game at the expense of Africans and their economies.[35]

With the creation of the Northern Reserve, it was noted that the Samburu reverted to their traditional wooden earplugs since the Elmolo and Turkana could not provide ivory earplugs.[36] It is not surprising that the officer in charge of Samburu District in 1921 asserted that "the Northern Game Reserve is inhabited by a non-game killing race and one who reverence the elephants it is most suitable as a reserve".[37] However, the situation in NFD needed constant monitoring as realized by the government and the state reacted by placing the whole territory including Samburu district under military administration of the KAR in 1921.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has given a general background of the social, political and economic situation of the Samburu in the period between 1896 and 1921. Europeans viewed pastoralism as a backward system which had little to contribute to the economy. With the establishment of Kenya as a British protectorate, the colonial government had two opinions to consider seriously. First, was the encouragement and development of a viable African peasant production and second was the encouragement of European immigration and development of settler economy. The colonial government found it hard to change the lifestyle of the Samburu pastoralists who inhabited the NFD and were recovering from the catastrophes of the late 19th century. While the rest of the East Africa Protectorate was brought under colonial rule, the northern region was not of much interest as it was arid and insecure. However the Samburu and the Maasai warriors were recruited as military auxiliaries and this had a negative impact on the *murran* who were forcefully shaved, had to wear the military uniform and carry passes in their daily errands. Similarly, elders who were the custodians of law and order were rendered irrelevant as the colonial government considered them as "idle" men who were supposed to provide cattle for the payment of tax.

[35] R. Matheka, "The Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in Kenya, 1895-1975," PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 2001, pp.77-78.
[36] Fratkin, "Why Elephant is an Old Woman".
[37] E. Fratkin, "Animal Symbolism in Samburu," Institute of African Studies: University of Nairobi, 1974.

In 1909 formal colonialism was extended to Samburuland following the designation of northern Kenya as the NFD. It is between 1909 and 1921 that the government attempted to coarse the Samburu to leave their indigenous lifestyle through taxation and labour recruitment. These measures did not change the Samburu traditional system of production since taxation was in tributary form and did not create pressure for the Samburu to seek employment outside the district. However, the community's structure of age-grade system was affected as it became difficult for them to hold ceremonies freely and slaughter animals as these animals were needed to pay tax. Recruitment of *murran* into the military restricted them from participating in the *lmuget* ceremonies. In 1921, Samburu District was put under military control and administered from Barsaloi.

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL RULE AND THE SAMBURU BODY ADORNMENT, 1921-1945

4.1 Overview

In the previous chapter, it was noted that by 1921 the whole of the, NFD including Samburuland, was put under military administration. While the Samburu were not actively involved in the First World War, the government was concerned with the Samburu pre-colonial forms of exchange and the tendency to subsist predominantly from the products of their herds. The colonial administration also distrusted Somali traders who had introduced *Amerikani* cloth to the Samburu for they seemed more successful and friendly to the inhabitants of the region and thus could easily provide them with arms. The colonial government was equally unhappy with Samburu cultural practices because they seemed unhealthy and backward. This was noted by Sir Archer in a letter he wrote to the Colonial Secretary in 1921:

> The nomadic pastoralists here have wild cultural observations; they have age sets, dusty and unclear decorations. Idle youths spend countless hours plaiting their hair. There is need to contain such a tribe from spreading its culture over a large area which they are not entitled.[1]

This chapter will examine the history of Samburu adornment from 1921 to 1945. This inter-war period saw a lot of changes in the social-cultural domains of the Samburu community. Of importance was the recruitment of more *murran* into the KAR which, with its beautiful uniforms, medals and money seemed to attract the youth. Equally, trade contacts did also bring new tastes to the Samburu. In this period the British attempted to transform Samburu culture by introducing a cash economy and poll tax. Of importance was the Carter Land Commission and its confirmation of the Samburu as the rightful owners of Lorroki. The outbreak of World War II saw Samburu *murran* volunteer for service, which they considered an extension of *murranhood.*

[1] KNA/DC/SAM/1/2: Samburu District Annual Report, 1921, p. 7.

4.2 *Murran* recruitment in the KAR and Samburu Body Adornment

In 1921, the British administration took firm action to halt the southward expansion of nomadic communities that had been left uncontrolled since 1914. To accomplish this, the Turkana were moved back with all their stock to Suguta Valley and the Samburu were evicted from Laikipia and driven across the northern bank of Uaso Nyiro. It was notable by this time that the Samburu had recovered from the losses incurred through the calamities of the 1890s. Their population had doubled and the community was considered wealthy, albeit out of reach for the colonial economy as they did not use the new currency.[2]

According to the colonial government, it was necessary from 1921 to put some measures to induce the Samburu to embrace a cash economy. Barter trade already existed in the district where the Samburu gave the Meru and Kikuyu communities sheep, goats, hides and skins in exchange for tobacco, knives, beads, maize and blankets. The goods acquired were notable in the Samburu ceremonies. For instance, after circumcision the initiates, while still wearing their black robes, were able to make small bows and arrows using the knives. They tipped the arrows with gum and used them to kill birds without injuring the feathers. The birds were then skinned and hung on the bands around their foreheads, amongst ostrich feathers. *Il muget lolwatandwa* ceremony, which took place one month after circumcision, was marked by slaughter of two bulls-symbolizing transition to manhood. After the ceremony, the young men were confirmed warriors and sent off to live in the bush away from their families. It is notable that from the 1920 the *murran* had shunned *nanka* made from the skin of a goat and carried blankets to cover them from the cold in the bush. In addition elders chewing tobacco while in *barazas* bought beaded cattle leather containers for storing tobacco referred to *lkidong lo lkumpou*.[3](Appendix 1G).

While the Samburu continued to trade their stock with the Meru and Kikuyu, the colonial government was concerned with the question of maintaining law and order in the district and the subsequent decrease in the population of sheep and goats. These animals were needed in the district itself for the payment of tax.

[2] B. Straight, *Miracles and Extraordinary Experience in Northern Kenya*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
[3] Lobitel Nasur OI, 30 November 2012.

Consequently the colonial government took steps to establish trading centres in the region. The first shop serving the NFD was opened at Archer's Post in 1916 to cater for the needs of government workers. But by 1922, 17 more shops had been opened by Somali and Indian traders. The Somali were licensed to sell ivory, soap, rhino horns, beads, spears, shields, bars of silver, bronze, brass and copperwire, while Indians sold cowrie shells, handkerchiefs, knives and combs. These goods could only be paid for in cash. Sobania remarks that "this was a hard country and if God did not send rain there was need to encourage trade to introduce the element of cash to the northern tribes".[4] The Samburu obtained the cash needed to purchase goods from the shops mainly through sale of small stock, hides or skins and cattle to the Meru, Kikuyu and Somali.

This trade had significant impact on Samburu body adornment. As noted by Straight, white beads became the most notable and eye-catching feature; they became part of the women's necklaces. White beads could be easily bought from the shops and constituted more than 90% of a single beadwork. The visual significance of these white beads was further enhanced by an increase in size and number. Married women wore more than twelve straps of white necklaces compared to the previous two to three straps. Until 1921, Samburu women used two colours in their beads: red was preferred, with a single patch of a neutral colour like black. These beads were acquired from Marlie traders as discussed in the previous chapter. From 1922, the situation changed with the Samburu following a new pattern of coloured necklaces where white became predominant. Prior to 1922, the Samburu were using materials such as wood and bones. The new beads allowed Samburu to refine the expression of their aesthetic and cultural identity, thus making colour and structure more important. Subsequently, the tools necessary to make Samburu beadwork became readily available from the local market. Hair from the back of cattle was used to hold the beads together. Natural materials such as bone and horns were curved into small discs as additions for necklaces.[5]

[4] N. Sobania, "Fishermen Herders: Subsistence, Survival and Cultural Change in Northern Kenya," *Journal of African History,* Vol. 1, No. 29, 1988, p.51.
[5] B. Straight, "From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact: The Cross-Cultural Consumption of *Mporo* Marriage Beads," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No. 1, 2002, pp. 7-21.

With trade opportunities, Samburu women gained more resources and the ability to create and manipulate colour patterns. For example, early bridal necklaces (*mporo*) consisted a few strands of beads and giraffe tail hair. But from 1922 white beads were woven into the fronts of the coloured necklaces known as *saen pussin*.They were larger, coloured and formed a smooth vertical row. Indeed, when Joy Adamson compared photographs of Samburu women in 1910 and 1925, those of the latter years showed women wearing highly stylized *mporo* necklaces weighing almost twelve kilogrames. Beads were also used to decorate the apparell for the unmarried girls referred to, *nchapukur*. [6]

The Indian shops brought in glass tubes that were melted and later molded into tiny beads. The *murran* used them to adorn their painted shields. These beads became a symbol of their wealth and power. An informant pointed out that *murranhood* in this period was pleasurable since *murran* could entice girlfriends with more gifts than previously. He aptly put it:

> When I became a *murran* in 1936, I gave girls gifts of white beads bought from the Indian shops at Archer's Post. We had to conduct raids, acquire more cattle and sell them to the neighbouring Kikuyu and Meru communities. This was for the first time that I saw and used coins.[7]

Another material used by the Samburu to make ornaments in the period under examination was bronze. This was cast into anklets and bracelets known as *nkupuli* for men and *sae e nkeju* for women. The difference between the *nkupuli* and *sae e nkeju* was that the latter was beaded. Blacksmiths melted bronze acquired from Indian shops and cast it into anklets measuring 10-12 cm, which covered nearly two thirds of the lower leg.[8] Sobania notes that "the anklets looked long like parts of a knight's amour".[9]Bronze was also used to make a small bell, *ntwala*. The *ntwala* was bought from blacksmiths or made by the mother. A pebble either cast from the bronze or beads was put inside to produce sound whenever the child made any

[6] Straight, "From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact," p. 10.
[7] Leshoi Luburan, OI, 6 November 2012.
[8] Lesagoi Letiwua, OI, 8 December 2012.
[9] Sobania, "Fishermen Herders", p.16.

movements.[10]Incase a child was playful the mother tied *ntwala* on both legs or on one leg just below the knees with a leather string. *Ntwala* was also used by cattle herders. It was placed round the neck of a few chosen bulls within the herd. *Ntwala* is still in use in Samburuland today.

Brass had diverse uses since it was available in different colours and could be shaped into various forms easily. One of the key body adornment made from brass was *surutiai le ngaina*. This was a coiled brass wire worn on the upper arm. It was worn by married women as a charm to wish them safe childbirth. Among the traditional Samburu, if a woman miscarriaged several times, she was given *surutiai le ngaina* by a woman who had never miscarried to prevent the evil spirit from consuming her baby. An informant stated that "just as the *surutiai le ngaina* stuck tightly coiled on the upper arm, so did the pregnancy survive to term".[11] *Surutiai le ngaina* was worn by all women till old age. *Surutiai le ngaina* replaced *lkereti,* which was made from the skin of a goat. Other ornaments made from brass include *marinai,* which was a beaded brass bangle for unmarried girls and was worn on both wrists. (Appendix 1H).

Copper was utilized in making bracelets (*sengei*) for the married women. The *murran* acquired two long strings of beads (*nkeri*) that strung over their shoulders and across their chests like cross strap. One elder affirmed that "the two long strips of beads were imitating the European administrators' trousers that hang on suspenders."[12] Copper was also used to decorate the elders' clubs and walking sticks.[13]From the 1920s sheep and goats were used in trade to enable the Samburu pay taxes. A couple needed to sell two goats or one cow to raise annual tax. Consequently, the there was a decline in the number of skins available to produce the protective charms and other body adornment.[14]

To supplement the herbs previously used by the *murran* and women while taking a bath, soap was introduced. It came in different types and aromas. Indians shopkeepers encouraged the Samburu to buy and use soap. The Indians believed that soap would rid the Samburu of incessant

[10] Lobitel Nasur OI, 8 November 2012.
[11] Nalenyi Letinina, OI, 8 November 2013.
[12] Leyelen Lekume, OI, 10 December 2013.
[13] Lmaragan Leparei, OI, 10 December 2013.
[14] Straight, *Miracles and Extraordinary Experience in Northern Kenya.*

'cattle smell'. The *murran* however did not respond positively to soap, which they claimed made them scratch their bodies, and that the unpleasant scent chased their girlfriends away.[15] The *murran* rejected soap from shops, preferring traditional unscented soap made from herbs and ochre.

Indian men shaved their entire bodies in a ritual purification and at times to show grief or shame. They used tweezers, pins and razors to crop their hair and get rid of rice. In wedding ceremonies men sometimes combed their hair upwards. Women chose different hairstyles based on what was popular in their particular band or as identification as members of a clan or family. The most common women's hairstyles were simple flowing hair or a long braid of either one braid or two. Some women painted horizontal stripes on their hair or dyed the center part a bright colour and fastened it with pins. At times shoulder-length hair was tied with a cloth bandana around it. Other women twisted their hair into long rolls resembling modern dreadlocks, which they stiffened with clay and olive oil.[16]

Indian and Somali goods revolutionarised the *murran* hairstyles. Previously the *murran* had one hairstyle of applying ochre on their hair and plaiting until it grew to reach the hip. This practice was referred to as *sorror*. *Murran* wore hair of varying length and in various styles from 1920s to imitate the Indian women.[17] Some of the styles include that of a new initiate's hair being greased with cow's urine and ashes and twisted into tiny plaits which were divided by a parting across the middle of the head. This style was known as *sakara oirena.* When the hair grew long it was plaited to hang loose on the neck and was referred as *sakara olaa. Ilmasi wala* style was where the hair fell halfway down the back and the front section were twisted into pigtails. Another style was *lmasi oitikito*. This is where thin strips of hair at the corner were tied under the chin and at the back of the neck into two to five bunches. Equally another version was by letting the front hair fall evenly distributed across the forehead over an ochre dyed piece of cloth used as padding. A cap that symbolised a cravat, *kub* was worn.The *murran* learnt many ways to wear a bandana or handkerchief. The tails of the bandana could be worn on the top of their heads like a

[15] Leonard Lelsomen, OI, 10 December 2013.
[16] K. Nakamura, "Developments in Flamboyant Ornaments: Social Changes of the Samburu *Murran,* Kenya," *Africa Report*, Vol. 3, No.4, pp.32-40.
[17] Lkirren Letoole, OI, 13 December 2013.

bow, or hidden at the nape of their necks. Sometimes the centre of the bandana was placed at the centre of the forehead and the other two loose ends tied behind the head. While dancing the hair could be plaited and clipped with a beaded ivory pin known as *nchidai lpapit*. This was referred to *Ilmasi Opiaya.*[18](Appendix 1I) and (Appendix 1J) respectively.

While the Samburu interacted with the Indians, they bought cowrie shells, handkerchiefs, knives, razors and combs. One informant stated that from 1920 the Samburu believed that cowrie shells were reincarnations of their ancestors and protective charms. They associated cowrie shells with fertility and good luck.[19] This was from an Indian legend that, if you are attracted to cowrie shells you could be family to an ocean spirit of wealth. Cowrie shells represented a goddess of protection who was very powerful and connected with the strength of the ocean. 1920 marked the beginning of the use of cowrie shells in Samburu body adornment. For example, a mother to twins wore four cowrie necklaces known as *sikirai* and the twins wore two cowrie shells each for identity. Equally, a mother who had a breech birth (a rare occurrence) wore two cowrie necklaces to wish the baby good health in future.[20](Appendix 1K).

From 1922 it became generally an acceptable practice among the Samburu to buy ready made beadwork from the shops. Adornment spread to weapons so that all weapons purchased were beautified with beads. Beadwork transformed the Samburu spear so that in addition to playing the role of a weapon they became aesthetic objects.[21]

The colonial government formed an impression that Samburu country was a healthy place and that the Samburu enjoyed good health and produced numerous children. However, there were reported cases of malaria, eye infection in children, gonorrhea and meningitis. In 1923, a dispensary was opened at Barsaloi to serve the local administrators, however the Samburu responded positively by making use of the dispensary often. At the dispensary the medical officers took time to educate Samburu women against female circumcision, beading and scarifying young girls awaiting marriage. They warned that gonorrhea could be as a result of

[18] Nakamura, "Developments in Flamboyant Ornaments".
[19] Samal Lojolo O.I, 6 November 2012.
[20] E. Fratkin, *Laibon*: *An Anthropologist's Journey with Samburu Diviners in Kenya*, California: Altamira Press, 2012.
[21] Lelete, Letolia, O.I, 6 November 2012.

girls having unsafe sex with the *murran.*[22] However, the Samburu did not take the teaching into consideration and only took the medication because it was free. Nakamura in her work on Samburu offers explanation for Samburu resistance to modern medication and teachings in the 1920s:

> A girl's circumcision among the Samburu, suggests that a woman has achieved her goal as a wife. Through beading, women become walking advertisements for males' lineages to which they have been contracted. In addition to the body ornaments a woman makes during initiation, she also receives numerous ornaments throughout her life from her lovers that signify her sexuality and rank, the most notable ornament being a beaded necklace. A woman who adorns herself with numerous necklaces is interpreted as a very sexual woman. Therefore, by looking at the adornment of an initiated woman, other members of the community immediately realize her procreative abilities.[23]

Administratively, Archer's Post was in the arid and remote southeastern corner of the district and far off from Lorroki plateau. The military authorities made recommendation to open a new Boma at Barsaloi and permission was granted in 1922. The choice of Barsaloi as the Samburu headquarters seems to have been influenced by its central location in the district though located in the low country and also far from Lorroki which was preferred as grazing ground for the Samburu. Barsaloi besides fostering commercial activities in the region was supposed to act as a base from which the pastoral communities inhabiting the district would be brought under effective control.[24] This meant that more trade and trade goods would be accessible from Barsaloi. Having been deprived of its administrative functions, the significance of Archer's Post declined and it only served as a transit point for administrators, traders and soldiers to the more remote centres of the north like Marsabit, Wajir, Mandera and Wajir.

Apart from encouraging the monetization of the Samburu economy, the government was interested in stopping any practice that was inconsequential to the colonial economy. By 1920

[22] T. C. Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change and Social Cultural Processes among the Pastoral Samburu," PhD Thesis, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1977.
[23] K. Nakamura, *Adornments of the Samburu in Northern Kenya: A Comprehensive List*, Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University, 2005.
[24] KNA/DC/SAM/1/1: Samburu District Annual Report, 1922, p. 16.

sun-dried skins and hides constituted an important article of trade which Samburu exchanged for flour with the Meru. Sheep skins were also used as robes for circumcision candidates. From 1920 however, the state made attempts to commoditize the skins and hides. The process commenced in 1927 when an Indian in Meru started buying local hides on a large scale. Goat skins were especially sought as they were raw materials for the making of suede gloves. Suede gloves were used in the dispensary in Barsaloi. Suede was preferred because of its softness, thinness, and elasticity, making it suitable for the medical delicate uses. All the leather that was not needed in the dispensary in Barsaloi was sold to the Indians in Meru. Therefore Samburu could no longer use hides and skins in their circumcision ceremonies since these were in demand. While the colonial government facilitated the trade by issuance of licenses to the Indian traders, very little effort was made to introduce better method of production of the hides and skins. The Samburu opted to buy the readily available *Amerikani* cloth from the Somali in the district which had attractive zips and buttons. Although the attire looked attractive the *murran* detested it because they felt one would waste time unbuttoning or unzipping it when granted a sexual favour by his lover.[25]

4.3 Land Question and its impact on Samburu Body Adornment

Among the challenges that Kenya Land Commission (KLC) was commissioned to do was to determine the legal ownership of Lorroki. This was after the state made intention to alienate Lorroki In 1927. The entire NFD administration had made it clear that the retention and confirmation of the Samburu as the rightful owners of Lorroki was key to the community's economic and social change. However, the plateau being part of the Kenya Highlands was ideal for European habitation. On the other hand, European ranchers in the neighbouring Laikipia District, supported European ranchers in the Rift Valley for the confinement of the Samburu stock within their designated region. Identified with its chairman, Morris Carter was appointed in 1932.[26]

The Commission had three matters at hand: to look into African land grievances and the extent to which they emanated from alienation of land to Europeans; to make recommendations on how

[25] KNA/DC/SAM/1/1: Samburu District Annual Report, 1927, p. 18.

[26] M.P.K Sorrenson, "Land Policy in Kenya, 1895-1945," in V. Harlow and E.M Chilver, (eds) *History of East Africa*, Vol.2, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1982, pp. 687-688.

well land grievances could be tackled; and to assess African land requirements and to suggest ways and means of satisfying them. The Commission dwelt on "Samburu Land Question" focusing mainly on the historical evidence of Samburu occupation and utilization of Lorroki plateau. It specifically wanted to establish the community's whereabouts on the eve of the Maasai Agreement of 1901 when the plateau was alleged to have been included in the Northern Reserve. The commissioners also needed to be furnished with information on the general conditions of the Samburu grazing outside Lorroki which was the most fertile plateau in the region.

After consultations and deliberations the recommendations of the Carter Commission were made public in May 1934.The Commission upheld the community's claim to Lorroki plateau and recommended that the Samburu were to make use of it but not ruin it by overstocking. The implementation of the KLC recommendations in respect to Lorroki plateau took effect at the end of 1935. At a *baraza* held at Maralal on 23 December, the Rift Valley PC informed the Samburu that to avoid destocking 40,000 animals had been assessed as the optimum the plateau could support. The size of allotment depended on the total number of stock a section had on the plateau: the higher the number, the bigger the quota. Lmasula, the richest and most populous of the sections had a quota of 13200 animals while the smallest, Nyaparai, was allotted 800. Thus it was the business of each section to identify who among them was to remain in Lorroki. It was further made clear that the forested area of the plateau was now owned by the government and arrangements were being made to charge fees on all those who wished to utilize it. [27]

What was the impact of the Carter Land Commission to Samburu body adornment? Grazing regulations split the Samburu into two groups. On Lorroki the favoured Samburu lived a comparatively easy life while in the low country there was constant struggle for existence. The new regulations did not only lead to splitting of family stock but also adornment. Among the Samburu the number of earrings, neck rings and armlets are an indication of a woman's status, which is a reflection of the wealth and generosity of her husband.[28] Women and their older sons

[27] KNA/PC/NFD4/2/3: Samburu Boundaries and the Carter Commission, 1931-1947, pp. 18-23.
[28] Seuri Samal, OI, 12 November, 2012.

accompanied the low country stock while they left their husbands and daughters in Lorroki. This affected some certain rituals that are accompanied by forms of body adornment.

For instance, when a woman gave birth, custom dictated that the husband slaughtered a goat in a ceremony known as *lbuutan*. On the day of this slaughter the baby was shaved by either the midwife or by a woman close to the baby's mother. The blade of a palm known as *lparruai,* from the *mparruai* plant was prepared by the mother of the baby. It was about one centimeter wide and was worn around the head of the baby, mother and woman who has shaved the baby. The role of *lparruai* was to break the cord of the baby's life in the womb and wish the mother and her close friend good life.To fulfill this ritual one had to travel all the way to Maralal, the headquarter to get permit to enable him fetch the *mparruai* plant from Lorroki forested area.[29] As a result the Samburu in the lowland gradually stopped using *lparruai* due to its scarcity. Sometimes they would get back home empty handed since the permit to Lorroki was hard to come by.

Adorning oneself can reflect connections with the system of production and characteristics of the economy. In order to make the shape of the mother's body to what it was before childbirth, a waist belt made from skin, *ngene e nkosheke,* was worn by the mother from childbirth to the time of weaning the child. The skin was cut with a knife according to the mother's waist size. The women in the low country (*lpurkel*) did not have enough animals to skin in order to make the waist belts. Generally these women had fewer body adornments, which were less expensive as compared to those of the women in Lorroki.[30]

Another practice affected was circumcision. According to Samburu culture, a large ceremonial settlement, *lorora,* was built before the circumcision ceremony took place. This was determined by the availability of water, shade trees, grazing area and firewood. In addition, the ceremony entailed considerable forms of body adornment. For example, the boys were supposed to put on cloaks made by their mothers from three goat skins which were sewn together and blackened with a mixture of charcoal and animal fat. Women had to shave their husband's heads while the

[29] Lotoren Lesamburi, OI, 12 November, 2012.
[30] Lkirren Lenakori, OI, 13 December, 2012

murran present at the occasion danced and lavished their girlfriends with beads. The aridity of the *lpurkel* could not allow the construction of a *lorora* due to scarcity of food and water. There were no animals to provide the needed skins for circumcision cloacks nor were beads available in the low country.[31]

The increased poverty level led to a significant delay in the succession of the *Merisho* age-set (c.1912-1921) by the *Lkileku* (1921-1936). This delay could be attributed to the lack of resources to prepare for the passage rites, among them the lack of adorning resources.

4.4 *Murran* as labour and Its Impact on Body Adornment

By the beginning of the 1930s the British had become impatient with the slow progress they had made in the transformation of Samburu *murranism*. The district administrators believed that the only way to exorcise the rebellious spirit of the warriors was to force them into the colonial labour system. Prior to 1928, most of the labour gangs employed in the construction of roads and government buildings in Samburu territory were recruited largely from Meru District while a sizeable number of Turkana provided labour for such positions as tribal retainers, syces, station hands and mail runners. This was a worrying trend to the colonial state which expected all Africans to contribute to the development of their reserves through the provision of labour and payment of taxes. As observed by one of the administrators of the district then, Governor Byne:

> The qualities of braveness, discipline and intelligence that earlier travellers and officials had admired has been corrupted by idleness. The warriors now perform no work of any kind except leading a vicious life in sexual intercourse with young immature girls.

In July 1928 the government responded to this situation by reminding the Samburu that it was their duty to provide labour as road gangs and station hands instead of leaving it to imported Meru labour. The government also planned to impose poll tax in 1929 as a way of justifying state expenditure on the public projects mentioned above. Taxation had been introduced to Samburu in 1911 but it did not force them to seek wage employment.

[31] Letuge Leina, OI, 9 December 2012.

The first opportunity to mobilize *murran* labour presented itself to the administration in 1928 when Samburu district was invaded by locusts. The district administration while appealing to all people to avail their labour used Somali *askaris* to force the *murran* out of their *manyattas* and other hideouts to participate in the campaign against the locusts. In 1928, the administration also recruited warriors in the construction of roads linking Barsaloi to Uaso Nyiro, Barsaloi to Archer's Post, Maralal to Baragoi and Maralal to Kisima. The locust campaigns and road construction were difficult activities to warriors who were not used to long hours of labour. Moreover, the *posho* rations fell short of the usual *murran* diet.[32]

Between 1930 and 1936 there was unrest among the *murran,* who turned to criminal activities. Escalation in *murran* unrest during this period was aided by the slackening of government control over the Samburu following the amalgamation of Samburu with Garba Tula to create Isiolo District in February 1929. The government subsequently closed down Barsaloi station with the district and all government offices moving to Isiolo *boma,* which was now the headquarters of the new district. The administration too realized it was lenient in treating the *murran,* who owned a lot of stock but did not use their wealth productively. The *murran* also did little manual labour. In the eyes of the administrators "they were the spoilt children of the protectorate, beautiful to look at but never of any use to any living soul".[33]

According to the colonial government, the cure for such lawlessness and idleness lay in compulsory labour, defined hours of work, abolition of illegal trade and attires to differentiate the warriors from the rest of the population. The colonial government in 1929 made a public declaration to confiscate all weapons possessed by *murran*.In addition the warriors were to report to work in the morning, take *posho* at lunch time and leave late in the evening. They were to show up for a roll call every morning carrying a handkerchief to wipe out sweat and mucus.[34]

The new rules transformed *murranhood* and the lives of the women as well. After a boy's initiation, the mother of the initiate removed her belt (*nchipi*) that she had been tying on her waist for the last month and wore it looped through her right earring together with the purple and

[32] KNA/DC/SAM/1/1: Samburu District Annual Report, 1929.

[33] E. Fratkin, "Pastoral Land Tenure in Kenya: Maasai, Samburu, Borana and Rendille Experiences," in H. Hann (ed.). *Consumption in Africa: Anthropological Approaches*, London: Transaction Publishers, 2008, pp. 66-90.

[34] Ibid.

white neck beads, *marrsante*. This was done to signify that she had a son who was now a *murran* in the community. A green neck bead (*saen nanyore*) was used by the mother to decorate gourds in the house. The practice of mothers shaving their husbands' heads to usher in a new generation was not observed from 1929 since the new initiates were now in the fields working. Equally, the Somali were no longer selling beads to the Samburu women to make chains for their sons during the ceremonies since their sons were busy providing colonial labour.[35]

The Samburu community considered *murranhood* as the best stage in a man's life. From their tradition they were aware of the importance of looking good in gatherings where they lavished girls with beads and earned admiration. Consequently, they darkened their eyebrows with charcoal bought from the Meru and painted intricate designs on their faces. They also smeared ochre on their heads. Holtzman described *murran* heads in 1929 as follows:

> The warriors had pieces of wood to hold their hair up like a crest. Many wore their plaits beaded and coin-studded. Interestingly, others had braided their hair in two side braids, one at the back and one at the front, with a flap over the forehead, and two straight double horns bound with shiny thread, coming from above the ears and pointing forward and down. It made them look like amazons in battle helmets.[36]

Murranhood involved spending hours dancing and cerebrating their prowess and bravery. The new roles as labourers in the district did not allow the *murran* to participate in cattle raids to buy gifts for their lovers, nor did they have time to adorn themselves.

Culturally, a month after circumcision the initiates were to observe *lmugit lenkwueny* ceremony of the arrows, loosely translated as "place with plenty of meat." Having observed the ceremony, the initiates could shave; discard black cloth used during circumcision, *lkilaa orok,* and replace it with a white one, *nanka naibor.* They were supposed carry a knife, shield and bow. The initiates were able to acquire the *Amerikani* cloth from Somali traders. The cloth was the only new article that had found popular acceptance and by 1917 it had become the staple of barter trade. However

[35] Joan Lelojo, OI, 18 December 2012.
[36] J. Holtzman, "In a cup of Tea: Commodities and History among the Samburu Pastoralists in Northern Kenya," in *American Ethnologist,* Vol. 30, No. 1, p. 137.

the initiates were no longer in possession of any weapon. Governor Byne in 1929, addressing officials drew attention to the shields and bows hanging on the walls which now were symbols of valor rather than implements of war.[37]

By 1934 there were trading centres at Maralal, Kisima, Barsaloi, Baragoi and Archer's Post with a total of 17 shops. Eleven of the shops were owned by Somali traders while the other six were owned by Indians. The administration had also issued five stock trading licenses and 62 itinerant hawker licenses. These shops supplied ample materials needed for body adornment. To reduce lawlessness the colonial government in 1936 stopped the existing trade which was mainly in the hands of Somali traders who, in the DC's words "simply cannot run straight, they cheat, extort and delve in rhino horns".[38]

A government *boma* was also opened at Maralal and Samburu District was reconstituted and placed under the direct control of the Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner. The Provincial administration appointed G. R. B Brown as head of the new district. He set measures to restructure the Samburu political system and especially *murranism*. To transform the 'idle' group, he started by engaging the labour of 300 men in building the Maralal station, the new district headquarters. To further weaken the *murran* age grade and consequently reduce its influence within the society, the administration proposed to the elders the need to pressurize warriors to get married and become elders. It was equally felt that the period of *murranism* for subsequent warriors be restructured with the aim of reducing its duration from an average of twelve years to two or three. Abandonment of age-sets meant erasing the ceremonies involved in transforming a warrior to an elder. This would erase the distinction between junior and senior *murran* leading to an overlap, where categories of maturation would no longer be reflected through differences in age and body adornment.[39]

According to the minutes of a meeting held at Maralal on 7 October 1934, the government issued orders "prohibiting carrying of spears by *lkileku murran*….Under Native Authority Ordinance

[37] Fratkin, "Pastoral Land Tenure in Kenya: Maasai".
[38] Kasfir, "African Art and Authenticity," p. 66.
[39] Ibid.

and the spears if any be brought in and deposited for safe custody." [40] Only about 1,200 spears had been surrendered by December 31 of that year which prompted the government to dispatch two KAR patrols to assist in disarming the Samburu. It was a challenge to the government to successfully implement the spear ban. The British saw spears as dangerous weapons, but since each age grade had its own type, to the Samburu they were highly visible social markers that distinguished warriors from uncircumcised, unsocialized boys, on the one hand, and older married men, on the other.[41]

After boys had undergone circumcision, they participated in the ceremony of the Arrows, *lmugit loolbaa*. This marked formal entry into *murranhood,* and at this stage initiates shed their black attire, their headbands with black ostrich feathers and decorated with stuffed bodies of small birds, and their bows with resin-tipped arrows. These were exchanged for the spear, white cloth and red ochre. As Kasfir observes:

> The spear was identified with the formal opening of the new age-set. A spear associated with *murranhood* marshaled a new set of behaviour. The body is taken to include not only the physical body but also its embellishment and extensions into physical, symbolic and social space.[42]

The ban therefore, transgressed upon *murran'*s ability to assert their identity within Samburu culture in relation to senior elders and even more with the junior elders of the adjacent age-set. It also undercut their relations with girls and young married women, which were carried both as a symbol of adornment and weapon.

Further, G. R. B Brown, the DC in Laikipia, suggested to the elders, that "the incoming age-set should only be allowed to remain *murran* for two to three years and then made to marry and settle down." He expressed that "not only did the elders accept this idea but they expressed a willingness to go even further and insist on marriage almost immediately after initiation".[43]

The elders issued orders forbidding the eating of meat in the bush, or giving of beads to the maidens by the new *murran.* In the 1930s, girls wore *mporo* beads acquired from the Rendille,

[40] KNA/DC/SAM/3/3: Political Records, Barazas, 1936-1951, p. 24.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Kasfir, "African Art and Authenticity," p. 68.
[43] KNA/DC/SAM/3/3: Political Records, Barazas, 1936-1951, p. 27.

Meru or Somali traders, while married women wore small coloured glass beads that had been introduced by the ivory trading caravans and were being sold by Indian traders. With the intervention of the British administration, girls' adornments were made to conform more closely to those worn by married women since they had to wear what was available. The *murran,* did not give up presenting beads to girls but they did so in secret.

4.5 Impact of Westernisation on Samburu Body Adornment

In 1934 the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS) arrived in Samburu and made a temporary camp near Maralal. The following year they started a school with only 20 Samburu pupils attending. Children were brought up to become useful members of the family, clan and society. Education was essentially seen as helping man in exploiting nature for the satisfaction of his needs and those of his society.[44]The western education system contradicted the Samburu indigenous education system which was mainly focused on pastoralism.According to Were and Ssennenyonga, "whatever else a Samburu might learn cannot easily compare with his knowledge of livestock. The child and adult alike are told riddles, myths, proverbs and stories pertinent to livestock rearing".[45]

The missionaries thought with the introduction of modern education the institution of *murranhood* would be a thing of the past. However *murranhood* had far-reaching impact on the development of education among the Samburu. The activities involved diverse body adornment practices which were time consuming and could not allow one to settle in school. They almost covered the period which one would have spent in school. Prior to circumcision, the boys were grouped together and elders held their heads between their knees to extract two incisors of the lower jaw. This was known as *mbuata*. It was done for beauty and feeding through the gap in case a person fell into unconsciousness and clenched their jaws tightly. After circumcision, the boys were taken care of by their parents for one month in order to heal. Therefore, those enrolled in schools were forced to quit while others completely refused to go back even after healing because the society considered them as adults. They could not take advice from teachers nor cope with a new lifestyle of wearing uniform and abandoning body adornment.[46]

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[44] Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change".

[45] G. Were and J. Ssennenyonga (eds.) "Samburu District Socio-Cultural Profile," Nairobi : Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Planning and National Development, 1986, p. 42.

[46] Peter Lotemanga, OI, 6 January 2013.

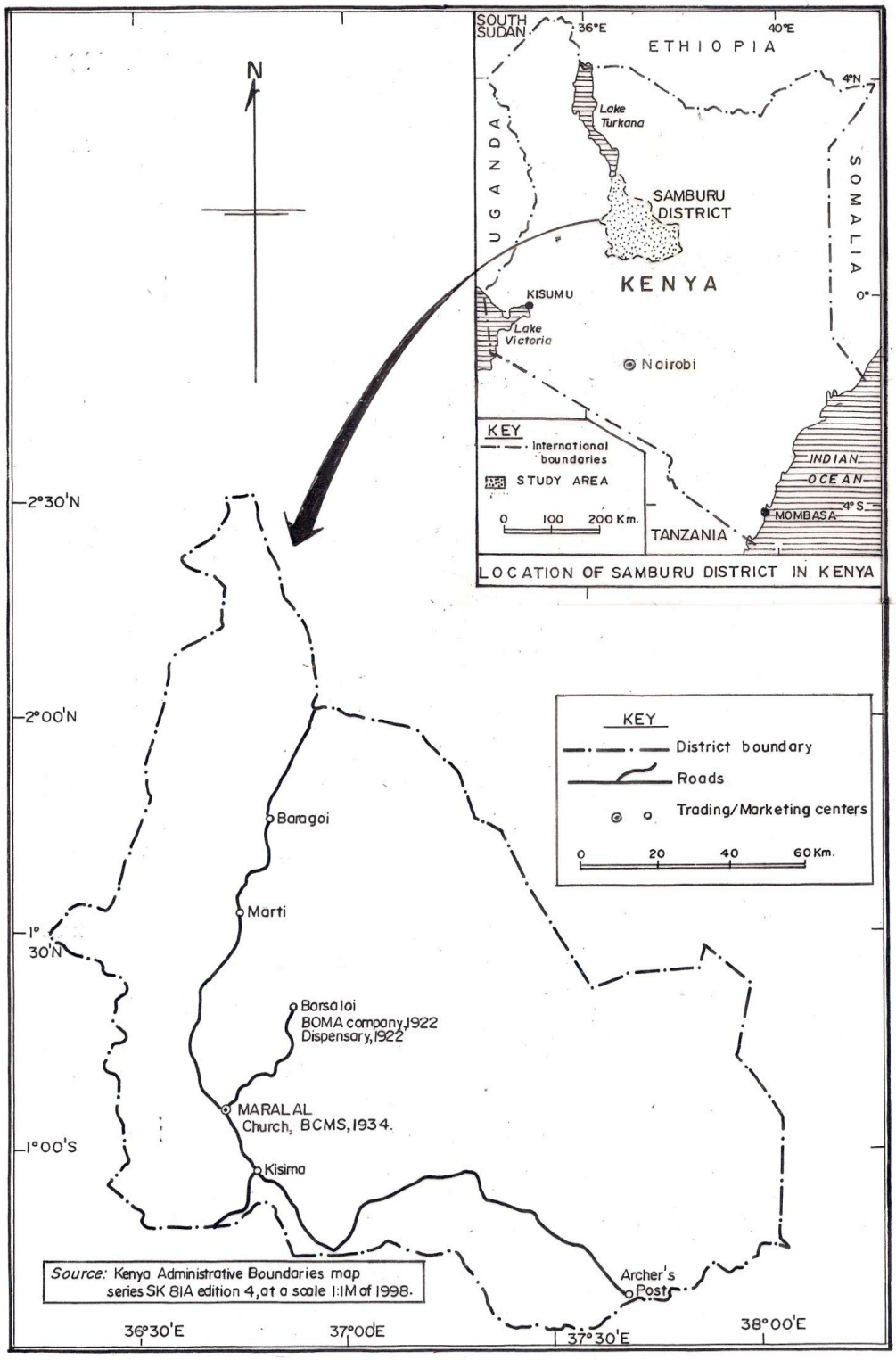

Figure 2: Social Amenities Established in Samburu by 1934.
Source: Adapted from Samburu 100/75 Topographical map of 1936.

Though the ceremonies played an extremely important role in instilling loyalty to Samburu traditions among young persons of school-going age, they interfered with receptiveness to Western education. The boys who were due for circumcision derived pleasure from the desire to be initiated into *murranhood* and forgoing the events to attend school was unimaginable to most of them. *Murranhood* involved such activities as plaiting the hair beautifully, and maintaining it with red ochre and other natural substances like animal fat, not intermingling with other people or even eating food prepared by women. It was an abomination for a *murran* to be seen by a girl while eating. As such, *murran* would not go to school as they were bound to meet with girls as classmates whom they treated with contempt.

At night, other *murran* would go singing and dancing with uncircumcised girls. The girls composed songs that they sung for *murran* and as expressions of love, in return they were showered with beads as gifts. These events and ceremonies did not allow boys and girls to stay in school. As a result the BCMS School was closed in 1936.[47] Notes of a meeting held on 3 November 1934 by the DC G. R. B, Brown indicated how serious the provincial administration viewed the Samburu prevailing condition as it was becoming clear that orders issued to the community went largely unheeded.[48] According to the government, there was need for more drastic measures, especially on the institution of *murranhood.*

4.6 Recruiment of *Murran* into KAR and Its Impact on Body Adornment

During a meeting on 3 November 1934, the government decided that a special force comprising of Kings African Rifle (KAR) soldiers and the police be dispatched to Samburu District to enforce disarmament and reassert colonial authority in the region. The Levy Force, famously known to the Samburu as *lipapoos*, which was led by a European officer was expected to unleash terror on the community from 1935. The mission of the Levy Force was to disarm the Samburu, confiscate enough stock to meet both the payment for the collective fine and wages of its own force as well as expenses. The Force was expected to comb all the Samburu *manyattas* and demand for *murran*, spears and livestock. Any *murran* found was arrested and his beautifully plaited hair was shaved off by force. All beads found in the *manyatta* were consificated to ensure they did not end up as gifts to the girls.

[47] Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change."
[48] Ibid.

The Samburu however, would not give up their spears without considerable pressure. The colonial government thus decided to collect fine with increased vigour. As some soldiers terrorized the residents in their search for *murran* and girls, others shot the fattest bulls and ordered their *murran* captives to skin and roast meat for their food.

The administration also urged the elders to marry the *lkileku murran* so that they would stop their activities in the region. They were supposed to graduate the *murran* to elderhood and initiate a new age set whose general conduct would be governed more by the colonial dictates than by traditional expectations and values.[49] What did this exit of *lkileku* age set mean?The exit of the *lkileku* saw the entry of the *lmekuri* age set whose initiation was closely monitored by the administration. The members of this age set were the first in Samburu history to enter warriorhood without spears. The following are the changes as illustrated by elders in the FGD:

> The boys (*ilayeni*) no longer wondered throughout the community begging or sometimes stealing cattle, sheep or goats from one *manyatta* to another and singing *lebarta*.[50] There were no cattle or goats to be slaughtered. The boys no longer participated in the five *lmuget* ceremonies.[51]

Another elder added:

> To be identified as a *murran,* one had to carry a decorated club (*runku*) spear (*mpere)* and a knife (*lalem*). Spears were used for hunting and were covered with beads and ostrich feathers during dances.[52] A Knife (*lalem*) was used for cutting meat and was fastened around the waist on the right hip. It was strange for us to see *murran* who did not have spears or red ochre on their hair. They did not go for raiding and now they ate food in the presence of women.[53]

[49] KNA/LKA/1/16: Laikipia- Samburu Annual Report, 1935.
[50] A circumcision song with a slow melody.
[51] Lombo Lepesan, FGD, 12 December 2013.
[52] Lekolan Lenanyoo, FGD, 1 January 2013.
[53] Lemakario Leleloya, FGD, 1 January 2013.

Magor supports this statement by stating that the *murran* were flamboyant in their dress and were a constant focus of attention. They cared less about their dress and left their right oiled side of the body exposed**.** However, from 1935 it was notable that the new age set wore clothes, did not participate in the dances and had their hair cut. [54]

This new age set had to go out and seek wage employment on European farms or in government departments. They had to seek permission to smear their hair with red ochre which was not approved. The government also directed that *murran* of each section were to choose their spokesman, *laigwenani,* who would not only be approved by the DC but also report monthly to him. The *laigwenani* were supposed to attend *barazas* and give progress reports made by warriors. Henceforth the incoming *lmekuri* age set was entirely forbidden to eat meat in the bush or give beads to the maidens.[55]

To tighten the control over *murranism* the government in 1936 established a Local Native Council (LNC) for the sub-district. It was believed that establishment of the LNC would disrupt tribal life. Three Tribunals were also opened in the district. Each of the eight Samburu sections had two representatives (one elected and one nominated) to the LNC. The leaders of the *murran, laigwenani,* were the only ones permitted to carry spears. Without spears the *murran* could neither raid nor kill to impress girls. Consequently some *murran* sought solace in wage labour. They went out to seek employment as pyrethrum pickers and herdsmen and it proved difficult to persuade some white farmers to hire them. The only attractive labour market was the colonial army.

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 saw about 300 warriors volunteer for service in the KAR, and 100 of them were accepted. From 1941 the number of Samburu KAR recruits rose steadily from 183 to 272 in 1942 to 300 in 1943. The Samburu considered joining the army as an extension of *murranism*. All the military authorities and reports dealing with Samburu conscription into the army were unanimous in praising Samburu *askaris* whose considered reputation for discipline and courage was second to none.[56]

[54] T. Magor. *African Warriors: The Samburu*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994.
[55] KNA/DC/LKA/1/16: Laikipia-Samburu District Annual Report, 1936.
[56] Ibid.

Samburu KAR *askaris* became centres of attraction when they returned home. They were dressed like Europeans, bought livestock for their fathers and brought gifts such as blankets, watches, rings, clothes, shoes, soap, jewelry, alminium utensils made of aluminum, sugar and tea to their girlfriends. Recruitment of *murran* into the army diversified Samburu body adornment. Cole elaborates that by the end of Second World War:

> Personal decoration was of such importance among the Samburu that a person had to cast and recycle any item received as a gift. There was nothing to waste. Shoe laces became hairclips while cooking pans were cast into various shapes. Their experiences in the war and their missed memories of cattle and women were demonstrated in the body art.[57]

Besides making ornaments using beads which had become scarce, blacksmiths utilized and blended beads with materials like aluminium, feathers and buttons. Any available and attractive commodity brought by the *askaris* from the war served as material for adornment. The soldiers' attires were adorned with buttons, badges, aluminium buckles, pins and armbands. Identification with a soldier's attire was prestigious to the *murran*. One retired blacksmith narrated how he blended the materials to create new designs in the 1940s:

> *Saen nkomom,* which was a beaded band framing the face, was attached to an aluminium piece or chain known as *ntaragiragi.* The new clothes were mutilated and small cotton headbands, sometimes handkerchiefs, were sewn together and a button (*ngoroo*) attached to the middle of the forehead in an airplane shape known as *ndeke* which was later attached to the aluminium chain. A *murran* could wear a bowtie shaped *nkarawa* adornment to accompany *ngoroo*. We wanted to retain the memories of what the warriors had seen. Airplanes and clothes were new in our community.[58]

Another elder of the *lkileku* age set added:

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[57] H. Cole. "Living Art among the Samburu" in J. Cordwell. (ed.) *et.al*. (1973). *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*, Great Britain: Mounton Publishers, p.102

[57] Lediran Lamataal, OI, 12 February 2013.

[58] Lesinoni Lombo, OI, 17 February 2013.

> The warriors were proud to come back home and receive praises from their girlfriends. To stand out they decorated themselves with feather head adornments known as *nkopiro,* which were plucked from fowls bought as far as Maralal, or from wild birds like eagle, it were stuck on the hair at the centre of the head.[59]

The *murran* in the military distinguished themselves as modern and called themselves "*maridadi*" while they called the others "bush *murran*". This was because they spoke English and had military uniform of khaki shirt and shorts. The uniform was meant to transform the *murran* into responsible and obedient members of the community. The uniform however, acquired a new and unexpected meaning as the *murran* found alternative and unique ways of viewing and wearing the military gear. The *murran* appeared disciplined as long as they wore the attire because it sent the unspoken message to colonial officials and policemen that the wearers were trustworthy youths. However, the *murran* wore the uniform but participated in raids at night.[60] During various dances, it was noted that the *murran* decorated their hair with flowers which they called *maawa* from the Swahili word *maua*.They preferred bright colours like red, white, pink, yellow, blue and purple. The flowers were attached to a headband known as *nanka e uroto* while others attached to their hair one by one a considerable number of coloured feathers and flowers. This style was known as *nkopiro*.[61] (Appendix 1L).

4.7 Summary

This chapter has examined Samburu body adornment between 1921 and 1945. In this period, the Samburu experienced consolidation of British rule in a region that had experienced limited colonial penetration. In the same period the state put measures to induce the Samburu to embrace a cash economy. This was done through attraction of Somali and Indian traders to the region. The traders introduced new goods like ivory, soap, rhino horns, beads, silver, bronze, brass, spears, shields, copper, cowrie shells, handkerchiefs, knives and combs to the Samburu thus diversifying their forms of body adornment.

[59] Lshipisi Lelesai, FGD, 17 February, 2013.

[60] S. Kasfir, "Samburu Souvenirs: Representations of a Land in Amber," in B. Phillips and C. Steiner (eds.) *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in the Postcolonial World,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, pp. 100-103.

[61] Lekuiye Lmataal, OI, 19 February, 2013.

From the late 1920s, the Samburu were subjected to new administrative measures and policies, resulting in defiance of government orders. Colonial officers misunderstood the Samburu age set system, its duration and the transition from *murran* to elderhood. By forcefully cutting their hair and banning the bearing of weapons in public, the Samburu *murran* lost their identity and role. They were no longer warriors defending society; nor were they free to lavish their lovers with gifts of beads. It is noteworthy that the Samburu community experienced great changes in its body adornment styles in the 1920s. This was as a result of their interactions with the various groups such as Indians, the Somali and Europeans.

Secondly, the extent of the administration's interference on such vital questions as allocation and use of the best part of Samburu land on the Lorroki Plateau, and the subsequent imposition of grazing control with all its prohibitions affected Samburu cultural practices. Besides separation of families, it led to a difference in body adornment practices between families in the Lorroki and those in the low country. Samburu District remained without missionaries or formal education up to 1934 when the BCMS arrived on Lorroki and opened a school in Maralal the following year. The Samburu, totally unfamiliar with schooling and formal learning found school life incompatible with their pastoral lifestyle. Their traditional practices including lifestyle, body adornment, did not allow for the demands, constraints and limitations of schooling.

With no alternative roles assigned to them the Samburu *murran* in the wake of World War II were conscripted for service in the KAR, with the number rising steadily from 183 in 1941 to 300 in 1943. The Samburu saw service in the military as an extension of *murranism* since they were distinctly dressed and became centres of attraction when they returned home. The new attire transformed the Samburu body adornment with blacksmiths becoming the most important members in the community. Their ability to copy the white man's attire and body adornment was notable. It is in the period between 1921 and 1945 that the Samburu adopted new materials like brass, copper, aluminium and coloured beads into their body adornment system. More importantly, the colonial administration tried to reform *murranhood*. Reforms included reducing the period of *murranhood*, encouraging *murran* to marry earlier, prohibiting meat feasts in the forest, prohibiting *murran* from giving beads to their girlfriends, and most radically, banning the bearing of spears. Other significant changes on the Samburu body adornment are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SAMBURU BODY ADORNMENT IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD, 1946-1963

5.1 Overview

The immediate post-war period marked a great change in every sphere of life in Kenya. There was an increase in economic activities which brought many more Africans into closer contact with Western culture. Although no efforts were made by the colonial administration to keep the Samburu isolated from the events that were developing in the political sphere among other Africans, Samburu elders established connections with KAU leaders in an effort to agitate against the grazing control measures imposed on the community by the colonial administration in the 1930s.

This chapter discusses how European missionaries promoted the creation of schools, churches and medical centres. It also elaborates on how the Samburu were forced to abandon some of their rituals for modern medicine. It was in the period between 1945 and 1963 that the colonial government urged the Samburu to embrace agriculture so as to intensify their participation in the cash economy. The period after World War II was marked by adoption of Western mode of dress among the Samburu and the decline in traditional forms of dress, which were based on use of skins, *Amerikani* cloth and beads.

By 1963 colonialism had made an impact on the Samburu and initiated a decline in most arts of the body in the name of civilization. Body paintings, scarifications and cicatrization were deemed barbaric. Body adornment was also discouraged in the name of good working habits and comfort**.**This chapter thus focuses on the Samburu response to modern education, Christianity, modern medicine and the need to abandon pastoralism and generally embrace modernity. The chapter analyses how the stated processes transformed Samburu forms of body adornment.

5.2 Influence of New Social Amenities on Samburu Body Adornment

As discussed in the preceding chapter, social amenities such as shops and schools were considered essential in Samburu District. By 1934 there were already 17 shops in Samburu District, distributed in 5 trading centres: Maralal, Kisima, Barsaloi, Baragoi and Archer's Post.

Eleven of them were owned by Somali businessmen and six by Indians. The administration had also issued five stock trading licenses and 62 itinerant hawker licenses.[1] These shops provided some of the materials needed for adornments. Similarly, in 1934 the BCMS arrived in Lorroki and made a temporary camp near Maralal. The shops and mission stations became significant in transforming Samburu body adornment as discussed below.

5.2.1 Education and Christianity

The need to improve the quality of life and enhance human freedom and equality was a widely upheld ideal in the period after the Second World War. For Africa, it entailed not only liberation from colonialism but also concerted effort to free the continent from the perceived bondage of ignorance, poverty and disease.

Following the construction of the railway most parts of central province of Kenya came under the dominance of missions. For a long time education in Kenya was provided by the Christian missionaries. In 1940s LNC in Kenya began to open their own schools alongside mission schools. The extension of educational facilities grew considerably after World War II when a Ten Year Plan for development of African Education was also introduced.[2]

Samburu District, however, remained largely uninfluenced by missionary activities and education upto the mid 1930s. Inherent in the very first attempts to evangelize was also the desire to civilize. Colonial assessment for Samburu development was rooted in assumptions about the "necessary relationship between civilization, sedentarization, and the humbling or even extinction of once proud nomadic peoples".[3]

The Samburu were totally unfamiliar with schooling and formal learning before the coming of the BCMS. It was difficult for most Samburu children to adapt to formal education because school attendance was wholly dependent on the nomadic movements of their families.

[1] S. Kasfir, "African Art and Authenticity: A Text with a Shadow," *African Arts*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1992.
[2] T. Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change and Social Cultural Processes among the Pastoral Samburu," PhD Thesis, University of Florida, 1977.
[3] K. Saverio, *Education Provision to Nomadic Pastoralists: A Literature Review,* Washington D.C, 2000, p. 67.

Conversion of the Samburu seemed hard as expressed by Father Andrione, the first missionary in the region:

> It is impossible for the Samburu women to denounce their pierced and greatly mutilated bodies. The warriors here walk naked in coloured hair enticing girls while children are completely nude. It is important that we approach these nomads in a friendly way if we wish to have any results.[4]

The DC of Laikipia- Samburu at the time, Terence Gavaghan, similarly expressed concern by stating that:

> To control the colony's most famous "restless natives" we must attempt to monopolize Samburu culture by giving them an education mode with some relevance to the needs and hard realities of pastoral- nomadic life.[5]

In 1935 the BCMS established a mission station and started a school which was attended by some twenty students. The years following the Second World War were characterized by a low enrolment of children to the school which eventually closed down in 1938. In 1945 an LNC primary school was opened at Maralal, with a student population of fifty pupils. The government instituted a quota system to fill the school.[6] Although there was no basis for this measure in colonial legislation, the threat of substantial cattle fines for non-compliance was sufficient to produce 96 pupils for the school by the end of the first year.

In 1947 the Consolata missionaries led by Father Charles Cavallera realized that the school population would only increase if they recognized and appreciated pastoralists' cultural values like nomadism, rites of passage and ornaments, and incorporated them in the process of evangelism. Besides the priests and catechists living among the Samburu saw the need to

[4] P. Tablino, *Christianity among the Nomads: The Catholic Church in Northern Kenya*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2006, p. 113.
[5] Ibid, p. 129.
[6] This was an admission procedure demanding each community in the NFD to enrol students in the school or pay a fine in cattle.

establish "something attractive and close to the nomads way of life" to inculcate them to the ways and means of life under colonial rule.

The missionaries realized that to prohibit the 'natives' from carrying out their practices, such as body decoration was tantamount to demolishing the structure of their traditional beliefs. Saloons were considered the best option in the community. The saloons were constructed in close proximity with the schools. The first saloons were established at Maralal town in 1947, namely "Second World Hair Saloon" and "Princess Hair Saloon".[7] In these saloons, brochures and magazines were placed on the table displaying pictures of men wrapped in red cloaks tending cattle, camel and sheep. Similarly, pictures of women wrapped in leather or red coloured blankets with their necks, ears and wrists adorned with multiple strands of coloured beads were depicted. The pictures were supposed to attract the men and women to the saloons and enhance their beauty. Modern clothing was likened with Jesus Christ who was alleged to wear clothes but was a shepherd.[8]

Frm 1947 saloons became avenues where women and men would seek to be beautified in new styles in Samburuland.The women were advised to be modest through wearing of undergarments, long skirts or dresses and blouses.[9] Cotton was most preferred as explained by Dunaway:

> Cotton is the material best suited for tropical climates, because woolen fabrics, being bad conductors of heat felt very uncomfortable irritating the skin and increasing the perspiration. The cotton dress from its slowness of conducting heat is admirably adapted for the tropics.[10]

The missionaries issued cotton clothes for free to Samburu women. These cotton clothes were rejected by the Samburu women and were refered as lighter and ugly. The women resisted the idea of changing their traditional fabric as they regarded is as a direct attack on their traditional heritage, but soon they realized the convenience and comfort allied with the cotton material. This

[7] Kasfir, *African Art and the Colonial Encounter,* p. 170.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Tablino, *Christianity among the Nomads.*
[10] W. Dunaway (ed.) *Emerging Issues in the 21st Century World System,* Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003, p. 130.

made them to shun their skin apparels, *logesana*. In addition they learnt how to make new hairstyles and use modern chemicals and shampoo. It was compulsory for them to recite the rosary in the morning and evening. Women were also encouraged to be accompanied by their children to the saloons. These children were gathered in small groups and taught songs and singing games using shakers. The women on the other hand would teach the missionaries and hair dressers their language and encourage other women to attend training sessions.[11]Samburu women embraced this idea very fast since it seemed to release them from their traditions. According to Samburu culture, once married, a woman was responsible for building and maintaining the family home (*nkang*) caring for children, providing daily meals, water and fuel for her family.[12]

It was compulsory to attend a morning checkup, where scrutiny was done to the women in private and one had to wear underpants. Underpants were considered important in transforming Samburu women dressing, even if it was not for public display. Previously Samburu women used homemade gear (modern day sanitary towel) made from grass or sheepskin as absorbent material during menstruation. To the missionaries, it seemed like women had to conceal both blood and odour, making them unattractive and dirty.Underpants would hold the pad in place, making a woman more attractive and defining her social status and freedom.[13] This argument was supported by Bellies who argued that:

> Dressing fashionably is not just about what you wear on the outside. What you wear on the outside is an appropriate projection of what you wear on the inside as well. The undergarment keeps the outer garment from being soiled by perspiration, shapes the body making a woman feel confident and beautiful as she carries out her business.[14]

The underpants came in different designs with some adorned with lace material and others in different sizes and colours.

By 1948 young women had acquired basic skills in hairdressing and had gained familiarity with Kiswahili. Elders felt they were losing control over young women who had adopted new forms

[11] Kasfir, *African Art.*
[12] Magor, African *Warriors.*
[13] Kasfir, *African Art.*
[14] M. Bellis, *The History of Clothing*, New York*:* Theatre Art Books, 2002, p. 68.

of clothing and Christianity. Many husbands refused to provide their wives with clothes and at times destroyed the new dresses women had acquired. Others were barred from attending classes since they were perceived as having sexual affairs with the young men. In addition, women were seen to be boldly challenging the Samburu patriarchal authority. As early as 1951 the PC noted that women were beginning to assert themselves, one of the signs being a demand for modern clothes. In the same vein, Straight commented that "it was generally accepted that once a native woman adopts European dress, she shed her morals".[15]

The *murran* had come from the Second World War and soon were deprived of their military status. They had no source of income or authority since they could not carry weapons nor could they participate in cattle raids to accumulate wealth. Saloons attracted them since their hair could be styled and they could mingle freely with their girlfriends. The *murran* saw that attending schools would give them a chance to look attractive once more. They attended the schools in large numbers and readily converted to Christianity. Reports in 1950 indicate that there were over 300 students aged over 18 who had joined school. Elders complained of the disrespect shown by young men in shorts and shirts. This was because the white administrators tended to rely on young men as emissaries rather than the elders who had been the symbols of authority previously.

In 1950 Father Cavallera and some, Consolata sisters arrived at Baragoi. Here they were able to start a primary school with an enrolment of 27 pupils, both Samburu and Turkana. The ratio of girls to boys was very low. About some 150 pupils enrolled in primary schools, only 30 were girls while 120 were boys. In order to attract girls to the schools, their fees was kept low.For instance, girls were paying an annual tuition fee of Shs. 15 as compared to Shs. 50 for the boys. Despite these efforts the missionaries realized that they were facing challenges in educating the Samburu girls.[16] The beading culture was deeply rooted among them, preventing most of them from joining schools as illustrated by one of the elders:

> According to the Samburu culture, a girl earned the attention of a *murran* when he gave beads as a symbol of affection. The beads signified the commencement of a sexual

[15] B. Straight, "From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact: The Cross – Cultural Consumption of *Mporo* Marriage Beads," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No. 1, 2002, p. 20.
[16] Tablino, *Christianity among the Nomads*, pp. 65-68.

relationship. To bead a girl, a *murran* needed to identify a girl probably in the grazing fields or during the evening dance.From that point, he approached the girl's mother and stated his intentions. Once the mother accepted the intentions of the *murran*, he then proceeded to purchase the necklaces which he handed over to the girl's mother to give to her daughter. The girl's mother was rewarded with a heifer and a goat and she in return made a hut (*singira*) for the couple. The girl was then circumcised before marriage.[17]

Female circumcision was another practice that was detrimental to the Samburu girl child education**.** The missionaries did not accept circumcised women in their institutions.[18] To condemn the practice, they constantly quoted Bible verses such as Leviticus 19: 28‑29:

> You shall not make any cuts in your body for the dead nor make any tattoo marks on yourselves. I am the Lord. Do not profane your daughter by making her a harlot; so that the land will not fall to harlotry and the land becomes full of lewdness.…[19]

The ratio of girls to boys still remained low. In order to attract girls to the schools, the Consolata missionaries started the first girls' boarding primary school at Sirata Oirobi in Maralal in 1952. At school, the girls were dressed in uniform comprising of pressed dresses or skirts with blouses and a contrasting coloured sweater and tie.Western dressing was transmitted to girls through education which, emphasized individual knowledge, achievement and advancement.Teachers would always remind girls that:

> There is no education if you are at home. You don't know how to write. You don't speak Swahili. You only speak Samburu and do livestock work. School is good in that you go to learn how to read and write. You become knowledgeable and you can speak any language. An educated woman looks beautiful, young and clean.[20]

[17] Lobitel Nasur OI, 30 November, 2012.
[18] Tablino, *Christianity among the Nomads.*
[19] The Holy Bible: New International Version, p.105.
[20] Tablino, *Christianity among the Nomads,* p. 89.

Other schools, such as Samburu Primary School at Baragoi were also established. Baragoi received five capital grants of US$1600 which were awarded over a five year period. The grants enabled the school to start a technical section under the supervision of Father Andrione. The section trained carpenters and masonries.Young boys who had gained some basic education in their primary classes joined in as trainees. This venture attracted many uncircumcised girls since they were exempted from daily chores. The warriors found the training tiresome and time wasting as they could not find time to adorn themselves.

In 1957 an officer was posted to Samburu District to foster adult literacy. By 1960 adult classes had commenced in Samburu. Basic literacy was taught in addition to personal hygiene. The Samburu also formulated explicit requests for increased education and development of schools. As the DC commented:

> The Samburu have suddenly decided they want a lot of education, secondary and higher, no matter the cost. These nomads are now beginning to appreciate the benefit of education for their children and have woken up rather late to the fact that they might be left behind in the new world of independence.[21]

From 1960 a large number of Samburu had converted to Christianity and had acquired basic literacy skills which transformed their rites of passage. Ceremony for a newly born child described on page 68 was replaced by a Chrisitian ceremony which entailed infant baptism. Baptism was followed by Chrismation where oil was used to anoint the forehead, eyelids, nose, mouth, ears, chest, hands and feet of the child. Oil was supposed to protect the child from evil. It replaced *ntore*, a green neck bead which was worn to protect the child from evil.[22]

Among the Samburu the *ngor nkweny* ceremony, which lasted for a whole month, was the rite of passage that marked the transition from childhood into adulthood for males. The initiates then expected to watch over the community's cattle, participate in cattle raids, and kill a lion. At the end of the ceremony, the young man's hair was shaved, thus formally indicating the passage to manhood. In addition to having their hair shaved, they also had their skin painted with ochre in preparation for marriage later in life. Although Spencer observed that school education could

[21] KNA/DC/SAM/1/2: Samburu District Annual Report, 1960, p. 18.
[22] Tablino, *Christianity among the Nomads.*

hardly be said to have been a major facet of Samburu life the number of children attending school in 1961 only represented about 1.2 % of all those who were eligible for attending school in the district. The new converts had to now get circumcised in the hospital and dress in new outfits and not use ochre. They in addition sought for modern health care.[23]

5.2.2 Medical Facilities and Samburu Body Adornment

Differences between European and Samburu notions of health, as well as colonial perceptions of 'primitive' Samburu culture, prevented large scale transfer of indigenous healing knowledge to the colonial administration. For instance, according to the Samburu community an adorned body was a symbol of godliness and health. People who appeared healthy were presentable. Body adornment consisted of ornaments and decorations which enhanced physical and mental vigour. The Samburu believed *Nkai*, when angry, could provoke pain in any part of the body. A healer (*laibon*) therefore prescribed an offering of an animal skin and baby's hair to plead with *Nkai*. Sickness was thus attributed to disobedience to *Nkai***.**[24] Europeans on the other hand considered sickness to be as a result of stress, high blood pressure, germs, viruses or related to changes in lifestyle**.**

The Samburu had a strong believe in the *laibon***.** Pavitt work noted that to be childless was the worst fate for a Samburu woman. If one was discovered barren, the family sought the advice of a *laibon*, who identified the cause, which could be that a woman had argued with an elder, who then picked a lock of her hair without her knowledge and deposited in a river or under a big stone in the riverbed. As river water flows incessantly so also, ran the superstition, the girl, though married, could not cease to have monthly flow; nor would she have children until these stolen tokens had been withdrawn from the river and returned to her.[25]

On the same issue an informant added that barrenness could have resulted from a *murran* who desired a girl but had been rejected, resulting in his cursing the girl. Through the guidance of a *laibon*, the *murran* who had caused her barrenness organized a dance by uncircumcised boys. The boys would mold a mud doll and paint their bodies with mud as they danced around the

[23] Spencer, *Nomads in Alliance.*
[24] E. Fratkin, "Traditional Medicine and Concepts of Healing among Samburu Pastoralists of Kenya," *Journal of Ethnobiology*, Vol.16, No.1, 1996, pp. 63-97.
[25] Pavitt, *Samburu*.

woman. Thereafter they would sleep beside her for the whole night while singing. This action was believed to withdraw the curse. In the morning, the lads presented to the woman a green beaded necklace, *faea na nyore,* as a sign of good luck for motherhood**.** The woman was to hang the *faea na nyore* at the back of her head throughout her pregnancy.[26]

Various forms of body adornment were used to embellish the basic attire for the *laibon*. These included shells, bones from cows, human teeth, and a headgear made from feathers from birds. An artificial roach made of porcupine quills was attached to the man's own hair. Soft eagle feathers were attached at the tips of each feather on the headgear to symbolize courage and strength to control and command mysterious forces in the community. At times the *laibon* would direct his eagle feather fan to people who sought to be healed. While some missionaries were mesmerized by the capacity of Samburu people to naturally recover from serious physical injuries, particularly spear wounds, most missionaries relegated the practices of the *laibon* to an arena of trickery, magic and sorcery. This is because they did not consider that the Samburu possessed a developed system of managing their health and wellbeing.[27]

The Samburu made use of a wide range of plant resources comprising of about 120 species which were used to treat many diseases including malaria, gonorrhea, hepatitis and polio. A variety of fragrant shrubs were also used as toothbrushes and deodorants. In ceremonies, many plant species were used to bless warriors and newly wed couples. For instance, *Malvaceae* (Samburu name not known) was used as a protective wrist band for the bride. Although the *laibon* played a fundamental role in providing herbal remedies, the colonial government felt that unlike western medicine where the chemical ingredients and dosage were known, the traditional medicine used by the Samburu did not have precise quantities. There was therefore a risk of overdose, which could sometimes be fatal to the patient.[28]

Other practices that were seen to be detrimental to the health of the Samburu were beauty scars, *lkigerot.* These scars were drawn by a thorn of acacia that cut from under the breast to the back.

[26] Side Lekupe, OI, 11 October 2012.
[27] Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change".
[28] Fratkin, "Traditional Medicine and Concepts of Healing among Samburu".

Others included *lpiroi*, which were similar marking on women's thighs. Besides beauty, the scars were stimulating to both sight and touch.To Europeans the scars tampered with the skin and seemed to affect the vital organs that are close to the breast such as the heart and liver. The contradiction in this form of body adornment mesmerized the Europeans who wondered why women had to endure so much pain to be beautified while the men in Samburu community, specifically the *murran,* applied ochre and animal oil to become smooth as discussed below. [29]

The consumption of animal blood was widely believed among the Samburu community to help in 'cooling' the warrior's body. Related to this belief, red ochre, which was typically associated with the 'blood of ancestors'was combined with fat and applied to the body for a 'cooling' effect. On the contrary the European understanding of the causes of high temperatures was the hot environment in the arid and semi-arid areas. They persisted in using cotton underwear for the men because it was believed to prevent heat from the man's "under".[30]

Generally the colonial administrators were opposed to Samburu sexual practices and hygiene. In 1905, Sir Eliot, the Commissioner of the EAP, stated:

> The practice of "sexual communism or something very like it" is resulting in a state of group marriage leading to Samburu females becoming increasingly sterile. Their women do not wear any civilized costumes but senseless mutilations and weird ornaments with which they afflict themselves. The few who have children strap them on their backs with animal skins and tie a charm to protect the child from evil.[31]

Similarly, in 1944 Father Cavallera in his report on medical practices among the Samburu concluded that:

> A *Maa* custom gives the child a very bad start in life. During the last three months of pregnancy all women have to go on a starvation diet. Their bad start while yet in utero must be a terrible handicap.At birth they have to contend with gastric disorders from

[29] Nakamura, *Adornments of the Samburu in Northern Kenya.*
[30] Fratkin, "Traditional Medicine".
[31] C. Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1966, p. 138.

> highly unsuitable food, diseases imbibed from fly-polluted milk and lack of sufficient sunlight. Lack of cleanliness brings in its train scabies, sores and infections to the skin. Thus attacked, internally and externally, the wonder is that many of them survive.[32]

While Johnson, a writer and explorer, adds:

> We cannot stand these warriors smudged in the mud and ochre stinking with a nauseating odour.They live in unsophisticated environment full of pandemic violence, endemic hunger, and starvation.There is need to introduce modern medication if we need to utilize them in future.[33]

The above quotes explain why the colonial administrators and missionaries in Samburu tried to introduce modern medication and clothing with a hope that the Samburu would shun their traditional dressing and lifestyle. The Europeans did not understand that to the Samburu each body adornment was symbolic beside beauty. Similarly, while the Europeans shunned ochre, for the Samburu it was a symbol of warriorhood and glamour for the *murran*.

Beading, a major component of Samburu body adornment known as *aishontoyie saen* was believed to influence the spread of sexually related diseases by the Europeans. Girls as young as nine years engaged in sex. The girl was adorned with beads as the mother was given beads and lavished with food supplies by the suitors. The couple was allowed to have sexual intercourse but pregnancy was forbidden. In case pregnancy occurred, it had to be terminated by use of herbs or massaging the stomach. If a baby was born it was abandoned in the forest as it was mystically dangerous to allow the child to live.[34]In 1948, Merker stated that Samburu returned from the Second World War had syphilis and gonorrhea cases reported among them which was a rare occurrence before.But he was saddened by the Samburu practice of segregating people infected with syphilis, preventing them from entering "any village until the external symptoms of the disease had disappeared".[35] This was contrary to the Samburu beading culture, which encouraged multiple sexual partners.

[32] Tablino, *Christianity among the Nomads,* p.166.
[33] Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change," p. 156.
[34] Ibid.
[35]Ibid, p. 157.

From the foregoing observations, the colonial government decided to establish a medical centre at Maralal in 1944 for treatment of soldiers wounded in the after Second World War. The centre was also to serve as an avenue for creating awareness among the Samburu on the need to seek modern medical care, especially for the venereal diseases. This medical centre laid the foundation for the development of many other centres and hospitals in the district. Steps were taken to establish more medical facilities. In 1944, a medical assistant was posted to the Maralal Health Centre which had been opened to serve colonial administrators. In the same year, a dispensary was opened at Wamba. In late 1946, another one started to function at Baragoi. Since supplies for medicine from Europe were scanty and infrequent, the medical assistants would take time to warn the Samburu who attended against cultural practices like piercing and scarification which were said to strain the skin and make one uncomfortable.[36]

The missionaries, especially the Consolata sisters, however acknowledged that the Samburu healing knowledge was also a source of their maladies. One of them, Jane Gilmore, stated in her reminiscences on life in a Samburu *Manyatta* that:

> It is true there is a eucalyptus extract industry now; but the knowledge that led to that was originally derived from these natives, who used eucalyptus leaves in steaming, and for wound and beautifying their women. Their women are tall, size zero, have symmetrical facial features with right sized noses and flawless skin. Their children wonder around nude but neither fly nor illnesses infest them.[37]

Gilmore advocated for appreciation and experimentation of Samburu plants species that produced similar results. Although the government was reluctant in implementing this, it encouraged the Samburu to seek medical care and training in the hope that in future they would embrace conventional treatment. In 1950 two mobile dispensaries driven by camels and administered by two Samburu boys began to function at Baragoi and Wamba. These boys were trained as dressers at Nakuru and proved to be effective. In 1953 the Wamba dispensary was

[36] R. Bussman, "Ethnobotany of the Samburu of Mount Nyiru, South Turkana Kenya," *Journal of Ethnobiology & Ethnomedicine*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2006, pp. 35-59.
[37] Ibid, p. 37.

replaced by a hospital and similarly in Baragoi in 1955. These hospitals had wards and conventional medication was given. There was also a mobile health unit which used a Land Rover pick up.[38]

5.3 Samburu Body Adornment by the eve of Independence

The 1950s witnessed important changes in the agricultural sector as the colonial government adopted measures to stimulate greater production by African households, including granting Africans permission to grow high-value export crops.From the beginning of colonial period, government policy concentrated on providing services in a manner that facilitated the assimilation of sedentary communities and advanced the colonial interests in areas of plantation, agriculture and mining. In the late 1950s, efforts at rural development were approached as improvement of production technology in agriculture, thereby neglecting the needs of pastoralists. The colonial government insisted that the pastoralists had to change their lifestyles, stop wandering around, dress themselves decently, and settle.[39]

Pastoral practices involving the periodic exodus of people and livestock were considered as disruptive to the colonial objective of establishing colonial order and authority within specific ethnic and territorial identities. This meant that during the colonial period, agricultural peoples had easier though limited access to education, health care, and other social services. Cultural approaches advanced by colonial administrators to describe African pastoralism and pastoralist practices continued to influence education and development policies for pastoralists. The cultural approach was first articulated by the 'cattle complex' myth used by American anthropologist, Melville Herskovits in 1926. His thesis was that cattle keeping communities of East Africa were politically and culturally attached to their cattle to a point of economic irrationality. The other associated myth, derived from the ecological approach, was 'the tragedy of the commons thesis', coined by Garret Hardin in 1968. According to this thesis, common property rights held by pastoralists, including rights to common pastureland was a source of mutual ruin.[40]

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[38] Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change".

[39] M, Doornboss and J. Markakis "The Crisis of Pastoralism and the Role of the State: Trends and Issues," in J.C. Stone, (Ed), *Pastoral Economies in Africa and Long Term Responses to Drought.* Aberdeen University: African Studies Group, 1991.

[40] D. Ndagala, "Production Diversification and Community Development in African Pastoral Areas," in *Security in African Drylands: Research, Development and Policy*, Upsala: Upsala University, 1992.

In spite of the constant struggle between the Samburu and the colonial administration in respect to grazing rules introduced to Lorroki, grazing control was extended in the 1950s and the administration made every effort to limit it to Lorroki. They tried to discourage it by all means, allowing only small plots of land for cultivation to a few persons entitled by a "privilege" probably as recognition of distinctions earned during the war.The main reasons presented by government officers in pursing such policies were that cultivation interfered with grazing control; it produced a marked deterioration of grazing in proximity to cultivated fields; and finally, the Samburu were extremely incompetent cultivators and reluctant to change their nomadic pastoral lifestyle.[41]

Still the government felt there was need for compulsory destocking in most of the African areas. The best policy that seemed suitable for the pastoral areas was the "squeeze policy", which was proposed by the then DC Terence Gavaghan. He believed the reduction of stock was possible without necessarily resulting to force. This could be done by looking for stock markets or other means such as an abattoir. He also ensured that an increasing number of Samburu warriors were recruited in the colonial military and police service. This recruitment was supposed to ensure that the warriors dressed 'decently' and abandoned their arms and other traditional practices.[42]

Imposition of fines and heavy stock confiscation worsened through a severe drought that struck the low country by the beginning of 1960. The grazing regulations and rules could no longer be effective and in August 1961, the African District Councils (ADC) elders abolished the payment of grazing fees, thus bringing to an end any formalized system of grazing control. The government opted for the establishment of a tannery in Maralal at the end of 1961. This tannery was valuable to the Samburu because they had received basic literacy, and had a lot of unutilized cattle products. [43]

The tannery transformed Samburu body adornment. From 1961, hides and skins were tanned using vegetables and minerals.Vegetable tanning involved use of the bark and leaves of plants. The hide became more flexible and was used to make portable beds, luggage and furniture. On

[41] Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change".
[42] KNA/DC/SAM/1/4: Samburu District Annual Report, 1960, p. 6.
[43] Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change".

the other hand, those skins and hides that were tanned using minerals were dyed and painted in diverse colours and patterns. It was possible to also add buttons and cut the coloured leather in different sizes and shapes.Women too made earrings, necklaces and belts from the tanned leather.The skins used in the tannery were mostly acquired from women's herds.Razor blades bought from the shops were used to cut the decorated leather which was sewed into skirts, (*logesana*) and decorated with beads or cowrie shells. [44]

By 1961, leather could make soles, insoles, and other shoe components.Among the Samburu, going barefoot, especially among women, demonstrated humility in the presence of men. Thus the men benefited from the tannery as the shoes produced were specifically for men. However, after 1961 the Samburu started shunning the skin made shoes for modern shoes.

Besides making shoes, leather was dyed using wild berries and plant roots like, Bloodroot known as *loipi* among the Samburu. An informant stated how Bloodroot was utilized:

> Bloodroot was collected from the forest by children as they grazed cattle. The roots contained a watery red coloured juice when cut into. When dry the pigment was orange-red and if a person wanted a deeper red, they only needed to mix it with crushed red ocher. [45]

The dyed leather would make wedding attires, graduation gown for a *murran*, and shealths for knives and small spears.

Fibre from under the bark of cedar trees, nettles and milkweed were twisted into strings, which could be twinned together to make a garment. Again, these strings could be woven together to make cloth materials or textiles that were then made into garments. These fibres were dyed in different colours, so that they made diverse patterns. Fibre from the aloe plant was used to string beads together to make a necklace.[46]

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[44] Ibid.
[45]Musa Lekamario, OI, 8 January 2013.
[46] Kasfir, *African Art.*

5.4 Summary

This chapter has examined Samburu body adornment from 1945 to 1963. It has delved into how provision of social amenities transformed Samburu body adornment. Formal education imparted new knowledge and skills, but also inculcated ideas and attitudes that clashed with traditional understandings of female capabilities, sexuality, and gender roles among the Samburu. It is also in this period that we note that Samburu educated girls and women not only embraced literacy but also demonstrated their new skills in transforming their own body adornment. Similarly, young men embraced the new changes in dressing as opposed to the elders who felt that their roles as custodians of law would be threatened. Modern medicine also transformed Samburu life. The colonial government attributed the prevalence to diseases among Samburu pastoralists to lack of personal hygiene, backward forms of body adornment and promiscuous practices. The government thus took steps to train the Samburu on proper hygiene and dress by discouraging the use of herbal medicine and reliance on wild plants as sources of material for body adornment.

Towards the end of colonial rule, the Samburu agitated for abolition of the grazing measures that had been introduced in the 1930s. Although the colonial government had advocated for Africans to embrace agriculture they did not do so to the Samburu who were viewed as backward pastoralists. It was not until 1961 that grazing control measures were removed and the government established a tannery in the district. The tannery had an impact in Samburu body adornment for the available hides and skins were turned into leather that made shoes and clothes. These clothes were dyed and cast in different designs. In the post-independence period the Samburu had to large extent embraced modernity in the form of education, modern medicine and Western attire and were now moving outside the district for employment and settlement as will be expounded in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

SAMBURU BODY ADORNMENT IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA, 1963 - 2015

6.1 Overview

Nationalism after 1960 found its expression in body adornment. Nationalists decried nudity and western cosmetics. Nations like Ghana and Sierra Leone advocated for national dresses that would reflect African identity. In addition, nationalists in Africa advocated for advancement of modern education but with respect to African values. Many called for an appropriate blend of the old ways of life with the new, a sort of hybrid that reflected exposure to modernism while still maintaining African identity.[1] Addressing Ghanaians in 1957, Nkrumah stated:

> Africans must find how to remain Africans. Local weaving, embroidery and dyeing must be revived to fit in the new world order. We must retain Africanism and identity by designing a national dress.[2]

While Nkrumah was advocating for the designing of African outfits, in Kenya in the 1960s and 1970s, rural development was the main perspective. This was a period when the international community understood development in terms of increasing the Gross National Product (GNP) and reducing poverty. Sedentarisation was perceived as imperative to pastoralists existence. This was no fiffrent from the colonial attitude to pastoralists ans pastoralism.

Prior to the 1970s, the Samburu living in the NFD were known only to fellow pastoralists and a few district administrators and traders. Their entry into the global scene is recent and they represented a unique community who managed to resist Western influence and retained their indigenous culture. In the tourism circles, the Samburu, specifically the *murran,* portrayed a traditional version of themselves for tourists, maintaining a sense of objectification and self-commoditization. With the ability to trade, Samburu women gained more resources therefore more opportunities to interact with local and international tourists. The Samburu as well as other pastoralists adapted to the new changes. This happened gradually through globalization.

[1] A. Mazrui (ed). *General History of Africa, VIII: Africa since 1935*, California: UNESCO, 1993.
[2] Ibid, p. 69.

This chapter discusses the post-independence period in Kenya. It examines how some of the key events influenced Samburu body adornment. Some of the events includes the *Shifta* conflict of 1963 to 1968 and land adjudication from the 1970s. The effects of cultural globalization on Samburu body adornment are also discussed in this chapter. Of importance is how some aspects of traditional Samburu body adornment were transformed into commodities which were sold to both international and local tourists. The sale of these commodities provided the Samburu with an alternative source of income in addition to pastoralism. The chapter covers the period from 1963 to 2015.

6.2 Villagization and Samburu Body Adornment

The attainment of Kenya's independence in 1963 was without doubt a historic moment; and with it, the all important responsibility to charter Kenya's future was thrust upon the new leadership. There were various weighty decisions to be made by the leadership, including economic decisions that would impact positively on the lives of Kenyan peasants and workers. Kenya being primarily an agricultural country, agriculture, right from independence, was regarded as the crucial springboard for Kenya's economic, industrial and social growth. Kenyatta publicly confirmed this when opening the Elgeyo-Marakwet District show at Kamariny on 10 January 1964:

> I love the soil, you are my friends. The soil has knit us together ... it is our greatest investment … my theme today is, return to the soil…. My government will do anything possible to help farmers with loans so that they can develop their farms….[3]

Major financial donors, including the World Bank, proposed to offer the government funding to also develop the country's pastoral areas under the Kenya Livestock Development Project (KLDP), which was administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry. In late 1965, the Kenyan Government submitted a proposal for a livestock project to the World Bank which proposed a variety of organizational structures for the different social and ecological systems in Kenya. Land that was collectively owned and governed through traditional laws was

[3] A. Cullen. (ed), *Harambee! The Prime Minister of Kenya's Speeches 1963-1964 from the Attainment of Internal Self Government to the Threshold of the Kenya Republic,* Nairobi*:* Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 19.

to be consolidated and legal tenure conferred to registered members of the group ranches with a selected committee holding the title in trust for the members.[4]

The presentation of pastoralists' livelihoods in northern Kenya was however worrying. They were neither culturally nor territorially integrated within the Kenyan state. The government argued that forced villagization would act as a mechanism for implementing social reform and facilitate security forces operations against *shifta* insurgents who were engaged in secessionism. On 4 June 1965, Geoffrey Gitahi Kariuki (then Senator, Laikipia County), moved a motion in Parliament that, people who lived in the former NFD should be concentrated in controlled areas. In raising the motion, Kariuki stated: "we do not want to be told that there are loyal Somalis. Let loyal Somalis come out and show us their loyalty. Let them be put in a concentration camp where we can scrutinize them and know who are good".[5] Thus in June 1966, the government adopted a policy of forced villagization in the former NFD. The villagization program required all people living within these former NFD areas to reside within designated government villages under security guards.

Unlike the settlement programs initiated in the 1960s, which were linked to notions of "progress" and "modernization," villagization in northern Kenya facilitated a process of criminalizing pastoral activity. At a time when the *shifta* insurgency subverted Kenyan state authority, the involvement of *shifta* groups in disputes over access to pasture and water was similarly regarded as subversive and resulted in comprehensive government action against all of the pastoral communities living there. Unlike the pastoral Maasai, whose territoriality within Kenya was "fixed" following the 1904 and 1911 Maasai agreements, pastoral communities in northern Kenya were neither culturally nor territorially integrated within the Kenyan state. Indeed, despite the attempts by the colonial administration to limit movement and define grazing boundaries in northern Kenya in the period before Kenyan independence, the frontiers of the pastoral system remained fluid and criss-crossed the borders of the colonial state. Northern Kenyan pastoralism was therefore a direct threat to Kenya's territoriality, which in the eyes of the newly independent Kenyan government, made it illegitimate and criminal in a way that Maasai pastoralism was not. Villagization in northern Kenya therefore facilitated the application of punitive measures against those considered subversive, both civilian and shifta and at the same time rehabilitating the "criminal" nomad to a settled life.

[4] H. Whittaker, "Forced Villagization during the Shifta Conflict in Kenya, C. 1963-8," *African Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1998, pp. 343-364.
[5] Ibid, p. 345.

Only a few schools and hospitals had been established in the region. If people remained outside of villages after that time, the police were empowered to forcibly move them there. The police were instructed to do so without showing concern for livestock, as various administrative arrangements were being made to have some stock disposed off. This life in the villages was unattractive, movement was limited and one had to use a special pass issued by the office of the DC. This meant that the Samburu could neither participate in trade nor acquire any materials to adorn themselves. Once fully established, each village was expected to cater for the needs of all in matters health, education, water, food, and grazing. The Samburu were reluctant to engage in any labour that involved subordination to an employer as this was a task considered tiring and demeaning.[6]

Another challenge facing the government was the pastoralists' culture. The British administrators had constantly complained on Samburu "nudity" and "barbaric dressing." Moreover, the pastoral communities, especially the Samburu, looked upon modern clothing on than a covering demanded by rules of modesty. Their perceived nudity was acutely embarrassing for a modern government attempting to project an image of modernity and civilization. Force was therefore frequently used to make the Samburu work and dress well. The *murran* had constantly complained that the clothes "were too tight, reducing freedom to attract their women".[7] By the end of the *shifta* conflict in November 1967, the Samburu were reluctantly embracing modern clothing. At the end of the year the villagisation process ended when the government realized that *shifta* no longer posed any threat.

6.3 Land Adjudication and Samburu Body Adornment

Following the end of *shifta* conflicts and villagisation, the government in the 1970s embarked on a land adjudication programme in Samburu District. This was consistent with the national goal of establishing individual freehold title to land in most areas of the country. Land revenue was one of the state's main sources of finance. By expanding cultivation it could increase revenue collection. It could at the same time produce more cotton, wheat and other agricultural produce that were required for export. However, it was acknowledged that individual land tenure did not make sense in the drier pastoral areas where large tracks of grazing land were necessary for livestock production. This system of adjudication took place primarily in Lorroki plateau, the highland areas of Samburu District due to its higher rainfall and greater potential for production.

[6] Whittaker, "Forced Villagization during the *Shifta* Conflict in Kenya.
[7] A. Shorter, *East African Conservative Societies*, Eastbourne: Routledge Library Editions, 2004, p. 123.

Land use shifted from primarily pastoral to a combination of pastoralism and agriculture.[8] This process of private land adjudication had a number of consequences to Samburu body adornment.

Expansion of cultivation inevitably meant the decline of pastures and a problem for pastoralists.Rather than segregating elders, women and warriors, farming brought the three groups together to perform the same task. This broke down the society categorization of age and body adornment patterns that existed in the pre-colonial and colonial periods where body adornment was a common feature of women and *murran.*

Traditionally, there was relative freedom associated with the status of a *murran*. However, with the introduction of agriculture the *murran* had to be fully utilized in manual labour.[9] So intense was the agrarian toil that:

> Hardly could you see the *murran* display either their neatly plaited hair their or oiled thighs. Indeed activation of the former colonial power was notable in the first decades of the 1970s. This signified political, economic and social turning point in the history of the Samburu community.[10]

As a result, pure pastoralism was no longer an option for the Samburu and Agriculture made the Samburu to integrate their primary subsistence modes into the modern cash economy.

As pasturelands disappeared under the plough, the existing animal stock had to feed on whatever grazing land remained. This led to continuous grazing of these pastures. Usually Samburu grazed their animals in one area and moved to another area. These pastoral movements allowed time for the natural restoration of vegetation growth.When restrictions were imposed on pastoral movements, grazing lands came to be continuously used and the quality of patures declined. This in turn created a further shortage of forage for animals and the deterioration of animal stock.

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[8] C. Lesorogol, *Contesting the Commons: Privatizing Pastoral Lands in Kenya*, Michigan: University of Michigan, 2008.
[9] J. Holtzman, *Transformations in Samburu Domestic Economy: The Reconstitution of Age and Gender based Processes of Production and Resource Allocation among a Kenyan Pastoral People*, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1996.
[10] Magor, *African Warriors*, p. 78.

Underfed cattle died in large numbers from scarcity and famine. For instance, from 1976, a severe drought and starvation struck resulting to a sharp decline of herds as reported by Konaka:

> The introduction of agriculture and privatization of pastoral lands in Lorroki have further exacerbated the pressure on range of land with overgrazing and land degradation. As a consequence a prolonged drought period in lower Samburu has been experienced and according to recent assessments, the greatest challenge is endemic poverty.[11]

The drought affected the *lkuroro* age set which was initiated in 1976. Many of their fathers had lost cattle diversely as an informant narrated:

> The mothers for the boys undergoing circumcision had to make a black outfit *lkilaa orok* from a young goat and fastened them to the right shoulders which fell loosely to their feet. Due to the massive loss of herds in 1976, the *lkuroro* age set underwent the ceremony through shared outfits, which was not allowed by tradition.[12]

The Samburu reacted to these changes in a variety of ways. Some reduced the number of cattle in their herds, since there was not enough pasture to feed large numbers. Others discovered new pastures when movement to old grazing grounds became difficult. The government also tried to revive the pastoral resources in 1978 coercing the *murran* to dig up boreholes and dams. However, the growth of the herds was too slow. Notable was reluctance in the *murran* in participation of the said activities.

6.4 Globalization and Samburu Body Adornment

6.4.1 Defining Globalization

Global, political, cultural, and economic practices have constituted each other within the contexts of particular histories and hierarchies. The "Otherness" of Africa created by past colonial powers is facilitated in the present through globalization. Colonialism was an early stage of globalization. This was with the growing awareness in the emerging European consciousness

[11] S. Konaka. The Conversion of the Modern World into the Livestock World: The Social Change of the Pastoral Samburu, J. Tanaka, *et al, A Sequel to the Anthropological Study on the Indigenous Societies: The Transformation of Africa*, Kyoto: Academia Press, 1996, p. 117.
[12] Lepesan Nasul, OI, 5 December 2012.

mission to Christianize and civilizes the world. In the context of culture, Europeans fought against the perceived African "barbaric cultures." In the context of this study cultural globalization may be considered an advanced stage of colonialism.

Grewal and Kaplan's defined cultural globalization as:

> a system of domination that works in subtle and powerful ways, upheld not only through political and economic means but also through cultural practices. Instead, colonialism can be connected to the present by considering how the term positions pastoral-cultural production in the fields of transnational economic relations and identity constructions.[13]

Using the above explanation, colonialism becomes something that cannot be simply dismissed as a past event. Instead colonialism can be connected to the present but considering how the term positioned Samburu cultural production in the fields of transnational economic relations and identity constructions. Kasfir observes that, with globalization has come the idea of a "world culture", that is, the universality of particular cultural traits. Cultural globalization has been characterized as the flow of ideas, products and practices from the Western 'core' to the 'periphery' of non- Western locations.[14] For instance, a Samburu *shuka* sold in a Nairobi market is not meant to reproduce authentic Samburu body adornment as it is to the Samburu, instead, it is a product made by the Samburu or by any other community as it is understood through signs and codes that allow it to be considered authentic by Western standards. This is because the powerful hierarchies of globalization continue to be fueled by ideologies such as colonialism, which emerged with the development of the modern world.

From this point of view, globalization as a latter stage of colonialism makes more sense in that when the effects of colonization instigated power and domination, social relations were reified through trade of cultural commodities. In this circumstance globalization became "a redundant term for the internationalization of capital."[15]

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[13] I. Grewal and C. Kaplan, *Africa and Globalization: Dawn of the 21st Century*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005, p.56.

[14] S. Kasfir, *African Art and the Colonial Encounter*: *Inventing a Global Commodity*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

[15] Grewal and Kaplan, *Africa and Globalization.*

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, scholars within different fields of study ranging from history to anthropology created the "Idea of Africa." Travelers' and explorers' writings at the end of the nineteenth century, spoke about Africa based on a paradigm of difference. This idea of difference suggested that there are natural features, cultural characteristics, and values that contribute to the reality of Africa as a continent, and its Civilizations as constituting a totality difference from any Western location or group. This totalizing identity of Africa subjected the continent to being defined in terms of its "Otherness." Western scholars constructed Africa in a primitive, romanticized, and exotic way, simplifying the cultural complexity of Africa and alluding to its "Otherness." Specifically the pastoralists' adornment was seen as a representation of traditional warlike barbaric communities. Kasfir concludes, "Africa thus has many strides to make to get to the "world culture."[16]

Western writers of African body adornment see themselves as the ones that should sort, differentiate, travel among, and become attached to communities constituted by Diasporas. As a result of the Western perception of Africa, it is difficult for many Westerners to comprehend that West African culture is quite different from East African and similarly in all other parts of the continent. Within these countries and environments there are thousands of groups that create adornment in a variety of ways and for different reasons.

The question of who contextualizes "African adornment," and who decides what types of adornments are popular within the global market, rests solely in the power of Western curators, collectors, and critics who base their knowledge on colonial discourse. The Western perception that Africa is something timeless and untouched suggests that "African adornment" should represent a traditional, primitive past. Therefore, what types of "African body adornment" are considered popular is clearly dependent on the images and stories that served to create the Western "Idea of Africa." Nostalgia occurs when Westerners imagine the "Idea of Africa." As a result, nostalgia surrounding Africa becomes a cultural practice with a storied past rooted in colonialism.

[16] Kasfir, *African Art and the Colonial Encounter*.

Anthropologist Mirko Lauer avers:

> The value of indigenous cultural adornment is only limited to its primitivism and exoticism in relation to the Western perspective, and consequently, subjected to this cultural dichotomy, indigenous societies are forced to remain genuine, traditional, and stuck in the past. What exactly is meant by the term "traditional" within the global market is understood as authentic on the basis that a "traditional" artist from a "traditional" society produced it. So the only adornment deemed truly authentic are the pieces made without intent to sell, but instead for personal use, instead, adornment made for the global market can be labeled neo-traditional.[17]

Cultural globalization has come to represent the export and import of culture. Cultural globalization thus is concerned with the transformation of the economic into the culture and vice versa. This has given birth to a consumer culture around the world. It is with this understanding that one could assess how the Samburu transformed their traditional forms of adornment into profitable products. Specifically two issues will be discussed. First, the commodification of the Samburu spear and adornment beyond local circles of exchange. And second, the *murran* representation and changing identity, where they became a commodity. The discussion entails how different social categories among the Samburu embraced culture globalization.

6.4.2 Samburu *Murran* Body Adornment in the Global Market

Out of the big game hunting tradition of the colonial period, East African governments set aside wildlife reserves and national parks. In Kenya, these were located mainly in underdeveloped regions peopled by pastoralists. It was inevitable that a few of the tourists would eventually find the Samburu. Back in Samburu District there was a combination of frequent droughts, ongoing desertification, raiding by Somali *shifta* and allocation of scarce fertile land to private ranchers had reduced dramatically the size of Samburu herds and the rangeland that was available to them. With this impoverishment came migration to towns and trading centres wherein some pastoralists entered into into wage labour and various forms of entrepreneurship. The Samburu

[17] M. Lauer, *Western Primitivism: African Study in Cultural Relations*, London: Cassell, 1997, p.103.

on the other hand were less willing to take up any menial jobs. The contact with tourism, while it was limited to a few hotels and involved very few Samburu, provided an opportunity to participate in the money economy without the loss of status that comes with menial labour. Coastal region posed an attractive site for these young men. The Samburu *murran* were attracted to the Coast which was said to be warmer and had female tourists. The journey would be an extension of their freedom at a time when there was demand for their labour in Samburu.[18]

When Jomo Kenyatta died in 1978, KANU held its national executive council on 4 October of the same year; Moi was elected unopposed as the President of the party and was formally installed as the second President of the Republic of Kenya. In February 1979, the *Weekly Review* sought to find out his views on Kenya's diverse cultures. He stated:

> Kenya is endowed with rich cultural heritage resulting from her diverse cultures drawn from 42 communities. My government will protect and safeguard tangible and intangible heritage. The government encourages communities to participate in the diverse programmes that promotes national heritage. Let us become ambassadors of our rich heritage.[19]

1978 heralded great financial opportunities, with opening up of beach hotels, organized wildlife *safaris* and resorts along the Coast. The owners of the hotels were interested in hiring groups of Maasai and Samburu men to perform their dances to their customers. This was as a result of British travellers and traders to Kenya who had depicted the Samburu and Maasai people as primitive, exotic and reluctant to change their culture. The Samburu were likened to a 'clan of the Maasai' by the tourists and early travellers who associated their physique in the idiom of the animal world:

> Physically, they are extraordinary beautiful, with slender bones and narrow hips, and the most wonderful rounded muscles and limbs. So delicate built are they that they look more effeminate than women. But their beauty is entirely masculine. Their breeding show in their finely cut nostrils and the precise chiseling

[18] P. Mieu, "On Difference, Desire and Aesthetics of the Unexpected: The Samburu in Kenyan Tourism," in J. Skinner &D. Theodossopoulous, *Great Expectations: Imagination and Anticipation in Tourism*, London: Transaction Publishers, 2011, pp. 96-116.
[19] "Moi's Campaign for Nationhood", *Weekly Review*, 5 February 1979, p. 8.

> of their lips. They appear half naked, exotically carrying spears and clubs with ochre and body adorned with colourful beads.[20]

The *lkuroro* age set, became warriors at a time of great difficulty in the pastoral economy of northern Kenya. Many of their fathers and older brothers had lost massive number of cattle in the 1974 drought. To the older generations of Samburu, cattle were the only recognized form of wealth, but these young *murran* were the first age set to realize fully that money can be a safer investment than cattle. *Lkuroro murran* moved to the Kenyan Coast seasonally in small numbers. Beginning of 1981, when most of them reached their early twenties, the *lkuroro* age set made migration to the Kenyan Coast. Everything about this new style of migration appears to be a departure from older patterns of transhumance by Samburu. First, there were no cattle; second, instead of walking the *murran* had to take motorized transport. Third, their everyday dress of *shuka*, sandals, a sword and spear had to be abandoned in favour of the urban attire of jeans, jacket and sneakers. The *murran* frequented beach hotels that mostly held German, Italian, British and American tourists. This journey to the Coast was an extension of freedom where the *murran* were beheld to no one but themselves.[21] The cultures encountered were more foreign to pastoral norms as observed by Mieu:

> At the beaches life was interesting. The *murran* observed half naked *mzungu* women who would request them for a ride and massage. Sometimes these women would request the *murran* to braid their hair which they did for a token.[22]

While western culture permitted women to appear nude as sign modesty along with other characteristics of civilization, nudity of African women symbolized a lack of civility and an embarrassment.

The "*murran* mania" quickly gave rise to a lucrative business and consequently the *murran* were flooding the coastal beaches to make a living from the trade. They realized they could make a lot of money overnight. In addition, *murran* knew that dressed in a pair of jeans stood far less

[20] Kasfir, *African Art and the Colonial Encounter*, p. 271.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Mieu, "On Difference, Desire and Aesthetics of the Unexpected," p. 100.

chance of marketing their bodies. Once they reached the coast the *murran* would change back into their *shuka*, uncover their ochred braids to claim *murran* distinctiveness. This also was a strategy to attract their white lovers' attention. This clearly indicates that the *murran* bodies became commoditized as items of sexual desire for white women.[23] Meanwhile women from European, Australia and American countries began visiting Kenya armed with a clear image of the tall, slim bodies of the *murran* as noted by Kasfir:

> The *mzungu mamas* want the *murran* that are dressed with *shuka* and have spears. They do not want those who have pants and shirts. They want those with long ochred hair. The boys in pants and shirts have gone to school and have lost their vigour.[24]

From their interactions with white women, the *murran* were able to acquire more body adornment for their hair. Their new designs were modified by tourist encounters and also by the presence of non-pastoralists like the Kamba who were selling beads and plastic along the coastal markets. Those items found their way into warriors' headgears. For example the plastic pin, *nchata e lpapit,* was now used to twist the hair, stretch it in different hairstyles and scratch especially when it was applied red ochre. During various dances, the *murran* would decorate the hair with an artificial flower known as *maawa* derived from Kiswahili *maua.* Red, white, pink, yellow, blue and purple were the common colours. Still others attached to their hair, one by one, a considerable number of coloured feathers and flowers and this style was referred as *nkopiro*.[25]

Additionally, others choose to wear coiled, iron anklets and bracelets that produced a clinking sound when they danced, making their entire ensemble come alive. The primary purpose of these articles of body adornment was to beautify their bodies for their white lovers. It was quite evident that in the 1980s the Samburu adornment was undergoing gradual change. While the adornment seemed traditional, new styles were being invented with more materials being used. While it was still a traditional custom in the 1980s that anklets and bracelets were given to

[23] G. Meiu "Mombasa *Murran*: Embodiment, Sexual Morality and Samburu Men in Kenya," *Canadian Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 105-128.
[24] S. Kasfir, "Samburu Souvenirs: Representation of a Land in Amber," in R. Phillips and C. Steiner (eds.), *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Post Colonial Worlds,* California: University of California Press, 1999, p.68.
[25] Kasfir, "Samburu Souvenirs.

establish a sexual relationship between a *murran* and his girlfriend, seemingly, it turned out the opposite when the *murran* wore them to attract their white lovers. In return their lovers would reward them with money, beer, clothes and jewelry.[26]

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the Samburu *murran* continued to migrate to the coast and soon engagements in sexual relations with the white women materialized in the landscape of Samburu District. The *murran* opened hotels and bars. This accumulation of wealth and economic prestige in turn attracted relatives and friends who also made arrangements to travel to the coast.[27]

The older age set, *lmewoli*, regarded those Samburu *murran* that spent time at the coast as spendthrifts and adventurers who lacked discipline while women feared that with their return, they would bring back home some of the disruptive immoral forces of Mombasa. Tension rose specifically among the elders who branded them as the "Mombasa *murran*". They were criticized in public meetings, both in terms of age of the women they flirted with and race transgression:

> These unclean men have slept with white women. They have a lot of cash, clothes, jewelry and they smell good. Soon we will have no women for ourselves. How do you sleep with your mother? Is it because they are light skinned?[28]

One can only conclude from the above statement that, the women flirting with the Samburu *murran* were advanced in age, less attractive and perhaps retirees. The women never sired children with the *murran* nor were there any legal marriages.

Other communities like the Giriama and Taita realized they could ape the *murran* by dyeing their hair with red ochre, adorn their ears and hands and carry spears. As a result conflicts often arose because white women were ignorant of ethnicity but more interested in "tall, slim, half naked men who had long ochred braids." These conflicts at times resulted into deaths. For example, in 2000, fifteen Samburu *murran* were stabbed to death in Mombasa in a fight with a

[26] Ibid.

[27] Meiu "Mombasa *Murran.*

[28] Ibid, p. 126.

group of Giriama men over their white lovers.[29] Although customary law prohibits alcohol consumption during *murranhood,* some *murran* would take alcohol with their white lovers while those who were fluent in English got engaged in marijuana trade. This behaviour was never adopted publicly back home in Samburu but they flourished in Mombasa.[30]

On the other hand, the Samburu *murran* whose bodies did not match the tall, slim colourful persona were thought not to be Samburu and developing relationships with white women was not a choice available to them. They took to other jobs like making spears and shields. Traditionally, a *murran* carried his spear in the context of his life as a member of the warrior age grade. The spear was also a rich source of metaphor concerning virility, prowess and maleness. A shield on the other hand was painted with ochre to make it visible from far and it served as a means to convey the status of warriorhood.

These warriors who could not have sexual relationships with the white women trained as blacksmiths, *lkunono.* They learned this skill back at home and also from the Kamba who were skilled in diverse designs. With the new skills they were able to transform the cultural role of a spear and shield. One of the notable changes was the miniaturization of the spears sold to tourists.A normal spear was plain and higher than the warrior. However the *murran* learned to make much smaller painted and at times beaded spears which they sold to tourists. The argument was that foreigners would not buy a large spear because it could not be transported back to Europe on an airplane. The spear henceforth underwent transformation in a distinctly different size and height to being heavily embroidered. The spear initially served as a weapon for fighting and for aesthetic value but from the 1990s it mainly served as an aesthetic object. [31]

In Samburu the spear blade cover was a simple fitted piece of skin which was embellished with a black ostrich feather. The warriors' perception was that tourists who were the viable buyers wanted brightly coloured items. Thus the spear's blade cover was thus embroidered with red, yellow and white coloured beads to make it more attractive. In addition to keeping the spear safe, warriors added zippers on buttons to the sheath to serve as a purse as well.

[29]Meiu, "Mombasa *Murran*," p. 127.
[30]Ibid.
[31] Mieu, "On Difference, Desire and Aesthetics of the Unexpected".

Similarly, Samburu *murran* learnt how to make clothes, beaded stickers and logos with writings such as "I Love Kenya", "Welcome to Samburu". These were sold to the tourists as souvenirs. The *murran* also learnt rudimentary German, Italian, English and Spanish but suprisingly knew nothing about the food, customs, religion or culture of the Coastal Kenyan communities. By the 1990s, there was a significant transformation of the warriors into craftsmen and bead workers, occupations that was initially the preserve of women.[32]

6.4.3 Samburu Women Body Adornment in the Global Market

The opening of the Maralal bead market in 1991 was a major step in the globalization of Samburu body adornment. (Appendix 1M). Previously, majority of Samburu women made body adornment for their own family use. But with the opening of Maralal bead market, women were able to sell beads to local and foreign tourists in the district. In this case, as stated by one informant, "women could hide cash from their husbands and not report their earnings. This cash could be used to restock the beads."[33]With the entry of Samburu body adornment into the global economy, Samburu women similarly were able to integrate their body adornment art into the global market.

With the ability to trade, Samburu women gained more resources and, thus, more opportunities to create and manipulate colour schemes and patterns. The Samburu women were aware of what Westerners expected to see in the market: mostly traditional items that could be worn in a modern society. As a result, Samburu women were ready to sacrifice their identity and culture to a certain extent in order to create products that could sell in the global market. A bead seller noted that:

> An overall preference for red colour was a preference in the tradional society. Red was regarded beautiful since it was linked to life. Different coloured beads alternating between red and white, red and blue, as well as stringing several red beads together was

[32] Ibid.

[33] J. Akama, *Cultural Tourism in Africa: Strategies for the new Millennium*, Arnhem: Association for Tourism and Leisure Education, 2002.

> acceptable. What was not considered beautiful were groupings of yellow and black, brown or plain black. Such colours were likened to colours of goats and starvation.[34]

Samburu women realized they had to create a combination of almost all colours because that was what considered "hot" in the market.[35] The element of patriotism and being of Kenyan origin has influenced the production of body adornment items by women using the colours of the Kenyan national flag and coat of arms. Political parties have similarly embraced the use of specific coloured and beaded clothes, hats and shoes famously known as 'Maasai sandals' for their general propaganda and election campaign outfits.

While some materials still originated in Samburu, a majority of them, particularly beads were now imported from other countries. This necessitated the opening of more bead markets in Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Eldoret. That way, Samburu women were able to migrate to the big towns where some settled permanently.The women were able to sell body adornment articles to visitors profitably as tourists were ready to pay high prices. In turn, Samburu women learnt to strategically recreate the beadwork. By using traditional techniques, Samburu women from the 1990s employed hybridism. Mudimbe notes the following about hybridism:

> First it takes the sense of an interrupted tradition. Second, a methodical in the artist's labour begins with an evaluation of the tools, means and projects of adornment within a social context transformed by colonialism and later current, influences and fashions from the West.[36]

Exposure and exploration of other cultures by Samburu women proves evident in their body adornment. Straight affirms this by stating:

> Some cultural traditions still form an integral part of the Samburu daily life. Often women blend the old technique with modern elements to present a fascinating contrast of

[34] Lena Lelesit, OI, 13 November 2012.
[35] Akama, *Cultural Tourism in Africa.*
[36]V. Mudimbe, The *Idea of Africa*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994, p. 67.

> old and new.Across Samburuland you will find stylized images of airplanes, Coca Cola and beer bottle tops fixed on the bangles and bracelets. [37]

Samburu women blend old and new techniques to create necklaces that make the Western think that the art they just purchased is indeed "traditional." The "old" implies the traditional techniques that the woman applies to create the necklaces, while the "new" implies the way in which Samburu women conform to Western standards of what is beautiful.

With the integration of old and new techniques comes empowerment. Under these circumstances, empowerment is perceived as, "process by which people acquire power and command real resources within and outside their locality".[38]Thus while a Samburu woman produces body adornment artwork for her family, she is also free to sell ornaments and acquire cash to provide for her family and save the extra in the bank.

Samburu women have learned to exploit the belief that African body adornment is authentic. An informant explained that:

> tourists want to hear the history of the body adornment article they are about to buy. Besides narrating the story, the woman may remove the ornament from her own body and place it on the tourist so that they get reassurance and satisfaction that what they are receiving is indeed a piece of authentic body adornment.[39]

Thus Samburu body adornment no longer speaks just to the indigenous community but also serves as an economic bridge to the 21st century for women and their families.

Red ochre has been advanced by scientists (no source provided this fact) as a natural cosmetic that plays the role of cleansing the skin, protecting the skin against ultraviolet radiation; skin

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[37] B. Straight, "From Samburu Heirloom to New Age Artifact: The Cross- Cultural Consumption of *Mporo* Marriage Beads," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No.1, 2002, p. 21.
[38] V. Moghadam, *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Frameworks*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2005.
[39] Lolesan Lalesa, OI, November 2012.

lightening, hiding skin imperfections and accentuating the beauty of the individual.[40] Samburu women have learnt the art of sieving red ochre and packing it in small quantities for sale in the local markets. One such seller stated:

> Red ochre among the Samburu was used to paint the warriors, as a mosquito repellant, treatment of wounds and the inhibition of hemorrhages. Since the 1990s women have been selling red ochre to tourists who buy it at Ksh.130 per kilogramme. The tourists indicated that ochre is used in the production of cosmetics in Europe.[41]

Similarly, the modern industries have embraced hair colour brands such as *Dark and Lovely*, *Movit* and *Venus,* producing hair dyes with similar colour to red ochre. Besides its use in beauty products, Fratkin argues that scientific studies indicate that pastoral communities that use red ochre apply to the body to hinder perspiration. His study concluded that iron compounds in ochre also has healing properties, softens and deters hides decomposition.[42]

6.5 Globalization as a Challenge to Samburu Body Adornment

Chipangura states that many communities are now multicultural with different cultures existing alongside each other. The communities tend to use symbolic codes to portray and maintain their cultural patterns. With increased intercultural contact, people with different backgrounds and orientations come into contact with one another. In this contact, symbolic meanings attached to a community's culture are not correctly interpreted.[43] For example, among Samburu women, beauty scars, *lkigerot,* were made on the women at different stages. At puberty, upper arms and chest could be scarred. After the birth of the first child or at the end of breastfeeding, a scar was made to highlight the bravery of a woman in enduring the pain. Scars in addition accentuated the erotic and sensual parts of the body. The women had their buttocks and thighs scarred to sexually attract males. These scars were for the husbands' viewing only. Legs, buttocks and breasts were considered to be the most attractive parts of the body and the designs that were made were

[40] C. Davis, "African Women's use of Cosmetics Products in Relation to their Attitudes and Self-identity," Masters Thesis, Iowa State University, 2012.
[41] Jane Laleti OI, 3 January 2013.
[42] E. Fratkin, "Traditional Medicine and Concepts of Healing among Samburu Pastoralists of Kenya," *Journal of Ethnobiology*, Vol.16, No.1, 1996, pp. 63-97.
[43] J. Chipalunga, *Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

supposed to produce intimate feelings. On the other hand, scars on the belly marked the life of boys, witnessing their courage, strength and resistance to pain borne during initiation to manhood.[44]

The meanings attached to these scars have changed. Due to the intermingling of cultures, scarifications which used to have deep meanings in Samburu community have lost their meanings and importance. Both males and females have the same types of scars. New generations now decide on scar designs that best suit them or their personalities while others decide not to be scarred. Westerners consider nudity shameful and so they encourage members of their societies to cover their private parts. Scars which have a sexual appeal have to be covered by any form of clothing. Nowadays different parts of the body can have a sexual appeal depending on the type of body adornment worn. Contrary to the past, scarification seems to be outdated practice.Scars are nothing more than fashion accessories. Being sexually attractive is also determined by different things as explained by Blaurer:

> There are two kinds of being sexually attractive, there's the traditional down-to-earth personality displayed by traditional simplicity. This is where women used scarification, paint and tattoos to attract the opposite sex. Today you'll be attracting people by posing confident, speaking for yourself and having a vibrant career.[45]

Blaurer further stresses that from a Western bias, extreme body modification with roots in non-Western traditions, is often cast as radical because of its historical association with defiant or marginal groups.[46]

Previously, girls exposed their breasts as part of the initiation rites to imply that they had attained maturity status, that is, they had the right to be counted among adult women and hence men could ask for their hand in marriage. Recently, in most instances the initiates cover their breasts during the celebration while they still adorn themselves heavily with beads giving credence to the fact that, modernity has pushed leaders within the community to modified practices

[44]Magor, *African Warriors.*
[45]E. Blaurer, *African Elegance*, New Holland Publishers, 1999, p. 123.
[46] Ibid.

considered detrimental to social and economic development in Samburuland, but not to consider these cultural practices as 'backward' and hindrance to progress.[47]

Beading was a cultural practice prevalent only among the Samburu. Traditionally, a *murran* would buy about 10 kilogrammes of beads, which were made into a necklace for a girl he was interested in. Upon wearing the necklaces, the girl, who was usually between nine and 15 years old, was considered "beaded" and the *murran's* girlfriend. Due to urbanization there emerged a class of elite who deemed beading a harmful cultural practice. In addition, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) activists working in Samburuland noted that rather than having the *murran* 'bead' the girl, women are slowly taking up the role. This means that the girl can wear her beads without being in a relationship with a *murran.*[48]

With the introduction of wedding associated with modern Christian marriages, body adornment took a new twist. The groom has to foot the bill of providing a wedding gown for the bride and a suit for him. Some provide bridal wear(s) for the best man (men), maid(s) of honour and flower girl(s). This includes all other accessories to match like, shoes, rings, chains, gloves, watches, a veil for the bride, a hand bag and flowers. In some cases, dinner wears or evening wears are sewn for use by the couple after the wedding ceremony. These influences championed by western religious practices add cost to marriage rites in modern Samburu community. Death, being inevitable was regarded as an end to the earthly life to another life in the land of the unknown or spirits. The family shaved their hair and relocated to another region leaving the corpse behind to rot. Globalisation has influenced the burial of a corpse in Samburu community. Corpses make their last journey to the grave in decorated coffins to befit the status of the deceased and his family. The decoration does not end with the coffin for it is extended to the grave as well.[49]

Tourism has hastened the commodification of traditional and unique cultures. As Salazar suggest, "with the spread and intervention of capitalism into the Third World societies, tourism has also had the effect of turning Third World places, landscapes and people into commodities.

[47] Jane Laleti OI, 2 January 2013.
[48] M, Gathia, "No to Beading in Samburu" *Daily Nation*, 31, March, 2008, p. 6.
[49] Musa Lekamario OI, 8 April 2012.

In other words, we consume these elements of a holiday in the same way as we consume other objects or commodities". [50] The tendency of cultural tourism is to commodify culture so that traditional societies' ways of relating to the world are packaged and sold to tourists, much in the same way that other products are consumed. Tourism calls for image production industry. Salazar contends that tourism has resulted in loss of cultural pride and complete reliance on tourism for subsistence. Salazar observes that:

> People in the margin often have little economic choice but to accept and adopt to the tourismified identities and cultural views that are created for them.Unaware of the activity, the *murran* from the 1990s were severally photographed and presented in films as 'carefree sex givers' to white women. They were considered more traditional, lacked experience with the cash economy thus financially more attractive to the film makers. To the *murran* cash was more significant than culture.[51]

In addition, the Samburu have tended to use falsehood as a means of enticing foreigners. They do not mind fabricating untrue stories about their body adornment so as to make money. As confessed by a research assistant "the Samburu have become so aware of how to extract money from tourists that they make frantic efforts to be photographed in exchange for cash".[52]

The most striking change that has resulted from cultural globalization is not visible. The change emanates from the local evaluation of body adornment as "just fashion". Informants reported that consumers and traders of articles of body adornment wore and sold the articles to them just for fashion. Most youths among the Samburu are not aware of the traditional significance of body adornment.

Leslie affirms that writers of fashion have claimed what the paradigm of modernity from the tradition. She continues to say that in forcing Africans to abandon their mode of dress, British colonialists in Kenya destroyed a central symbolic system that connected people in societal

[50] N. Salazar, "Imaged or Imagined? Cultural Representations and the Tourismification" of People and Places, MA Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2009.
[51] Ibid, p. 67.
[52] Musa Lekamario OI, 8 April 2012.

structures, social relations, personal identity and aesthetic creativity. In post-independence Kenya cultural practices only exist in theory as African creativity has been destroyed. She concludes by stating that Africans in the 21st century perform their daily chores without wearing any form of body adornment, contrary to the pre-colonial African setting.[53]

6.6 Representation of the Samburu Body Adornment

In colonial discourse, pastoralists were a problem because they possessed large herds that supposedly overgrazed and degraded the environment. In the postcolonial state, pastoralists are still considered a problem. But the problem is now couched in times of the land issue. Pastoralist grazing land has been continually encroached upon by the government through creation of wildlife conservation areas and by agricultural communities who have been forced off their own land by rapid population growth and continual subdivision of inherited family plots. This has resulted in frequent violent clashes over land between pastoralists and agricultural communities since the 1990s. Kenyan farmers also believed that KANU, the then ruling party from 1963 to 2002, was sympathetic to pastoralists, which in their minds has contributed to the unresolved land issue.[54]

The outspoken Maasai politician, William Ole Ntimama once linked the land issue, about which the government had little sympathy for pastoralist, to tourism:

> The traditions of the pastoralists have been destroyed and "junk culture" imported. We have been dehumanized and perceived as mere artifacts. Our culture continues to be abused and commercialized. Tourists have been promised that they will see not only wild game but also warriors with ochred braids and spears.[55]

Although there are diverse cultures in Kenya, there are no direct government interventions which have promoted Samburu body adornment in an integrated manner. Section 27 of Chapter 4, of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, discusses the issue of culture:

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[53] R. Leslie, "Not a Mere Adornment: Tradition, Modernity and Colonialism in Kenyan and Western Clothing," *The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, Vol. 1, No.2, 1997, pp.145-167.
[54] Kasfir, *African Art and the Colonial Encounter*.
[55] Ibid, p. 271.

> The State shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against any person on any ground, including race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth.[56]

The Kenyan government has exhibited crafts and bead products in a number of national and international trade fairs and cultural festivals. Specifically on the Samburu, in 2013 Kenya Tourism Board (KTB) stated that East African nations would use the Maralal Camel Derby to diversify their tourism offerings.[57] The Samburu County Governor, Moses Kasaine said:

> The County is partnering with KTB and other sponsors to boost Samburu culture. Samburu are renowned for preserving their traditional cultural practices from food to dressing which are an attraction to tourists from the local and foreign market.[58]

In a personal communication, the County Governor stated that:

> The 2013 camel derby created a window of opportunity for local crafters and bead workers to put their works on display. It also created an opportunity for the County to take the issues of culture and heritage seriously in its planning processes. Through its Integrated Development Plan, the County will be able to locate culture and heritage within its development plan in 2014.[59]

6.7 Summary

This chapter examined Samburu body adornment in the post-independence period in Kenya. The chapter started off by illustrating the response of the Kenyatta's government to independence where agriculture was encouraged as a livelihood. The Samburu were reluctant to embrace agriculture since it involved tilling the land, constructing boreholes and planting crops-activities' that seemed tedious and demeaning to them.

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[56] *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010,* Nairobi: National Council for Law Report in Kenya.
[57] **"**Tourism Market Planners to use this year's Maralal Camel Derby Festival," *Coast Week,* August 2013.
[58]Ibid, p.10.
[59] Moses Kasaine OI, 4 January 2014.

European tourists were attracted to the Kenya Coast by a craving for authentic Kenyan culture. The Samburu responded by migrating in large numbers to the region. Consequently, tourism had a positive economic impact both on individuals, the Samburu community, and Kenya generally. Among these effects were jobs creation, improved living standards, and improvement in the general perception of Samburu District.

In particular, the body adornment of Samburu *murran* became more flamboyant with many more beads and other materials being used, while a traditional custom, whereby the *murran* give huge quantities of beads to their girlfriends to establish a formal lovers' relationship, is becoming outmoded. Tourism facilitated the intermingling of Samburu culture with others. This resulted in modification of some forms of Samburu body adornment.

From the findings of this chapter, intermingling of the Samburu culture with others has had a negative impact including increased levels of sexual permissiveness, alcoholism and crime among the Samburu. More importantly, the intermingling of cultures has resulted in change in the meanings attached to body adornment. The younger Samburu generations do not know the traditional meanings attached to their body adornment while some have decided to walk without any form of body adornment, which is contrary to Samburu cultural norms.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"Material cultures along other social relationships are expressed through ornamentation, common feature among pastoralists."[1]

Body adornment can safely be used as a silent way of non-verbal communication. It is a tool that establish the cultural identity which assits in defining unique identities by employing accurate symbols which are permitted and approved by a culture. To shape up the body, certain material apart from the natural abilities, like clothing and accessories are required to enhance the appearance and perception of individual in any social context. These material goods are governed by the norms and mores for a precise interpretation and placement in accordance with the culture. Nowhere is this more expressive than among the nomadic pastoralists of East Africa.

The above proposition has a direct relevance for nomadic pastoralists such as the Samburu, who draw attention to significance of personal adornment. This study outlines the historical development of body adornment among the Samburu. Changes in body adornment among the Samburu from the pre-colonial to post- colonial periods was stressed. The colonial period was considered important since the colonial government considered the Samburu resistant to modernity and hence reluctant to change their life style and body adornment. It was also the objective of the study to assess the influence of modernity and Western influence on Samburu body adornment in post-independence period.

Evidence adduced in this study has shown that body adornment plays a significant role in individual and social life in the Samburu community, which is part of the *Maa* speakers. Samburu body adornment seems to have revolved around their contact with their environment and contacts with their neighbours as a result of migration and settlement. The Samburu trace their origin to the Nilo-Saharan people who spread out in the areas around the east of the middle Nile River in what is today the Sudan. Further the study affirmed that the Samburu warriors have similar body adornment patterns with communities living in ancient Egyptian and Sudan that is,

[1] Magor, *Africna Warriors,* p. 2.

the use of red ochre, long braided hair, shaving their women's heads, removal of two middle teeth from the lower jaw, performance of initiation rites and adoption of a one legged stance while herding. The contact between the Samburu and other communities such as, Turkana, Rendille and Ilchamus contributed to a great extent to the evolution and development of the Samburu body adornment from the pre-colonial period**.** It was evident that, in the pre-colonial period that, body adornment among the Samburu symbolized religious or spiritual connotations, identity, rite of passage and other socio-cultural activites within the community. The basis for body adornment therefore was to communicate rather than decorate.

This study was unique in expounding the origin of the practice of warriors beading girls. In late 1790s the Samburu divided the community members into generations. It is from the generations that a man was able to participate in five *lmuget* ceremonies marked by changes in social status marked by body adornment during his passage through *murranhood*.

Prior to colonial rule, Samburu body adornment was produced from local materials and local trade. Local materials included hides, skins, wood, barks and roots which were produced by local skills. Trading links had also been established between Arabs, Swahili coastal traders and the Somalis. These traders continually brought into the region coloured beads, in return they acquired skins and hides. The Samburu wore body adornment not just protection and ornamentation but primarily to indicate a person's social category. The age system categorized people by age and gender. All males in the community were grouped in different categories; boyhood, *murranhood* and elderhood. These categories were identified through distinct adornments. Females do not belong to any age-set, but are associated with the age-set of *murran* while unmarried and adorn to attract possible lovers. When they marry they associate with their husband's age-set.

While much of the East Africa Protectorate had by 1905 been brought under effective British control, the region was barely known to colonizers except through accounts by explorers and ivory hunters who had ventured into the region from the 1880s. When the British appeared on the scene at the end of the nineteenth century to administer their protectorate, Emperor Menelik's armies in Abyssinia were causing the Borana to flee south across the border to avoid persecution. They had equally attacked the Samburu and defeated the remnants of Laikipiak Maasai on

Marsabit Mountain. For a time the British chose to ignore the Northern Frontier, having neither the personnel to be stationed in this desert vastness, no roads network to access to it and the colonial image of the people living in the region as wild, untamed and unpredictable. It is only in 1902, the District Ordinance Act and later the Special District Ordinance Act in the same year declared Northern Kenya a closed district to all travellers and traders. In 1909 formal colonialism was extended to Samburu district following the designation of northern Kenya as the Northern Frontier District. From 1909 that the colonial government attempted to coarse the Samburu to leave their indigenous lifestyle through taxation.Taxation did not change the Samburu tradition system of production since taxation was in tributary form and did not create pressure for the Samburu to seek for employment outside the district.

In 1915, Samburu *murran* were recruited into the Kings African Rifles, KAR. Their recruited as military auxiliaries had a negative impact on the *murran* who were forcefully shaved, had to wear the military uniform and carry passes in their daily errands. Similarly, elders who were the custodians of law and order were rendered invaluable as the colonial government considered them as "idle" men who were supposed to provide cattle for the payment of tax. When the boundaries of the Samburu became sacrosanct under colonial rule, the entire Northern Frontier District, NFD, came under the military in 1921 and for the first time the Samburu was given a defined district of their own with its headquarters at Barsaloi.

In 1921, the British administration put some measures to induce the Samburu to embrace cash transactions. Consequently the colonial government took steps in establishing trading centres in the region. The first shop serving the NFD was opened at Archers Post in 1916 to cater for the needs of government workers but by 1922, 17 more shops had been opened by Somali and Indian traders. This trade was significant to change in Samburu adornment for they were able to acquire some goods. For instance, the Somali were licensed to sell ivory, soap, rhino horns, beads, silver, bronze, brass, spears, shields, copper, while Indians sold cowrie shells, handkerchiefs, knives and combs. It is from trading with the Somali that white beads became the most notable and an eye catching feature, they were part of the women's necklaces. The visual significance of these white beads was further enhanced by an increase in size and number. Married women wore more than twelve straps of white necklaces compared to the previous two

to three straps. Moreover, with the ability to trade, Samburu women gained more resources and, thus, more opportunities to create and manipulate colour schemes and patterns. On the other hand, beads became the symbol of the *murran* wealth and prowess for they used them to adorn their painted shields.Thus the most significant features in Samburu body adornment from 1921 was the display of coloured beads especially young women and *murran* and patterning of their clothing.

Findings from this study adduce that, bronze, brass and copper became a significant materials used by the Samburu to make body adornment. Bronze was cast into anklets and bracelets for both genders. Brass was used diversely. Since it was available in different colours and would make be shaped in various forms easily. One of the key body adornment made was *surutiai le ngaina*. This was a coiled brass wire worn on the upper arm by married women as a charm to wish them safe childbirth. *Surutiai le ngaina* replaced *lkereti* which was made from the skin of a goat. Other ornaments made from brass include bangles, *marinai,* for the unmarried girls. Copper was utilized in making bracelets, *sengei* for the married women and to decorate the elders' clubs and walking sticks.

The Indians encouraged the Samburu to buy and use soap. The Indians believed that the soaps would cleanse the Samburu bodies from the unceasing 'cattle smell.' The *murran* however did not respond positively to the soaps which made them scratch their bodies and their unpleasant scent chased their girlfriends away.

Most importantly between 1921 and 1945 was the revolution of the *murran* hairstyles through the use of Indian and Somali goods. Previously the *murran* had one hairstyle of applying ochre on their hair and plaiting until it grew to reach the hip. Findings indicate that *murran* wore hair of varying length and in various styles from 1920s to imitate the Indian women.

Apart from encouraging the monetization of the Samburu economy, the government was interested in stopping any practice that was inconsequential to the colonial economy. By 1920 sun dried skins and hides constituted an important article of trade which Samburu exchanged for flour with the Meru. Sheep skins were also used as robes for their circumcision candidates. From 1920 however, the state made attempts to commoditize the skins and hides. The process

commenced in 1927 when an Indian in Meru started to buy local hides on a large scale. Goat skins were especially sought as they were raw materials for the making of suede gloves. Suede gloves were used in the dispensary in Barsaloi. Suede was preferred because of its softness, thinness, and elasticity making it suitable for the medical delicate uses. Therefore Samburu could no longer use hides and skins in their circumcision ceremonies since these were in demand. While the colonial government facilitated the trade by issuance of licenses to the Indian traders very little effort was made to introduce better method of production of the hides and skins. The Samburu opted to buy the readily available *Amerikani* cloth from the Somali in the district which had attractive zippers and buttons.

The Kenya Land Commision of 1934 considered measures to restrict stock levels on the Lorroki to the carrying capacity of the land. Of all the actions taken by the colonial administrators, the grazing schemes were hated and had a negative impact on the Samburu body adornment. Grazing regulations split the Samburu into two groups. On Lorroki the favoured Samburu lived a comparatively easy life while in the low country there was constant struggle for existence. Women and their older sons accompanied the low country stock while they left their husbands and daughters in Lorroki. This affected some certain rituals that are accompanied by forms of body adornment. For instance, the Samburu in the lowland gradually stopped using *lparruai* blade from *mparruai* plant. It was used to break the cord of the baby's life in the womb and wish the mother and her close friend good life. This blade became scarce in the *lpurkel* and women would get back home empty handed since the permit to Lorroki was hard to come by. This study takes a step further by providing change and diffrences in body adornment among those Samburu living closer to the developing market economy centred on Lorroki plateau as compared with those dispersed in the more arid habitant of the lowlands, *lpurkel*, where tradition remained more firmly rooted and there was less provision of ornamentation.

The colonial administration in addition to banning the *murran* from carrying spears introduced more reforms including reducing the period of *murranhood*, encouraging the *murran* to marry earlier, prohibiting meat feasts in the bush and prohibiting *murran* from giving beads to their girlfriends. None of these prohibitions proved to be enforceable in the long run, and all the practices were eventually reinstated by the Samburu, but they nonetheless had important repercussions for warriorhood, body adornment and blacksmithing.

The introduction of western education in colonial Kenya did not take a uniform pattern of development. This variation was due to social, economic, political and environmental factors that prevailed at the time. These differences were distinct between predominantly pastoral and agricultural communities. It is evident from the existing literature that there are no historical studies on the development of education among the pastoralists of northern Kenya in general and the Samburu in particular. The study examined how the Samburu perceived western education and how those perceptions influenced their attitudes towards it. The introduction of western education in colonial Kenya did not take a uniform pattern of development. This variation was due to social, economic, political and environmental factors that prevailed at the time. These differences were distinct between predominantly pastoral and agricultural communities.

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In 1935 they started a school with only 20 Samburu pupils attending. The missionaries thought with the introduction of modern education the institution of *murranhood* would be a thing of the past. However *murranhood* had far reaching impacts on the development of education among the Samburu. Though the ceremonies to *murranhood* played an extremely important role in instilling loyalty to Samburu traditions among young persons of school-going age, they interfered with receptiveness to Western education. The boys who were due for circumcision derived pleasure from the desire to be initiated into *murranhood* that forgoing the events to attend school was unimaginable to most of them. As such, *murran* would not go to school as they were bound to meet with girls as possible classmates whom they treated with contempt. The activities involved diverse body adornment practices which were time consuming and could not allow one to settle in school.

Provision of social amenities transformed Samburu body adornment between 1945 and 1963. Formal education imparted new knowledge and skills, but also inculcated ideas and attitudes that clashed with traditional understandings of female capabilities, sexuality, and gender roles among the Samburu. It is also in this period that we note the Samburu educated girls and women not

only embraced literacy but also demonstrated their new skills in transforming their own adornment. Similarly young men embraced the cotton underpants and other attires. These cotton clothes were rejected by the Samburu women and were refered as lighter and ugly. The Samburu resisted the idea of changing their traditional fabric as they regarded is as a direct attack on their traditional heritage, but soon they realized the convenience and comfort allied with the cotton material.

Modern medication also transformed Samburu life. The colonial government attributed the prevalence to diseases among the Samburu pastoralists' to lack of personal hygiene, backward forms of adornment and promiscuous sexual practices.The government thus took steps in training the Samburu on proper hygiene, dress and discouraged the use of herbal medication and reliance of wild plants as sources of body adornment. Towards the end of the colonial period in in 1961 grazing measures were removed and the government established a tannery in the district. The tannery had an impact in Samburu body adornment for the available hides and skins were turned into leather that made shoes and clothes. These clothes were dyed and cast in different designs.

The Samburu have been under increasing strain since the independence period owing primarily to the intertwining factors of land pressure and livestock depletion coupled with population increase. Policies initiated in both the colonial and post-independence periods have produced land pressures, as land has been allocated to parks, national forests and private plots. The result has been pastoral sedentarization in the vicinity of towns and trading centres that created conditions that forced pastoralists to enter into wage labour and various forms of entrepreneurship.

With the opening up of beach hotels, organized wildlife *safaris* and resorts along the Coast in 1978, the owners of the hotels were interested in hiring groups of Maasai and Samburu men to perform their dances to their customers. This was as a result of British travellers and traders to Kenya who had depicted the Samburu and Maasai people as primitive, exotic and reluctant to change their culture. The Samburu on the other hand were less willing to take up any menial jobs and opted to flood coastal beaches to make a living from entertaining tourists at the beaches.

In the post-independence period, the Samburu *murran* body adornment seemed traditional, but actually was in the process of rapid change by becoming more flamboyant. The Samburu have a flair for adapting modern materials like ball points tops, plastic pipings, rubber wahsers, spent catridges, buttons and more beads. This has been as a result of cultural globalization.

The Samburu body adornment in the pre-colonial and colonial period identified a woman's beauty and social rank among through colour, pattern, and mass. In the last sixty years, as a result of Kenya's entrance into the global economy, Samburu women have turned traditional art form into a commodity, creating a product for Western tourists that, in turn, provide Samburu women with a means to earn income that is less readily under male control. In the state of globalization, influences from other cultures, both within and outside aparticular culture are inevitable, but the extent to which it is allowed to integrate with existing culture and imparting on it, should be the concerned of all cultures. Acculturation is unavoidable but can be controlled to be in line with values and norms of a cherished culture of any community like Samburu.

To correct the menace and improve on the use of Samburu adornment, the possible ways suggested include, financing and resourcing of local textiles and the fashion industries to come up with innovative ideas which are still tailored in the values and norms of Samburu culture. To train local or traditional artisans to produce works that is of international standard. Further research need to be carried out into the history of adornment among other pastoralists in Kenya. Using body adornment is the most significant identity marker among the Samburu. The Samburu use both temporary and permanent forms of body modification including scarification, piercing and branding. These practices are injurious and harmful to sensitive body parts such as the lungs, heart, ears and eyes. Further research can suggest ways of converting permanent body adornment to knitwear fashion.

All Kenyans must help to promote the use of traditional outfits of cultural significance to assist in creating that image for ourselves as'proudly Kenyans' and provide employment opportunities for our people.

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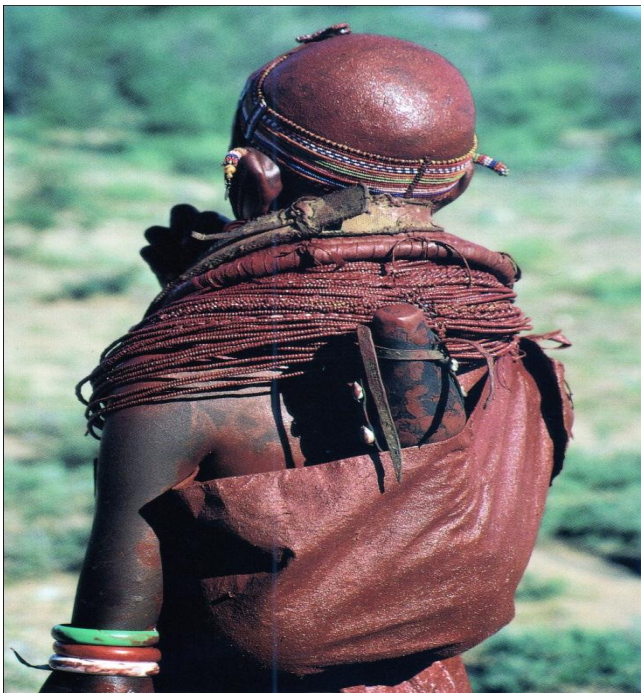
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: **Illustrations of some of the Samburu body adornment**

Appendix 1A: A photograph of *nkaibartani*, wearing *nchapukur*. Personal gallery, 19 March, 2012, Baragoi.



Appendix 1B: A bride on her wedding day. Painted in red ochre and covered with a hide apron (*logesana).* She also wore wooden beaded earings on her earlobes, *ltirriangani*. Personal gallery, 25 February 2012, Baragoi.

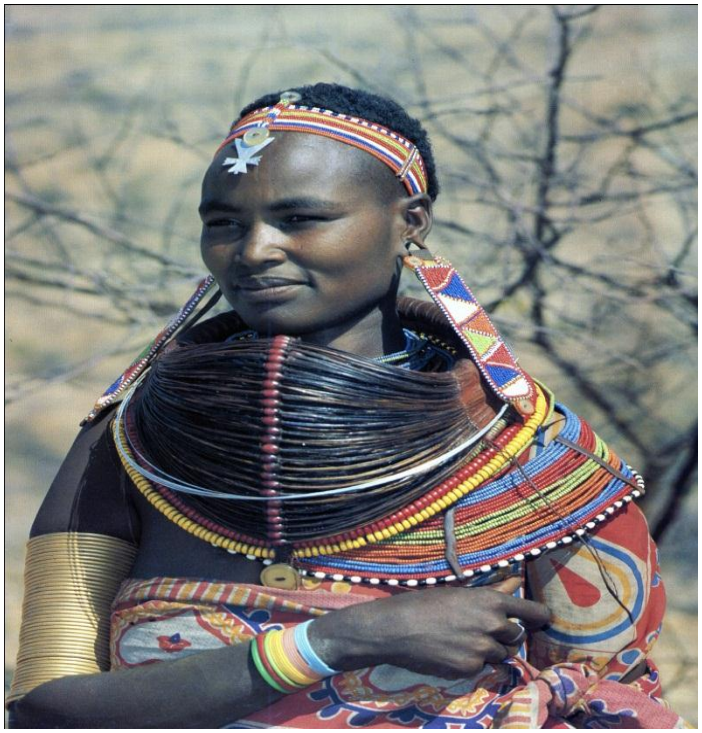
Appendix 1C: An illustration of two boys. One has scars (*lkigerot*) on the stomach while the other has *alliam* on his neck and wrist. Personal Gallery, 10 February 2012, Maralal.

Appendix 1D: Boys ready for circumcision. Wearing black skin robes, *lkilaa orok* and the small tuft of hair left at the middle, *lmanjeu.* Personal gallery, 10 February 2012, Poror.

Appendix 1E: A *laibartak* wearing an ostrich headdress. The father is wearing *munken*, below the knees. Personal gallery, 10 February 2012, Poror.

Appendix 1F: Illustration of *murran.* Key forms of body adornment include: red ochre, oiled body, and long braided hair, *soror*. Personal gallery, 22 March 2013, Wamba.

Appendix 1G: Illustration of the *lkidong lo lkumpou* worn by elders. Personal gallery, 20 March 2012, Kisima.



Appendix 1H: Illustration of a married woman wearing, *surutiai le ngaina* on the left arm, *mporo* and the coloured necklaces (*saen pussin*). Personal gallery, 22 March 2012, Kisima.

Appendix 1I: Illustrations of *murran* in *lmasi oitikito, sakara olaa* and *sakara oirena* hairstyles respectively. Personal gallery, 6 March 2013, Waso.

Appendix 1J: Illustrations of *murran* in *kub.* He *has* a style known as *naitulu,* where ochre was applied from the chin to the neck. The second is *Ilmasi Opiaya* hairdo. The third has a bandana, which covers the ochered hair. Personal gallery, 7 March 2013, Waso.

Appendix 1K: A mother to twins wearing four cowrie necklaces known as *sikirai*, and one of her twins wearing two cowrie shells. Personal gallery, 23 November 2012, Wamba.

Appendix 1L: a *murran* wearing coloured feathers and flowers on his head (*nkopiro*). Personal gallery, 26 November 2012, Maralal.

Figure 1M: A section of Maralal beads market and some of the beaded items sold such as neck ties, bracelets, necklaces and belts. Personal gallery, 2 May 2013, Maralal.

Appendix 2: List of Oral Informants with their Consent

	NAME	AGE/AGE-SET	RESIDENCE	GENDER	OCCUPATION	DATE
1	Kasaine, Moses	Lkiroro	Maralal	Male	Governor	04. 06. 2014
2	Lalesa, Lolesan	56	Suguta	Male	Beadworker	04. 06. 2014
3	Laleti, Jane	57	Suguta	Female	Housewife	04. 06. 2014
4	Lmataal, Lediran	Lkishili	Ng'ari	Male	Elder	05. 08. 2013
5	Latoyani, Lelei	Mowoli	Suguta	Male	Elder	04. 06. 2014
6	Leina, Leleshai	Lkiroro	Waso	Male	Elder	07. 04. 2013
7	Leina, Leshonga	Kimaniki	Maralal	Male	Elder	04. 01. 2014
	Leina, Letuge	Lkiroro	Waso	Male	Elder	06. 06. 2013
8	Lekamario, Musa	Mowoli	Waso	Male	Elder	06. 06. 2013
9	Lekine, Lekesio	Lkiroro	Baragoi	Male	Elder	08. 10. 2013
10	Lekine, Lembarasoroi	Lkishili	Poror	Male	Elder	10.10. 2013
11	Lekiyani, Lekupe	Mowoli	Suguta	Male	Elder	06. 07. 2012
12	Lekume, Leyelen	Lkiroro	Wamba	Male	Elder	06. 04. 2011
13	Lekupe, Side	Lmekuri	Ng'ari	Male	Elder	08. 09. 2012
14	Lelei, Lenakala	Mowoli	Suguta	Male	Elder	06. 07. 2012
15	Leleita, Samuel	Lkiroro	Maralal	Male	Elder	05. 01. 2014
16	Leleloya, Lekamario	Lkishili	Ng'ari	Male	Elder	10. 09. 2012
17	Lelelupe, Lelei	Lkiroro	Waso	Male	Elder	08. 04. 2012
18	Lelesai, Lshipisi	Mowoli	Maralal	Male	Elder	06. 07. 2013
19	Lelesit, Lena	54	Poror	Female	Midwife	06. 10. 2012
20	Lelojo, Samal	60	Poror	Female	Artisan	06. 11. 2013
21	Lelsomen, Leonard	Lmekuri	Kisima	Male	Bead seller	08. 12. 2012
22	Lenakori, Lkirren	Lkiroro	Waso	Male	Elder	01.12. 2013
23	Lenanyoo, Lekolan	Lkishili	Nga'ri	Male	Elder	03. 01. 2014
24	Lengula, Allan	Lkishili	Poror	Male	Elder	06. 07. 2014
25	Leparei, Lmaragan	Lmekuri	Kisima	Male	Elder	03. 12. 2012
26	Lepile, Jane	50	Poror	Female	Artisan	05. 05. 2014
27	Lesamburi, Lotoren	Mowoli	Waso	Male	Elder	23. 11. 2013
28	Lesawari, Leito	Lkiroro	Waso	Male	Artisan	05. 05. 2014
29	Lesilele, Lediran	Lkiroro	Maralal	Male	Bead seller	11. 10. 2012
30	Lesinoni, Lombo	Lkiroro	Maralal	Male	Elder	22. 08. 2014
31	Letinina, Nalenyi	55	Kisima	Female	House wife	06. 12. 2012
32	Letiwua, Lesagoi	Kimaniki	Kisima	Male	Herbalist	01. 12. 2012
33	Letolia, Lelete	Mowoli	Maralal	Male	Elder	04. 11. 2013

34	Letoole, Lkirren	Lkiroro	Baragoi	Male	Artisan	10. 12. 2012
35	Letoto, Deborah	55	Maralal	Female	Beadseller	23. 08. 2014
36	Letuge, Lemoge	Lkiroro	Maralal	Male	Elder	16. 08. 2014
37	Lewoso, Lolopida	Lkiroro	Poror	Male	Blacksmith	26. 10. 2012
38	Lewoso, Lolopida	Likiroro	Suguta	Male	Elder	12. 12. 2012
39	Lmataal, Lekuiye	Mowoli	Nga'ri	Male	Blacksmith	19. 02. 2014
40	Logoli, Ann	60	Maralal	Female	Artisan	03. 03. 2014
41	Logoli, Lekupen	Mowoli	Wamba	Male	Elder	19. 06. 2014
42	Lojolo, Samwuel	Lmekuri	Wamba	Male	Elder	25. 12. 2012

Appendix 3: List of *Murran* and Girls awaiting marriage Focus Group Discussions

	NAME	**AGE/AGE-SET**	**RESIDENCE**	**GENDER**	**OCCUPATION**	**DATE**
1	Lolakwi, Larugumu	24	Wamba	Male	Herding	09.04. 2014
2	Loloita, Leleshani	30	Wamba	Male	Herding	09. 04. 2014
3	Lombo, Lesinoni	33	Wamba	Male	Herding	10. 04. 2014
4	Lotemaga, Peter	25	Wamba	Male	Herding	10. 04. 2014
5	Ltorroni, Bernard	22	Wamba	Male	Herding	09. 04. 2014
6	Lturupet, Mary	20	Maralal	Female	Bead seller	12. 07. 2013
7	Luburan, Antonia	30	Maralal	Female	Bead seller	12. 07. 2013
8	Lukumar, Nancy	31	Maralal	Female	House help	12. 07. 2013
9	Nasul, Jane	23	Maralal	Female	House help	12. 07. 2013
10	Nasul, Lelema	Lkichami	Maralal	Male	Artisan	12. 07. 2013
11	Nasul, Lelila	Lkichami	Maralal	Male	Artisan	12. 07. 2013
12	Nasul, Lulepe	Lkichami	Maralal	Male	Bead seller	12. 07. 2013
13	Samal, Seuri	Lkichami	Wamba	Male	Herding	09. 04. 2014
14	Sankeyo, Likiliai	Lkichami	Wamba	Male	Herding	09. 04. 2014
15	Sidai, Lekamario	Lkichami	Wamba	Male	Herding	09.04. 2014
16	Sidoi, Lewasa	Lkichami	Wamba	Male	Herding	09. 04. 2014
17	Solale, Lepasia	Lkichami	Wamba	Male	Herding	09. 04. 2014
18	Soroita, Letekil	Lkichami	Wamba	Male	Herding	09. 04. 2014

Appendix 4: Samburu Age-sets

The duration for each age-set is fourteen years on average

	AGE-SET	**INITIATION DATE**
1	Salkanya	c.1739-c.1753
2	Uandero	c.1753-c.1767
3	Kipslat	c.1767-c.1781
4	Meishopo	c.1781-c.1795
5	Kurga	c.1795-c.1809
6	Lpetaa	c.1809-c.1823
7	Kipayang	c.1823-c.1837
8	Kipeku	c.1837-c.1851
9	Kiteku	c.1851-c.1865
10	Tagirik	c.1865-c.1879
11	Marikon	c.1879-c.1893
12	Terito	c.1983-c.1912
13	Merisho	c.1912-c.1921
14	Lkileku	1921-1936
15	Lmekuri	1936-1948
16	Kimaniki	1948-1960
17	Lkishili	1960-1976
18	Lkiroro	1976-1990
19	Mowoli	1990-2005
20	Lkichami	2005-2014

Source: Oral Interviews by the author between April 2011 and August 2014.

Appendix 5: Interview Schedule for Artisans and Bead Workers

Name: ..... Age.....

Location..... Sex.....

Date.....

1. How long have you worked using beads?
2. How did you acquire the skills?
3. What was the significance of beads in Samburu ceremonies and rituals in the pre-colonial period?
4. How were the beads acquired by the Samburu in the pre-colonial period?
5. From what period did the Samburu wear amulets and charms and why?
6. What were the factors considered when making beaded body adornment in the pre-colonial period?
7. What were the European perspectives on the use of Beads among the Samburu in the colonial period?
8. Name factors that influenced beadwork among the Samburu either positively or negatively in the colonial period?
9. Name some colonial measures that affected the Samburu usage of beads for their body adornment.
10. What was the nature of the Samburu bead industry at the time of contact with the western culture?
11. Describe the nature of the bead industry in Samburu community in the post-independence period.
12. How has the community changed economically from bead industry in the post-independence period?
13. Name some items made from beads that sell most in the post-independence period?
14. How has the Samburu body adornment influenced other communities' body adornment?
15. What are the most popular articles of body adornment in Samburuland today?
16. What would you recommend to the government on preservation of Samburu body adornment?

Appendix 6: Interview Schedule for Elders

Name: ..... Age.....

Location..... Sex.....

Date..... Status in the community……

1. From your knowledge, describe the origin, migration and settlement of the Samburu community to present land?
2. Who were the original inhabitants of the present Samburu land?
3. Describe the cultural values that the Samburu cherish from the pre-colonial period.
4. What was the significance of body adornment among the Samburu community in the pre-colonial period?
5. Who were the designers of the Samburu body adornment in the pre-colonial period?
6. What were the factors considered when designing articles of body adornment in the pre-colonial period?
7. Name the communities that interacted with the Samburu in the pre-colonial period.
8. How did the neighbouring communities influence Samburu body adornment?
9. Illustrate factore that influenced Samburu body adornment positively or negatively Samburu during the colonial period?
10. What was the nature of body adornment that existed among the Samburu at the time of contact with the western culture?
11. Illustrate the forms of body adornment that are gradually becoming outdated by the Samburu in the post-independence period.
12. Describe the forms of body adornment that continue to be worn by the Samburu in the post- independence period.
13. How has the Samburu body adornment influenced other communities' body adornment?
14. Do we need a national dress in Kenya? Is the Samburu *shuka* the most preferred? Give reasons to support your argument.

Appendix 7: Interview Schedule for Women

Name: ..... Age.....

Location..... Sex.....

Date..... Status in the community……

1. Name some articles of body adornment worn by the Samburu women in the pre-colonial period?
2. What was the significance of these articles of body adornment to the Samburu women?
3. What factors were considered in the choice of a body adornment in the pre-colonial period?
4. Name the communities that interacted with the Samburu in the pre-colonial period.
5. How did the neighbouring communities influence Samburu body adornment?
6. What was the role of women in designing body adornment among the Samburu?
7. Name the types of body adornment worn by women that prevailed in Samburu during the colonial period.
8. What are some of the changes notable in body adornment in the colonial period?
9. What was the nature of Samburu women body adornment among the Samburu women at the time of contact with the western culture?
10. How did westernism and modernity influence Samburu women body adornment positively or negatively?
11. Describe some body adornment that continues to be worn by the Samburu women in the post-independence period.
12. How has the Samburu body adornment influenced other communities' body adornment?
13. What is the role of Samburu women in designing articles of body adornment in the post-independence period?
14. What are the most popular articles of body adornment in Samburuland today?
15. What would you recommend to the government on preservation of Samburu body adornment?

Appendix 8: Focus Group guide for the *Murran* and girls awaiting marriage

Age group..... Status in the community…….

Location..... Sex.....

1. Describe the cultural values that the Samburu cherish
2. Name some body adornment common among the *murran* and girls.
3. What were the factors considered when designing articles of body adornment in the pre-colonial period?
4. How were the body adornment affected by colonial rule?
5. Illustrate factors that influenced the *murran* and girls body adornment positively or negatively Samburu during the colonial period?
6. What was the nature of body adornment among the *murran* and girls at the time of contact with the Western culture
7. Illustrate the forms of body adornment worn by *murran* and girls that are gradually becoming outdated by the Samburu in the post-independence period.
8. Describe the forms of body adornment that continue to be worn by the *murran* and girls in the post- independence period.
9. How has the Samburu body adornment influenced other communities' body adornment?
10. Describe some articles of body adornment that has been modified to be worn by the Samburu *murran* and girls in the post-independence period?
11. What are the most popular articles of body adornment among *murran* and girls today?

Appendix 9: Research Permit

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/13/0144/440
Date Of Issue : 7th January,2014
Fee Recieved : Kshs ksh2000.oo

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. RUTH NYAMBURA NJOROGE
of EGERTON UNIVERSITY, NJORO CAMPUS, 0-20100 NAKURU,has been permitted to conduct research in *Samburu County*

on the topic: *ADORNMENT AMONG THE SAMBURU:A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE*

for the period ending:
1st November,2015

.....
Applicant's Signature

.....
Secretary
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one(1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NACOSTI

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

Serial No. A 7798

CONDITIONS: see back page