

THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION



NOMINATION DOSSIER FOR INSCRIPTION ON THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST

THE SACRED MIJIKENDA KAYA FORESTS

(KENYA)

JANUARY 2008

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

State Party: Republic of Kenya

Name of Property: The Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests
(Serial Nomination)

Geographical co-ordinates to the nearest second:

Serial No.	Name	District	Coordinates of Centre Point deg: min: sec	Total Area (ha)
001	Kaya Giriama (Fungo)	Kaloleni	S 03 47 55 E 39 30 52	204
002	Kaya Jibana	Kaloleni	S 03 50 15 E 39 40 10	140
003	Kaya Kambe	Kaloleni	S 03 51 49 E 39 39 07	75
004	Kaya Kauma	Kilifi	S 03 37 14 E 39 44 10	75
005	Kaya Ribe	Kaloleni	S 03 53 49 E 39 37 58	36
006	The Rabai Kayas	Kaloleni	S 03 55 55 E 39 35 46	580
007	The Duruma Kayas	Kinango	S 03 59 54 E 39 31 25	398
008	Kaya Kinondo	Msambweni	S 04 23 36 E 39 32 41	30

Maps: See attached map of Series

Note: There are no nominated buffer zones. However, the communal lands immediately outside the forest are regulated by customary laws / taboos and practices shaped by longstanding association between the local communities and the nominated sites.

Justification:

The Mijikenda Sacred Kaya forests are an outstanding and unique African example of how the collective attitudes and beliefs of a rural society have shaped or sculpted a landscape over time in response to prevailing needs. They contain the traces of historic fortified settlements of the Mijikenda ancestors which serve as a focus of cultural and ritual activities continuing on the sites today. In a unique way, the intangible aspects of Mijikenda heritage are supported by physical cultural features of the kayas including paths, gate sites, burial grounds, settlement sites, ritual grounds etc representing the material embodiment of their world view and traditional belief systems. Prominent on

hills and other strategic sites, the kaya forests are a highly aesthetic symbol of the interrelation of man and nature, a rich blend of natural and cultural values. Since their abandonment as places of settlement and refuge, the kaya forest landscapes have been transferred from the domestic, practical, material realm of significance to the spiritual sphere of Mijikenda life. As an essential part of this process certain traditional restrictions were placed on access, and the utilization of natural forest resources. The result is that the kayas have been preserved and their biodiversity sustained. However, the cultural and spiritual beliefs and associations are critical to character of the forested sites. In the African context the intangible or psychic dimensions are as important as the material, physical and natural, all the elements being essential and mutually reinforcing. The kayas provide focal points for Mijikenda cultural and spiritual values and practices, and basic identity. As a collection of sites spread over a large area, they are associated with beliefs of local and national significance, and possibly regional importance.

Criteria under which Property is Nominated

- Criterion (iii)** Bears a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.'
- Criterion (v)** an outstanding example of traditional human settlement, land-use or sea-use which is representative of a culture or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change'
- Criterion (vi)** directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

Official Local Institution / Agency

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NOMINATED SITES

SACRED MIJIKENDA KAYA FORESTS

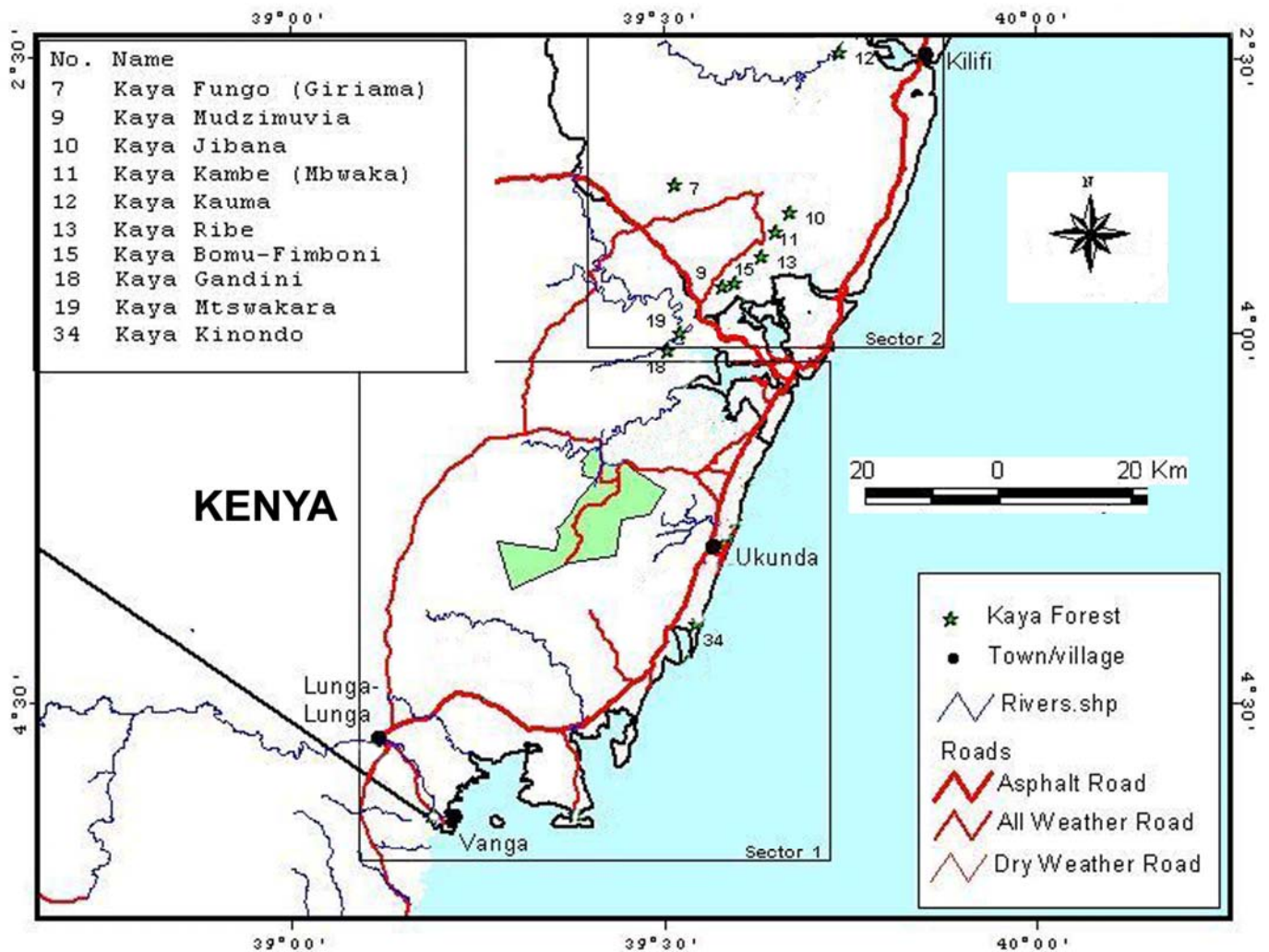


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**NOMINATION DOSSIER FOR INSCRIPTION ON THE
WORLD HERITAGE LIST**

1. IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROPERTY

1 (a). Country:

Republic of Kenya

1 (b). Province:

Coast Province

1 (c). Name of Property:

The Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests

1 (d). Geographical coordinates to the nearest second:

Serial No.	Name	District	Coordinates of Centre Point deg: min: sec	Total Area (ha)
001	Kaya Giriama (Fungo)	Kaloleni	S 03 47 55 E 39 30 52	204
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Buffer Zone

There is no nominated buffer zone. However, the communal lands immediately outside the forest are regulated by customary laws / taboos and practices shaped by longstanding association between the local communities and the nominated sites.

(e) Maps: See attached maps

(f) Area of property proposed for inscription:

The nominated sites together have a total area of 1, 538 Ha. with individual sites distributed along a coastal strip extending 150 Km from north to south and 45 Km wide.

2. DESCRIPTION

2.(a) General Description of the Property

The main topography of the Kenya Coast includes a flat coastal plain edged by sandy beaches and coral cliffs as well as mangrove swamps, from which a low range of sandstone hills, rises to a maximum height of about 250 metres parallel to the coastline. From these hills there is a drop, sometimes precipitous, to the Nyika Plateau followed by a gradual descent to the semi-arid and flat Taru Desert . The Mijikenda Kaya forests (or *Ma-Kaya* in the Mijikenda plural), appear as forested hill-tops and sometimes valleys, in this landscape, mostly in the sub-humid coastal range and on the plain itself. They are typically found in the midst of densely populated rural farmlands dominated by coconut and cashew stands and clusters of thatched dwellings, in the homelands of the Mijikenda people.

The contrast between the surrounding farm monoculture and the luxuriant indigenous forest groves is strong and the Makaya stand out conspicuously, mysterious and alluring. They appear undisturbed, but in fact all true Kaya forests bear the clear imprint of man. They have visible clearings in their centers and a system of deeply incised and well worn paths leading to and from these spaces. In some of the clearings, there will be stands of coconut trees, indicating past settlement. From the air this consistent pattern of paths and clearings in the Ma-kaya is particularly striking. The effect is that of land sculpture. The collective 'sculptors' are the local rural Mijikenda people inspired by their changing environment through time.

Kaya forest patches are small in size, ranging in area from 10 ha to 400 hectares and are what remains, preserved by cultural norms, of much more extensive forest. To date, over 50 kayas have been identified in the contiguous districts of Kwale, Msambweni, Kinango, Kaloleni, Mombasa, Kilifi and Malindi. Most Kaya forests tend to be located at strategic sites on hill-tops but a few are found in river valleys, and others on flat land. The type of vegetation of the Kayas varies from place depending on the type of forest or woodland that originally dominated the area.

By definition, Kayas differ from other types of forests and even other sacred places of the Mijikenda in having a history or tradition of settlement of the site, which is also closely related to the myth of origin and migration of the different Mijikenda communities. The marks of organized human activity as mentioned above are associated by the Mijikenda with their ancestors who lived there in the past. 'Kaya' in fact means 'home' in most Mijikenda dialects.

The Mijikenda People

The Mijikenda people are the dominant ethnic community in the coastal region of Kenya between the Kenya border with Tanzania in the south and the northern limit of Malindi District near the Tana river. This is a strip of over 300km with a varying width of between 50 and 60km. They are in fact 9 distinct groups (Mijikenda means 'nine tribes') but speak closely related Bantu dialects which share about 71% of their vocabulary suggesting that their separation and formation as different groups may have begun less than 1000 years ago (Nyamweru 1998, 8-9). The groups are: A-Giriama, A-Digo, A-

Duruma, A-Chonyi, A-Ribe, A-Rabai, A-Kambe, A-Kauma, A-Jibana (the prefix 'A' denotes a people or tribe).

Mijikenda oral history relates that the ancestors of the Mijikenda, who were then one people, lived in a place called Singwaya, believed to be north of Tana River and south of Juba River in Somalia. However due to conflicts with other communities there they migrated south in waves into the present Kenya coastal region from the early 16th century onwards (Spear 1978).

They established themselves in fortified villages known as Kayas. As they continued to be harassed by other groups, especially nomadic pastoralists, the defensive function of the kaya village was crucial to their survival. This was achieved by (i) siting the kaya within thick forest so that it could only be approached on narrow forest paths (ii) surrounding the village with a strong stockade (iii) burial the sacred objects or fingo within the kaya, essential to the material and spiritual well-being of the community (Nyamweru 1998). The kaya forests with their clearings and sacred sites are believed to be what remains of the extensive forests and hidden villages, preserved now as ritual and spiritual sites, the surrounding land having given way to agriculture during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Although Most Mijikenda today profess monotheistic Christianity or Islam, the traditional Mijikenda religion was a combination of monotheism in which a supreme being and creator, **Mulungu**, was worshipped, and a strong belief in the influence of ancestral and other spirits in people's daily lives. Many Mijikenda today have not completely abandoned this view.

The Kaya Forest Today

The land surrounding the forested hill comprising the kaya will be heavily settled and farmed with crops like maize and cassava, legumes, and the ubiquitous coconut and cashewnuts. In the drier and flatter areas, settlement will be more sparse, and the dominant activity will be livestock rearing with patchy agriculture. The settling is overwhelmingly rural. Because of land use pressure in the more productive agricultural areas, the gardens are farmed right up to where the Kaya begins, but do not go beyond. The forest itself may be very tall and thick with creepers and undergrowth dominated by coastal forest species such as *Trachylobium*, *Julbernardia*, *Antiaris*, *Cynnometra*. *Bombax* etc.

One needs a guide or a 'host' to enter the forest. This usually consists of a Kaya Elder or Elders with whom you would have consulted and asked permission. To fail to do this before entering represents intrusion and bad faith. It may precipitate harm to the community but particularly to the intruder. In any case without a member of the Kaya you will not 'see' the kaya. The cultural element of the forest is crucial to the experience. Without a cultural guide to interpret it for you, the forest will not differ from any other. The Mijikenda say that in olden days, enemies were blinded in this way and failed to find the hidden villages due to the powerful protective magic of the kaya.

To enter the **kitsaka** or **Jima** (the forest), one must use the traditional path established generations ago as the only legitimate path to the kaya the **mwara**. (plural, **Nyara**) There usually only two such paths leading to the Kaya. Often the climb is steep and arduous if the kaya is on a hill-top and at some Kayas there are designated ritual rest

stops. The path is well-worn and compacted and nothing grows on it despite the profusion of plants all around. At some kayas, you will have to remove your shoes as only raw hide sandals are permitted. One should always remove one's hat, and in other cases, one's shirt; each kaya has its own conventions. As you go deeper into the forest, the village sounds are left behind and you are conscious only of the forest noises around you, including insect and bird calls and the soft voices of the Elders.

Along the way, the guide will point out various features. The key ones include the position of the old kaya gates the **Mvirya**. Historically there were two or three along the path marking. The original gates have disappeared but on one or two sites, their decayed fragments are still visible. There might be a receptacle at the site of a gate which held potent protective charms in the past and in some cases a small offering or incantation may be required before you proceed.

On the outer side of the gates on one side of the path, there are historical burial grounds **makaburini**, for those who could not be buried in the central village having died outside the gates. Important leaders, healers or prophets however may have their own individual burial sites which are often considered sacred. Linked to burial also is **Cherani**, a place where the body from outside the Kaya was placed so that a decision could be made by the Elders about admitting it for burial. Even today in these rural sites one may find that a burial has taken place and that a wooden grave marker or **Koma** is present. You may also see at the side of the path a small freshly constructed booth or stall made of thatch in which there will be small platters of food. This is the **Kadzumba ka Mulungu** or 'house of the spirits' usually placed at a spot known as a **Kiza** or place of sacrifice. The Kiza is usually located under the shade of a large fig tree **Mgandi** or Baobab **Mbuyu** but graves of past luminaries could also have become Kiza. The purpose of the offerings in the kadzumba is to entice and divert malevolent spirits from proceeding into the Kaya and disrupting an ongoing ceremony.

On passing through the last gate site if permitted, you will finally enter the Kaya or the historical village. Surrounding the old village was a thick protective fence or stockade of poles and tree trunks but at most sites this has rotted away. The Kaya is a large clearing in the forest with few or no large trees. Depending on how recently it has been used for some prayer ceremony, it may be overgrown with bushes and shrubs. If the Kaya was recently in ritual use there will be indications of activity, the site will be partially or extensively cleared of grass and weeds and there will be one or more ceremonial huts of the traditional kind, a kind of thatched elongated igloo. These are the only kind that may be built in the kaya and poles and thatch for them will have been obtained from within the forest as no materials are allowed from outside. There will also be traces of fires recently lit and remains of food partaken.

Little or nothing remains of the village dwellings of history but every part of the clearing has significance and is precisely identified by the Kaya Elders. The former site of the village meeting booth or hut the **Moro** is of particular importance. The Moro was where all issues affecting the whole tribe were discussed together. In some kayas the site of the moro is now covered by vegetation and has become an important ritual place which is out of bounds for ordinary visitors. Otherwise each clan had its own designated area of settlement, allocated when the Kaya was first set up on arrival from Singwaya, and its own meeting hut or **Lwanda**. These were clustered round the Moro and the Elders will show where each was situated though they no longer exist. However from time to time, one may see replica huts built for ritual purposes.

The location of the **Fingo**, the protective magic that the tribe brought with them from Singwaya can never be disclosed or if it is, only in the most general terms. It may be in a patch of forest within the clearing, or in the moro area, but in many cases it was so potent that it was placed outside the village in the surrounding forest. The general location of the Fingo is the most sacred place, 'the forest within a forest'. No one was permitted there and those who blundered into it were not expected to live. Apart from the Fingo there may be other sacred spots including the burial sites of past spiritual leaders of reknown. Hidden away from the central clearing also is the site of the **Tutu**, a ritual hut where only select elders met for secret discourse and where oaths were administered.

In addition to man-linked features of the Kaya are natural phenomena which have spiritual associations. These include springs, large rocks, caves, cliffs, and trees of great size. Unusual animals such as large snakes and birds in the kaya are also accorded the same respect and left alone.

A Natural Cultural Site

The Kaya is therefore a natural forested site with strong cultural and ritual significance linked to past uses. Nothing remains of the former village in all the sites although its layout and features are precisely known. The gates have rotted away. The only tangible sign of the Kaya's settlement history are the well worn paths and distinct clearings which for most of the year are overgrown and cleared when needed, for ceremonies. At some kayas the burial sites are also discernible, and have stones marking the graves.

The rest is forest. Physical structures and artifacts linked to the ritual use of the site are not meant for permanence: the kadzumba, the ceremonial huts, the clay pots with protective charms. They are placed each time, used and left to the elements, to be swallowed up by the forest, by nature. An essential part of community rituals is the cleaning of the paths which may be overgrown since the last ceremony.

Yet the historic village and its features are very real to the Elders and Kaya cultural adherents. When the elders identify the gate sites and conduct you around the kaya, elaborating on the layout of the clans, they speak as if it the structures were still there. More often than not they will not use past tense. The presence or absence of physical traces or relics are less important than the powerful memory and its symbolism for the Kaya communities. When the Elders and community members visit the site and celebrate there, it comes to life.

Ceremonies

Kayas are active ritual sites even today as suggested above, in the more rural sites, and still important for the unity and identity of the community. Ceremonies are conducted there by initiated Elders for various purposes including:

- Prayers for rain in time of drought or famine – **Kulomba vula**
- The cleansing of the land.
- Prayers of thanksgiving and blessing of the harvest - **Kutohola**
- Prayers for the good health of the communities - **Sadaka ya Mudzi**
- Resolution of clan and family disputes
- Divination and healing for individual members of the community

The rituals will usually involve slaughter of livestock such as sheep and cows depending on the occasion in which case the offering must be consumed within the Kaya. Nothing must leave the sacred forest. There may also be a mixing of medicine including a concoction of leaves and other herbs. In the community ceremonies, accompanied by colourful dances, all members of the community from the surrounding villages are welcome.

An important element of the Kaya ceremonies is their strong symbolism around the concept of the home and village. For example, major ceremonies for the whole village, are preceded by a ritual clearing of the paths and cleaning of the central space by the women, much as one would spruce up ones residence in expectation of a visitor or event.

Traditional Conservation Rules for the Kaya Today

The Kayas today are primarily ritual and symbolic sites rather than actual settlements as they were historically. While the political power of the Kaya Elders has waned with the abandonment of the villages, they have still maintained a strong ritual and ceremonial role as stewards of the site and its secrets. The importance of the dense forest and its cover is key to this secrecy and mystery. The Elders have enforced this protection so that its mystery and power may be retained and the fingo remains hidden.

Enforcement of rules is mainly through a system of taboos, curses and other spiritual sanctions which still have a powerful effect in the rural communities associated with the Kayas. Infringement of the use laws of the Elders would attract a fine which the miscreant was obliged to pay to avoid spiritual retribution (Githitho, 2005).

Rules to protect the site include a ban on all cutting of live trees although dead wood may be collected in limited amounts on some sites by women for domestic use. When doing so they are to take only as much as they can carry in their arms without use of a rope. Grazing is forbidden due to the risk of disturbing ritual objects hidden in the forest. Livestock straying into the kaya are at risk of capture and slaughter. However wildlife including large snakes was to be unmolested as it might represent spirit beings.

Apart from rules regarding the physical and natural environment there are others to protect the spiritual and ritual sanctity of the site. Sorcery or witchcraft is strictly proscribed in the kaya as a destructive and anti-social activity. The same goes for all violence and shedding of blood within the kaya forest. Suicides and murder victims can not be buried in the kaya. Some kayas have rules on what may be worn such as the ban on shoes while visiting. In particular areas, only traditional kaya clothing may be worn which included a sarong (kitambi) and a shawl. Such clothing was seamless and wrapped round the body.

While visitors may be entertained in the central clearing, it may be necessary to cleanse the site afterwards if the visitors are not members of the kaya. By this is meant those who are not members of the Mijikenda group associated with the kaya or not Mijikenda. The most sacred areas of the kaya are off-limits to all except the Elders in the exercise of their duties. These include the locality of the fingo or other sacred objects. The rigour of enforcement of these rules varies from site to site, but they all reflect a desire to maintain the kaya as a special place at the heart of the community.

Kaya Forests and Natural Diversity

The coastal forests of Kenya are part of a regional system of forests extending as far down as Mozambique known as the Eastern African Coastal Forest (Burgess and Clarke, 2000) system which includes the Zanzibar-Inhambane Regional Mosaic of White (1983a) . The forest region exhibits a very high level of biodiversity both in terms of sheer diversity, endemism and rarity in a significant number of biological groups (CEPF, 2001).

Part of the reason for this is geological. Most of the present geomorphological features of coastal eastern Africa have developed over the last 200 million years. The entire range of geological substrate found in Africa is present in the Coastal forest belt from pre-cambrian (> 2500 million years old) rocks to recent alluvial deposits. Forests are found on plains, plateaux, marine and lacustrine deposits. All these factors contribute to the great diversity of vegetation types and the effect is further heightened by the variety of climatic regimes and soil types (Burgess and Clarke, 2000).

As a part of this system and remnants of what is believed to be once much more extensive forest on the Kenya coast, it is not surprising that Kayas display high biodiversity values in terms of diversity, endemism and rarity. The latest estimates show that Kayas constitute about 5% of the remaining coastal closed forest cover of Kenya estimated to be about 67000 ha, yet when an assessment was done for plant biodiversity values, 7 out of the 20 sites with the highest conservation status were Kaya forests.

The effect is further heightened by human activity over the millennia. Human dispersion and migration as well as population growth have led to forest clearing for settlement and agriculture. For example with the gradual abandonment of the central kaya settlements over the last two centuries it is believed that the Mijikenda cleared much of the primary forest in the areas surrounding the kayas where they live today (Spear 1978). The result is that the forest areas containing the kayas have become more and more isolated as connection with each other has been lost. Forest islands have formed with the resultant biodiversity effects.

2.a (1) The Nominated Sites

The Kaya forests today, therefore comprise distinct coastal cultural landscapes closely linked to the traditions and history of the coastal Mijikenda communities. They display consistent cultural elements which can also be regarded as diagnostic and which include:

- The association with the tribes' migration from Singwaya
- The presence of the Fingo or talisman from Singwaya
- A defined Kaya, or Central clearing
- 'Moroni' The site of the Moro or historical meeting hut
- The Mwara (plural nyara) paths
- The Mvirya (gate) sites
- Makaburini or burial sites.
- Chiza, prayer sites or altars

This section presents the individual Kaya forests included in the nomination which are a selection from the large number of sites known. It will be possible to demonstrate in each site the variations of the above pattern, while highlighting the consistent theme. Legend indicates that on establishment, each Kaya became the basis of a distinct people although there were similarities with other groups. As separate tribes they fashioned their own specific customs and traditions based on their unique physical cultural and political environments and experience. The Kayas display fascinating diversity in terms of their physical arrangement and local traditions, within a unified framework.

The nominated sites include five out of the six kayas consistently associated with, and possessing an original fingo from Singwaya, the legendary wellspring of Mijikenda namely:

- Kaya Giriama (Fungo)
- Kaya Jibana
- Kaya Kambe
- Kaya Ribe
- Kaya Kinondo

In addition three Kayas which were offshoots of 'Singwaya' kayas or which became Mijikenda by assimilation namely:

- Kaya Kauma
- The Rabai Kayas (Mudzimuvya, Bomu and Fimboni)
- The Duruma Kayas (Mtswakara and Gandini)



001 KAYA GIRIAMA (FUNGO)

001 KAYA GIRIAMA (FUNGO)

LOCATION:	FUNGO LOCATION, KALOLENI DIVISION, KALOLENI DISRICT
LEGAL STATUS:	PROTECTED AREA (NATIONAL MONUMENT)
TOTAL AREA:	204 HA

SETTING

Kaya Giriama, also called Kaya Fungo is the primary kaya of the Giriama people. It is located in the deep hinterland on the high coastal plain sometimes referred to as the Nyika Plateau. The relief is flat to gently undulating between 150-300M with soils derived from siltstone, shale and feldsparic sandstones.

The area is semi-arid and characterized by thorny woodland / bushland and grassland with lowland dry forest sometimes occurring on low hills. Poor and unreliable rainfall and poor soils have resulted in low population density (50 per sq KM) and the livestock rearing as the main economic activity. Around Kaya Giriama in this rural area, are scattered homesteads with patchy maize crops, and earth dams to take advantage of the limited rain. The local villages are called Gandini, Nzoweni and Kwa Choloto. Due to its sacred status, Kaya Giriama is one of the few relatively undisturbed areas of vegetation. It is an area of *Brachystegia*, *Azelia*, *Julbernardia*, *terminalia* woodland. And *Diospyros* wooded grassland.

ORAL TRADITIONS

Giriama traditions relate that from Singwaya the Giriama stopped at Mwangea, Mwaeba, Kinarani and Mwijo all the time pursued by the Galla. At Mwijo however they met Laa hunters. These hunter-gatherers showed them a safe forest refuge and the use of iron arrowheads and poison, and they were finally able to repel the Galla. Some accounts name Jorore to the north of Giriama as the precursor of Giriama but there is no unanimity on this. The other common name for the Kaya – Fungo is after a historical kaya leader of the 19th century who acquired great power and influence among the Giriama and became a virtual despot of his people. He successfully led them against the Masai raiders of that time.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Champion wrote extensively about the Giriama, their culture and history around 1915. Before this there is little contemporary documentation of the Giriama and their kaya although Krapf mentions meeting Giriama living away from the Kaya in Godoma to the west of Kilifi in 1845.

CULTURAL FEATURES AND ACTIVITIES

Kaya Giriama has two paths leading into the kaya from the east and west. The Eastern mwara which is the official entrance has 2 former gate sites while the western one was protected by one gate. **Tsangalaweni** is the where the path into the kaya begins on the eastern path, and there is a kiza there to cleanse those who go in.

At **Chiza cha Mwaruga** some way in, you must pluck a twig from the thicket on your left side, and drop it into the pot there. After this you may not look back as you advance into the kaya. Mwaruga is believed to have been a woman prophet who was buried at this site about 100m inside from Tsangalaweni. This is a place of thanks giving and offerings site for blessings received. In the past, green maize, bananas, cassava, dry maize flour, tobacco, meat and money would be offered but due to frequent droughts and famines people can no longer afford this. Instead visitors pluck and drop a symbolic green twig. If one forgets to cut the green twig, tobacco can substitute. A heap of dry twigs is evident when you get here.

The Moroni is quite central in the clearing and the Singwaya Fingo is believed to be buried near it in a location known as **Furudai**. This is the forested area south of the moro and is the most sacred and terrible place in the kaya. Strictly no entry is permitted except for a Mumwangoa clan elder initiated to do so. In the kaya the residential areas of the various clans are also identified (Chiro, 2007).

Ritual Huts

There are two important ritual huts still erected and maintained at Kayafungo: the **Nyumba ya Tutu** and **Nyumba ya Ngiriama**. The Nyumba ya Tutu is used to house specific secret objects of the community associated with the administration of oaths. It is positioned next to Moroni. Only one appointed Elder may enter it and sit in it and the circumstances of its use are elaborate and complex. The materials used for building the hut are highly specific. The thatch grass is **kitoja** and is obtainable from the fields while the poles must be of Mkone, or myama trees. The ropes used are either of **Mkone** or **Morya** bark.

Nyumba ya Ngiriama is the official state house and is used to house all secret objects of the community. It is positioned next to Moroni. Entry is limited only to one senior member of the council. The protocols of access are very strict and complex. Poles from a mix of the trees associated with spirits such as Mkone can be used and all the materials must be sourced from within.

Chiza/ altars

Besides the chiza (Plural Viza) along the paths which prevent the entry of enemies and bad influences, there are other places of prayer at specific localities within and outside the kaya. Some are hidden in the forest while some are within the central village area. They can be under very tall trees, by a river or spring, or at the graves of the founders of the Kaya. Some of the kiza at Kaya Giriama include the following:

Zia ra Ache. This is a permanent water point where women attending a funeral go to bathe and wash clothes. The spirits that caused the death are washed off at this place and left here, never to haunt the morning family relatives again.

Kiza cha Mvula This is a rain prayer altar found after the last gate to the central clearing. During the rain prayer ceremony, the half buried pot has to be filled with water drawn in guards by virgin young girls from the 4 corners (pembe nne) of the kaya. The water must not be allowed to overflow otherwise there will be floods.

Mbari tandahu This is near the Moro and there are river stones symbolizing Giriama ladies from the six main clans. During ceremonies at the spot, women dressed in black, red and white cloth loincloths are smeared with castor seed oil. If too much oil is applied as to cause spillage, there will be too much rains and the crops will fail. This is a prayer site for good rains, health and a bumper harvest. Access is restricted to the women elders who apply the oil and men elders of the senior kambi.

Mtsara wa Kaya This is a permanent water point and prayer site for good rains, peace and also pray for healing against disease outbreak. The water is only for human consumption and no cattle is allowed is. Livestock who accidentally drink here will die (Chiro, 2007).

Traditional Rules of Kaya Giriama.

The Kaya Elders of Giriama are the main custodians of the Kaya and its traditions. Meeting regularly in the kaya they provide advice to local people on cultural and spiritual matters, adjudicate disputes and lead ceremonies. They enforce a code of rules for the Kaya including the following (from Chiro, 2007) :

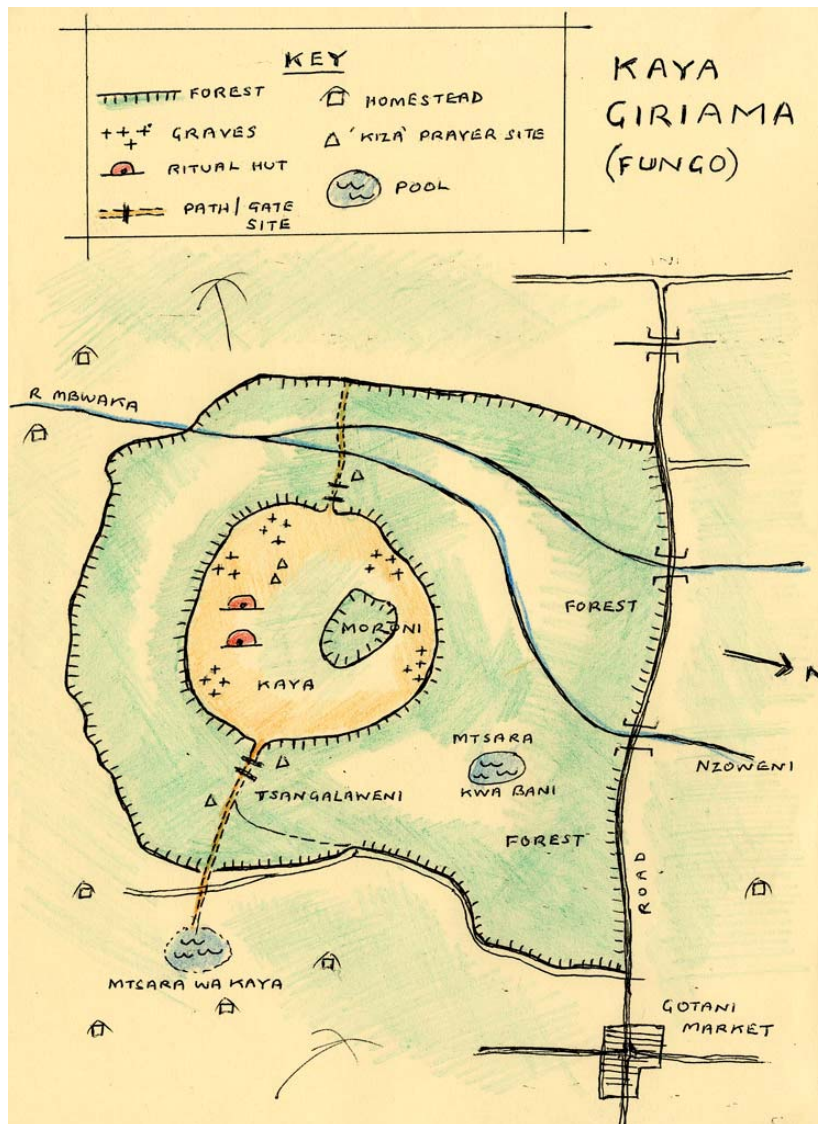
- A ban on the wearing of shoes beyond the last gate of the kaya. It is also a taboo to enter the kaya with foreign items or use them while in the kaya as their purity is doubtful. Consequently, caps/ hats (Chepeu) are not allowed into the kaya.
- A ban on livestock in the kaya. They are taken there for ceremonies only and if accidentally stray into the kaya, they must be cleansed otherwise they should be slaughtered and eaten in there.
- Elders must abstain from sex on the night preceding a ceremony as this could compromise their purity. To ensure this the elders normally stay in the kaya away from their families the night before or a few days to the ceremony.
- All cooking and serving of dishes must be done using traditional items such as the clay pots, mvure, Lwiga and chifudu cut from coconut shell. Modern day kitchen ware such as Sufurias, bowls and plates are strictly not permitted.
- It is a taboo to bring in flames from outside the kaya. All ceremonial flames are started using friction of Mkirindi flame materials.
- It is a taboo to cut trees in the kaya without the blessing of the elders. The trees are believed to be abode or shelter of ancestral spirits and also shelters the secret objects of the community. Any felling of trees must be consented by the elders and a cleansing ritual must be undertaken to appease spirits. Cutting of trees desecrates the site..
- Firewood in the kaya forest is collected only to be used in the kaya and the species collected must not have thorns. The firewood is harvested from the periphery of the village and women must use the same paths on their return.

ARCHAEOLOGY

There is no record of archaeological work at Kayafungo specifically, but Helm surveyed the general zone in 1996/97 as Kinarani survey area including Kwa Demu, Kinarani and Murikwa. Iron working to late iron working pottery was found as well as post 1500 sherds (Helm, 2000:123)

NATURAL VALUES AND BIODIVERSITY

In terms of species conservation value it does not rate as high as the kayas on the moist coastal range Kaya Giriama is fairly well preserved as an example of the original vegetation of the area. This could prove valuable in any attempt to restore or rehabilitate the surrounding rangelands which have been denuded of tall vegetation due to cutting for building and charcoal making. The condition of the protected area vegetation is fair and stable.





002 KAYA JIBANA

002 KAYA JIBANA

LEGAL STATUS: PROTECTED AREA (FOREST RESERVE)

LOCATION: JIBANA LOCATION, KALOLENI DIVISION, KALOLENI DISTRICT, COAST PROVINCE

TOTAL AREA: 140 HA

SETTING

Kaya Jibana, the primary Kaya of the Jibana people, is situated on a ridge approximately 300 m above sea level within the Coastal range, about 30km inland from Mombasa, the coastal regional capital. The Kaya forest with its historic clearings occupies the crest of the ridge and is approximately 2 kilometres long with the vegetation extending down the slope in varying degrees. The forest is lush and tall and the Kaya is a very conspicuous local landmark to one's right as one travels along the main access road between Kilifi and Kaloleni towns. From the hill, there are excellent views of the coast and Indian Ocean as well as the hinterland and the strategic advantages of this for the historical Kaya village are obvious.

The setting of the Kaya is completely rural. Down the slope from the forest and surrounding it is a dense patchwork of farms dominated by coconut and cashew – nut trees. Cassava and maize crops are grown and there are stands of orange trees. The landscape is one of hill and valleys with numerous streams and Jibana is one of the wettest locations on the coastal range. Residences are mostly thatched huts with corrugated iron roofed structures in the small market centres. The entire location is occupied by the Jibana sub-group of the Mijikenda. The villages surrounding the Kaya forest are : Maandani, Tsagwa, Mgamboni, Maangoni and Koyeni.

ORAL TRADITIONS

Jibana is a primary or 'Singwaya – linked' Kaya. After leaving Singwaya with the Ribe, Giriama, Chonyi and Kambe, Jibana oral traditions state that they settled directly at the current location of Kaya Jibana on their arrival in the area, without a period of wandering as with other groups. A variation of the tale relates that they arrived in the area with the Chonyi people before separating from the Chonyi Kaya and forming their own. They first lived among the rocky outcrops at the base of the hill before moving to the top and building their Kaya there (Willis, 1997).

Mwagosi Meri and Mzee Vumbi founded the Kaya. The two agreed to work together Mwagosi taking leadership. They laid out the site of including the sacred areas where

they buried the fingo. They also established the Jibana clans of Mwatsuma, Mremere, Mwamtsunga, Mwamkare, Vumbi, Mmwakaha, Mwafungo and Mwarumba.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Johnstone, a colonial administrator visited the 'stockade' at the turn of the 20th century and met with a significant settlement within the gates of the kaya (Johnstone, 1902). By 1913 the Kaya had been largely vacated and most people lived outside (Werner, 1914).

CULTURAL FEATURES / ACTIVITIES

The Kaya has two **Nyara** or paths leading up the west slope from Tsagwa village and the east slope from mngamboni but the gates are no longer visible along these paths. As one enters on the Mgamboni side one encounters a large rock formation with a spring at a spot known as Gotani. This is the place of oaths and trials and some ceremonies are held here with no necessity of going further into the forest (Amini, 2007).

The general layout of the kaya is slightly different from other kayas in that the Nyara do not lead directly to the kaya but to a marshalling point under a large Mrihi (*brachystegia*) tree at the top of the ridge. From here another less distinct path leads north along the ridge towards the Kaya. In Jibana the central clearing is restricted for all, and its Moro is considered a very sacred spot. At the moro, all the major rituals in respect of the tribe are held. In the clearing are a number of palm trees of varying ages indicating past settlement. There is a fingo in Jibana as for all primary kayas but its location is not disclosed.

The burial ground of Jibana is quite far from the village in the opposite (south) end of the forest also a variation from other kayas. Associated with the graveyard is the chera where a body was laid as permission was sought from the Elders to bury it. In addition there are a number of sacred spots linked to natural features and important historical figures. In the middle of the same side of the forest as the Kaya and reached using a designated path is the resting place of Me-Kirombo (the mother of Kirombo) a famous healer and diviner. Her grave, marked by a large rock, is also a place of sacrifice and prayer (Amini, 2007, pers comm.).

Elders control the ritual clearing of paths deciding when they should be cleared during the year. Paths leading to the sacred areas (the kaya and moro) are cleaned by elders themselves while the general paths were cleaned by the community is supervision by the elders. Traditional rules for access and use of the site include:

- A prohibition on entering the kaya with shoes
- Only traditional clothes red, white and black loins clothes (*ngudu*, *bafuta*, and *kaniki* respectively) are allowed in the Kaya.
- No cutting of trees within the kaya.
- Fuel wood collection was not allowed in the Kaya.
- No hunting is permitted in the kaya
- No cultivation or clearing was allowed without the consent of the elders.

Important ceremonies that conducted in the Kaya include the rain prayer ceremony held every year during the months of Jan to March when resources permit. Elders solicit for funds required or materials from the jibana community and other well wishers. A black

cow or a sheep is preferred and is led round the central clearing before being slaughtered and its meat eaten by the community inside the kaya. However, Jibana is less active ritually than other sites.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeological excavation was undertaken at Mgamboni to the east of the forest by Helm (2000). Three trenches were dug and pottery sherds collected. Two main occupation layers were observed. Early and middle iron working farming sherds were identified (100 BC-1000AD). Materials also suggested initial occupation by stone-working communities.

NATURAL VALUES AND BIODIVERSITY

Kaya Jibana contains tall layered moist deciduous forest which is very rich and diverse. Dominated by Trachylobium, Fernandoa, Julbernardia, Antiaris, Grevia, Bombax, Cynommetra, Parkia and other characteristic trees. The southern section of the hill is in good condition but in other sections, there are significant areas of secondary forest and some old cultivation areas. The Coast Forest survey identified Jibana with the contiguous Lwandani river valley and Pangani limestone rocks as the second most important site in the coast for plant conservation in terms of plant conservation considering rarity and endemism (Robertson and Luke, 1993). 7 vulnerable and one endangered plant species are found in the kaya.



003 KAYA KAMBE

003 KAYA KAMBE

LEGAL STATUS: PROTECTED AREA (FOREST RESERVE)

LOCATION: KAMBE LOCATION, KALOLENI DIVISION, KALOLENI DISTRICT, COAST PROVINCE

TOTAL AREA: 75 HA

SETTING

Kaya Kambe, the kaya of the Wa-Kambe people, occurs on a small hill on the seaward side of the coastal range about 2 km from Kaya Jibana . The forest vegetation is tall moist deciduous and diverse. The Kaya is bounded on its south side by the road from Ribe to Mwarakaya. On the northern side the kaya is adjacent to a lead mine opened in the 1970s on the neighbouring Chigangoni Hill. On the south across the road is a limestone outcrop also covered with forest. The rest of the surroundings is typical dense settlement with coconut and cashew predominating. The kaya is situated in the midst of the Kambe homelands with local villages of Mbwaka, Maereni and Mwanda. From the road leading up the hill to the lead mine, there is a good view of the kaya and surrounding land looking east towards the sea. Kaya Kambe is a site of great beauty.

ORAL TRADITIONS

Kambe traditions show close affinity to those of the Ribe with whom there have been periodic conflicts. The myth relates that they were the second Mijikenda group to leave Singwaya staying first in the south coast in the Digo area. From there they moved to Mbuyuni and then to Ribe where they set up a kaya but were usurped and forced out by a group whom they had given refuge – the Ribe. The latter, under Mwamaya Nyoka took over the Kaya and it became kaya Ribe thenceforth while the Kambe moved to Mbwaka nearby to set up Kaya Kambe.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Krapf makes mention of Kambe in his 1844 travels as a large village. Johnstone (1902) writes of Kaya Kambe as being 'beautifully situated in the forest'. In 1913-14, the Kaya was apparently still flourishing according to Werner (1915).

CULTURAL FEATURES AND ACTIVITIES

The central clearing of Kaya Kambe shows very clearly from the air. From Chigangoni Hill to the north it is just possible to see coconut trees in the central clearing over the top of the forest trees. Kaya Kambe has two entrance paths to the central clearing, on the south east and north west both with two former gate sites. Outside the kaya along the eastern path in the forest are burial grounds for those who died outside the kaya at place called Cheroni (Chir, 2007).

Inside the kaya the location of the moro is quite central though now covered with trees and bush and the fingo is believed to be in the same general area. Within the opening, the designated areas of the five clans of the Kambe are can be shown, each with their burial ground. The central clearing of Kambe in general is regarded as sacred ground as opposed to the moroni alone and various prohibitions begin as one passes the last gate into the forest opening. From time to time the paths in the kaya are cleared and ritual huts are built or repaired in the kaya in readiness for any of a number of ceremonies. These include the ***Nyumba ya Tutu*** used to house specific secret objects of the community associated with the administration of oaths.

Like other Kayas traditional rules have been established to maintain the sanctity and purity of the site as well as its secrecy. These include a prohibition on all cutting of trees and other vegetation and protection of animals and birds within the kaya. For ceremonies at the kaya, ritual huts should be built of materials such as poles obtained within the kaya. Cattle may not graze there. Non-traditional utensils and materials may not be used there. The Kaya Elders have been responsible for maintaining these controls.

ARCHAEOLOGY

There is no recorded archaeological work at the Kaya itself but it is within the Jibana survey region, one of a number of blocks in which Helm did a general surface survey in 1996/97. Findings ranged from Late Stone Age materials to post 1500AD ceramics (Helm 2000: 125,126).

NATURAL VALUES AND BIODIVERSITY

Kaya Kambe is moist deciduous forest displaying the typical diversity and luxuriance of such forests in the coastal range. Two vulnerable and one endangered plant species have been collected at the site. The forest is in generally fine condition with negligible encroachment from the surrounding farms.



004 KAYA KAUMA

004 KAYA KAUMA

LEGAL STATUS: PROTECTED AREA (NATIONAL MONUMENT)

LOCATION: JARIBUNI LOCATION, GANZE DIVISION, KILIFI DISTRICT, COAST PROVINCE

TOTAL AREA: 75 HA

SETTING

Kaya Kauma is the primary Kaya of the Kauma people. It is in an area of woodland or dry deciduous forest adjacent to the road through Jaribuni village from Kilifi. The general environs are of a generally semi-arid character consisting of low hills on what is sometimes referred to as the foot plateau west of the coastal range. The ridges are incised by tributaries of the Rare and Nzovuni rivers which flow into Kilifi creek. At Kauma, the clay and shale Mtomkuu geological formations to the east intersect with the deep red iron-rich Magarini formation.

The Kaya forest slopes down from the back of Jaribuni village and market to the Dzovuni river on the west and there is a good view of the kaya from the road on its east side. Kaya Kauma's forested slope offers an attractive contrast to the surrounding areas which have little or at best scrubby vegetation and are taken up by scattered farm plots and huts. The drier conditions at Kauma are underlined by the relative scarcity of coconut palms and the lower density of settlement in contrast to the wetter locations of Kaya Kambe and Ribe. The area is exclusively inhabited by the Kauma people.

ORAL TRADITIONS

The Kauma traditions relate that the Kauma were initially Ribe who on migrating into the hinterland of Mombasa with the other Mijikenda groups stopped at Kwa Demu before moving to the present Kaya Ribe which they took over from the ancestors of the Kambe. The Kambe went on to build Kaya Kambe at Mbwaka. The Kauma then broke off from the Ribe and shifted to the present location of the Kaya through Kizingo and Chivara. However there is disagreement about whether Chivara which is also a Kaya was occupied by Kauma people simultaneously with Kaya Kauma. Both Kayas claim the foundership of Mwakubo wa Lewa.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Krapf (1860) reports a visit to Kaya Kauma village in 1845 and Werner found some people living in the Kaya in 1913. In 1986 Roberston met a solitary Elder in residence.

CULTURAL FEATURES AND ACTIVITIES

The kaya with its central clearing is very clearly visible from the air and the visual effect is heightened by the relative sparsity of trees or thick vegetation in the cultivated areas around the forest. Kauma has two Nyara leading to the central clearing, one leading from the upper (east) side where the road is located and one leading up from the river Nzovuni. Historically these paths each had a series of three gates but only pieces of

resistant timber beam can now be seen on a gate in the upper (eastern) path. Ritually, however, the gate sites are clearly recognized.

The Nyara were in the past, the only access into the forest, but alternative paths now exist through which Kauma living on various sides of the kaya can now enter the forest for ritual purposes. These paths nevertheless meet with the Nyara before the central clearing is reached, hence the Nyara are the only entryways to the central clearing. Associated with the minor ritual paths are two or rest-stops **ma-banda** in the forest in the east and west (a banda is a constructed shade or booth). For certain community rituals people from coming in along the minor paths from the two general directions may be required to stop here and await a signal to advance (Amini, 2007,pers com).

The burial sites are outside both series of gates and are still in use by conservative members of the community. Associated with the burial sites are the **Cherani** where the dead were laid in preparation for burial. At Kauma one will still see fresh mounds indicating recent burial and koma grave markers at the gravesite. There is also a burial site for lepers deep within the forest. After the third gate just as one enters the kaya, there is a pile of stones and a pot with protective charms. These are called **ma-fingo** but are not the the powerful fingo from Singwaya which is hidden in a secret location although they serve a similar purpose. They protect the village from ill-intentioned visitors and spirits do the kadzumba ka mulungu, a small thatched altar also to be seen along the path.

The location of the moro at kauma is to one side of the village and hidden by forest and the erstwhile meeting hut has become a sacred place. Also hidden in the forest to the east and west of the kaya clearing is the location of the **Miandza** (singular **Mwandza**) or ritual friction drums which were kept in huts away from the village, the female drums on one side of the village, the male on the other. Kauma has a **tutu**, a ritual hut for select elders also hidden in the forest. On entering the tutu one is forbidden to raise one's eyes to the ceiling.

The Kauma Kaya is still active ritually and the local communities have strong attachment to the site. The Kaya Elders meet weekly in the Kaya and co-ordinate care of the cultural aspects of the site. They ensure that the traditional rules and prohibitions of the kaya are maintained including a ban on cutting and grazing in the kaya in addition to cultural protocols.

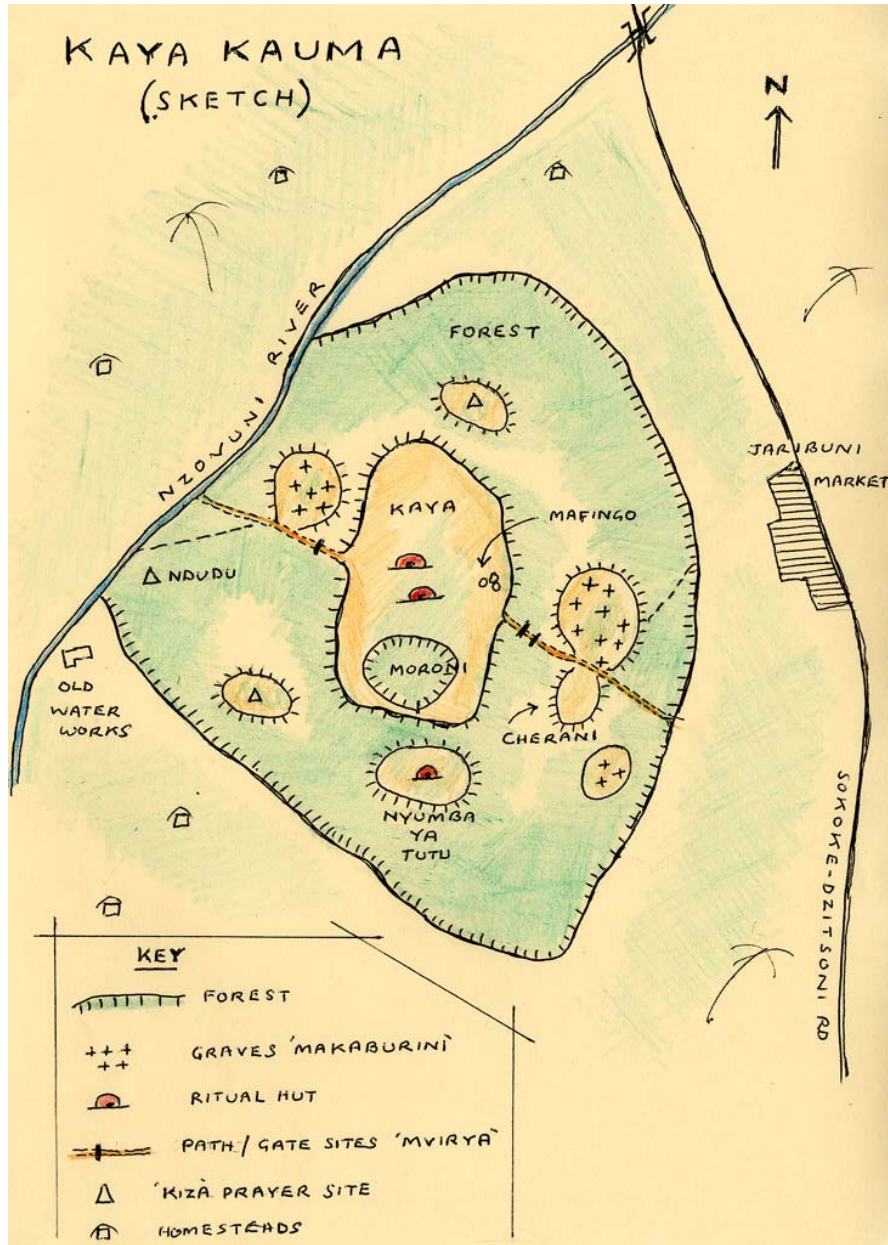
ARCHAEOLOGY

A number of surface surveys are recorded in the general area including the Konjora and Mtsanganyiko valley bottoms, summarized by Helm (2000) who also surveyed there. Surface pottery was relatively sparse suggesting sparse intermittent settlement from the late stone age. There was some evidence of iron working communities from late first and early second millennium and significant evidence of post 1500 exploitation of the more fertile river valleys.

NATURAL VALUES AND BIODIVERSITY

Although the forest is of the dry variety collections of three vulnerable plant species: species Buxus obtusifolia, Coffea pseudozanguebarie and Vitellaropsis kirkii. The forest is relatively undisturbed. The main threat is agricultural encroachment but the

demarcated boundary has been stable. There was iron ore scooping on the eastern side by the road in the early 90s but this was stopped.



Sketch of Kaya Kauma
(not to scale)



005 KAYA RIBE

005 KAYA RIBE

LEGAL STATUS:	PROTECTED AREA (FOREST RESERVE)
LOCATION:	RIBE LOCATION, KALOLENI DIVISION, KALOLENI DISTRICT
TOTAL AREA:	36HA

SETTING

Kaya Ribe the Kaya of the Wa Ribe people, is located about 2 km east of the Mombasa-Kaloleni road about 40 km from mombasa. The general area is characterized by a rolling relief strongly dissected by seasonal valleys and dominated by coconut trees. The soils of the area clay shales and moderately fertile. Ribe unlike other kayas is located in a valley or depression at the fork of river Mleji and its tributary Mbuzini where the diverse deciduous forest is very conspicuous from the air. The Kaya is surrounded by the villages of the Ribe community on all sides. The Methodists established a mission at Ribe in 1862 and the ruins of the first mission residences are still visible as well as the graves of some of the pioneer missionaries.

ORAL TRADITIONS

The most popular traditional history of the Ribe states that on arrival from Singwaya the ancestors of the Ribe under Mwadzombo Chitiro discovered a kaya inhabited by the Kambe and led by Mwamaya Nyoka. They joined the settlement but after some time engaged in a struggle for control of the site. The result was the displacement and departure of the Kambe faction who moved away and built a Kaya at Mbwaka and the establishment of Kaya Ribe in their place. Another faction, the Kauma subsequently left Kaya Ribe to build Kaya Kauma. Yet others describe how the Ribe from Singwaya first went to Taita before settling at Ribe. From here some went off to form the Digo. (Amini, 2007)

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Krapf (1860) visited Ribe in 1848 and described a village of about 600 people. Werner (1915) found the Kaya abandoned when she visited in 1914.

CULTURAL FEATURES AND ACTIVITIES

The starting point of a visit is called Mwambane under three tall trees which is also where the Elders meet and hold discussions though it is outside the forest. Kaya Ribe has one mwara only, according to local elders (Amini, 2007). This leads into the kaya from the north and the absence of other entrance paths may be due to the fact that the kaya is bounded hence protected by rivers on two sides. Some way into the kaya along the path the graveyard is found on the right (west) with the graves marked by stones.

The solitary grave of Mwazombo Chitiro the founder of Ribe is also to the right of the path a distance after this . These are all hidden in dense forest.

The mwara has three gate sites protected by a chiza, **Chiza cha Muye** much like the mafingo of Kauma. Inside the clearing there are designated areas for the clans of Ribe: Mwamaya nyoka (chidima), Mwadzombo, chitiro, Mphitsa, Miriri, Mwakere and Mwambura and a common central area called the Mudzini. The moro of Ribe is to one side of the mdzini and hidden in forest. Ribe has a tutu site like Kauma. Inside the Kaya area, also concealed by vegetation is the grave of Mwamaya Nyoka another historic leader. Those of Mengange a famous female diviner and Sharrif are outside the Kaya and are shrines (Tengeza, 2007). The Fingo of Ribe is believed to be buried in a section called mranzeni though its precise location is not known.

Traditional rules

Traditional rules for the kaya include ban on wearing of shoes in the kaya as well as shirts. Shirts and shoes kept at one place by those who have entered the Kaya cannot be as whoever steals such items is possessed and becomes mad. Tree cutting and firewood collection is not permitted in the Kaya and neither is livestock grazing. No farming activities on the day when clearing of paths has been called by the elders.

Ceremonies

Rain prayer ceremony (Sadaka Ya mwaka) is a ceremony held every year in the Kaya with the participation al community members. This prayer is conducted to facilitate good rains, bumper harvest and avert diseases. During the planting season, no one is allowed to plant in his/her farm till the elders complete the planting ceremony where nine different types of cereals are planted by the elders. These nine species of cereals are maize (matsere), millete (wimbi) ,simsim (ufuha), peas (kunde), Green grams (podzo), rice (muhunga), and soghurm) muhama. The ceremony for the village: (Sadaka ya mudzi) – is held to ward off serious diseases outbreak in the community. Harvesting ceremony (Sadaka ya Kutohola) is performed every year to mark the harvesting season. It enables the community to gather the crop and no one in the community may pluck the green maize cobs before the ceremony is complete (Amini, 2007).

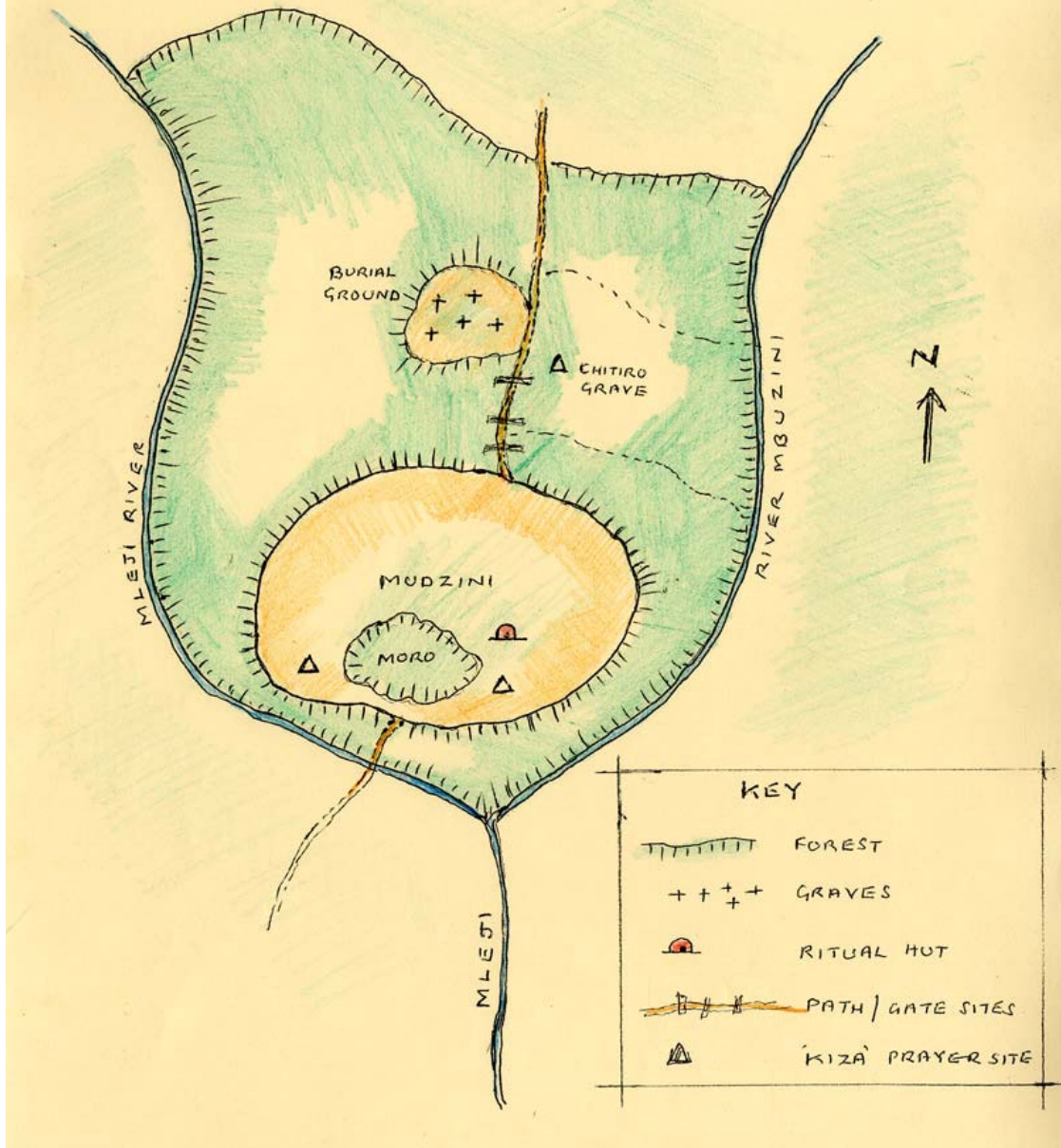
ARCHAEOLOGY

There do not appear to be any available records of archaeological work undertaken at the site or in the locality.

NATURAL VALUES AND BIODIVERSITY

The forest vegetation of the Kaya is in good condition and relatively undisturbed partly due to its low accessibility. The diverse mixed deciduous site hosts three endangered plant species: Bauhinia mombasae, Cola octoloboides and Diospyros shimbaensis. In addition 7 vulnerable plants are found there including Buxus obtusifolia and Cynometra brachyrrachis

KAYA RIBE (SKETCH)



Sketch of Kaya Ribe
(not to scale)



**006 THE RABAI KAYAS (BOMU & FIMBONI,
MUDZIMUVYA)**

006 THE RABAI KAYAS (BOMU & FIMBONI, MUDZIMUVYA)

LEGAL STATUS	PROTECTED AREAS (NATIONAL MONUMENTS)
LOCATION:	MWAWESA LOCATION (BOMU & FIMBONI), RABAI LOCATION (MUDZIMUVYA) , KALOLENI DIVISION, KALOLENI DISTRICT
TOTAL AREA:	580 (409+171)HA

SETTING

The Rabai hills contain elements of the Lutsangani and the Kaloleni upland systems. These hills, on sand and clay formations slope down to the Tudor creek surrounding Mombasa Island. They overlook and can be seen from Mombasa town although by road inland, they are about 30KM distant.

The Rabai Kayas Mudzimuvya, Bomu and Fimboni form a single block of deciduous forest, dissected by Kombeni River and its gorge within the Rabai hills. Mudzimuvya is on the western bank with Bomu and Fimboni opposite. Although the slopes are densely forested, the vegetation on the flat top of the hills is thinner. The Kayas are located in the midst of the homeland of the Wa-Rabai and on their moist western side is dense settlement with the highest concentration of coconuts in the coast region. The coconut tree has a special value to the Wa-Rabai with a significant economy based on its numerous products, and traditional customs and lore surrounding its use and management. The eastern seaward side of the hills is drier, consisting of undulating clay and shale hills with fewer coconuts and dedicated to cultivation, the Ngaama area.

The Kayas are visible on the east of the Kaloleni-Mazeras road as a forested ridgetop set attractively above the farms and coconut trees. They are a dominant feature in the landscape and an important landmark in addition to the dense coconut plantations. Immediately to the west and below the Kaya is Rabai Mission the first Christian mission station in East Africa set up in 1846 by Dr Ludwig Krapf for the Church Missionary Society. The Juxtaposition of the Mission and its imposing 18th century church with the Kayas representing traditional religions and culture presents an interesting study of contrasts. The setting of Rabai is completely rural and archetypically coastal.

ORAL TRADITIONS

Though they claim a Singwaya pedigree the standard Singwaya story which is highly consistent among other Mijikenda groups such as Digo, Giriama, Chonyi, Kambe and Ribe makes no mention of the Rabai. Rabai oral traditions themselves vary with the strongest legend claiming an origin at Rombo in Chagga, on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. From here they travelled to Rabai and settled at Benyagundo Hill where they established

Mudzimuiru. This version asserts that they were then attacked and scattered by the newly arrived Mijikenda, but regrouped and returned to Rabai where they formed Kaya Vokera (Bomu) and later three more more kayas in the Rabai Hills including Fimboni and Mudzimuvya (Spear, 1978). Kaya Mudzimuiru or 'Rabai Mpya' as named by Krapf was formed when a faction left Bomu after a violent quarrel (Krapf, 1845).

This version which was told to the early missionaries conflicts with more recent ones which refer to Singwaya origins. These state that from Singwaya the Rabai made a stop at Mwangea Hills before they were driven off by the Galla. From Mwangea they moved as far as Kwale and hence northwards through Mwache to Mriale or Benyangundo hill. Here they formed their first kaya- Kaya Mudzimwiru (the black village). Late more kayas were established namely Vokera (Bomu), Fimboni, Mudzimuvya, Mzizima and Chikahikahi (Chiro, 2007) all in fairly close proximity to each other. The Rabai like the Digo are associated with multiple kaya complexes which are not found among the other communities.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

17th century Portuguese reports describe a 'Mosungulo' group involved in the feuds of the Swahili settlements and their battles with the Portuguese which was settled at 'Arabaja' easily translated to Rabai (Morton, 1972: 404). The Mozungulos were skilled in archery and used poisoned arrows. Krapf (1845, 1860) described Rabai in numerous reports while traveling in the region and setting up the mission there. Werner (1915) also visited Rabai in 1914. Guillain (1858) makes reference to Rabai in his 'Documents'. From Krapf's and Guillain's descriptions, it appears that by the 1850s Bomu, Fimboni and Mudzimuvya were still inhabited but were largely places of burial and prayer. They also served as refuges and fortresses.

CULTURAL FEATURES AND ACTIVITIES

Though the various Rabai Kayas were formed at different times, they are now linked together as a unit in the socio-cultural and spiritual system of the Arabai. The Rabai underline this unity by assigning ritual roles and significance to each kaya in the performance of all major community ceremonies (Chiro, 2007).

Kaya Bomu (Vokera)

Bomu ('the great'). is the second most important kaya of the Wa-Rabai after Mudzimuiru which, being the first point of arrival, has ritual primacy. However bomu is the best preserved of all the Rabai Kayas. Fimboni is a smaller site associated with Bomu The central clearing of Bomu is very distinct from the air and the Kaya has two tradiitonal paths *virya ya tsulu* ('the upper') path in the north-west and *virya ya tsini*, ('the lower') in the east. On the western access there are designated ritual rest points, where visitors on their way to the clearing, must pause. Former gate sites number three on the west path and four in the east. There are also minor fingos at the the last gate sites which is the point of entry into the central clearing.

Within the central clearing the main spatial division is between the Amwezi and the Achiza clan areas, these being the two clans primarily involved in the management of ritual activity among the Rabai. The burial grounds are located outside the main clearing

along entrance paths for those who died outside the village, and also inside the clearing. The moroni of Bomu or site of the historical meeting hut is now a sacred and restricted place concealed by thicket to the western side of the opening, although the original structure has disappeared. Kaya Bomu shares the Kombeni river with Mudzimuvya and also a series of pools or Chiva, some of which are also chiza or prayer places.

Kaya Fimboni

Kaya Fimboni is located in the same forested area as Bomu on the eastern bank of Kombeni river. It is a clearing in the northern sector of the forest with one path entering from Changombe and another exiting near Mwele. Fimboni is largely seen as an adjunct of Bomu but also has a Moroni and burial sites.

Kaya Mudzimuvya

Kaya Mudzimuvya occupies the southern and western bank of Kombeni river and from oral traditions was formed in competition to Bomu. The Kaya is unusual in having only one access path into the Kaya from the north and west. The path has two gate sites and leads southwards through two clearings associated with the Amwezi and Achiza for. This is also unusual and suggests the primacy of the ritual function in this kaya. The path finally ends in the Moroni deep in the forest on the ridge-top.

The ritual role is further underlined by the existence of a small clearing called the **Mji wa Garoni** in the forest not west of the gate where the most senior Vaya Elders meet to administer oaths and initiate new elders. However there are also burial grounds for various clans inside the kaya indicating that Wa Rabai also buried their dead there. Immediately inside the gate site is **Chandani** or hearth where the Kaya Elders leave their forked staves of office called **Ndata** for the period they are in the kaya.

The Rabai Kaya Elders

The Rabai Kaya Elders are responsible for all the Rabai Kayas including Bomu, Fimboni and Mudzimuvya. They are among the most active in caring for their kaya and trying to keep interest in the kaya and Rabai customs alive in the local community. They have been consistent in conducting the various ceremonies of their kaya. Working with the local administration they are instrumental in protecting the kaya by confronting those who infringe on the traditional rules of the Kaya or otherwise damage the site.

Apart from prohibition of access to certain areas of the kaya, restrictions include a ban on grazing in the Kaya and cutting of trees as well as burning. Special protection is given to unusual wildlife in the kaya including large snakes, birds and antelopes. Traditional fines are usually levied depending on the gravity of the offence. For example tree cutting may call for a fine of a black sheep. Failure to produce the fine is believed to bring misfortune to the offender (Mourana et al, 2005).

The Elders meet each week to deliberate on any current issue of the kaya but also on matters relating to daily life of the local Warabai. They listen to marital and family disputes, land disputes and all manner of issues affecting local peace and harmony. In this they lend valuable assistance to the local Government administrator.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The Rabai Kayas were one of the sites investigated by Mutoro at Bomu and Mudzimwiru (1987). The lower levels of Mutoro's excavations at Mudzimuiru revealed local pottery believed to be of the 10th century as well as imported pottery of the fourteenth century showing trade links with the Swahili coastal littoral and

NATURAL VALUES AND BIODIVERSITY

The Rabai Kayas moist deciduous forest especially in Bomu, Fimboni and Mudzimuvya are regarded as the most important Kaya site in terms of conservation value along with Kaya Jibana (Robertson and Luke, 1993). One critically endangered plant Combretum tenuipetiolatum and one endangered Bauhinia mombasae as well as six vulnerable plant species have been recorded at the site (CEPF, 2003).

Since the sites were gazetted encroachment for farming has been stopped and visually the forest appears to be healthy. However, a study of Mudzimuvya by Kibet (2002) showed there was a certain level of subsistence use of the forest around the edges of the forest. Natural values include water catchment and the Rabai kayas provide a crucial water catchment function for River Kombeni. The numerous pools that form along its course have succoured the Rabai community for centuries.



007 THE DURUMA KAYAS: MTSWAKARA AND GANDINI

007 DURUMA KAYAS: MTSWAKARA AND GANDINI

LEGAL STATUS:	PROTECTED AREAS (NATIONAL MONUMENTS)
LOCATION:	KASEMENI LOCATION, SAMBURU DIVISION, KINANGO DISTRICT
TOTAL AREA:	398 (248+150) HA

SETTING

Mtswakara and Gandini, the main kayas of the Duruma are just west of Mombasa across Likoni creek although about 23 KM by road. The topography of the area is rolling hills dissected by seasonal valleys giving way to mud-flats and mangrove forests. The underlying geological formation is the clay and shale mtomkuu system. Vegetation is bushland with dry-deciduous forest on some hill-tops.

Conditions tend to semi-aridity and population density is low with less than 40 people per square km living in widely scattered homesteads of Wa – Duruma people. The main livelihood activity is cattle rearing with some patchy agriculture. Kaya Mtswakara is located on a ridge between River Mwache to the east and River Mambome to the west. Across the Mwache from Mtswakara is Mwache Forest Reserve and Kaya Gandini is on another ridge across the Mwambone.

ORAL TRADITONS

Although they claim Singwaya affiliation, the Duruma also acknowledge that they were formed from three different groups who came together in the area of the Duruma Kayas and formed a single people. These include Digo from Kwale, fleeing refugee slaves from Mombasa called Mokua, and and Kamba immigrants (Spear, 1978). As a single group they adopted Mijikenda culture and traditions. Apart from Mtswakara they built other kayas, Gandini , Chonyi and Puma but Mtswakara is the regarded as the original Duruma kaya or ‘Duluma Kulu’.

A more specific local tradition relates that Mtswakara was founded by a man called Chihodi who was hunting when discovered the site. Prior to this, Chihodi and his family were living at a place called Singwaya near Kasemeni (not the original Singwaya). He was impressed by the location because of its terrain, thick forest and availability of water. The area was found to be ideal to establish a Kaya in order to protect themselves from the ‘Kwavis’ the Masai and Galla cattle raiders (Matano, 2007).

The founder moved his family from Singwaya to Kaya Mtswakara and later was joined by other people mainly Rabai immigrants who were assimilated to become Durumas. The word Mtswakara was coined from the word ‘Tsakala’ which refers to the sound made by branches of trees and dried leaves when an objects like an animal or a human being is moving over them. In this case that particular sound was made by immigrants who were moving in to the Kaya and the Kaya became to be known as Kaya Mtswakara (Matano, 2007).

Kaya Gandini was founded after Kaya Mtswakara. According to Gandini traditions, a Mtswakara man called Takawa while out hunting with others discovered an attractive site for settlement where Gandini is located today. On returning home Takawa decided to leave Mtswakara and set up a new Kaya there. He was joined in his endeavour by Mwandegwa Mongo from Mtswakara and Muguwa Mruche from Kibandaongo. The new Kaya was called Gandini or Takawa. Gandini grew in importance and for many Duruma it became the primary Duruma Kaya in competition with Mtswakara (Mududu, 2007).

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Guillain (1858) describes a visit to Mtswakara and Gandini in 1847 although he appeared not to have visited Mtswakara kaya itself but the surrounding villages. Griffiths describes Mtswakara as he remembers it from some years before 1933 (Griffiths, 1933).

CULTURAL FEATURES AND ACTIVITIES

Kaya Mtswakara

The central clearing of Mtswakara is on the top of the ridge and approached through two steep nyara paths on the northern slope. The two paths both have two gate sites and are protected by chiza which for the Duruma kayas usually consist of a pot with charms. The main access to the Kaya was to the north as it is bounded by rivers to the east and west. However two minor ritual paths descend to each of these rivers. The moroni or site of the old meeting hut is in a thicket in the middle of the clearing.

On the eastern side of the kaya is the burial area. Each clan in the Kaya had its own burial place set aside for them. Even within the specific clans the burial grounds are zoned according to how one met his or her death. There are places for those who have died naturally and for those who have died because of accidents. People who meet their death from falling off the tree, drowning or being killed were not buried in the Kaya (Matano, 2007).

It is at Moroni where the main fingo (protective charm) that is supposed to protect the entire community in the kaya is situated. The fingo was buried between a baobab and a Tamarind tree. All major sacrifices for the wellbeing of the community were done here by a knowledgeable spiritual leader from the Mphande clan. However any person with some form of disabilities was not allowed to lead people in prayers of any kind.

According to the Elders various kinds of ceremonies are still performed in Kaya today. For example all prayers for rain, harvests, and others for general well-being in the community, must start in Kaya Mtswakara before proceeding in the other kayas such as Gandini, Chonyi, Puma etc. People also go to Kaya Mtswakara led by a spiritual leader to pray for the good health for their animals, bright children, relief from ailments etc. Everyone going to the Kaya must offer sacrifices of cows, goats or chickens, food or other items (Matano, 2007).

Anyone going to consult the spirits must refrain from sleeping with their spouses for four days before entering the Kaya and again for four days after the rituals. Contravention of this taboo may result in death. When a chicken is used as a sacrifice, it is strangled with

the hands and a knife is never used. The 'Mwanatsi' (spiritual leader) leading the ritual wears a black loin cloth around his waist and wears a white cloth on his head. These customs are strictly followed to the present day (Matano, 2007).

Kaya Gandini

Kaya Gandini has five paths leading to the central clearing. There is one from ligani on the west side which is open to all clans to enter into the Kaya. When the community is sacrificing a bull in a Kaya ceremony this is the only path that the bull can be led through. Another path leads in from the east which can also be used by all the community. The third path is exclusively for leading in sacrificial sheep and no other animal. A fourth path leads to the water point and the last path is for conveying the dead. This is to the right of the main entrance and it joins the main path as you approach the Gates. Each path has two gate sites. Historically the gates were timber with dry walling two metres high on both side but these have now disappeared.

The kaya clearing is in the centre of the forest and is roughly circular measuring almost two hectares. Normally a path of about four meters is cleared around the periphery for ritual purposes and the sacrificial animals are led along this path seven times before slaughter. The kaya is divided into two sectors for the Amoto and Amwezi clan groupings. There are also two main burial sites in Kaya Gandini for these mega-clans. Foreigners are never buried in the Kaya but outside the clearing. No coffins are allowed into the Kaya (Mududu, 2007).

The moroni is a cleared portion of the central clearing where the Elders sit and discuss all issues concerning the community. It is normally the end point and focus of any community ritual. The herbs of cleansing are mixed here and one of two fingos for the kaya is buried here. Leading from the moro in the forest is **Chizani** which is the most sacred site of the Kaya the place and must be kept wet at all times. To make sure this is done all the water pots and all the drinking water for the Elders is stored at the Chiza. The Fingo from singwaya is buried here. This place is accessible only to the supreme council of Elders, the Ngambi

Traditional Rules

Certain rules and regulations were put in place to ensure the sacredness of the forest; for instance; cutting of trees and destruction of vegetation was prohibited. Certain types of dress were also prohibited and only certain elders are allowed to the most sacred place where the Fingo or protective magic of the community is buried. Also well defined paths and gates into and out of the Kaya are the only legitimate routes and guarded by strong magic. The Kaya is still used today for traditional ceremonies, such as praying for rain, good harvest, as well as healing within the community where each clan is represented.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Helm (2000) Undertook surface collections at Nduguni Mkoni and excavated at Mbuyuni. Both sites are not far from Mtswakara and occupy the same socionatural zone and Mbuyuni is an extinct kaya. Late iron-working (c. 1000) materials were found.

NATURAL VALUES AND BIODIVERSITY

Kaya Mtswakara consists of the drier type of undifferentiated forest in the upper slopes with wetter forest in the valley near the river. There are also some open areas in the fringes with wooded grassland. Some of the larger trees include Combretum, Terminalia, Sterculia, Azelia and Cynometra. Vulnerable species (IUCN) include Buxus obtusifolia and Vitellaropsis kirkii



008 KAYA KINONDO

008 KAYA KINONDO

LEGAL STATUS:	PROTECTED AREA (NATIONAL MONUMENT)
LOCATION	KINONDO LOCATION, MSAMBWENI DIVISION, MSAMBWENI DISTRICT
TOTAL AREA:	30 HA

SETTING

Kaya Kinondo, one of the two primary kayas of the Wa-Digo (the other is Kaya Kwale), is a patch of deciduous forest located a few hundred metres from the beach about 35 Km south of Mombasa near Diani. The forest is set on fossil coral reef which is the main geological formation of the area. It is a fragment of a much more extensive zone of coral rag forest vegetation along the south coast which has been cleared for very extensive hotel and holiday home development along the beach strip. On the seaward side of the Kaya are developed plots with beach houses but behind it are villages of the Wa-digo including Kinondo, Mgwani and Timbwa characterized by tall coconut palm and clusters of palm thatched and iron-roofed dwellings. The whole area is coral and further inland the shallow infertile soil is covered by scrubby drought resistant vegetation. The Wa-Digo are predominantly muslim.

ORAL TRADITIONS

The Digo by all traditional accounts were the first to leave Singwaya. Their first permanent settlement in the region was in Shimba Hills where there is also a Kaya named Kwale. A split occurred and some went to form Kinondo at the Indian Ocean shore. Both Kayas are believed to contain fingos from Singwaya (Spear, 1978). From Kinondo the Digo went on to form numerous other subsidiary Kayas in the south coast at various times. Specific Kinondo legends describe the Kaya as founded by Mzee Mwakuria Ngwena, who planted the giant *Cycas thoursii* (local name Mtsapu) now found in the central clearing or former settlement area. Other prominent leaders who led at one time or another include, Mtende Wa Chitu, Rwavu, Mwarwavu, Ali Dzogolo, Chisi, Mwawandinda, Salim Mwinyikai, Bakari Mwachibwebwe and Omari Mwarandani (Mwafujo, 2007).

CULTURAL FEATURES AND ACTIVITIES

Kinondo has four paths gates which lead to the central clearing from various directions, three from the west and one from the seaward. The paths have names and are called Mbega in the south, Dzugwe west, Mwachuma leading east and Mwachitoro due north. Each gate is associated with one or more of the 11 clans of this kaya which can only enter through that gate for important ceremonies. The clans of kaya kinondo are Mbega, Mwatamba, Mwachirahu, Dzugwe, Mwachimundzu, Mwagogo, Mwachitoro, Mwachuma, Mnyaza, Mwanjama, Nimudigo (Mwafujo, 2007).

The forest at Kinondo is somewhat open under the canopy and the paths indistinct due to the structure of the forest and the coral substrate, but nevertheless well known. The central clearing is a fairly open space though it also has mature forest trees. In Kaya Kinondo the term moroni covers this general area rather than a specific site within the clearing. There are no coconuts as are found in some of the north coast kayas. A large hollow in the east of the forest formed a pond where the historical village drew its drinking water (ibid).

The burial ground is located in a forest covered patch within the central clearing with graves marked by stones, and the fingo itself is believed to be buried in forest to one side of the graves. There is an ash mound in the central clearing at a spot where sacrifices have been held for centuries. The Kaya continues to be actively used for community ceremonies and rituals as well as healing and divination. Ceremonies include prayers for bountiful fishing as the local community are predominantly fishermen. Community ceremonies often involve the building of a ritual hut and always the clearing of paths by womenfolk.

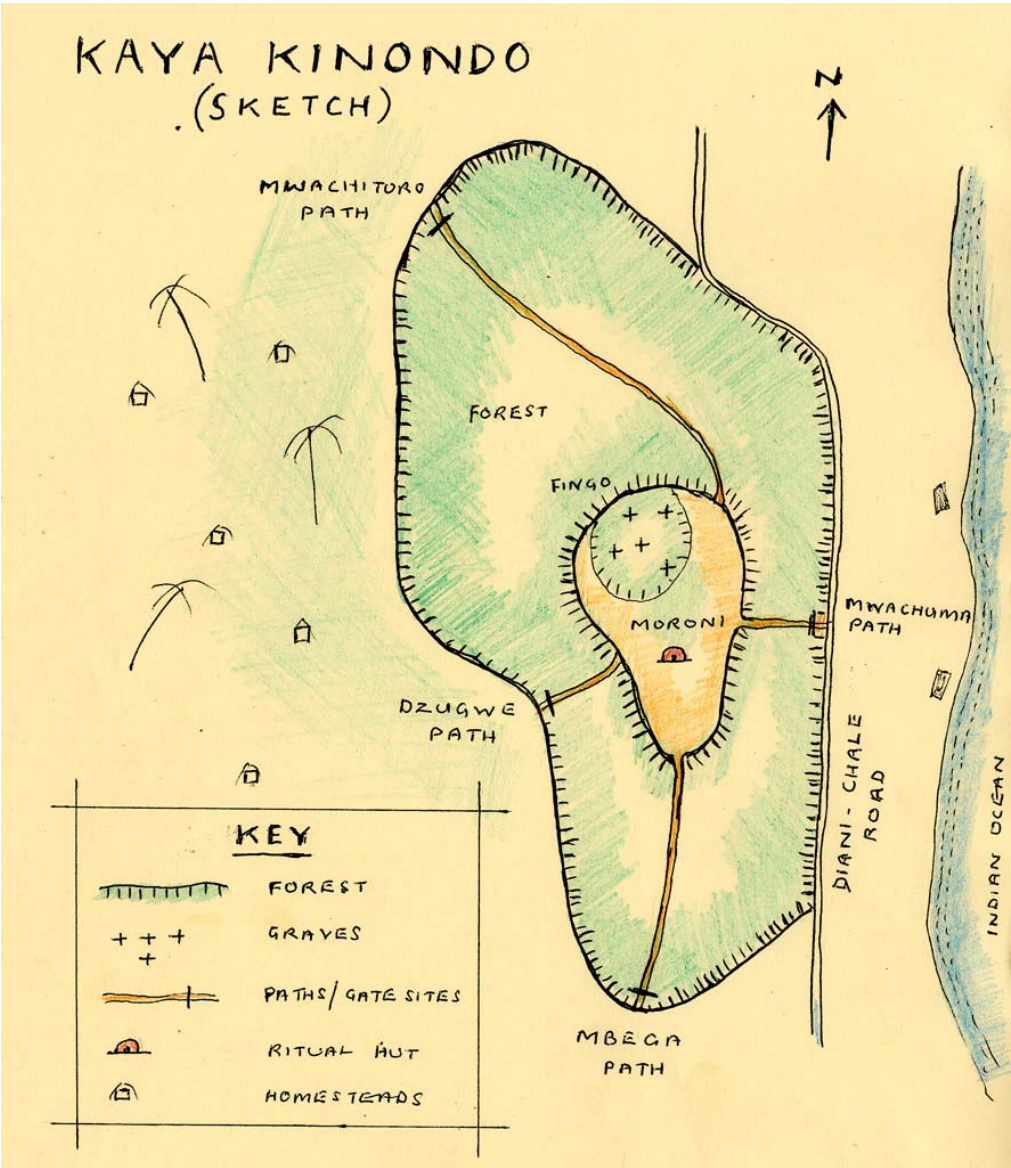
Nobody may cut trees or even collect firewood from the kaya. Other A contravention of the traditions is a serious offence. The people believe that a culprit can become insane or die from the wrath of gods. A culprit was traditionally brought before a traditional court of the council of elders. Convicted culprits would be asked to pay a fine, e.g. a black goat or black chicken which was used by the elders in cleansing.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Most of the archaeological work in the Digo south coast includes surveys in the Shimba plateau and escarpments where some of the other kayas and historical settlements are located including Kaya Kwale. These reveal the traces of iron working communities in the valleys below the Shimba Plateau. However there are no record of exploration in the neighbourhood of Kaya Kinondo.

NATURAL VALUES AND BIODIVERSITY

The coral rag forest found at Kaya Kinondo is highly diverse with interesting plants like Grevea madagascarensis, Callophyllum inophyllum, Diphasia species A (which has yet to be described) and Stadmannia oppositifolia. 64 plant families and 192 species have been found in Kaya Kinondo which is almost 3 % of the whole Kenyan flora on just 30 hectare. 56 out of the known 895 species of butterflies in Kenya occur are found at Kaya Kinondo. The total number of larger moths occurring in Kenya is unknown but Kaya Kinondo has a total number of 98 larger moth species. As noted above, this type of deciduous forest is under severe threat in this area due to population expansion and tourism development.



Sketch of Kaya Kinondo
(not to scale)

2.(b) History and Development of the Kayas

2.b.(1) Establishment of the Settlements

Mijikenda being an oral traditional culture there are no written documents recording the beginnings of the Kayas. In order to determine when the Kaya forest settlements were first set up, researchers have found it necessary to rely on a diversity of sources of information, including oral traditions, language and the archaeological record.

The first comprehensive attempt to determine times of origin was made by Spear (1978) in a thesis which is still widely quoted today and detailed below. Spear maintained that the strong consistency of oral traditions of the Mijikenda and other groups settled in the coastal region may in fact mirror reality. Hence, judiciously analysed in combination with other types of evidence 'legend as history' could offer a fair approximation of the truth.

A. Oral Traditions as History

Mijikenda Traditions

According to the central Mijikenda Myth that has been transmitted orally over generations, the Mijikenda speakers came from 'Singwaya' (or 'Shungwaya') in present day Somalia, where they lived as one distinct group among others, including Wa-Taita, Wa-Pokomo, Wa-Swahili and Wa-Galla. However, the Murder of a Galla tribesman by a Mijikenda youth and failure of the Mijikenda to pay compensation led to intense persecution by the Galla forcing the Mijikenda to leave Singwaya and migrate south.

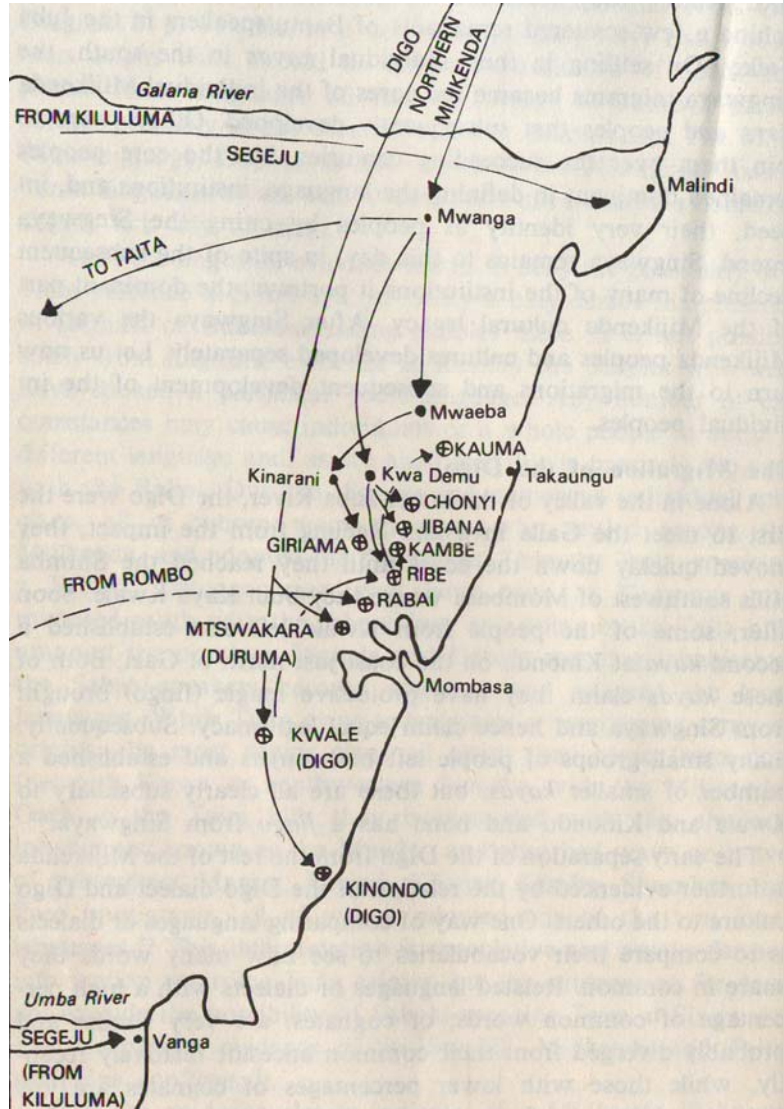
Before this epic journey or during the course of it, the Mijikenda split into 6 separate people, the A -Digo, A-Ribe, A-Giriama, A-Jibana, A-Chony and A Kambe. The Digo left first and are therefore symbolically accepted by all other Mijikenda as 'seniour'. The Ribe followed, then the Giriama, the Chony and Jibana in that order. The Kambe may have left Singwaya with the Digo. These different groups entered the Kenya coast at about the same or different times and set up Kayas in thick forest on strategic hilltops on the coastal range.

The Digo set up their Kaya in the Shimba Hills south of Mombasa and the other 5 groups sometimes referred to as the northern Mijikenda, settled on hills in the hinterland between Mombasa and Malindi. They were assisted in their search for refuges by the Waata hunter-gatherer communities already living in small groups in the forests. From Singwaya each group brought and installed its main ritual symbol or talisman, its **Fingo**.

The Rabai, Kauma and Digo were later formed at the Kenya coast from splinter groups or groups which assimilated Mijikenda identity and built their own Kayas. Hence though they profess to come from Singwaya, and are regarded as Mijikenda, the core legend does not refer to them. Hence major ceremonies are only held in the six 'primary' Kayas with direct links to Singwaya.

For centuries the legend purports, all the tribespeople lived inside the Kayas and as a result developed distinct languages and local customs. Eventually dispersion began to occur due to population pressure and internal conflicts. Especially among the Digo

numerous groups broke off and formed smaller secondary settlements also known as Kayas but having no ritual power.



Map of Final Migration and Settlement
(From Spear, 1978)

The migration from Singwaya was concurrent with the first age-set recognized by some Mijikenda including Giriama, which is called **Amwendo** or 'The going'. (Age-sets, an institution in numerous African traditional societies, mark periods of collective or generational leadership, which is passed down in an orderly manner and great ceremony from one set to the other). The Mijikenda age-set was approximately 52 years. Since then there have been six age sets with the last one initiated around 1870. If we are to directly adduce from legend, this would place the initiation of Amwendo and hence Mijikenda arrivals at the Kenya coast at around 1560 (Spear, 1978).

Swahili and Other Traditions

Oral histories of other communities settled in the coastal region seem to concur in important points with Mijikenda oral accounts concerning Singwaya. Besides the Mijikenda, the other dominant community on the Kenya coastal strip are the Afro-Arab Islamic Swahili. Swahili coastal traditions have been recorded in *Kitab al Zanuj* and other manuscripts written in the late 19th century which describe the origins of the Wa-Swahili in Shungwaya (Singwaya). They relate how the Mijikenda progenitors also lived in the Juba river valley and Shungwaya. They identify them by name and list only the groups specifically associated with the Singwaya era by the Mijikenda. The accounts also describe the dispersal of these groups from Shungwaya and the formation of Kayas (Spear, 1978).

In addition, Taita legends talk of a joint trek with the Mijikenda before breaking with them at Mwangea Hill in the Kilifi hinterland and continuing up the Galana river to their present homeland. Galla traditional histories describe of a contemporaneous migration from Ethiopia through western Juba region and south to the Kenya coast where they were reported to be in Pate and Malindi by 1624. This would suggest that the warlike Galla or Orma encountered and ejected the Mijikenda from lower Juba around that period, before they overran a number of Swahili coastal towns in the early 17th century and would therefore be consistent with a Mijikenda influx to Kenya during that period (Spear, 1978). In addition, Portuguese seventeenth century documentation and a study of the structure of coastal languages could also be applied to support deductions from Mijikenda traditions.

Portuguese Documentary Records

Portuguese contemporary accounts clearly indicate that the ancestors of the Mijikenda were living in the Mombasa and Malindi hinterland. In 1610 and 1612 mention is made of the Mosungulos a mainland group who invaded Mombasa at a time when the Mombasa Swahili were involved in a feud between the Portuguese Governor at Mombasa and the northerly Swahili town of Malindi. The Portuguese use the term *Mosungulos* in a general way to refer to all mainland groups including the Chonyi and the Rabai to whom specific references are made in their reports. Such records seem to imply show that the Mijikenda were already settled at the Kenya coast by the early 17th century (Morton, 1972 : 404, Spear, 1978: 24).

The Linguistic Thesis

Each of the nine Mijikenda people speak a separate dialect of the same language, one of what linguists describe as the Northeast Coastal Bantu group of languages. It is closely related linguistically and historically to other languages of the group along the Kenya and Tanzania coasts.

They are believed to have evolved from a single common ancestral or proto-language into the distinct languages that exist today through a series of intervening proto languages. This divergence occurs when people speaking a single language break up into groups which become separated from each other over extensive periods of time. The separate groups develop distinct languages though these are intelligible across the groups. By working from the modern languages linguists are able to reconstruct the proto-languages through a study of shared elements as well as the differences which

indicate change over time. Thus it is possible to determine how different languages relate to each other, the greater the divergence, the further back in time two peoples separated.

Spear (1978) in addition to elaborating on the implications of the oral traditions also constructs a linguistic thesis which seems to reinforce the argument for the myths reflecting actual events. This can be summarized as follows. Northern Coastal Bantu have four major sub-groups. These are Saghala (one of the Taita languages), Sabaki (including Pokomo, Mijikenda and Swahili), Seuta, and Ruvu which are found in the Tanzanian Coast and hinterland. From an analysis of their relation it is seen that Sabaki is more remote from Saghala than Seita and Ruvu and Sabaki is more closely related to Seuta than any other group.

As languages commonly diverge when people separate, a series of migrations is suggested which could have resulted in these relationships. The highlands of Northern Tanzania are considered highly probable as a central area of the development of the proto North-East Bantu language being a major centre of development for Bantu languages in the region. If this assumption is made, migrations occurred from here towards the north Tanzania coast where a split occurred and one segment the Proto-Sabaki-Seuta who moved north to the Kenya Coast with the Seuta breaking off along the way.

The residual Proto-Sabaki speakers continued their migration into Somalia where they encountered immigrant Shirazi Arab speakers. Proto-Sabaki split into the Sabaki languages of Mijikenda, Pokomo and Swahili as a result of dispersal occasioned by Galla-Somali wars and expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries. This conflict forced these groups to move south and disperse into the Kenya Coast and hinterland kayas where each dialect developed separately.

This thesis appears to explain the close relation of Mijikenda and Pokomo to Swahili and also the development of the individual Mijikenda languages but also links well with the key points of their oral traditions. However Spear points out the fact that any number of hypothetical migrations could be envisioned.

B. The Alternative View: Questions raised by new Archaeological evidence

In the years since Spear's seminal postulation about Mijikenda origins (1978), his assertion that the Mijikenda traditions could be read as accurate historical narratives has been frequently challenged. Questions have been raised by a number of scholars about Spear's interpretation of the available oral, lingual and documentary material (Morton, 1972, 1973; Willis, 1993.; Mutoro, 1997, Willis and Miers, 1997). Willis suggests that by the Singwaya legend and its assertion of common origins, the Mijikenda merely sought to unify their political position in the British colonial era through their adoption of a common tribal identity. This enabled them to act collectively in questions affecting their welfare as separate from the Arabs and Swahili. In other words Mijikenda was a contemporary political construct and should not be extrapolated into the past, that they were not a distinct and unified group in terms of history of cultural practice.

Morton (1972) argues among other things, that in fact the Singwaya legend may have been largely an Arab-Swahili fabrication to justify hegemony of the agricultural Bantu communities of the coastal hinterland to the new British colonizers. It appears to have made its first appearance in script from Arab/Swahili sources in the late 1800s and seems to have entered Mijikenda oral literature at around the same time.

Singwaya itself as a precise geographical location seems to be in doubt. Oral traditions while referring to it only do so vaguely describing an area anywhere between Juba and Wabe Shebelle rivers in southern Ethiopia and the Tana River in Kenya. An expedition by the Portuguese in search of the fabled place in the 1660s failed to find it (Strandes, 1961) and more recent archaeological surveys have been unrewarding (Chittick, 1969).

New Archaeological Data

The biggest stimulus for review of the Singwaya–Mijikenda myth as history however, has been the increasing availability of archaeological data on the coastal hinterland due to the emphasis on the maritime Swahili urban settlements. Spear regretted that there was very limited archaeological data available to him and that no formal surveys had been done in the Kayas by the time of his research (Spear, 1978). Since then excavations in Kaya sites and neighbouring areas with a settlement history, have helped to shed some light on material culture development of the Mijikenda region. These were not easy to carry out as the Kayas are still active ritual sites and such disturbance of the sites is expressly forbidden. However it was possible to visit and explore a few abandoned or degraded primary Kaya sites and secondary sites.

The most significant contributions in this area have been by Mutoro (1987, 1994) who was first to undertake archaeological exploration specifically in kaya sites and Richard Helm (1996, 2000) who carried out extensive and detailed surface pottery surveys and excavations in Kaya localities. In general dated pottery and bone material as well as ironworking waste, indicate that Kaya settlement sites and their environs had been occupied almost continuously for millennia, at least from 600 AD. Mutoro (1994) observed that iron-working materials from before this period were absent. There were few indications in the new archaeological data of drastic demographic and material cultural changes as would be expected with mass influx or migration into the region. There was however evidence of gradual in situ change and development and assimilation of diverse cultural traditions, notably southern Cushitic influences (Helm 2000).

Helm (2000) while holding that the Mijikenda myth of an en masse migration can longer be accepted as standard history proposes two alternative scenarios which could still be compatible with elements of the Singwaya tradition and explain the available archaeological evidence.

Scenario 1:

At least some of the Mijikenda ancestors did migrate southward bringing with them cultural traditions and institutions of Singwaya into the central and southern coastal hinterland. They encountered and assimilated North Coast Bantu groups resident in the area and formed the Kayas as defensive settlements against the Galla. The event was not a single wave but a continuous trickle.

Scenario 2:

The Mijikenda never lived in Singwaya at all. The Proto-Mijikenda settled in the central and southern coastal hinterland as other Sabaki speaking peoples including Pokomo and Northern Swahili continued to move northwards. They interacted with agro-pastoral southern Cushitic speaking groups, assimilating some of them and adopting elements of their culture (indicated for example by the term 'moro' which denotes an enclosure). The Kayas were used during episodes of conflict with other Cushitic groups.

In any case Helm's data (from a total of 165 sites explored and 5 settlement sites excavated) seemed to suggest that during the middle iron-working period c 600 – 1000 AD a number of large scale agglomerates or multi-component settlements similar to kayas had formed in the Mijikenda region, which had a growing differentiation and settlement hierarchy. The process of development continued during the later iron-working farming period (1000 – 1650 AD) with greater dispersal of homestead units but retention of the larger multi-component settlements as regional ritual and political foci, possibly the modern kayas or their precursors.

Distinct languages developed around these centres. From 1650 AD onwards the data points to the development of numerous independent settlements of varying size, possibly breakaways from dominant regional settlements or simply autonomous communities who chose to identify with particular ritual centres (Willis 1993, 1997).

Conclusions

Hence it would appear that the Kayas were not new transplants brought by immigrants from a mythical Singwaya (Shungwaya), but rather may have resulted from the culmination of a much longer and continuous process of settlement change and development (Mutoro, 1987, 1994. Helm, 2000). The Kayas were also not isolated monolithic settlements through most of that time but primarily the ritual and political centres of widely dispersed communities of homesteads and villages. Apart from archaeological evidence, this is backed by family histories and lineages of many Mijikenda, which indicate that have always lived outside the Kayas although they recognized their primacy (Willis, 1996).

The Singwaya myth cannot be treated as standard history as it fails to explain and is not consistent with the archaeological evidence. It would be risky therefore to extrapolate or adduce from it for the purposes of determining times of origin. Spear (1978) himself warned against accepting the Singwaya traditions blindly due to significant inconsistencies regarding groups which were known to have been assimilated. However this does not detract from the value of the legends themselves to the Mijikenda. As Spear notes, legend is a charter of social institutions, providing a basis for the identity of a people, and legitimizing the major institutions in a society. In the case of the Mijikenda these include the Kaya, clans and age-sets. Legend is indigenous history and is fundamental to how a people view themselves and their world (1978).

Whatever view one takes, by the early 17th century when the first contemporary written records were made by Portuguese colonial officials about the Mijikenda, the Kaya settlements were present in the coastal hinterland in distinct and autonomous communities. These communities had close social, cultural and political links with each

other and had developed elaborate reciprocal commercial and political relations with the Swahili towns of the Coastal strip. This state of affairs probably continued through the late 17th and the 18th century, a period for which there are few records following the eviction of the Portuguese at the end of the 17th century. The early and mid 19th century saw the arrival of European missionaries and explorers to the east African coastal hinterland. From their notes and reports we are able to obtain a general picture of the historical Kaya villages.

2.(b)(2) The Historical Kaya

Although the Kaya settlements seem to have developed and matured over a very long period, apart from archaeological data and oral traditions, there are few sources that describe in any great detail what the Kaya villages were actually like in the distant past. The earliest contemporary records regarding the Mijikenda which were by 17th century Portuguese colonial officials offered only an external view of their relations with the Mijikenda. After these perfunctory accounts there are no further accounts on the hinterland communities until the arrival of European missionaries and explorers in the early 19th century. From the 1820s more detailed reports began to appear of the life and customs of the Mijikenda people in their Kayas.

Sources from this time include Krapf, Emery, Guillain, Wakefield and New and assorted British colonial officials including Johnstone and Champion in the early 20th century. From their documents and recorded accounts of Mijikenda Elders, it is possible to construct a profile of the Kayas and their institutions before their gradual abandonment in the late 19th century and early 20th. In doing this we may also as Spear (1978:46) suggests 'catch a fleeting glimpse' of the general outlines of Mijikenda society in the 17th and 18th and perhaps earlier times, though these societies were obviously not static and constantly changing.

The Village

Each Kaya was a large village in a clearing in the midst of dense forest which served as protection against marauding nomadic plainspeople. Often the village, which was fenced around with a wooden palisade of logs and poles, was on a hilltop making the approach slow and laborious as is the case with Kaya Jibana. Two narrow access paths **Mwara** were cut through the surrounding forest on opposite sides of the village, and placed in each path at intervals were three heavy wooden gates. The gates were guarded by young men but also protected by specially placed, powerful magic charms.

Inside the wooden stockade, the kaya or village was a cleared glade roughly circular in shape and several hundred yards across with coconut trees planted in profusion. By the early 1800s Kaya villages were estimated to hold between one and three thousand people. Arranged around the centre of the Kaya were the Clan villages each clustered around its large meeting hut or **Iwanda**. These Iwandas were established when the kaya was first built on arrival from Singwaya (Spear *ibid*). Similarly the family group dwellings were built around a central space known as the **thome** in which a thatched booth **Iuva** was erected. This was a meeting and resting place for the men during the day.

As the clan grew and segmented into subclans no new Iwanda was established but all descendants of the original clan members identified with a particular Iwanda. The individual homesteads of the clan members were arranged around the Iwanda, houses consisting of thatched structures shaped like igloos rectangular with rounded ends. A low door was placed midway in one side. Indoors one half of the building was the cooking area with a storage loft for grain and the other was the sleeping quarters. The Iwandas were similarly shaped but open at both ends.

In the centre of some kayas was a small uncleared area where the *finjo* or protective magic was buried. For some Kayas this was described as a pot with secret ingredients, for others it was a strange shaped stone. Where the finjo was regarded as being too potent, it was buried in the surrounding forest and villagers were forbidden to approach the vicinity.

Near this was a large meeting house called the *moro*, similar in shape to the Iwanda but able to house many more people. Some held 100. The moro was a central institution in Mijkenda life and the most important tribal symbols were kept there. Although splinter settlements were always in formation away from the main kayas, which mimicked them, these did not have the finjo and could not build legitimate Iwandas, not having originated from Singwaya. Their members had to return to the main kayas for all important events. The main kayas on the other hand were both central residential towns and political religious complexes. They derived their legitimacy from Singwaya (Spear ibid).

Livelihood and Material Culture

Missionaries and administrators in the early 1800s found agricultural communities in the Kayas who also kept livestock with cattle predominating in the drier agro-ecological areas. From archaeological data it would appear that their ancestors were also basically subsistence agriculturalists but supplemented the products of the soil with protein obtained by hunting and trapping wild animals in their forest environment. Most of the farming was done using slash and burn methods on land outside and away from the kaya. Sorghum and millet were the main cereals until the arrival of maize in the 19th century. In addition there is evidence that they were able to obtain fish products through trade with the communities in the coastal settlements, the emerging Swahili or proto-swahili towns.

The Kaya communities worked iron and in some cases copper and analysis of pottery also shows significant imports from the coastal littoral including imported china (Helm, 2000). The same applies for cloth which was used for apparel by all Mijkenda in the early 1800s but not produced locally. Emery describes their apparel as 'a blue cotton wrapper around the waist falling below the knee and another cloak over the shoulder'. However subsistence rather than commerce seems to have been the main livelihood pattern up to the mid-nineteenth century.

Worship

The people of the Kaya observed a complex system of worship which recognized a great spirit or creator Mulungu as being omni-present but conceded that the lesser spirits including evil spirits and ancestral spirits were in closer proximity and influenced daily

existence in a very significant way. Hence it was very important to appease the dead especially those newly departed, by tending their graves and making offerings.

Government

The Mijikenda societies were segmentary. In place of a hierarchical political organization with centralized control, they were organized in a series of grouping based on lineage ie sub-clan, clan, kaya headed by elders at each level who represented the grouping in councils at the next level. Cutting across these groups within a tribe were age-sets which contributed to the cohesion of the tribe. The most senior age sets formed the **Kambi**, a tribal council which governed by consensus. The Kambi met each fourth day in the moro to adjudicate disputes and regulate relations with neighbours (Spear, 1978). They were also responsible for the annual ceremonies to insure the fertility of the land and continued prosperity of the Kaya.

Secret Societies

Some of the responsibilities of the Kambi were implemented by secret societies within the group which governed specialized areas of knowledge and healing. These included Habasi, Kinyenze, Gohu and Vaya. The societies were influential due to their control of specialized oaths which provided security from theft and sorcery and were used to adjudicate disputes by threat of great harm to those in violation. The Gohu society due to its prohibitive requirement in membership fees was restricted to the very wealthy. The Vaya was restricted to the leading members of the Kambi and two were chosen from each clan. Only members of the Vaya could administer the most feared oath of all called **Fisi**.

In a traditional society which did not possess an army or law enforcement body, the importance of the supernatural, or 'magic', in social control was paramount. People avoided forbidden or criminal behaviour for fear of detection and retribution by spiritual forces especially evil one or **Mapeho**. Likewise they were prevailed upon to tell the truth when the same forces were called as witnesses in prescribed ceremonies involving oaths. In this way as in other African societies, social order was maintained by knowledgeable Elders.

The unseen also affected physical health in a profound way as it did the fertility of the land, hence ceremonial, invoking the great spirit and minor spirits was a crucial part of daily life. No greater power was recognized than the ability to harness or control the spirits, in order to cast spells, or mediate with them and these qualities usually elevated an Elder in the eyes of the community.

Clan Structure

Each kaya contained four to six clans comprising the original descent groups of the Singwaya migrants. This status is marked by Iwanda huts which only such clans could erect. Some of the major Kayas share clan names seen as an indicator that they predated the kayas' formation. Below the clan level were sub-clans formed by expansion and splintering of the clan but also by assimilation of new members from outside the kaya who had to choose a clan to identify with.

Age- Sets or Riikas

Kaya membership was unified by common residence in the single and a system of **Riikas** or age-sets which brought together all the men of a given age to perform certain functions within the kaya. A riika encompassed two generations or about 52 years. It was divided into 13 sub-riikas of about four years each. When a riika was initiated, the three eldest sub-riikas formed the Kambi or the Council of Elders who governed the tribe in all matters. At intervals of about 8 years the sub-riikas below them and subsequently the following sub-riikas would be admitted until all had joined the Kambi although many of the oldest sub-riikas would have died of old age. After the youngest three sub-riika attained Kambi status the time approached to hand over the next age set and the process would start again.

Burial of the Dead.

Members of the Kaya who died in the Kaya were buried in the village at designated sites near the surrounding fence and carved wooden markers placed on their graves. However those who were considered unclean due to one reason or another, such as death from a strange disease, or violence, were buried outside the gates though within the forest. Likewise those who died outside the Kaya as it was considered unlucky for a body to enter through the gate (Johnstone, 1902:202). They were buried outside the gates but close to the village.

Music and Drums

Music including singing, dancing and instrumental rhythm played a central role in the life of the village. Drumming in particular was used as a means of communication: Alerting and gathering village members, celebration of rites of passage, entertainment, divination and healing and mourning. Krapf describes a scene of drumming and Dancing at his reception by the Wa – Kambe when he visited their Kaya in 1848 (Krapf, 1860).

Every Kaya had at least one **Mwandza** or hollow friction drum used to assemble people and provide accompaniment to major community ritual or ceremonial occasions. Such was its importance of this ritual drum that it was kept in the Moro or with specific guardians away from the village. Only the initiated could behold it, or attend events where it was sounded. It was treated as a sacred object. Krapf (1848) describes a ceremony of the mwanza where all villagers remained indoors to avoid setting eyes on the drum which was to be passed through the village. Besides the Mwandza there were other drums such as the **Bumbumbu** played only by men and used to call men to arms or for exorcisms and the **goma mbiche** which was a smaller drum that women could play. In addition to drums, horns and xylophone were extensively employed

Wine

The use of palm wine was universal among the Mijikenda, for a whole range of activities not only for merrymaking but for serious social activities such as bridal payments, marriages, age grade ceremonies, funerals. The ease with which it is made by tapping the sap of the coconut tree meant that it was a widely available social lubricant. Before the advent of the coconut, it is believed that wine was tapped from wild palms though these are less copious.

2.(b)(3). Decline of the Kayas as Settlements in the 19th and 20th Centuries.

The above is a generalized description of a typical kaya village as was encountered by the first missionaries and explorers in the coastal hinterland in the early 1800s. It more than likely that the settlements had taken this form for centuries before this though there is no documentation from those periods. However throughout the nineteenth century there appears to have been a gradual decline in the use of these central villages as settlements, a process which culminated in the early decades of the 20th century. The Mijikenda departed from the central villages to settle permanently in farms and villages which already existed away from the forest stockade and returned to the Kayas for traditional ceremonies, or in times of attack from outside.

This was the case for all the sites though abandonment of the villages took place at different rates for different Kayas. Hence Kaya Kambe was still a thriving settlement in 1913 / 14 but though Krapf had been welcomed to Kaya Ribe by hundreds of tribespeople in 1844 Ribe had been abandoned by that time (Werner, 1914). Kaya Chonyi had been vacated by the early 20th century but Jibana and Kauma were still places of residence in the first few decades of the 20th century as recorded by colonial administrators (Johnstone, 1902). Hence there was significant variation but in general Digo and Rabai Kayas were the first to empty out in the 1830s and 40s. The others followed thereafter, Duruma and Giriama in the 40s and 50s and the rest after this. Although some kayas still had significant communities into the second decade of the 20th century as noted above, by the 1940s, almost all the Kayas were uninhabited but for small groups of Elders who resided there for varying periods.

Reasons for Exodus

A number of reasons are advanced for the exodus from the primary 'Singwaya' Kayas. Spear (1978) poses trade as the main stimulus. During the 19th century, trade along the East African coast expanded considerably with increased exports from Zanzibar island to Europe and India and increased commerce between Zanzibar and the coastal towns. The trade included ivory, copal, sesame, hides, rhino horn, timber, rubber and copra. As the primary producers of many of these products and as middlemen between the inland traders and the coast, the Mijikenda thrived from this trade especially the Rabai and Digo who dominated the coastal Swahili trade, and Duruma and Giriama who traded inland, with the Kamba, Taita and Galla.

Spear opines that this trade enabled young men, who were willing to leave the Kayas to trade, to make their own fortunes and loosen their dependence on the Elders. Through the traditional age-set system in which the Elders ruled, they had controlled all wealth and resources in the traditional villages and restricted the mobility of the youth. Independent wealth enabled the younger men to leave the central villages and establish their own settlements free from gerontocratic control, and begin their own lineages.

As Willis (1996) suggests the central kayas were not free of internal tension, but were in fact places of 'power and conflict over power' rather than completely harmonious and consensual venues. Disputes over power and resources were part of the everyday life of the Kayas and often irreparable rifts and desertion of the central village by defiant young men or aggrieved older men with their followers, to form new kayas in competition

of the old. The formation of a number of these 'secondary' kayas was a notable feature of the late 19th century and no doubt contributed to the depletion of the original settlements. Not surprisingly this period is seen in the standard Singwaya narrative as a period of great upheaval and social disorder in which the traditional kaya institutions declined.

Groups of Digo and Rabai, were the first to move away from their central kayas and this may be significant as they were also the most active traders (Spear 1978). In general such communities dispersed and settled where commercial opportunities were greatest, far though this might be from the kaya. Thus the Digo spread throughout the coastal plain in present day Kwale and Msambweni and the Duruma and Giriama expanded south and north respectively in the semi-arid Nyika Plateau.

Other factors should also not be discounted . A number of devastating famines in the last two decades of the 19th century also spurred people to leave the densely populated ridges where the kayas were located in search of new and fertile land away from the kayas. The same famines afflicted the Masai and Galla, the traditional nomadic pastoral enemies of the mijikenda, and cattle disease epidemics such as Rinderpest decimated their herds weakening them and lessening their attacks. The establishment of the British Protectorate in 1895 also contributed to more secure conditions.

This encouraged the Mijikenda to leave their kayas and start to settle further and further away. One effect of settlement outside was the start of a gradual process of deforestation around kayas. With the loss of much of the forest and woodland to give way to agriculture, and the deliberate preservation of the kaya forest localities, the kayas became more and more distinctly etched in the landscape. Much as they are today.

Continuing Use as Ritual Sites

Hence by the 40s the Kayas had ceased to be centres of residence. Although some Kaya Elders still living today claim to have been born there, the families which resided there were very few indeed and they in turn were to leave. However the sites retained their significance as traditional ritual and burial sites even after the exodus (Willis, 1996). The Kilifi Colonial District Commissioner reports on Kirao (Riika succession ceremonies) held at Kaya Giriama in 1925. In the same year a visit to the Kaya Chonyi revealed collapsed and decaying habitations but the Kaya was still used as a burial site by all the Wa – Chonyi at that time (Kenya National Archives a). This was very much the case in other Kayas although the custom of kaya burials was to die out as well later in the century in the 40s and 50s. This was possibly because for many emigrants, the distances to the Kaya were now prohibitive.

2.(b)(4) Management and Conservation in the 20th Century

Early Colonial Government Priorities 1895 onwards

The Kayas therefore ceased to be important residential sites in a process which took place gradually through the 19th century and culminated in the first half of the 20th century. However they continued to be ritual and symbolic sites and the history of the Kayas in the 20th century is primarily that of their protection and management as traditional cultural sites. This period also coincides with the establishment of a British

protectorate in Kenya from 1895 and a period of colonial rule followed by independence and republican government from 1963.

Due to their central importance as symbols of tribal identity, the young Colonial Government, in attempting to assert control of the local African population almost immediately encountered the Kaya Institution. Hence the reports of Colonial administrators. Some of the contact was violent and destructive. When the Giriama revolted against colonial taxes between 1912-14 the Government responded by sacking Kaya Giriama, destroying and burning dwellings, desecrating ritual objects and cutting down trees at the Kaya (Brantley, 1981).

Forest Reservation

Being located in forests, the Kayas were also encountered by the fledgling Forest Department in its first efforts to identify forest areas for reservation and protection as Government forests. Attempts to demarcate forests on hills in the neighbourhood and north of Mombasa found that many of them contained Kayas (Kenya National Archives. b). However most of the kaya forest areas were not very extensive and fell below the size the Forest Department felt was feasible and economic to manage as productive reserves. Additionally there was an emerging policy to set aside Native (land) Reserves for all major ethnic groups in the colony and protectorate and the Kayas fell within the Mijikenda Reserve.

The implicit policy of the Central Government was nevertheless that Kaya forests within the Reserve should be protected. Hence in a 1917 letter, the Coast Provincial Commissioner instructs the Conservator of Forests to prevent timber licencees from cutting in Kaya Duruma and remarks 'I see no reason why the Kayas should not be entitled to the same protection as a church or mosque' (KNA c, 11). The Divisional Forest Officer in 1939 advises on the necessity of keeping watch ... that the kayas are not cut into' (KNA d). However no protective designation was provided for them as for other forest areas in the coast which became forest reserves.

Local Government and Land Use Policy Effects

The History of Management and conservation of the Kayas in the 20th century is also closely tied to the development of land administration in Kenya as well as that of local government. The fact that the Kayas were part of the Native Reserve meant that they were not provided with the formal protection the Forest Reserves were to receive from Central Government. The Elders still exerted a strong influence and had instituted rules for the sites as traditional sites which were generally observed but these rules received little state reinforcement.

Colonial Government formed the Local Native Councils LNCs composed of local Chiefs and leaders for the administration of Native Reserves but these councils in addition to being handpicked rather than elected leaders, were also not well equipped and trained in their roles. Income from local taxation was less than adequate and Government grants limited. Despite these problems, the LNCs recognized the kayas and did what little they could to protect them. Reference is made by the Coast Divisional Forest Officer in 1938 to a LNC resolution conferring protection on the kayas and employment of four guards to protect them (KNA d). However it appears that the sites were not demarcated and the guards seem not to have operated for long.

The result was that forests under the care of the LNC received little protection and would become more and more vulnerable in the changes that would occur as the century wore on. The LNCs became the African District Councils in 1950 and County Councils after independence with elected members, but the same weaknesses continue to bedevil the Councils to date. These are limited financial resources and low technical capacity in specialized functions such as protection and conservation of cultural and natural resources such as Kayas.

Starting from 1954 the colonial Government under the Swynnerton Plan began a process of land reform targeted at increasing productivity of land in the Native Reserves. The most important component of this programme was promotion of individual title to land rather than communal traditional tenure. This policy continued after independence in 1963 and adjudication of land took place in all the former reserves, now called Trust Lands, including the Mijikenda areas where the kayas were situated. These were adjudicated in the 60s and 70s. Individual families identified their farms and those adjacent to the kayas demarcated their boundaries with the forest. As a consequence the primary kayas finally had a defined and permanently fixed boundary by default.

Threats to the Kayas

The other result of land of land adjudication was that the Kaya forests remained the only land that was 'common' or trust land in many rural locations. A significant number of people for one reason or other were also unable to prove their claims and became 'landless'. Combined with the fact that the kayas were not demarcated as conservation areas in any way, this contributed to make them especially vulnerable to those in search of land who were rapidly increasing (the population of Kenya has increased fivefold from 6 million in 1963).

Hence Government records in the 60s and 70s contain numerous reports of kaya boundary disputes and cases of encroachment involving the kaya elders and local villagers and immigrants. Kaya Chonyi and the Rabai Kayas are cases in point. The Government opened settlement schemes in other parts of the region to accommodate the increasing number of landless people but this only partly alleviated the problem.

In addition to encroachment of the kayas for land, pressure from natural resource use was also being experienced in the Kayas including pole-cutting and logging at some sites. Mining at some localities in this mineral-rich region also threatened the sites including lead, limestone and iron ore mines. The County Councils in whose land the kayas were located proved unable to provide any significant protection and indeed were often more preoccupied with revenue collection including cess on the extraction and transportation of minerals and produce.

The biggest threat however was the gradual loss of attachment to the kayas and the traditions they represented especially by the youth (Nyamweru, 1997). Growing numbers of Mijikenda received formal education and employment in the modern cash economy, often involving leaving their rural villages to live in the coastal towns and cities and even elsewhere in the country. Non-traditional religions such as Christianity which took increasing hold on Mijikenda society as the century wore on discouraged association with traditional 'animist' practices. Thus increasing distance from and

reduced exposure to Kaya influences produced Mijikenda who were less reluctant to see kayas mostly as a source of land and other resources.

Conservation

Substantial conservation activities for the kayas finally began during the 1980s. This development seems to have been due to a combination of factors including: alarming development pressures on kaya land including secondary Digo kayas in beach areas of Kwale District where real estate was at a premium; continuing advocacy of the kaya elders and local leaders for the protection of the kaya, at various fora; the substantial amount of material on kayas and their cultural relevance now available in print (including works by Spear, Prins, Mwangudza, Hawthorne, Brantley, Mutoro etc) stimulating interest; Increasing official government recognition of the Kayas as unique cultural and natural heritage of the coastal districts; and growing realization by the scientific community of the importance of the kayas and coastal forests from a biological standpoint.

This last factor was particularly instrumental and is epitomized by two related botanical surveys undertaken by the National Museums of Kenya during 1986 and 1988-90. These two surveys, also funded by the World Wide Fund for Nature WWF sought among other things to :

- Document the current status of Kenya's coastal forests
- Compile a species inventory for kayas to determine their biological diversity
- Determine the specific location of the kayas, the attitude of Elders and local communities and government officials
- Make recommendations for the best mode of protection of the kayas and other coastal forests.

(Robertson 1986, Robertson and Luke 1993)

Data from the surveys served to underline the key importance of the kaya forests as residual forest patches for plant conservation. Using a provisional index of relative conservation value, it was found that of the 20 sites with the highest values in the coast region, 7 were kayas (Robertson and Luke).

The study also discovered strong support for state protection of the kayas among the local community provided that this did not result in the removal of ownership of the land from the local community. Among the primary recommendations of the surveys was that the sacred kaya forests should be gazetted as National Monuments under the laws of Kenya, and that they be cared for by a Unit of the National Museums of Kenya to be set up for that purpose. It was felt that the NMK with mandates in both culture and nature research and conservation was best placed to protect the kaya cultural landscapes. NM designation in addition does not automatically transfer land ownership to Government.

At the same time as the surveys were under way, increased advocacy by local and District Leaders in Kilifi District on the north coast led to a resolution by the District Development Committee, the highest consultative body of the District, that the Kayas should be protected under the Forest Act. This resolution in 1986 led to the gazettment of four primary Kayas in Kilifi District in 1990 namely Kambe, Ribe, Jibana and Chonyi, with the primary objective of conservation in 1994.

Shortly after this, following a parliamentary motion moved by an MP from Kwale District and passed by the House, The Government proceeded to gazette 23 Kayas as National Monuments in 1992. Since 1992, 18 more Kayas have been gazetted as National Monuments bringing the total number of protected kayas to 45 (41 National Monuments and 4 Forest Reserves). They include all the 6 primary 'Singwaya' kayas, and secondary or sub-kayas.

In 1992, the National Museums of Kenya with support from WWF formed the Coastal Forest Conservation Unit which was charged with promoting the conservation of the kaya forest sites in partnership with the kaya elders and local communities. This NMK Unit also works with other agencies which have kayas within their protected area regimes such as the Kenya Forest and Wildlife Services.

3. JUSTIFICATION FOR INSCRIPTION

3 (a) Criteria under which Inscription is Proposed

With respect to the 'Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention the Mijikenda Kayas are presented as being of outstanding universal value as Cultural Landscapes which represent the 'combined works of nature and man' (Operational Guidelines Annex 3 para 6),

Kayas as Cultural Landscapes

The Kayas may be described as Cultural Landscapes in that they: *are 'illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time under the influence of physical constraints/opportunities by their natural environment and of successive social economic and cultural forces, external and internal'* (Annex 3 para 6). They are natural sites that have however been shaped by human social, economic and cultural developments. These developments have helped in creating the Mijikenda society as we know it today and also informed the relationship between the Mijikenda and their neighbours.

Further to this they *'embrace a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its environment'*: The Kayas are a unique example of the interaction between nature and culture. The Mijikenda evolved their cultural traditions within the forests and these traditions have been used in protecting the forests against destruction. The Kayas are therefore an important illustration of the interface between the cultural and natural environment.

Kayas *'maintain natural values in the landscape'*. They are significant residual patches of a once extensive and biologically diverse forested region that serve as reservoirs of biological diversity in the region. In fact these forests host a significant number of rare and threatened species of natural groups. Also as forest islands or fragments surviving in a largely cultivated environment, the Kayas help to enhance the variety and the natural beauty of the landscape.

Organically evolved landscape

(i) As cultural landscapes the Kayas fall in the category of 'organically evolved landscapes' (para 10 ii). This is because they result from *'an initial social, economic, administrative and religious imperative and reflect a 'process of evolution in their form and component features'*.

As an organically evolved landscape the Mijikenda Kayas may further be described as a 'continuing landscape' *which 'retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life and in which a evolutionary process is still in progress'* (). This is represented by the evolution of the Kayas from settlements to ritual or ceremonial sites as well as the increasing isolation of these forest patches within farmland and other zones. The latter process is etching them more clearly in the panoramic view.

Specific Criteria satisfied under Paragraph 77

The Kayas meet a number of specific criteria for inscription on the World Heritage List as set out in the UNESCO WHC guidelines paragraph 77, in particular the following:

Criterion (iii) ‘Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.’

The descriptions the foregoing sections amply demonstrate that the Kaya forests (Makaya) are an exceptional testimony to a specific cultural tradition. They contain the traces of fortified settlements, and centres of cultural and ritual activity. Having been the places of habitation, refuge, prayer, ceremonial and burial of Mijikenda for many generations, these natural sites have intimately shaped and been shaped by the evolution and history of the Mijikenda peoples. The kayas provide focal points for Mijikenda cultural and spiritual beliefs and practices, and basic identity. As such they have a metonymic significance to Mijikenda and are a fundamental source of Mijikendas’ sense of ‘being in the world’ and of their place in the cultural landscape of contemporary Kenya.

Criterion (v) ‘Be an outstanding example of traditional human settlement, land-use or sea-use which is representative of a culture or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change’

Since their abandonment as preferred places of settlement and defence, kaya landscapes have been transferred from the domestic, practical, material realm of significance to the spiritual sphere of Mijikenda life. As an essential part of this process certain restrictions were placed on access and the utilization of natural forest resources. One of the consequence of this is that the biodiversity of the kayas and the forests surrounding them has been sustained. The Kayas are under threat both externally and from within Mijikenda society through the decline of traditional knowledge and respect of practices but have withstood this onslaught.

Criterion (vi) Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

The kayas are now the repositories of spiritual beliefs of the Mijikenda and are seen as the sacred abode of their ancestors. As a collection of sites spread over a large area, they are associated with beliefs of local and national significance, and possibly regional import as the sites extend beyond the boundaries of Kenya. A critical principle which the Kaya Elders espouse and which the Kayas epitomize is the universal one of the interdependence of man and nature. The forest (symbolizing nature) is essential to the kaya and its continued existence, and hence the well-being of the community. We must conserve nature in order to survive as humankind.

3 (b) Statement of Outstanding Universal Value

The Mijikenda Sacred Kaya forests are an outstanding and unique African example of how the collective attitudes and beliefs of a rural society have shaped or sculpted a landscape over time in response to prevailing needs. They contain the traces of historic fortified settlements of the Mijikenda ancestors which serve as a focus of cultural and ritual activities continuing on the sites today. In a unique way, the intangible aspects of Mijikenda heritage are supported by physical cultural features of the kayas including paths, gate sites, burial grounds, settlement sites, ritual grounds etc representing the material embodiment of their world view and traditional belief systems. Prominent on hills and other strategic sites, the kaya forests are a highly aesthetic symbol of the interrelation of man and nature, a rich blend of natural and cultural values. Since their abandonment as places of settlement and refuge, the kaya forest landscapes have been transferred from the domestic, practical, material realm of significance to the spiritual sphere of Mijikenda life. As an essential part of this process certain traditional restrictions were placed on access, and the utilization of natural forest resources. The result is that the kayas have been preserved and their biodiversity sustained. However, the cultural and spiritual beliefs and associations are critical to character of the forested sites. In the African context the intangible or psychic dimensions are as important as the material, physical and natural, all the elements being essential and mutually reinforcing. The kayas provide focal points for Mijikenda cultural and spiritual values and practices, and basic identity. As a collection of sites spread over a large area, they are associated with beliefs of local and national significance, and possibly regional importance.

3 (c) Comparative Analysis

The range of natural sacred sites in the world is as diverse as human experience and also reflective of the variety of our natural environment. Humans attribute sacred values to a whole range of natural land forms including forests, rivers and springs, caves, rock features, even mountains and lakes. In physical extent they vary tremendously from a single tree or rock to whole ecosystems. The reasons for people imbuing these places with supernatural qualities are equally numerous and diverse but the result is the preservation of a natural area with its vegetation and other features. Broad categorizations have been attempted nevertheless based on the functions or roots of the sites, and include but are not limited to:

- Dwelling places of deities
- Natural area surrounding a temple or religious structure
- Homes of the spirits
- Places where ancestors are buried
- Habitat of animals, birds, plants held to be sacred
- Association with myths of origin and migration of a people
- Sites of ritual power and identity of a community
- Sites associated with healing or curative powers
- Location of scarce or precious resources or materials

Of the causes or roots of sacred site creation listed above, the Kayas would appear to encompass a significant number including: a home of the spirits and where ancestors are buried, a centre of ritual power and significantly the sites where the ancestors first settled and the various Mijikenda groups were forged and became distinct peoples. They

are also sites of ritual power and identity. In addition the Kayas seem to offer physical evidence of many of these claims and historical records further bolster them. The Kayas are therefore exceptional as sacred cultural and natural sites and it may be argued that they are in fact completely unique and cannot be compared with any other phenomena. A review of sacred natural forested sites around the world will bring this out more clearly.

Sacred Forests and Groves around the world

Sacred forests are observed on all continents throughout human history although surviving or functional examples tend to be described from 'third world' countries as elements of indigenous knowledge systems (Nyamweru, 1998:4). These belief systems are no longer influential in the west but recorded European folklore recounts the existence of sacred groves protected through strict rules enforced by the priestly classes in ancient Greece and Italy, Germany and Scandinavia (Frazier, 1934). The advent of Christianity in those parts resulted in a shift in the location of worship from natural sites to built churches and cathedrals which often strove in their architecture to imitate the visual aesthetic effect and tranquility of natural forests (Laird, 1999). Examples of sacred forests here will therefore be drawn from Asia and the Americas but primarily from Africa and Madagascar where the sacred forests may bear more similarities.

Asia

In Asia the most noteworthy documented examples of sacred forests or groves are to be found in India, South West China and Nepal.

Sacred Groves of India

In India sacred groves are usually dedicated to a deity or deities by which and for which all living forms within the forest are provided protection through taboos and restrictions. There is no association of the site with origin or creation myths. As India contains a multiplicity of ethnic groups there is an endless variety in type of sacred forest and protective mechanisms. They vary in size from a few trees to dense forests covering vast tracts of land. Often the groves will contain a temple used by the local villages for festivals and prayers.

In general no extraction or removal of any living or dead material or objects is permitted including animals and birds and dead wood should only be used within the forest temple. However, there is some variation in the application of these rules and intense land-use pressures have ensured that only sites in the remoter areas are pristine and effectively protected by traditional taboos. Near towns it has often been necessary to protect the small groves with physical barriers like barbed wire. However the continued survival of the groves by and large points to the strength of religious beliefs especially in rural India.

Sacred groves are to be found all over India. In Himachal Pradesh they are known as **deodar** groves and rigorously protected. In Maharashtra state there are about 250 **devrais** and Kerala 240 **kavus**. In the hills of Garhwal and Kumaon sacred groves are still found which are mentioned in ancient scripture. Among the best kept groves are found in Megalaya where almost every village is said to have a grove local known as the **law kyntangs**. In other states and districts the forests are variously known as **samas**, **oraans**, **kenkris**, **vanis** and **shamla dehs**. Various studies have proven that the sacred

groves are important islands of biological diversity in comparison to the surrounding land.

Sacred Groves of China

The Dai people of Xishuangbanna in Yunnan Province in South-West China maintain forested holy hills or **Nong**. Here the gods reside and all living things are either companions of gods or divine in themselves. Although the Dai are primarily Buddhists they have not forsaken their traditional polytheistic beliefs which are closely bound to the natural world and especially the forests. The spirits of great and revered chieftains are also to be found there. Gathering, hunting, wood-cutting are in general prohibited although the strictness of controls varies from village to village.

Most Dai villages will have an associated Nong and the hills are important visual elements in the local landscape. However, the forests are not used as burial grounds and other sites are chosen for this. They range from 10 to 100 hectares. The Nong have proven to have a significantly higher biodiversity than surrounding sites which is closer to the pristine tropical forest type of the area. A significant number of plant endemics have been identified in the holy hills (Pei, 1993, Laird, 1999).

Sacred Forests of Nepal

In Nepal the sacred forests are called **Beyals** or hidden valleys. They are generally large natural areas encompassing entire mountain watersheds. They contain forests, rivers, meadows, lakes and rivers. The Beyuls are refuges and places of retreat, isolated peaceful and tranquil valleys (Lharka, 2003). They can be opened by **terton** (treasure seekers) using secret ancient texts for direction. Only people with pure hearts can gain access to the sites and though many have been found others are awaiting discovery (Lharka, 2003).

North America

Native American communities in North America hold certain areas in the natural forests of their reserved lands sacred by traditional tribal members. In these areas no logging can go on without destroying the spiritual values of the sites. Sacred areas include mountain tops, sweat lodges, burial grounds and old and old home sites. A case in point is the Navajo reservation on the borders of Arizona and New Mexico States (Nyamweru, 1998).

Sacred Forests of Madagascar

The Island of Madagascar off the East Coast of Africa boasts a number of sacred forests among which are Ambohimanga (13 ha) in the central highlands and Sakoantovo (6 163ha) and Vohimasio (30 170ha) in the south of the Island. Madagascar's sacred forests are usually burial places containing the tombs of aristocratic ancestors or the home of spirits and also source of important medicinal plants. Most important among a Malagasy's rites of passage is death and a crucial part of Malagasy culture is centered on funeral rites and practices.

Ambohimanga sacred forest is part of the ruins of the royal enclosure on a hill site which include walls and other fortifications, a moat and paths. Use has been controlled by a system of taboos and norms. However, as in other parts of the world the forests are threatened by extractive activities to meet growing human needs. The forests are important biodiversity areas. Sakoantovo is renowned for its populations of lemurs and Vihimasion for its unique fauna and flora being a transitional area from the humid forest to spiny forest (Rafolo, 2000, Afrol news 2004).

Mainland Africa

On Africa mainland the best documented sacred forests are found in West Africa in Nigeria, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire but there are also some East African examples, apart from the Kayas, to be found in Uganda and Tanzania and Mozambique.

West Africa - Ghana

In Ghana small areas of forest were traditionally set aside normally close to settlements as sacred lands protected by customary law. Many of these forest groves still exist and are known as **Abosompow** or **Asoneyeso** (shrine) where gods and spirits reside, **Mpanyinpow** (ancestral forests) and **Nsamanpow** (burial grounds). Still other sacred forests were protected because they held sacred animal or animal species such as the leopard, the Colobus monkey and the Raffia palm. Others are the sites of historic battles where the spirits of combatants still reside. The Ashantemanso grove is believed to contain the cave from which the seven clans of the Ashante tribe originated. Collectively the forests are referred to as fetish groves (Ntiama-Baidu, 1995). They are important components of a religious system including a complex hierarchy of gods and spirits.

The groves which number almost 2000 are controlled by fetish priests, chiefs or clan heads. Areas vary from less than one hectare in some cases e.g. the renowned Malshegu grove in northern Ghana to 1200 hectares such as the famous Pinkwae grove and larger but the great majority are very small. Restrictions may include prohibition of all forms of use, including tree products extraction and hunting, prohibition of access to all except traditional authorities in undertaking their ritual duties, prohibition on certain days or seasons of the year, etc., (Dorm-Adzobu and Veit, 1991).

West Africa - Nigeria

The sacred groves of Nigeria have been highly instrumental in conserving the fauna and flora of local regions. In Yorubaland, for example, every town has a sacred grove or groves and the famous Osun groves of Oshogbo have been made a national monument. The groves are sanctuaries for the traditional gods. Man made effigies may be found in some sites embodying the qualities of certain deities. However, the deities are abstracted from nature and believed to permeate the whole forest. Many of the groves are open to all but only worshippers of the local deity may use the natural resources for the groves in rituals. Prayers and ceremonies are also undertaken in a temple outside the forest for example, in the nearby town. The forest groves are often islands of lush vegetation in an otherwise deforested landscape.

West Africa-Cote d'Ivoire

There are over 5500 sacred groves in Cote d'Ivoire which fall into two main types, forest sites established where a community settles in an area and used for initiation rites which can thereafter be abandoned (sacred groves) and forest sites associated with the first meeting with a deity which are venerated for all time (sacred forests). The second type of sacred site is a highly sacred space and serves as a source of the ethnic group's identity. Some sites of this nature also protect sacred species of animals such as the sacred monkeys of Gbetitapea or the sacred catfish of the Zagne River. The price of catching and eating one of these catfish for example is sterility.

East Africa-Uganda

In Uganda the best documented sacred groves are in Mpigi District, central Uganda. The groves are very small mainly located on private 'mailo' land. They are used for worship and offerings and are under the custodianship of specific families. Many have disappeared due to land-use pressures in the densely populated district.

Eastern Africa-Tanzania and Mozambique

In Tanzania there is significant documentation of sacred forests in a number of districts including Rungwe, Babati, Pare and Handeni. In Rungwe the sacred forests are known as Isieto. 94 are recorded and they are places of worship, prayer and burial for important people. Traditional medicines are obtained there. Babati sacred forests number at least 46 and are traditional places of worship. Handeni sacred groves include burial sites, sacred rain forests and initiation sites. Some of the Handeni sites are also old settlements. However, most of the Tanzania sites are very small and a large number have disappeared altogether due to exploitation after breakdown of local observance of traditional rules. In Mozambique traditional wooded sites include gravesites and ritual propitiation sites.

Kenya – The Ramogi Hills

The Ramogi Hills (Got Ramogi) of Nyanza Province, Kenya are forested hills believed to be the home of Ramogi, the founder of the Luo ethnic group who settled there on emigrating from present day Uganda after leaving the Sudan. He is believed to have established homes for his six wives scattered over the site. The site has been protected by traditional rules and remains a centre of biodiversity in the region. Cultural and religious ceremonies are still held there in specially designated areas and certain sacred sites are identified by the Luo such as Asumbi rock, an old spring where Ramogi's family drew water.

Conclusion

The brief review above of sacred sites around the world and particularly Africa some of which eg Ambohimanga are on the the World Heritage List, only serves to bear out the uniqueness of the Mijikenda Kayas as sacred sites. Similarities with other types of sacred exist only in the broadest sense such as the use of taboos and various traditional rules for protection of the sites. Otherwise the Kayas are unique in many ways.

Unlike other sacred groves the Kayas claim to have evolved from a living space to a place predominantly of ritual and ceremony. While certain aspects of the myth of Kaya formation are contested there is no dispute that the Kayas have served as refuges and residences even in living memory for some. Also the physical ritual and magical spaces in the forest has clearly been shaped by human activity in the past in a manner consistent with the story of their origins. The ritual paths and gates once admitted real villagers into and out of vibrant and teeming settlements where the sacred clearings are today located. In one aspect however, as burial sites, the practical use of the Kaya still continues at some sites today such as Kaya Rabai and Kaya Kauma.

However, though the use of Kayas is now mainly ceremonial the symbolism of community and the village is still predominant in the rituals, the cleaning of the paths, building of huts, the meetings where the great meeting hut once stood. In other words the Kaya is still, a home and a haven for the Mijikenda. This elaborate blending of myth and physical manifestation and transformation from practical usage to ceremonial form is truly unique even in Africa and is not recorded in many other sites. The Kayas are 'people centered' rather than dominated by a deity and this is another special quality. Their whole existence tended to be centered on the protection and welfare of the community rather than the appeasement of rapacious gods.

Kayas in contrast to the various sites reviewed above have a clear blueprint, a general template for their structure. Although there are variations to the theme, there is a high level of consistency in the physical elements which make a Kaya. This consistency of 'land sculpture' in far-flung locations where they are found is one of the most striking physical feature of the Kaya forests. Kaya forests also compare well with other such forests in Africa in terms of area and extent of the surviving forest for example the Handeni forests of northern Tanzania. Some of the Handeni sites were historic settlements but the forest sites are small and most have disappeared. There is also no evidence of a consistent spatial patterning as is found in the kayas further up north in Kenya. Additionally their ritual use has declined or is non-existent.

3 (d) Authenticity and Integrity

Authenticity

As has been demonstrated in the preceding sections, Kayas meet the test of authenticity in various ways. They are indisputably embedded in local culture and language as well as the social historical and natural context. There is a high level of consistency in the understanding and definition of what constitutes a Kaya throughout the Mijikenda Diaspora. The Mijikenda have retained essentially the same names for landscape elements of Makaya wherever they may be found. This consistency reflects authenticity in terms of use and functions.

Present day place names are also indicative of the reality of the Kaya phenomena. Many places in Coastal Kenya bear the name of a Kaya or a Kaya element such as a gate or a path, classic examples being Kayafungo administrative location (the site of a Kaya) or Mwarakaya location (Mwarakaya refers to the path '*mwara*' of the main Kaya of the A-Chonyi). Other examples are Kikambala and Gotani both names derived from Kaya elements. Kayas are therefore highly authentic in their location and setting. They are a

creation of a particular people, the Mijikenda and their response to critical challenges facing them at various times in their history. The Kayas are genuinely 'home-grown' phenomena of a rural society and would not exist without the Mijikenda, nor may it be added, would the Mijikenda have survived without them, both literally and figuratively.

Integrity

The continued existence of the Kayas despite intense land use pressures in the twentieth century right up to the onset of state protection in the early 90s is proof of the existence and effectiveness of a traditional system of beliefs and norms which served to prevent the disappearance of these sites. To a significant extent this system still exists for local rural people. The gazettement of the Mijikenda Kayas as National Monuments or Forest reserves or inclusion of the Kayas in these protected area categories underlines a long-term commitment by the Kenya State to their protection. An essential part of the process of gazettement was the definition of site boundaries in consultation with the local communities. Local communities participated in the process at all stages.

The Kayas have been managed by the National Museums of Kenya, through their offices of the Coast Forest Conservation Unit since 1992. Proper mechanisms of management, monitoring and community involvement have been put in place. A draft management plan for the Kayas has been developed with a view to conserving and developing both the cultural and natural aspects of the kaya forests.

4 STATE OF CONSERVATION AND FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROPERTY

4 (a) State of Conservation

As a result of the gazettement, the National Museums of Kenya working with local kaya the critical threats to the survival of the Kayas have been held in check. The biological status of the Kayas as they were at gazettement has been maintained and some of the Kayas i.e. kaya Diani, Muhaka, have regenerated significantly. The participation of local communities has been crucial in this regard. The table below provides some primary indicators of conservation status (both cultural and natural) of Kaya sites as at the time of submission of this report. While for many sites the situation is stable the continuing threats faced by a number of sites only underline the need for sustained vigilance and management.

Table: Kayas Present State of Conservation

S No.	Name of Kaya	Conservation Indicators: Physical, Cultural and Natural				
		Site boundary Encroachment	Forest Species /struct.	Level /type of threat to forest	Tradition al Elders	Cultural Use, Ceremonies Reported over last 3 years
007	Kaya Fungo (Giriama)	Minimal	Stable	Polecutting. High	Active	Reported
010	Kaya Jibana	None	Stable	Agr. Low	Active	Reported

011	Kaya Kambe (Mbwaka)	None	Stable	Agr. Low	Active	Reported
012	Kaya Kauma	None	Stable	Agr. Low	Active	Reported
013	Kaya Ribe	Minimal	Stable	Agr. Low	Active	Reported
014	The Rabai Kayas	None	Stable	Agr. Low Polecutting. High	Active	Reported
018	The Duruma Kayas	Minimal	Stable	Agr. Low Polecutting mod	Active	Reported
030	Kaya Kinondo	None	Stable	Building: mod	Active	Reported

4 (b) Factors Affecting the Property

(i) Development Pressures

Increased population has led to an upsurge in the demand for additional land for cultivation. There is also increased need for forest products such as polewood and timber for house building as well as for fuel. These are the main threats to the kaya forests which occur in mostly rural communities practicing subsistence agriculture and pastoralism. The result has been encroachment on and ecological degradation, even loss, of some Kaya forests and groves.

A range of other products is extracted for household use, like medicinal plants, edible fruits, wild honey, grass and fodder for livestock and palm fronds for basket weaving. These activities can cause local problems, especially where extraction methods are destructive (e.g. careless de-barking of medicinal trees) and the targeted species are already scarce. Hunting is historically responsible for the absence of several larger mammals (eg leopard, and bushbuck) from large areas in the Kayas where they used to roam. Currently, the local bush meat trade threatens the smaller animals such as monkey and duiker species and large birds. Although this trade is not on the scale as found elsewhere in the country, local consumption of game meat can threaten rare wildlife.

On the beach crest zone of coral rag forest and thicket Kayas, particularly the Digo Kayas of the south coast are continually threatened by clearing of forest for the development of resort and residential buildings and associated structures. The coast region is mineral rich and often the mineral sites coincide with or are near natural conservation areas such as. At various times in the past specific sites such as Kaya Kauma and Kambe were affected by mining activity. The lead mine at Kambe has not encroached on the kaya boundary but has had a significant impact on its setting. Some quarrying for coral blocks for construction goes on in the vicinity of Kaya Kinondo.

A license for mining titanium has now been granted to a Canadian firm – Titanium Resources Inc. in central Kwale District and there are fears that unless urgent measures are taken, the mining operations may impact negatively on the kayas. Kaya Mrima in the south coast for example although it is not one of the nominated sites, may be affected by the relocation of large numbers of people from the proposed Titanium mining site elsewhere, to its proximity, placing strong use pressures on the small forest. The National Museums of Kenya brought these issues to the attention of the company with

the result that mitigation measures were proposed in the environmental impact study for this project.

(ii) Natural disasters and preparedness

The Eastern African coast is not prone to hurricanes or cyclones. Additionally none of the nominated sites occur within the flood plains of the major rivers in the region so disasters of this type are less of a factor in management planning. Fire is commonly used as a land preparation method at the coast and is an ever present threat during the dry season especially in the arid to semi-arid locations on the Nyika plateau. In these cases the local provincial administration are trained to monitor fire incidence during the dry season just before the rain and work with National Museums staff to mobilize remedial action where the fires occur in the vicinity of kayas.

(iii) Decline of Traditional attachment

Over the many decades, there has been a gradual decline in knowledge and respect for traditional values largely as a result of both cultural, socio-economic and other changes in society. These changes have been brought about by the integration of the Mijikenda into the larger world economic system, modern formal education as well as the hold of Christianity and Islam. Knowledge has also been traditionally held by a small group of elders who are dying without an opportunity to pass it on to younger elders. These changes have affected the cohesion and social values of the local community and hence respect for community rules and regulations. This is one of the biggest threats and challenges for Kaya conservation.

(iv) Visitor/ Tourist Pressure

The Kenya coast is the main foreign and local tourist destination of the country; it is estimated that over 80% of tourists who visit Kenya come to the coast; this has meant setting up of hotels and other facilities to cater for the visitors. Thus the tourist industry and the high rate of urbanization have increased demand for local heritage products. There are cases of theft grave markers known as *vigango* from the Kayas and villages in order to sell to the tourists and collectors. Kayas close to tourist areas are affected by the high demand for carving wood from the tree *Brachyleana huillensis* for curio carvings to sell to tourists. *Brachyleana* is found in the drier deciduous forest sites.

Direct visitor pressure on the sites is however limited as the kayas are not destinations for popular tourism as yet. This is likely to be the case for some time as many of the kayas are ritually active sites and prohibit casual entry into the site by those who are not kaya elders or members of the local community. A number of the kayas regard such visitation as contamination requiring post visit cleansing of the site. However there is scope for visitation within the framework of the traditional rules and some study has been made of this problem.

The NMK implemented a pilot ecotourism project at Kinondo on the south coast with Ford Foundation / WWF funding to develop site guidelines in consultation with the elders. These would enable limited visitation, which would also involve an interactive, cultural learning guiding process. The project which ended in 2004 was successful in providing a number of useful lessons in addition to providing a modest income for the

community. Optimal visitor figures from that trial are estimated at 2000 per year. Another ongoing project at Kaya Rabai supported by the French embassy through the SFD fund aims to undertake a similar process at this site.

(v) Inhabitants in Property and Buffer Zone

Except for Kaya Fungo which is inhabited by a few elders the rest are not inhabited. However, immediately after the buffer zones there are homesteads and families with farms. The population densities vary between 140 persons/km² in the moist coastal and lowlands and hills to about 40 / km² in the semi-arid interior. Kayas are found in the whole of this agro-ecological range.

While there is no identified buffer zone for this nomination, the communal lands immediately outside the forest are regulated by customary laws / taboos and practices shaped by longstanding association between the local communities and the nominated sites.

5. PROTECTION AND MANAGEMENT

5 (a) Ownership

Most of the Mijikenda Kayas have been gazetted as National Monuments and a few as National Forest Reserves. National Monument land does not always belong to the state but gazettment has the effect of placing land-use and development constraints on the declared sites and protecting the public interest in the site including heritage conservation.

Thus Kaya forest land ownership falls in a number of different land categories mostly as a result of historical processes. These are:

- Local Authority Land. Such land is held in trust for local people for various land-uses. **5 of the nominated sites which are National Monuments fall in this category**
- Government Forest Land. Some Kayas are Forest Reserves in their entirety or fall within larger Forest Reserves. **3 of the nominated sites are in this group**
- National (Wildlife) Reserves. Some kayas are located within a larger National Reserve area
- Private Land. Some Kayas have been appropriated as part of settlement schemes or urban plot allocation inadvertently or otherwise

5 (b) Protective designation of nominated sites

5 of the nominated properties on the list have been designated as National Monuments under the National Museums and Heritage Act. 3 sites are gazetted as Forest Reserves under the Forest Act in their entirety. The statutory management bodies under those two Acts are the National Museums of Kenya and the Kenya Forest Service.

	Name	Designation	Year	Land Ownership
001	Kaya Giriama, (Fungo)	National Monument	1997	Local Authority
002	Kaya Jibana	Forest Reserve	1994	Government
003	Kaya Kambe	Forest Reserve	1994	Government
004	Kaya Kauma	National Monument	1997	Local Authority
005	Kaya Ribe	Forest Reserve	1994	Government
006	Rabai Kayas	National Monuments	1998, 1999	Local Authority
007	Duruma Kayas	National monuments	1992, 1997	Local Authority
008	Kaya Kinondo	National Monument	1992	Local Authority

5 (c) Protective Measures

The designation of a Kaya as a National Monument or Forest Reserve has the effect of backing up the protective rules and actions of the kaya elders with the legal recognition and protection afforded by the Museums and Heritage law or the forest law. The designation also clearly identifies the site as National in importance.

At the most basic level protective measures are undertaken by the Kaya Elders who lay down traditional rules and punish minor infringements such as damage or desecration

with traditional fines of livestock etc. More often the local villagers will accept this action but if not, the National Museums will be asked to prosecute the case. Where the infringements are more serious and involve parties who do not respect traditional taboos for example outsiders etc the National Museums of Kenya coordinates the apprehension of culprits under the National Museums and Heritage Act with the help of the local police. Sites which are Forest Reserves or fall within Forest Reserves are monitored by Forest Guards who intervene if the situation is beyond the control of the Kaya Elders, and prosecute offenders under the Forest Act.

The Forest Service and National Museums of Kenya will often act in concert where necessary for enforcement actions on Forest reserve sites, but in matters regarding conservation of cultural values, the National Museums of Kenya takes a lead. In National Reserves the Kenya Wildlife Service department acts in the case of interference with the sites. The organizations have established inter-agency memoranda of Collaboration to enhance co-operation of their field activities including Kayas.

In addition to the statutory bodies listed above there are a few non-governmental bodies active in Kaya conservation either directly or indirectly. At the very local level about 10 Kayas have a conservation group consisting of the Kaya Elders and local community members including women. The groups have forest and culture protection as their main objective and work closely with the NMK and administrative officials in their area especially in monitoring destructive activities.

5 (d) Existing Plans relating to the Property

The conservation of the kayas is an integral part of the National Museums strategic plan which has the objectives of conservation of natural and cultural heritage and promoting sustainable use of that heritage. Every four years all the Districts in the country prepare development plans including the various sectors the Government is active. The Kayas are included in the environmental section of the plans although the plans themselves are quite broad and general in scope.

5 (e) Property Management Plan

A management strategy and plan for the Kayas has been developed and is included in the appendix. The plan seeks to address both the natural and cultural aspects of the heritage of the kayas over the next 5 years.

5 (f) Sources and Levels of Finance

All the State agencies listed above operate from Government financial votes or grants. Typical of state funded organizations they suffer from persistent problems of under funding which affect protection activities for the Kayas in all the Districts. The National Museums of Kenya through its Coastal Forest Conservation Unit which has the conservation of the Kayas as one of its primary function spends an estimated US\$ 75,000 per year on staff and operational costs from the money it is granted by the Government. The balance of funds required for operations estimated at US\$ 10 000 have come from other sources, mainly donor projects. The Forest Department in a direct way commits an annual US\$ 15 000 in the Kaya area mainly in staff costs for extension officers in the administrative divisions which have Kaya sites.

The NMK has been able to attract funding from donor projects for Kaya related activities from the early 1990s. The most important donor in this respect has been the World Wide Fund for Nature which has invested approximately US\$ 1,000,000 in conservation projects funds supporting gazettement activities and community capacity building and conservation since 1992.

Annual Financial Resources for Kaya Conservation and Management

SOURCE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT US \$
National Museums of Kenya	Staff, operations	75 000
Kenya Forest Service	Staff, operations	15 000
Donors	Assorted inputs	10 000
		90 000

5 (g) Sources of expertise and training

As indicated above the main statutory authorities responsible for the Kaya forests are the NMK and the Forest Department although there are other bodies active in the Kaya area. The NMK department on the ground is the Coastal Forest Conservation Unit CFCU which undertakes basic site monitoring in conjunction with the Kaya Elders and local community members. However, the CFCU receives support from other NMK departments for detailed ecological site monitoring and serious research on both the natural and cultural areas of Kaya conservation.

The Forest Department is also involved with site monitoring of the Kayas which are Forest Reserves or fall within reserves but additionally undertake forest extension to help local communities plant woodlots on their farms rather than extract wood products from nearby Kaya forests. The CFCU works with the FD and other organizations involved in this and other developmental activities.

A number of NGOs exist at the coast which works in coastal forests including the Kayas and who are active in ecological research and monitoring in the Kayas. These are the Wakuluzu, Friends of the Colobus Trust who monitor Colobus habitats and Nature Kenya which focuses on Important Bird Areas including the Kayas.

National Museums of Kenya

Coastal Forest Conservation Unit (CFCU)

- (Regular site monitoring and community liaison)
- Site monitoring and management
- Community communication and mobilization
- Socio-cultural information gathering
- Participatory rural appraisal
- Land survey and mapping
- Conservation planning

Natural Science Departments

(Long-term ecological monitoring and research at Kaya sites in support of CFCU)

- Botanists
- Ornithologists
- Entomologists
- Mycologists
- Etc

Humanities Departments (Nairobi and Mombasa)

(Research and documentation on cultural aspects of the Kaya in support of CFCU)

- Anthropologists
- Archaeologists

Forest Department

- Site monitoring and forest protection
- Forest Extension in farms adjacent to Kaya forests

Non Governmental Organizations

- Ecological monitoring
- Public awareness and education
- Project management

5 (h) Visitor facilities and statistics

Until the recent past NMK and other organization have been working mainly in conservation and protection and little had been done in the way of development of the sites for visits from the non-local public or foreign tourists due to concerns from Kaya Elders and local communities about possible desecration of their sites. However, a pilot ecotourism project is testing and developing best practice guidelines for visitor activities at sites where these will be acceptable to the local communities. The pilot project is located at Kaya Kinondo a Digo Kaya in the south coast. The project has built a small visitor center and is developing interpretation materials for it.

This is the only such development in the whole Kaya region although from time to time there may be research related visits to the Kayas guided by the Elders. Within the few years it has operated the Kinondo site has attracted 600 visitors a year. Indications from the pilot project are that the optimal number of visitors to a site like Kaya Kinondo is 2000 per year without causing ecological degradation to the site and affecting cultural values. It is unlikely that visitor numbers will ever be as high as for other non – sacred tourist attractions in the coast region. The NMK is developing guidelines with the help of the project which will inform future activities at other sites.

5 (i) Policies and programs promoting the property

The National Museums of Kenya formed the Coastal Forest Conservation Unit (CFCU) whose main objective is to undertake conservation programme for the Kayas. As a result of the work there has been an improvement in the knowledge and respect for the Kayas within the local community, and more stringent protection methods.

Kenya Government is committed to the conservation of cultural heritage as evidenced by the development of a cultural policy. A new heritage law was enacted in 2007 with the aim of enhancing the way natural and cultural heritage are conserved and presented to the public especially with regard to cultural landscapes such as the Kayas. The new Forest Policy and legislation also lay emphasis on the conservation of forests with cultural values for future generations in collaboration with local communities.

5 (j) Staffing Levels

National Museums

The NMK CFCU unit has two offices covering the north and south coast areas each under an area Conservation Officer. The two officers report to the Head of the CFCU who is also based at the Coast. Under each Area Officer there are two Field Officers who work closely with Kaya Elders and local communities and two office support staff. The Unit also has Education Officer and a Project Officer who has been running the Ecotourism project. Overall the CFCU has a total staff of 10.

Forest Department

The Forest Department has 5 technical officers working under the District Forest Officers of Kwale, Kilifi and Malindi Districts in areas where Kayas are found which are mostly in the following administrative divisions

<u>Msambweni District:</u>	Msambweni Division
<u>Kwale District</u>	Matuga Division
	Buda Forest Station
<u>Kaloleni District:</u>	Kaloleni Division
<u>Malindi District:</u>	Marafa Division

The Foresters work closely with CFCU field officers and often pool resources for activities in their areas. They also collaborate with Government and other agencies in their Division in appropriate areas.

6. MONITORING

Monitoring of one sort or another has gone on in the Kayas from time immemorial. Traditionally, there was a set of rules and regulations that governed the use of Kaya forest resources. A council of elders enforced these controls. Many of the rules had a direct implication on the vegetation structure, composition and regeneration. Abatement of forest threats by restricting farming, poles and firewood harvesting as well as livestock grazing to only certain areas formed the basis of those regulations.

Fear of divine retribution also played a significant role in the enforcement of these rules. For example people believe that transgression of the taboos may result in undesirable events such as illness or even death. In effect the site monitors were spiritual, allseeing. In effect they did not need the 'indicators' that we talk of today of natural and cultural status.

6(a) Key indicators for measuring state of conservation

A number of indicators have been identified for the purposes of monitoring the state of conservation of kaya sites both in terms of their cultural and natural values. The indicators have been selected for their ease of use, compatibility with the routines and resources of the management institutions and clear link with other aspects of the functioning of these cultural landscapes. Some of the indicators have also been referred to earlier in section 4(a)

Indicator	Periodicity of review of indicator per site	Location of records
Decrease in area of forested site / interference with boundary	At least every two months per site	NMK /CFCU monthly and occasional reports in north and south coast offices. FD reports
Forest species and ecological structure	At least every two months per site	NMK / CFCU monthly and occasional reports in north and south coast offices. FD reports
Traditional Elders Committee meetings, activity	At least once every three months per site	NMK / CFCU monthly and occasional reports in north and south coast offices. FD reports
Traditional Kaya Cultural Ceremonies	At least every two months per site	NMK / CFCU monthly and occasional reports in north and south coast offices. FD reports
Maintenance of ritual paths, huts in Kaya	At least every two months per site	NMK / CFCU monthly and occasional reports in office
Functioning community livelihood projects	At least every two months per site	NMK / CFCU monthly and occasional reports in office

The key indicators used to indicate the status of the Kayas as indicated in the table above include:

- (i) Decrease in acreage of kaya. For instance Kaya Chonyi has been reduced in forest cover to less than a fifth of its reported original extent.
- (ii) The health of the kaya forests using indicators such as extraction rates of pole and timber sized trees, mapping of vegetation types and estimation of levels of canopy.
- (iii) The number of cultural ceremonies that have been carried inside the Kayas in a particular quarter of the year. This indicates rising cultural awareness within the community.
- (iv) The conditions of the paths to the Kayas. Their maintenance means frequent use. Cleaning of Kaya paths and construction of ritual huts is an essential element of major traditional Kaya ceremonies
- (v) The number of successful and sustainable community livelihood projects set up by the conservation groups of the various kaya. This elements relates to the easing of local dependence on the kayas for natural resource use.

6 (b) Administrative Arrangement for monitoring property

The National Museums of Kenya and the Forest Department are the two agencies that have administrative responsibility for the kayas. In cases where the kaya falls within a National Reserve, the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) is responsible for their protection. The local County Councils on the other hand, hold in trust for the public, the land on which the Kayas are found. Through the Coastal Forest Conservation Unit (CFCU) the National Museums of Kenya has been undertaking monitoring and conservation programmes for the Kayas in conjunction with the district offices of the FD and KWS. These statutory bodies have signed inter agency memoranda of collaboration in the protection of the Kayas. Their contacts are provided below.

National Museums of Kenya
Coastal Forest Conservation Unit
Box 596 Kilifi (North Coast)

National Museums of Kenya
Coastal Forest Conservation Unit
Box 86, Ukunda (South Coast)

District Forest Officer
Forest Department
Box 5 Kwale

District Forest Officer
Forest Department
Box 247 Kilifi

District Forest Officer

Forest Department
Box 201 Malindi

The Warden
Shimba Hills National Reserve
Box 30, Kwale

As already indicated above, at the local level the Kayas have established conservation groups consisting of the kaya elders and other members of the local community members including the youth and women. These groups have forest and culture protection as their main objective and work closely with NMK and central government officials in their areas in monitoring destructive activities.

6 (c) Results of Previous reporting Exercises

As the Kayas have not yet achieved International recognition by listing under any of the international conventions no status reports to such convention secretariats exist. The only reports that exist are internal reports of the National Museums of Kenya regarding the Kayas. The Kayas are also included in the Statutory District 'State of the Environment' Reports by the National Environmental Management Authorities as components of the natural environments of the districts in which they occur.

7. DOCUMENTATION

7 (a) Photographs, Image Inventory and authorization table

Refer to Appendix for images and authorization table.

7 (b) Copies of draft property management plans and other plans relevant to the property

Refer to Appendix for:

- (i) Protective Declarations for Kayas
- (ii) Protective Legal Instruments:
 - The Museums and heritage Act
 - The Forest Act
 - The Wildlife Act
- (iii) Management Strategy and Plan for Kayas

7 (c) and (d) Form and date of Most recent records or inventory of property and where held

The following records from work relevant to aspects of mijikenda Kayas are available at the sources shown:

Sociocultural Research / Surveys:

Type of Record	Details	Dates	Where Available
Elder Interview Transcripts	Survey by T. Spear	1971	Institute of African Studies University of Nairobi Box 00100 30197, Nairobi
Elder Interview Transcripts	Survey by J. Willis	1995 / 96	British Institute in Eastern Africa, Box 30710, Nairobi
Elder Interview Transcripts	Survey by C. Nyamweru	1997	Department of Anthropology St Lawrence University, Canton, NY 13617, USA
Elder Interview Transcripts	Survey by C. Nyamweru	1998	Department of Anthropology St Lawrence University, Canton, NY 13617, USA

Biological records

Type of Record	Details	Dates	Where Available
Survey Report	Preliminary Floristic Survey of Kaya Forests of Coastal Kenya	1987	National Museums of Kenya library, Box 00100 40658 Nairobi
Botanical	Coast Forest Survey	1989-91	East African Herbarium,

specimens	(Robertson and Luke)		National Museums of Kenya, Box 00100 40658 Nairobi
Survey Report	NMK / WWF Coast Forest Survey Report	1993	National Museums of Kenya
Botanical Specimens	National Museums Coastal Forest Cons. Unit Collections	1992-2001	Field Herbarium, Ukunda Coastal Forest Conservation Unit, Box 86, Ukunda
Ornithological records	Site Surveys	1995	Department of Ornithology National Museums of Kenya Box 00100 40658 Nairobi

Archaeological Records

Type of Record	Details	Dates	Where Available
Pottery records	Survey by Justin Willis	1996/97	British Institute in Eastern Africa, Box 30710, Nairobi

7 (e) Bibliography

There is a substantial body of literature relating to the Mijikenda Kayas. The various publications look at the Kayas from different angles including history, archaeology, anthropology, social setting, biological setting etc. Many valuable documents can be found at the National Archives in Nairobi and Mombasa, National Museums' Libraries in both Nairobi and Mombasa and at the Coast Forest Conservation Unit (CFCU) Documentation centers at both Ukunda and Kilifi and at the Kenya National Library in Nairobi and Mombasa. Other sources are in all major university libraries internationally.

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8. CONTACT INFORMATION OF RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITY

The responsible authority for the management of the Kaya Forests and the preparation of the nomination is:

The National Museums of Kenya
Post Office Box 00100 40658
Nairobi, Kenya
Tel (254) 020 3742131
dgnmk@museums.or.ke

8 (a) Preparer

The preparer and compiler of the nomination dossier is:

Name: Anthony Githitho
Title: Coordinator, Coastal Forest Conservation Unit,
National Museums of Kenya
Address: Post Office Box 596, Kilifi, Kenya
E-mail: cfcukilifi@yahoo.com
Tel: 254-0722 487249

8 (b) Official Local Institution / Agency

The Coastal Forest Conservation Unit of the National Museums of Kenya is locally responsible for the management of the property. Contacts below.

NMK Coastal Forest Conservation Unit
Post Office Box 596
Kilifi, Kenya
cfcukilifi@yahoo.com

SIGNATURE ON BEHALF OF THE STATE PARTY

It is my pleasure to submit the attached Nomination Dossier for inscription to the World Heritage List of :

‘THE SACRED MIJIKENDA KAYA FORESTS’

The State Party has made every effort to comply with the rigorous information and documentation requirements of the ‘Operational Guidelines and hope the document will be duly accepted for evaluation by the Committee

Signed:

Name:

Title:

Organization:

State Party:

Date:

ANNEXES

ANNEX 2

IMAGE INVENTORY AND PHOTOGRAPH / AUDIOVISUAL AUTHORIZATION FORM

1. I
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- b) Co-editions with private publishing houses for World Heritage publications: a percentage of the profits will be given to the World Heritage Fund;
- c) Postcards to be sold at the sites protected under the World Heritage Convention through national parks services or antiquities (profits, if any, will be divided between the services in question and the World Heritage Fund);
- d) Slide series – to be sold to schools, libraries, other institutions and eventually at the sites (profit, in any, will go to the World Heritage Fund);
- e) Exhibitions etc.

3. I also understand that I shall be free to grant the same rights to any other eventual user but without any prejudice to the rights granted to UNESCO.

4. The list of photographs and slides for which the authorization is given is attached.

5. All photographs and slides will be duly credited. The photographer's moral rights will be respected. Please indicate the exact wording to be used for the photographer's credit.

6. I hereby declare and certify that I am duly authorized to grant the rights mentioned in paragraph 1 of the present authorization.

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Signed: _____

Date: _____

ID No.	Format (slide/print/video)	Caption	Date of Photo	Photographer /Director of the video	Contact details of copyright owner (Name, address, tel/fax, email)	Non exclusive cession of rights
001	Digital	View of Kaya jibana from the West	11/01/08	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
002	Digital	Kaya Jibana Spring	16/6/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , ortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
003	Digital	Path (mvirya) into Kaya Kambe cleared for ceremony	16/06/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com ortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
004	Digital	Ritual hut (nyumba ya tutu) in Kaya Kambe central clearing	16/06/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
005	Digital	Kaya Kambe forest scene	16/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
006	Digital	Women carry water near Kaya Kambe	14/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
007	Digital	Kaya Kambe	14/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
009	Digital	Kazuba ka mlungu at Kaya Ribe with spirit offerings	17/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
010	Digital	Kaya Ribe	17/06/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
011	Digital	National Monument Sign (Kaya Kinondo)	23/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
012	Digital	Central clearing at Kaya Kinondo	01/09/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
013	Digital	Giant Cycad in Moroni at Kaya Kinondo	18/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
014	Digital	Moroni (Central Clearing) at Kaya Kinondo	18/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
015	Digital	Kaya Kinondo Elder in Moroni	18/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
016	Digital	Kaya Kinondo Elder in Ceremonial Garb	18/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
017	Digital	Kadzumba ka Mulungu at Kaya Kinondo	18/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
018	Digital	Kaya Rabai Scene	16/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
019	Digital	Kaya Rabai	16/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes

020	Digital	Kaya Rabai Elders in procession	18/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
021	Digital	Kaya Rabai Elders in Procession	18/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
022	Digital	Lwanda Ritual Hut in Central Clearing (Rabai)	19/06/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
023	Digital	Burial Site in Kaya Mudzimuvya	19/06/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
024	Digital	Burial site with decorated memorial sticks	18/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
025	Digital	Rabai Villagers in Burial Procession	18/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
026	Digital	Kadzumba at Kay bomu	17/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
027	Digital	Kadzumba at Kaya Mudzimuiru	17/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
028	Digital	Model Rabai Traditional Hut	18/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
029	Digital	Entry Path (Mvirya) at Kaya Giriama	19/06/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
030	Digital	Decorated Memorial Sticks at Kaya Giriama	15/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
031	Digital	Kaya Giriama Elder in Central Clearing	15/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
032	Digital	Kaya Giriama Elder emerges from Forest	15/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
033	Digital	Kadzumba with spirit offerings at Kaya Giriama	19/6/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
034	Digital	Kayas Mtswakara and Gandini	19/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
035	Digital	Kaya Gandini with farms in the foreground	19/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
036	Digital	Mvirya at Kaya Mtswakara	09/09/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
037	Digital	Mwache River and Kaya Mtswakara	09/09/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
038	Digital	Prayer site at Mwache river on Kaya Mtswakara	09/09/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
039	Digital	Forest View at Kaya Mtswakara	09/09/04	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
040	Digital	Duruma Landscape	17/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes
041	Digital	Kaya Gandin	17/12/07	Okoko Ashikoye	ashikoye@yahoo.com , fortjmsa@swiftmombasa.com	Yes

ANNEX 3

MIJIKENDA KAYA GLOSSARY

A selection of terms or expressions in the Mijikenda language referring to specific components of the historical / mythical Mijikenda Kaya or used in Kaya ceremonies and activities today.

1	Kaya	The traditional homestead clearing encircled by the forest / a forested area of ancient Mijikenda settlement.
2	Kiza/ Chiza (Chonyi &Digo)	Equivalent to an altar, identified site for special prayer, especially in a Kaya sacred place.
3	Moro	The traditional meeting house or place in the Kaya where council of elders discuss issues of community concerns. It may also be used to refer to the subject or agenda to be discussed at the meeting. In some Kayas a large hut or booth was erected for this purpose in the centre of the village.
4	Jumwa	The first day of the Mijikenda four day calendar week. It may also be used to refer to the Mijikenda week.
5	Mudzi/ anantsi	The term refers to the general members in a homestead or community. The people of the village or land.
6	Singwaya	The popularly and universally accepted origin of the Mijikenda according to folklore.
7	Similani	Traditional word to draw attention of the people.
8	Koma	The spirits of ancestors represented by wooden marks placed at grave site or homes. The word Koma may also be used to refer to the wooden memorial post.
9	Kigango /Chigango (Chonyi &Digo)	Carved memorial posts (sculptures) made in respect of elders of importance and influence or general Kaya elders.
10	Fingo	Sacred protective magical medicine or charm supposedly brought with each group from Singwaya and buried in a pot at the Kaya to protect the community from natural and human external calamities.
11	Ngambi/ Kambi	Council of elders representing various clans in the Kaya parliament. Its also the ruling elders of the senior sub- rika in the Kaya.
12	Kirumbi	A staff associated with super natural powers. Among the

		Mijikenda the staff is believed to detect the changes in seasons. Kirumbi may also be used to refer to the ceremonial authoritative head gear worn by senior Kaya elders.
13	Rika	Age set (Marika) of the Kaya communities.
14	Tsaka/ Jima	The dense Kaya forest.
15	Muthumia/ Mtumia/ Mzee	A respected elder in the Kaya and present day larger community.
16	Mzee/ Muthumia wa Kaya	A Kaya elder/ a man who has gained the esoteric knowledge of how to conduct ceremonies and rituals in the Kaya.
17	Midzichenda/ Mijikenda	A purely descriptive term and means quite literally the nine Kayas. The Mijikenda people are nine closely related but distinct people who share a common linguistic and cultural heritage.
18	Ngano	Legends and myths. Narratives told about the past which are believed to be true. Myths are authentic narratives of past events that explain and express truths about the present through about the past that certainly never happened.
19	Mvirya	The gates leading into or out of the Kaya. According to tradition the gates only allowed one person to pass at a time.
20	Kadzumba ka Koma/ Mulungu	Refers a model or miniature hut built to house / shelter the spirits both divinely or ancestral. Important in rituals and usually stocked with food delicacies to distract or confuse malevolent spirits
21	Mulungu	Heavenly God
22	Mwanza	A ritual traditional friction drums hidden in the forest near the Kaya
23	Sadaka	Sacrifices offered to spirits or God during a ceremony in the Kaya. May also refer to the cultural ceremony.
24	Tsazi	A small guard used to contain medicinal concoctions or body oil for use during Kaya ceremonies.
25	Kuzizinya/ Kuhoza	To cleanse as used in traditional Kaya ceremony.
26	Kulomba Mvula / Kuvoya Mvula	Rain praying ceremony undertaken in the Kaya.
27	Mvaiya	Most secretive society of the senior most Kambi responsible for admission into other societies for example administering oaths.
28	Fisi	A selection of priests appointed by the Mvaiya capable of casting the most potent spells on those who displease them or administering oaths in the settlement of disputes between

		members of the community.
29	Kirao cha fisi	Oath of the hyena
30	Chirumbi	The war charm on which prayers are done before going to war.
31	Enye ntsi	Members of the senior rika of kambi are said to be the owners of the land and are the trustees of the community.
32	Mnazi / uchi	Traditional palm wine served as a drink during Kaya ceremonies and rituals.
33	Kajama/Kadzama	The palm wine offered to the elders in appreciation of the service given (usually 7 bottles or 5 liters). Presently the word refers to tokens (including cash) given to the elders for a service rendered.
34	Pepo/ peho	Refers to evil spirits. It also refers to the demons which cause illness and diseases to people and livestock. Pepo are removed through propitiation or by exorcism.
35	Lwanda	Clan meeting houses in the historical Kaya. It may also refer to open grassland area out of the Kaya forest.
36	Tsanza/ sanza	Clothes used in traditional burial ceremonies in the Kaya.
37	Bafuta	The plain/ clear white cotton cloth material used for traditional ceremonies in the Kaya.
38	Ngundu	The woven deep red cotton cloth material used for traditional ceremonies in the Kaya.
39	Kaniki	The woven dark blue / blue black cotton material used for traditional ceremonies in the Kaya.
40	Kishutu/Chishutu	Checked red cotton cloth worn during cultural ceremonies in the Kaya.
41	Kitambi/Chitambi	Checked red and black cotton cloth worn during cultural ceremonies.
42	Msumbiji	Checked blue and white or white and red cotton cloth worn during cultural ceremonies.
43	Shuka	A sheet of cotton cloth material often worn as a shawl or robe by Elders
44	Hando	A woman's dress made of pieces of cloth supported by a string round the waist worn during cultural ceremonies. Similar to present day skirt.

45	Mbira / Mbirani	Grave. <i>Mbirani</i> -graveyard in the Kaya
46	Lukobo	A wrapping cloth worn round the waist by Kaya elders during ceremonies.
47	Amba	A shoulder cloth, a wrapper worn across the shoulder especially ceremonial, to distinguish status.
48	Matsere	Maize cereal used in cultural ceremonies.
49	Kaha	A traditional water receptor made of a long stick attached to a container made of coconut shell or gourd.
50	Luthuwa	A container made from half guard and used to serve porridge, milk and palm wine to the Koma / ancestral spirits during cultural ceremonies.
51	Luvoo	A buffalo horn bracelet worn on the wrist by Kaya elders as a symbol of seniority.
52	Gohu	A society with established etiquettes, among the Mijikenda specifically Chonyi, Rabai, Ribe, Giriama, Kauma, Jibana and kambe (see <i>luvoo</i>)
53	Ng'onzi	Refers to sheep as the sacrificial and cleansing animal in cultural ceremonies. It may also be used to refer to the herbal cleansing concoctions (Ng'onzi ya Mchia – sheep of the poor) used in the absence of the sheep.
54	Kiraho/Chiraho (Chonyi) Chirapho (Digo)	An oath, a binding oath believed to result to a curse if broken
55	Muhama	Millet, a cereal. One of the cereals traditionally accepted among the seven collections for ceremonial functions in Mijikenda Kaya.
56	Mbeyu fungahe	Contextual use, lit. seven cereals, <i>mbegu saba</i> (Swahili) as used during Mijikenda kaya ceremonies.
57	Ndatha/Ndata (Chonyi & Digo)	A walking stick as used by kaya elders carried a symbol of authority.
58	Ndatha ya panda	A forked walking stick, a staff carried by senior most elders as a symbol of authority/ seniority.
59	Vuo	A concoction of medicinal leaves and herbs in water used cleansing.
60	Mganga	A traditional healer/ herbalist who conducts the traditional healing practices in the kaya.

61	Mpiga mburuga/ Ramli	Divine healer who uses the spiritual powers to profess or foretell the advent of certain activities or events.
62	Ubani	Incense used by diviners and herbalists to invite healing or divine powers for traditional healing process.
63	Mboko	A container made from a gourd and used to serve palm wine to Kaya elders during cultural ceremonies.
64	Mwara	Designated path leading into and out of the Kaya through the gates (mvirya). No other means of access was allowed and deviation from the path or use of other tracks indicated enmity or evil intent.

ANNEX 4

TABLE:

KAYA FOREST SITES HOSTING GLOBALLY THREATENED SPECIES (APPLYING IUCN CRITERIA)

(ADAPTED FROM CRITICAL ECOSYSTEM PARTNERSHIP FUND CEPF, 2004)

<u>SITE NAME</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>FOREST COVER</u> (ha)	<u>SPECIES</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>GROUP</u>
Chale island (Kaya Chale)	Kwale	25	<i>Buxus obtusifolia</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Vitex zanzibarensis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Ziziphus robertsoniana</i>	Endangered	Plants
Kaya Bombo Kaya Chonyi	Kwale	10	<i>Vitellariopsis kirkii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
	Kwale	200	<i>Canthium pseudovertillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Fungo Kaya Gandini	Kilifi	100	<i>Tarenna drummondii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
	Kwale	150	<i>Angylocalyx braunii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Gonja Kaya Jibana	Kilifi	150	<i>Anthus sokokensis</i>	Endangered	Birds
			<i>Canthium kilifiensis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Vitellariopsis kirkii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Zootheria guttata</i>	Endangered	Birds
			<i>Vitellariopsis kirkii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Angylocalyx braunii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Kambe	Kilifi	75	<i>Canthium kilifiensis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Coffea pseudozanguebariae</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Diospyros shimbaensis</i>	Endangered	Plants
			<i>Mkilua fragrans</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Multidentia sclerocarpa</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Shirakiopsis trilocolae</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Uvariadendron gorgonis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Angylocalyx braunii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Coffea pseudozanguebariae</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Cola octoloboides</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Kauma	Kilifi	100	<i>Buxus obtusifolia</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Coffea pseudozanguebariae</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Vitellariopsis kirkii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Kinondo	Kwale	30	<i>Vitex zanzibarensis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Kraussia speciosa</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>synsepalum subverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Kivara	Kilifi	150	<i>Canthium kilifiensis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Mkilua fragrans</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Newtonia paucijuga</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Tarenna drummondii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya	Kwale	150	<i>Canthium Kilifiensis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants

Lunguma

			<i>Coffea pseudozanguebariae</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Vitellariopsis kirkii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Miungoni	Kwale	10	<i>Kraussia speciosa</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Tarenna drummondii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Mtswakara	Kwale	120	<i>Aristogeitonia monophylla</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Buxus obtusifolia</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Pavetta linearifolia</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Vitellariopsis kirkii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Muhaka	Kwale	150	<i>Canthium pseudoverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Cola octoloboides</i>	Endangered	Plants
			<i>Gigasiphon macrosiphon</i>	Endangered	Plants
			<i>Lettowianthus stellatus</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Mkilua fragrans</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Rothmannia macrosiphon</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>synsepalum subverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Puma	Kwale	10	<i>Pavetta linearifolia</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Rabai	Kilifi	150	<i>Angylocalyx braunii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Bauhinia mombassae</i>	Endangered	Plants
			<i>Canthium kilifiensis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Canthium pseudoverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Coffea pseudozanguebariae</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Combretum tenuipetiolatum</i>	CR	Plants
			<i>Kraussia speciosa</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>synsepalum subverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Ribe	Kilifi	100	<i>Angylocalyx braunii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Bauhinia mombassae</i>	Endangered	Plants
			<i>Buxus obtusifolia</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Cola octoloboides</i>	Endangered	Plants
			<i>Cynometra brachyrrhachis</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Diospyros shimbaensis</i>	Endangered	Plants
			<i>Mkilua fragrans</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Sterculia schliebenii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>synsepalum subverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Vitellariopsis kirkii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Segu	Kwale	50	<i>Vitellariopsis kirkii</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Teleza	Kwale	100	<i>Canthium pseudoverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
Kaya Tiwi	Kwale	10	<i>Cathium pseudoverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Taphozous hildegardeae</i>	Vulnerable	Mammals
Kaya Ukunda	Kwale	20	<i>Lettowianthus stellatus</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>synsepalum subverticillatum</i>	Vulnerable	Plants
			<i>Ficus faulkneriana</i>	Critical	Plant
			<i>Rhynchocyon petersi</i>	Endangered	Mammals
			<i>Taphozous hildegardeae</i>	Vulnerable	Mammals
Kaya Waa	Kwale	20	<i>Rhynchocyon petersi</i>	Endangered	Mammals
			<i>Zootheria guttata</i>	Endangered	Birds
			<i>Coffea pseudozanguebariae</i>	Vulnerable	Plants

ANNEX 5

THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF KENYA

**A 5 YEAR MANAGEMENT STRATEGY AND PLAN FOR THE
CONSERVATION OF THE SACRED MIJIKENDA KAYA FORESTS**

2008 - 2012

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE KAYA FORESTS

The Kayas are forested or wooded sites situated in the coastal plains and hills of Kenya regarded as sacred by the coastal Mijikenda community. Occurring on a coastal strip approximately 50 km wide and over 250 km long, they are residual patches of once extensive and diverse lowland forest. The forests are small in size, ranging in area from 10 ha to 400 hectares. To date, over 50 have been identified in the contiguous districts of Kwale, Mombasa, Kilifi and Malindi (See annex for full list of sites).

Kayas all bear the marks of human activity particularly clearings and paths which have cultural and historical significance. By definition, they differ from other types of sacred sites by having a history or tradition of settlement on the site. 'Kaya' in fact means 'home' in most Mijikenda dialects. All Kayas once contained hidden fortified villages where the Mijikenda once took refuge from their enemies when they first migrated into the region. They are regarded as the resting place of the ancestors and some communities bury their dead in Kayas to this day. They also conduct various other traditional cultural rituals and ceremonies.

1.2 ORAL TRADITIONS RELATING TO THE KAYAS

The Mijikenda people are the dominant ethnic community in the coastal region of Kenya between the Kenya border with Tanzania in the south and the northern limit of Malindi District near the Tana river. This is a strip of over 300km with a varying width of between 50 and 60km. They are in fact 9 distinct groups (Mijikenda means 'nine tribes') but speak closely related Bantu dialects which share about 71% of their vocabulary suggesting that their separation and formation as different groups may have begun less than 1000 years ago (Nyamweru 1998, 8-9). The groups are: A-Giriama, A-Digo, A-Duruma, A-Chonyi, A-Ribe, A-Rabai, A-Kambe, A-Kauma, A-Jibana (the prefix 'A' denotes a people or tribe).

Mijikenda oral history relates that the ancestors of the Mijikenda, who were then one people, lived in a place called Singwaya, believed to be north of Tana River and south of Juba River in Somalia. However due to conflicts with other communities there they migrated south in waves into the present Kenya coastal region from the early 16th century onwards (Spear 1978).

They established themselves in fortified villages known as Kayas. As they continued to be harassed by other groups, especially nomadic pastoralists, the defensive function of the kaya village was crucial to their survival. This was achieved by (i) siting the kaya within thick forest so that it could only be approached on narrow forest paths (ii) surrounding the village with a strong stockade (iii) burial the sacred objects or fingo within the kaya, essential to the material and spiritual well-being of the community (Nyamweru 1998). The kaya forests with their clearings and sacred sites are believed to be what remains of the extensive forests and hidden villages, preserved now as ritual and spiritual sites, the surrounding land having given way to agriculture during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The Kaya forests today, therefore comprise distinct coastal cultural landscapes closely linked to the traditions and history of the coastal Mijikenda communities. They display consistent cultural elements which can also be regarded as diagnostic and which include:

- The association with the tribes migration from Singwaya
- The presence of the Fingo or talisman from Singwaya
- A defined Kaya, or Central clearing where the village was located
- 'Moroni' The site of the Moro or historical meeting hut within the clearing
- The Mwara (plural nyara) paths that lead into the central clearing
- The Mvirya (gate) sites located on the nyara
- Makaburini or burial sites.
- Chiza, prayer sites or altars

1.3 THE HISTORICAL KAYA.

The earliest contemporary records regarding the Mijikenda which were by 17th century Portuguese colonial officials offered only an external view of their relations with the Mijikenda. After these perfunctory accounts there are no further accounts on the hinterland communities until the arrival of European missionaries and explorers in the early 19th century. From the 1820s more detailed reports began to appear of the life and customs of the Mijikenda people in their Kayas.

Sources from this time include Krapf, Emery, Guillain, Wakefield and New and assorted British colonial officials including Johnstone and Champion in the early 20th century. From their documents and recorded accounts of Mijikenda Elders, it is possible to construct a profile of the Kayas and their institutions before their gradual abandonment in the late 19th century and early 20th. Each Kaya was a large village in a clearing in the midst of dense forest which served as protection against marauding nomadic plainspeople.

Often the village, which was fenced around with a wooden palisade of logs and poles, was on a hilltop making the approach slow and laborious as is the case with Kaya Jibana. Two narrow access paths **Mwara** were cut through the surrounding forest on opposite sides of the village, and placed in each paths at intervals were three heavy wooden gates. The gates were guarded by young men but also protected by specially placed, powerful magic charms.

Inside the wooden stockade, the kaya or village was a cleared glade roughly circular in shape and several hundred yards across with coconut trees planted in profusion. By the early 1800s Kaya villages were estimated to hold between one and three thousand people. Arranged around the centre of the Kaya were the Clan villages each clustered around its large meeting hut or **lwanda**. These lwandas were established when the kaya was first built on arrival from Singwaya (Spear *ibid*). Similarly the family group dwellings were built around a central space known as the **thome** in which a thatched booth **luva** was erected. This was a meeting and resting place for the men during the day.

In the centre of some kayas was a small uncleared area where the **fingo** or protective magic was buried. For some Kayas this was described as a pot with secret ingredients, for others it was a strange shaped stone. Where the fingo was regarded as being too

potent, it was buried in the surrounding forest and villagers were forbidden to approach the vicinity.

Near this was a large meeting house called the **moro**, similar in shape to the Iwanda but able to house many more people. Some held 100. The moro was a central institution in Mijikenda life and the most important tribal symbols were kept there. Although splinter settlements were always in formation away from the main kayas, which mimicked them, these did not have the fingo and could not build legitimate Iwandas, not having originated from Singwaya. Their members had to return to the main kayas for all important events. The main kayas on the other hand were both central residential towns and political religious complexes. They derived their legitimacy from Singwaya.

1.4 BIODIVERSITY VALUES

The Kayas are botanically diverse and have a high conservation value as determined by extensive botanical surveys studies carried out by the National Museums of Kenya in the mid 80's and early 90's. More than half of Kenya's rare plants are found in the coast region, and many of these are endemic to the Kaya. To date, over 3,000 plant taxa have been recorded for the Kayas. 3 of these are possibly new to science and some 7 appear to be new records for Kenya. A study on the bird communities of the Kayas resulted in 4 Kayas being proposed as globally important bird areas. Work on butterflies at a Kaya sites in the south coast (Muhaka) produced 112 species of butterfly and 165 species of moth from a 30ha plot close to 13% of Kenya's total. A new moth has also been described at Kaya Kinondo in Kwale. Similar patterns are noted in other natural groups such as the fungi etc.

This data and others collected over time is consistent with the global profile of the 'Eastern Arc and Coastal Forests' in Eastern Africa as a 'Biodiversity Hotspot' ranked among the top 25 forest sites for conservation worldwide. The zone has one of the highest levels of endemism on the African continent for plant and other species including birds, amphibians and invertebrates.

Part of the reason for this is geological. Most of the present geomorphological features of coastal eastern Africa have developed over the last 200 million years. The entire range of geological substrate found in Africa is present in the Coastal forest belt from pre-cambrian (> 2500 million years old) rocks to recent alluvial deposits. Forests are found on plains, plateaux, marine and lacustrine deposits. All these factors contribute to the great diversity of vegetation types and the effect is further heightened by the variety of climatic regimes and soil types (Burgess and Clarke, 2000).

As a part of this system and remnants of what is believed to be once much more extensive forest on the Kenya coast, it is not surprising that Kayas display high biodiversity values in terms of diversity, endemism and rarity. The latest estimates show that Kayas constitute about 5% of the remaining coastal closed forest cover of Kenya estimated to be about 67000 ha, yet when an assessment was done for plant biodiversity values, 7 out of the 20 sites with the highest conservation status were Kaya forests.

1.5 LEGAL STATUS

Four primary Kayas in Kilifi District were gazetted as Forest Reserves in 1990 namely Kambe, Ribe, Jibana and Chonyi, with the primary objective of conservation. After these the policy changed to protect them as National Monuments. Gazettement as Monuments began in 1992 and the total of Kaya National Monuments is now 38. This brings the total number of protected kaya sites to 42 (38 National Monuments and 4 Forest Reserves) although the situation is confused somewhat by the fact that 5 of the 40 NMs are specific sites declared within larger FRs. The protected sites includes almost all known sites where conservation is feasible. Only a few sites remain to be brought into the net numbering about 5.

The statutory management body for National Monuments is the National Museums of Kenya and the Kenya Forest Service is responsible for forest reserves. Due to its clear mandate in research and conservation of cultural and natural heritage, the National Museums is seen as the lead organization in the conservation of these cultural / natural sites and the KFS usually works with NMK for sites within its forest reserve areas.

National Monument status can be imposed on any category of land. While most of the gazetted sites are on public land, whether local authority or central government, some of the gazetted sites are on private land in which case constraints are placed on land-use in the public interest (see table below). The gazetted National Monuments sites located in private land are a frequently a source of conflict.

Table: Kaya Sites Legal Designation and Land Tenure.

Legal Status	Site Location	Land Tenure	No. Sites
National Monument	On public (Trust) land	Local Authority	27
National Monument	Within Forest Reserve	National Forest Land	5
National Monument	On private land	Private	6
Forest Reserve	Government Forest Land	National Forest Land	4
			42

The desired effect of legal protection is not to replace but to support local traditional protection mechanisms implemented by the kaya elders and communities.

2. STATEMENT OF VALUES

As is clear in the above description, the kayas represent very important cultural and natural values in the coastal landscape succinctly described in the statement below extracted from the World Heritage Nomination Dossier for the Kayas:

'The Mijikenda Sacred Kaya forests are an outstanding and unique African example of how the collective attitudes and beliefs of a rural society have shaped or sculpted a landscape over time in response to prevailing necessities. They contain the traces of historic fortified settlements of the Mijikenda ancestors which serve as a focus of cultural and ritual activities continuing on the sites today. In a unique way, the intangible aspects of Mijikenda heritage are supported by physical cultural features of the kayas including paths, gate sites, burial grounds, settlement sites, ritual grounds etc representing the material embodiment of their world view and traditional belief systems. Prominent on hills and other strategic sites, the kaya forests are a highly aesthetic symbol of the interrelation of man and nature, a rich blend of natural and cultural values.

Since their abandonment as places of settlement and refuge, the kaya forest landscapes have been transferred from the domestic, practical, material realm of significance to the spiritual sphere of Mijikenda life. As an essential part of this process certain traditional restrictions were placed on access, and the utilization of natural forest resources. The result is that the kayas have been preserved and their biodiversity sustained.

However, the cultural and spiritual beliefs and associations are critical to character of the forested sites. In the African context the intangible or psychic dimensions are as important as the material, physical and natural, all the elements being essential and mutually reinforcing. The kayas provide focal points for Mijikenda cultural and spiritual values and practices, and basic identity. As a collection of sites spread over a large area, they are associated with beliefs of local and national significance, and possibly regional importance.'

3. ISSUES AND CHALLENGES RELATED TO KAYAS AS CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE SITES

The Kayas are therefore unique cultural and natural heritage sites with a contemporary relevance to the Mijikenda and significance to the Kenya as a whole. However the Kayas face a wide range of challenges and threats which must be addressed to enable their continued survival for the benefit of present and future generations. A few are mentioned below. The treatment and resolution of these problems is essential to any management and development plan for the kayas.

3.1 CHALLENGES AND THREATS

The Struggle for Basic Needs

The Kenya Coast region in which the kayas are located faces serious livelihood challenges. The majority of the people, over 70% in some areas live below the poverty line on less than a dollar a day. Many rural households struggle to meet their basic needs. The population continues to grow and this is combined with high unemployment. There is pressure to exploit forest areas including the kaya forests as the only apparent areas of 'abundant' and common natural resources. This is manifested in numerous incidents in the kayas involving:

- Encroachment on kaya land for farming. This is the primary threat to kaya sites which are located in rural agricultural areas and are the only common areas of land remaining. The problem of landlessness is rife at the coast and contributes to the issue.
- Extraction of poles for house building. The Kayas are the only significant areas of tree resources in their localities and villagers cannot afford alternative materials for constructing their homes
- Tree-cutting for timber. The Kayas may be the only areas with apparently 'free' timber resources
- Subsistence quarrying or sand scooping in kaya vicinities. In a mineral rich region the kayas are often located in areas where various types of mineral are being extracted such as sand and iron ore. Some of the sites are in the vicinity of Kaya forests. There is constant threat of encroachment, especially when the extraction is artisanal and undertaken for subsistence.

The effects on the forests and their biodiversity is obvious. The degradation and clearing of forests also reduces their screening effect for cultural activities and the sense of serenity and sanctity which forests provide. In some cases, while the boundaries of the kayas are known and marked on the ground, the absence of clearly visible boundary indicators also makes the sites vulnerable to encroachment.

Decrease in Traditional Cultural Attachment and Knowledge

While the Kaya Elders are still influential in many locations their authority derives from a shared knowledge and beliefs within the communities in traditional values of the sites. This is continually being eroded among the youth by formal education, travel and employment and has a decreasing hold in the local community. This is a continuing lament from the kaya elders as well as the related inadequacy of resources to undertake cultural activities and ceremonies in the sites. which are customarily contributed by local villagers.

Kaya traditional ceremonies and rituals are led by Elders some of whom are of an advanced age. Due to this there is an ever present danger of traditional knowledge being lost, as the Elders die without the opportunity to pass on their knowledge to others. Some of the learning and recruitment processes themselves require ceremonies and by extension the resources to carry them out. These resources at times may lack in the surrounding communities. The situation also affects the Elder's ability to maintain cultural objects. At some sites Elders have also indicated that there is a delining interest among the middle aged men who would customarily undertake an apprenticeship with the seniour Elders.

Limited Resources of Statutory Bodies

These continuing pressures occur in an environment of overstretched capacity of the management and conservation organizations mandated by law including the lead institution, The National Museums of Kenya and the Kenya Forest Service. They are constrained in the resources including financial and human resources that they can

allocate to the kayas against other priority areas within their mandates. The kaya sites are also numerous and widely dispersed and many remote sites do not lend themselves to easy access and control.

Conflicts Relating to Land Ownership

Due to various historical factors as noted earlier a few Kayas have ended up within private land holdings. This may be for example due to uninformed land-use planning and allocation resulting in kayas land being allocated as part of settlement schemes. The legal protection of kayas on such sites by gazetting them involves placing constraints on what developments the owners may undertake on the sites. In certain cases this is resisted and in other sales and transfers of the lands take place to unwitting buyers who then repeat the cycle.

3.2 STRENGTHS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Despite the above threats the kayas offer numerous opportunities for a positive and enriching contribution to the lives of local communities and the wider society. Clearly the Kayas are highly unique sites, well known in the global conservation community as examples of conservation through cultural practices. This phenomena needs to be better known within Kenya beyond the local communities. Increased public knowledge of the Kayas would be a source of pride in our heritage beyond the local village environment. The elders and local people have been consistent in promoting kaya traditional culture and in the process would also gain credit and prestige. Foreign visitors and tourists would also benefit from such exposure.

However the process of presenting the kayas would need to take cognizance of the fact that they are still actively used and revered sites and be managed within a framework of rules which recognized limits to exposure and access. Ex situ exhibits or displays could also be employed for these reasons. The National Museums is the foremost authority in presentation and interpretation and well placed to communicate this precious heritage.

The kayas are centres of biodiversity and recognized for rare species of many groups. They therefore represent valuable sites to study and present these taxa and aspects of coastal forest ecology as well. However this type of research needs also to recognize limits imposed by cultural and sacred values of these sites.

4 A MANAGEMENT STRATEGY AND PLAN FOR THE KAYA FORESTS

There is a clear need for a strategic framework for conservation and management of the kayas as locally, Nationally and regionally important cultural and natural heritage sites. Without a plan which clearly identifies key values and objectives as well as how these can be achieved it is almost impossible to succeed in any broad and long-term enterprise especially one which involves a diversity of stakeholders and interests. The following sections contain the essentials of a strategic management plan for the kayas to form the basis for short-term and operational activities in this sector. Key inputs in the plan preparation include:

- The experience and knowledge of the National Museums of Kenya which has been active in kaya conservation for almost 15 years

- Extensive literature resources on kaya conservation and management issues now available
- Consultation with interested parties at all levels, particularly the kaya elders and local communities, management and research bodies and conservation organizations and individuals

4.1 VISION

Our vision of the future for the kaya forests is their survival as:

- **Intact and fully functioning cultural landscapes reflecting Mijikenda values and history, having continuing relevance to local people, and significance to the Kenyan society and global community for their natural and cultural heritage.**

4.1.1 PURPOSE

By the end of the plan period we expect to have achieved the purpose of this strategy which is:

- **Sustainable cultural and natural heritage management practices established and in operation**

4.1.2 OBJECTIVES

The strategic kaya management objectives are:

- **To conserve and enhance the unique cultural and natural heritage of the kaya forests for local people and the country as a whole**
- **To contribute towards meeting subsistence and livelihood needs of local communities in kaya areas, where this does not compromise cultural and natural heritage**

4.2 MAIN AREAS OF FOCUS

The following key areas were identified as the focus of the strategic plan based on an analysis of the main issues and challenges

- Physical Security of Kaya sites
- Conservation of Traditional Cultural Values and knowledge
- Research and Documentation
- Presentation and Public Information
- Institutional Resources and Capacity
- Supporting Community Livelihoods

In each area, interventions were proposed which would contribute to achieving the main objectives of the plan. The thematic areas, strategies and actions are elaborated below

4.2.1 PHYSICAL SECURITY OF KAYA SITES

The kaya forests and their biodiversity and cultural sites are faced with a number of threats as outlined earlier. These threats have a deleterious effect on cultural and natural heritage resources. Resources are also limited to deal with such a large number of sites (See 3.1).

Strategies

The following strategies will be adopted in conjunction with local communities to enhance physical security of the kaya sites.

- Bringing the few remaining unprotected sites under legal protection
- Clearly defining the kaya forest site boundaries, using visible and culturally recognized methods
- Cooperating closely with Kaya Elders and Community members in the monitoring of threats and incidence including support to local groups
- Promoting the development of tree resources and income earning projects in communities neighbouring the Kayas
- Promoting legally recognized deterrents to the sale and transfer of kaya land in private ownership
- Promoting management agreements with owners of kaya lands in private ownership
- Encouraging formation / revival and support site based community conservation groups of a broader composition (not just Elders) to assist in protection of sites

Related Actions and Targets

Action	Timeframe
At least 5 remaining unprotected sites will be brought under legal protection through gazettment as National Monuments	Within 5 years
NMK will assess boundary lines and resurvey all boundaries of kaya forests where some survey beacons have been lost	Continuous
at least 8 key kaya sites will have their boundaries marked using acceptable and non -invasive trees, shrubs or other means	Within 5 years
NMK will investigate and begin to implement a suitable caveat or charge system to attach to land records in land registries to inform and warn prospective buyers of kaya sites already in private hands.	Within 2 years
NMK will enter into management agreements at least 5 private owners of kaya land defining restrictions, rights and responsibilities where public acquisition is unfeasible	Within 3 years

4.2.2 CONSERVATION OF TRADITIONAL CULTURAL VALUES AND KNOWLEDGE

The rich cultural heritage and knowledge of the kayas is in danger of being lost because the Elders, the traditional custodians of this knowledge are dying without the opportunity to pass it on to apprentices. Part of the problem is the lack of resources needed to undertake some of the rites which are part of the process of teaching and to maintain cultural objects and structures.

Strategies

An enabling environment will be created and resources contributed where appropriate to undertake important ceremonies and traditional teaching activities. This will be done in close conjunction with the local communities.

Related Actions and Targets

Action	Timeframe
The NMK will document the traditional knowledge learning needs of all the major kaya sites	Within the 1 st year
NMK and other partners will assist elders and local communities in appropriate ways to support traditional cultural activities, including material contribution to promote knowledge dissemination in at least 8 sites	Within 5 years

4.2.3 RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION

The main management activities relating to the Kayas over the last 10 year have been protection and conservation oriented, partly due to necessity. However it is also important to expand our knowledge of their cultural and natural heritage. Much cultural knowledge is in danger of passing away with the Elders. Although much has been written it is unco-ordinated and dispersed and not convenient for kaya heritage managers to use. The data needs to be put together for each site including data on cultural objects of the sites.

Biodiversity aspects of the kayas are an important part of the heritage of the sites. While extensive plant surveys were undertaken in the past, there are opportunities, especially in the species-rich Kayas, to undertake reviews and more intensive studies of individual sites especially with regard to rare and endemic species of plants and other groups.

Strategies

A concerted programme will be undertaken to comprehensively document cultural and natural aspects in a consistent way for all sites but giving attention to priority sites. The profiles produced will then form a basis for improved monitoring.

However any biodiversity research on these sites will need to recognize the cultural and spiritual significance of these sites to local communities and follow required protocols or rules. Access to certain areas which are of interest to researchers may be limited or totally prohibited. In such instances NMK will support the right of local communities to protect the sanctity of their Kayas.

Related Actions and Targets

Action	Timeframe
NMK will evaluate information and compile detailed profiles on cultural and natural aspects of at least 10 priority Kaya sites.	Within 3 years
Where review or additional data is needed additional field research will be carried out to fill gaps	As above
NMK will promote and facilitate appropriate research on cultural and biodiversity aspects of the Kayas by other institutions and individuals.	Continuous

4.2.4 PRESENTATION AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

The Kayas are unique cultural landscapes of a totally indigenous origin. There is need to inform and share this precious heritage with the general public. This will create a broader constituency for the conservation of the Kayas and also foster a sense of pride among local communities in their heritage.

Strategies

Strategies for presentation of the kayas and their heritage include:

- On site presentation to visitors at kaya forest sites. However this will depend on the site as not all sites will admit non-local visitation.
- Ex situ presentation of kaya forests and their culture and biodiversity through exhibits. Displays at suitable public venues like museums, social halls etc.
- Promotion of programmes in the public electronic media on kayas and their heritage.

For on site presentation or visitation the lessons of Kaya Kinondo in the south coast, which has had a pilot cultural / ecotourism project would useful to note. These include close consultation with the elders, a limit on the numbers of visitors, route planning to avoid sensitive areas and benefit sharing agreements. It is important to note that sale of souvenirs and other local products and services was as important if not more significant than gate revenues which were limited. There should be a strong emphasis on learning.

Related Actions and Targets

Action	Timeframe
NMK will prepare an exhibit on the Mijikenda Kaya Forests for circulation and presentation at venues in the coast region and around the country	By 2 nd year

NMK will identify at least 2 sites with a potential and feasibility and where the local Elders will visitation and develop a product and management system with local communities	Within 3 years
NMK will develop at least 2 videos for use of media operators and sale to the public on kayas and their heritage	By 2 nd year

4.2.5 INSTITUTIONAL RESOURCES AND CAPACITY

Due to competing demands from various programmes for scarce institutional resources, the NMK is constrained in what can be extended specifically for Kaya conservation activities. However in recognition of the importance of its lead role in Kaya heritage conservation the NMK has been providing significant resources in terms of personnel and operating funds. This policy will continue and further support will be provided to enhance effectiveness of its relevant field unit, the Coastal Forest conservation Unit.

Strategies

The NMK will continue and expand its support to Kaya conservation at the coast and promote efforts to raise funds from interested donors.

Related Actions and Targets

Action	Timeframe
NMK develop and promote project proposals targeted at fundraising for Kaya conservation activities	Continuous
NMK will identify and support training of staff of the CFCU and others engaged research and conservation of the Kayas	Continuous

4.2.6 SUPPORTING COMMUNITY LIVELIHOODS

As described above, the security and health of the Kaya forests is closely linked to the livelihoods of local people which are often tenuous. Effective sustainable conservation cannot be achieved if it does not contribute to meeting peoples' basic needs.

Strategies

Kaya site conservation activities should whenever possible be visibly linked with projects which enable people to secure tangible economic benefits.

Related Actions and Targets

Action	Timeframe
NMK will develop and actively support project proposals aimed at improving livelihood conditions of communities adjacent to Kaya forests.	Continuous

5. THE APPROACH

While the above strategies and actions are desirable to attain our main objectives, the manner of implementation or approach is just as important. The following principles will inform the way the programme is carried out.

Consultation with Kaya Elders and Communities

Consultation should be a key principle in implementation of the plan in all activities concerning site cultural and natural conservation of the kaya forests. This is important because the identification of local people with the sites is strong. They are the true owners and the NMK and other agencies are merely facilitators and guarantors. Protection activities, cultural conservation, tourism development activities should all be undertaken with consultation and agreement with local communities on the most important principles. Transparency and openness will be built into working practices of all those involved.

Multi stakeholder collaboration.

The Kayas have been placed in more than one legal protection category as described above although the majority are National Monuments. There also a wide spread of sites and the limitations in resources available for kaya related activities. The situation therefore calls for collaboration and collaboration between the various state agencies involved as well as non-governmental organizations and local community groups. This is especially so with protection activities at the local level. The implementing partners include:

- The Kaya Elders and Communities
- The National Museums of Kenya
- The Forest Service
- The Kenya Wildlife Service
- The Government Provincial Administration at locational level
- Non Governmental Organizations

The Precautionary Principle

Care will be taken to avoid any drastic policy or action which will have unpredictable consequences for these sensitive cultural landscapes and to monitor all that is done in order to understand the impacts better. All actions that jeopardize the primary cultural and natural values of the sites will be avoided.

6. FUNDING

Funding for the activities under the plan will mostly be budgeted for by the National Museums of Kenya but local and international partners will be invited to contribute

through individual projects. This framework will be a useful tool for the purpose of fund-raising.

ANNEX

TABLE: MIJIKENDA KAYA SITES UNDER LEGAL PROTECTION

	Name	District	Values	Legal. Status
1	Kaya Singwaya	Malindi	Kaya	NM
2	Kaya Dagamura	Malindi	Kaya	NM
3	Kaya Bura	Malindi	Kaya	NM
4	Kaya Bate	Malindi	Kaya	NM
5	Kaya Maiowe	Malindi	Kaya	NM
6	Kaya Fungo / Giriama	Kaloleni	Kaya	NM
7	Kaya Chonyi FR	Kaloleni	Kaya	FR
8	Kaya Mudzimuvia	Kaloleni	Kaya	NM
9	Kaya Chivara	Kaloleni	Kaya	NM
10	Kaya Jibana FR	Kaloleni	Kaya	FR
11	Kaya Kambe FR	Kaloleni	Kaya	FR
12	Kaya Kauma	Kaloleni	Kaya	NM
13	Kaya Ribe	Kaloleni	Kaya	FR
14	Bedida forest	Kaloleni	Kaya	NM
15	Kaya Fimboni / Bomu	Kaloleni	Kaya	NM
16	Kaya Mzizima	Kaloleni	Kaya	NM
17	Kaya Mwidzimwiru	Kaloleni	Kaya	NM
18	Kaya Kauma	Kilifi	Kaya	NM
19	Kaya Shonda	Mombasa	Kaya	NM
20	Kaya Gandini	Kinango	Kaya	NM
21	Kaya Mtswakara	Kinango	Kaya	NM
22	Kaya Chonyi (Digo)	Kinango	Kaya	NM
23	Kaya Kwale (in FR)	Kwale	Kaya	FR/NM
24	Kaya Mtae (in FR)	Kwale	Kaya	FR/NM
25	Kaya Lunguma	Kwale	Kaya	NM
26	Kaya Bombo NM	Kwale	Kaya	NM
27	Kaya Kiteje NM	Kwale	Kaya	NM
28	Kaya Teleza	Kwale	Kaya	NM
29	Kaya Waa NM	Kwale	Kaya	NM
30	Kaya Tiwi NM	Kwale	Kaya	NM
31	Kaya Diani NM	Msambweni	Kaya	NM
32	Kaya Ukunda NM	Msambweni	Kaya	NM
33	Kaya Muhaka	Msambweni	Kaya	NM
34	Kaya Dzombo	Msambweni	Kaya	FR/NM
35	Kaya Ganzoni NM	Msambweni	Kaya	NM
36	Kaya Kinondo NM	Msambweni	Kaya	NM
37	Kaya Chale NM	Msambweni	Kaya	NM
38	Kaya Mrima (in FR)	Msambweni	Kaya	FR/NM

39	Kaya Segu NM	Msambweni	Kaya	NM
40	Kaya Gonja (in FR)	Msambweni	Kaya	FR/NM
41	Kaya Jega NM	Msambweni	Kaya	NM
42	Kaya Bogowa NM	Msambweni	Kaya	NM

KEY

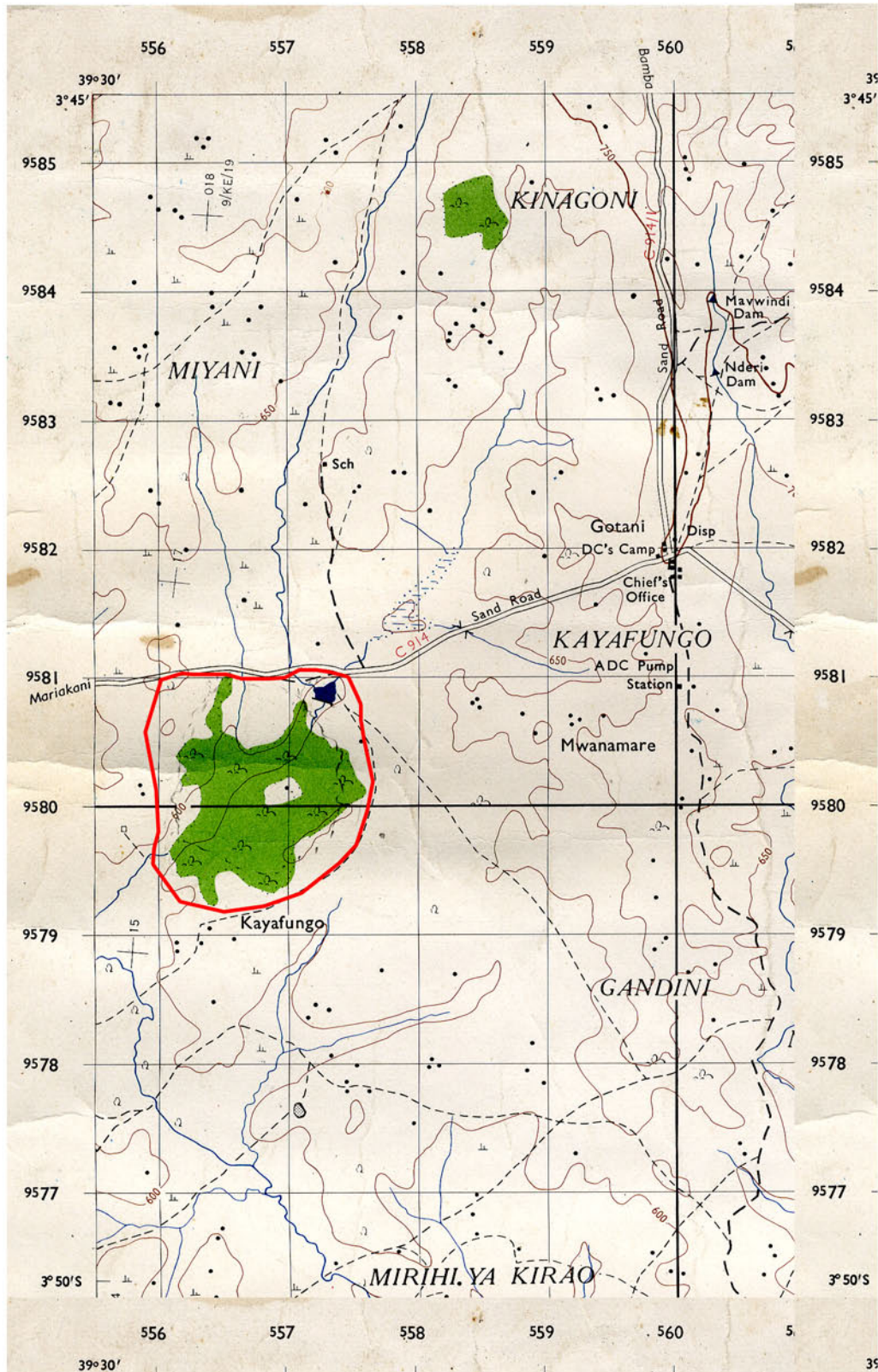
NM=National Monument

FR=Forest Reserve

FR/NM= Dual site

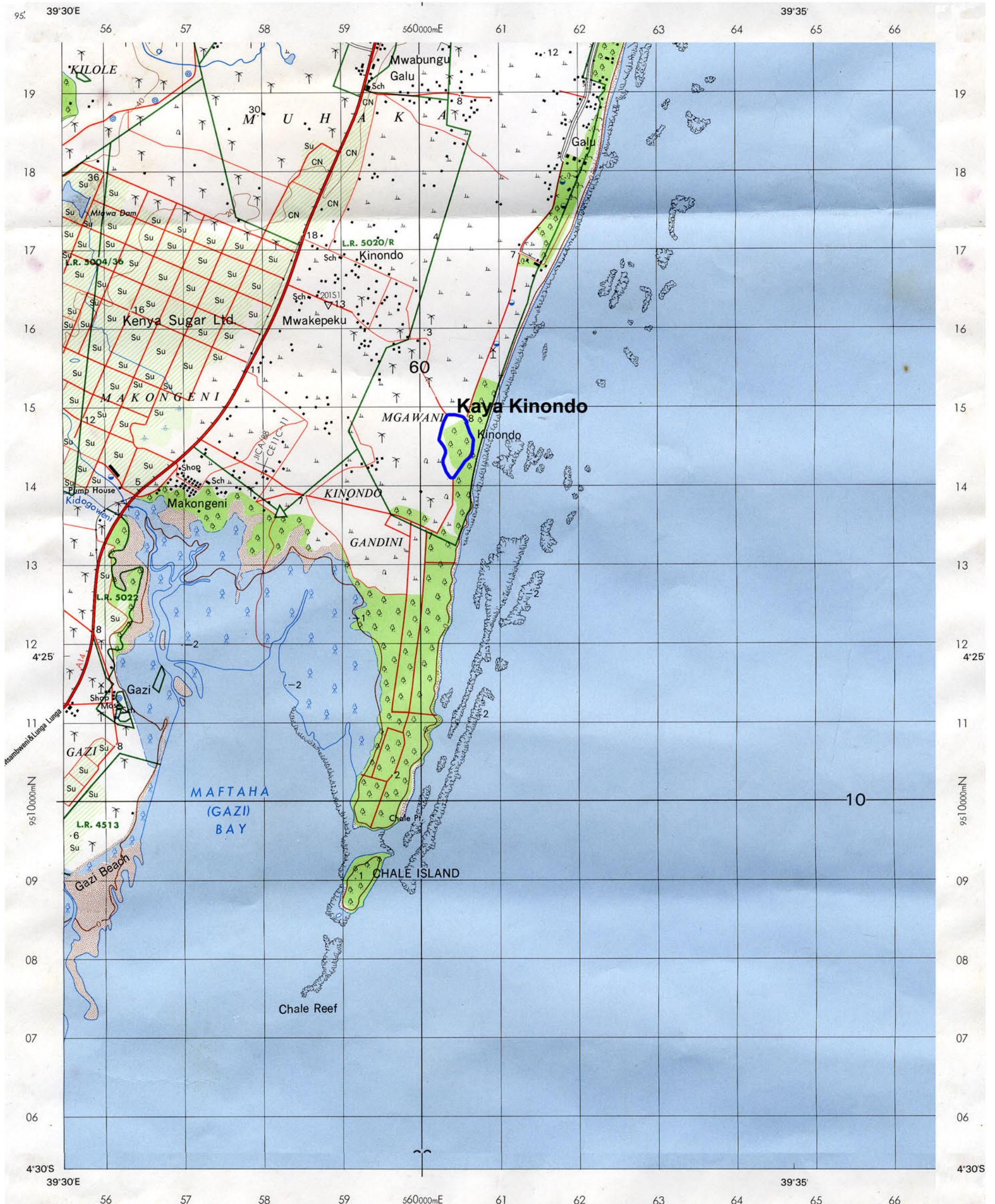
Source: National Museums of Kenya

LOCATION OF KAYA GIRIAMA



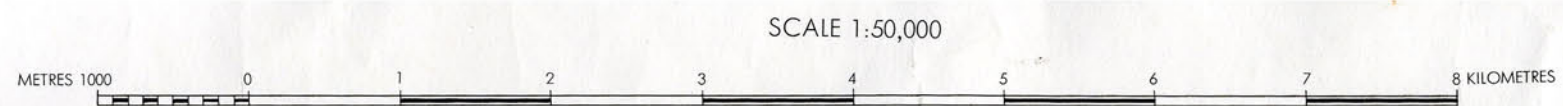
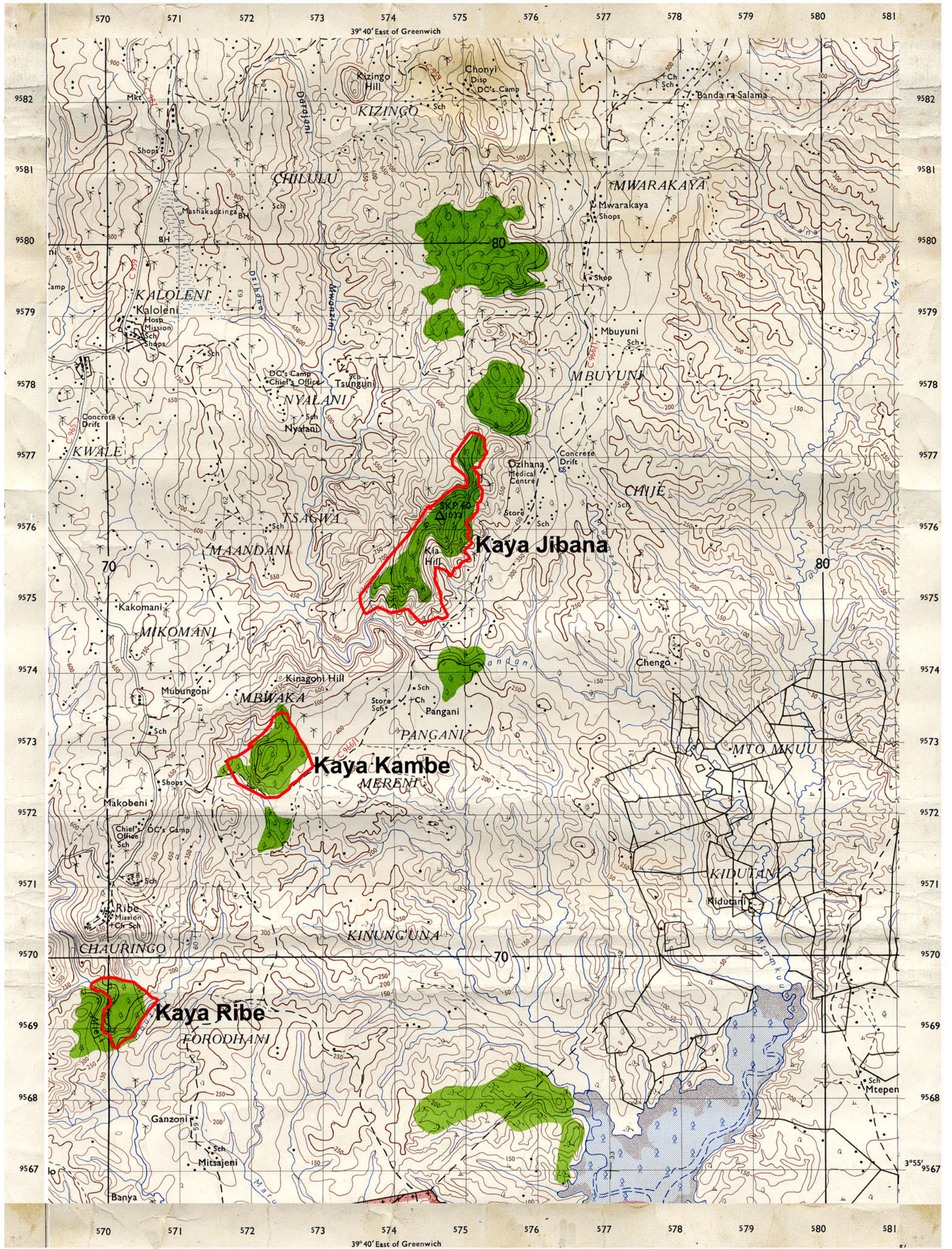
Extract from Survey of Kenya map sheet 198/3, series Y/731, scale 1:50 000 with an outline (in red) of Kaya Giriama boundary

LOCATION OF KAYA KINONDO



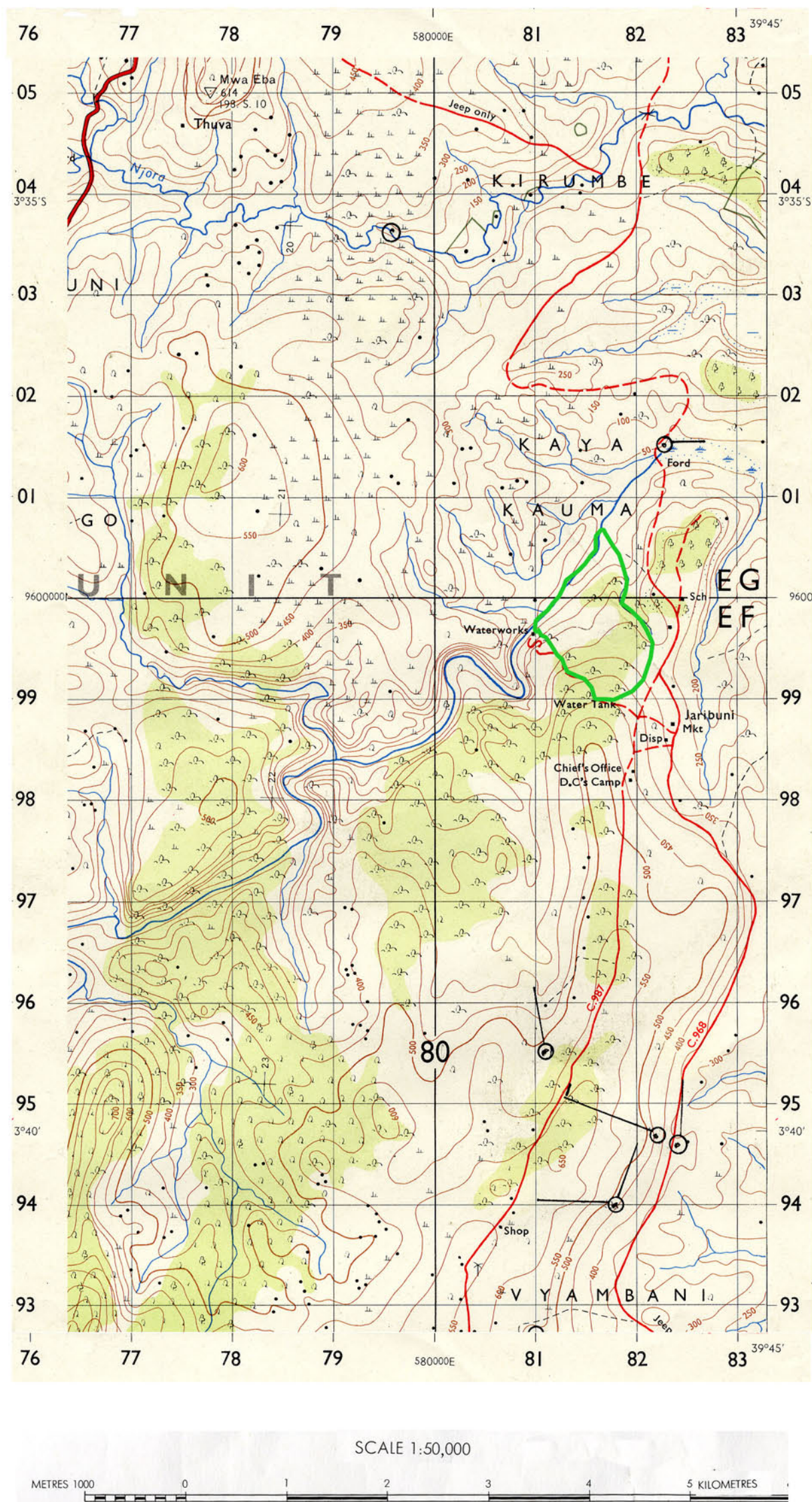
Extract from Survey of Kenya map sheet 201/3, series Y/731, scale 1:50 000 with an outline (in blue) of Kaya Kinondo boundary

LOCATION OF KAYA JIBANA, KAMBE AND RIBE



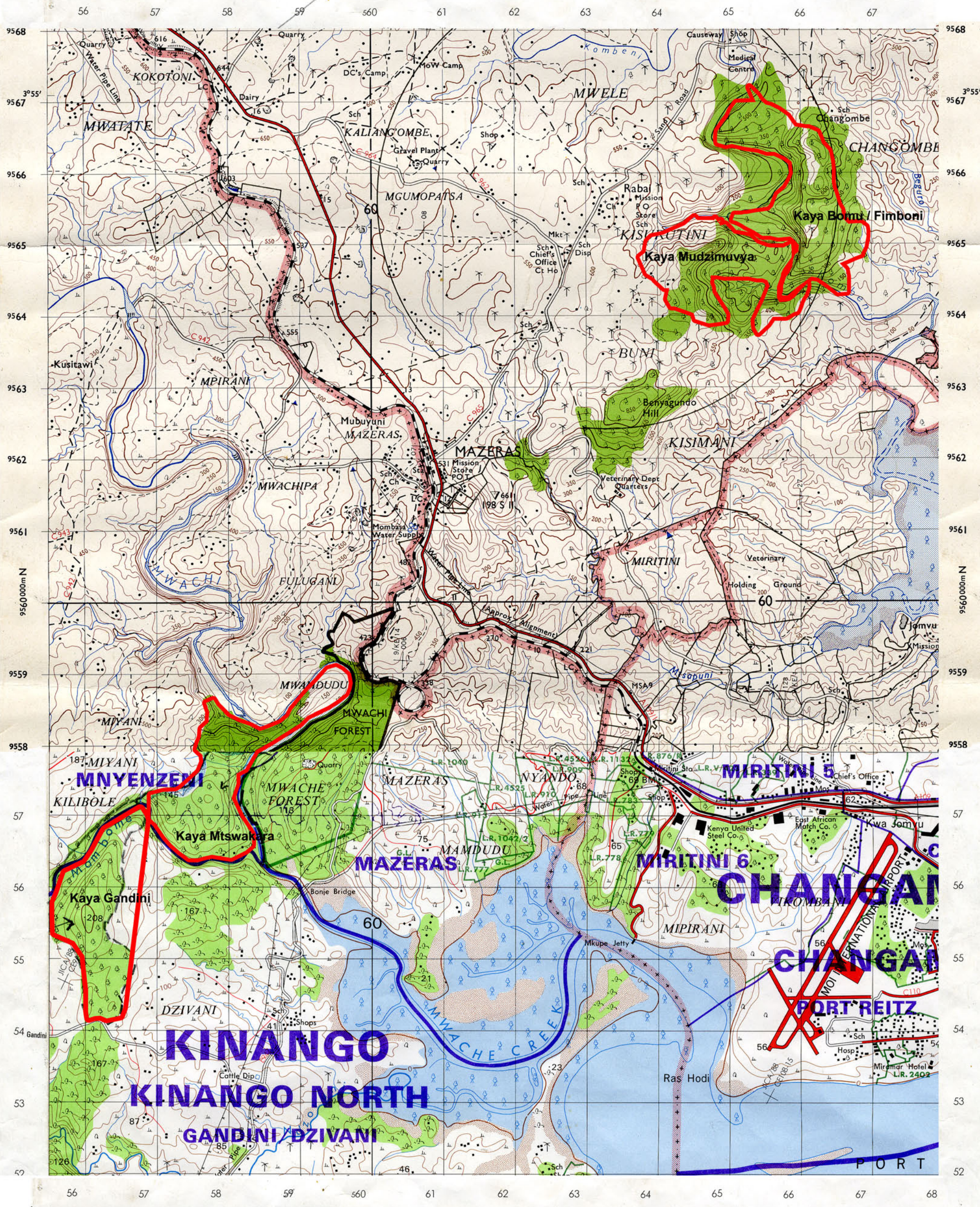
Extract from Survey of Kenya topo maps 198/3, series Y/731, scale 1:50 000 with boundary outlines (in red) of boundaries of Kaya Jibana, Kambe and Ribe

LOCATION OF KAYA KAUMA



Extract from Survey of Kenya topo sheet 198/1, series Y/731, scale 1: 50 000 with an outline (in green) of Kaya Kauma

LOCATION OF THE RABAI AND DURUMA KAYAS



SCALE 1:50,000

METRES 1000 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 KILOMETRES

Extract from Survey of Kenya topo map sheets 198/3 and 201/1, series Y/731 scale 1:50 000 with location and boundary outlines in red of Bomu/Fimboni (the Rabai Kayas) and Mtswakara and Gandini (Duruma Kayas)