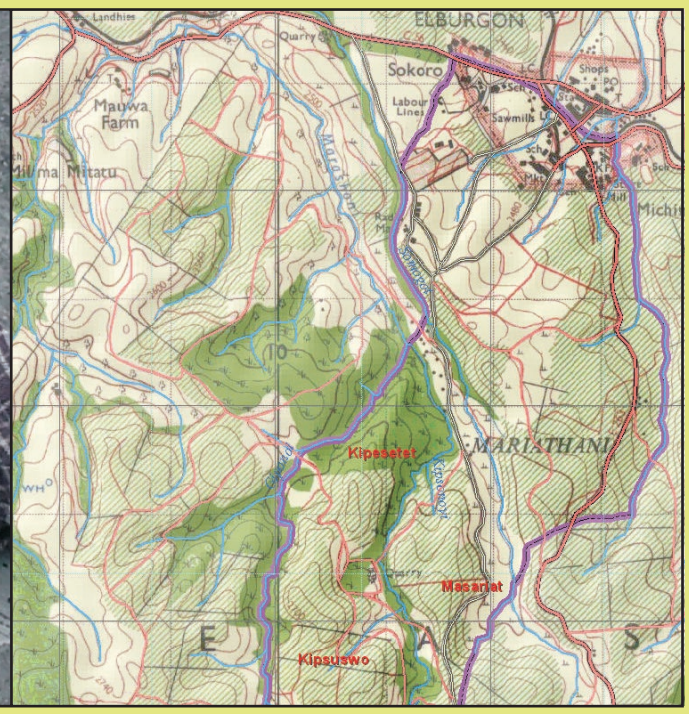
OGIEK PEOPLES ANCESTRAL TERRITORIES ATLAS

Volume 1

Eastern Mau Forest



Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories Atlas

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Safeguarding Territories, Cultures and Natural Resources of Ogiek Indigenous People in the Eastern Mau Forest, Kenya

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FOREWORD

The OPAT Atlas is an unprecedented landmark effort of the Ogiek People, an indigenous minority community of the Eastern Mau Forest Complex. It demonstrates that using spatial technologies in the digital age can safeguard the territorial rights and interests of a community against contemporary forces of tenure dispossession, cultural erosion, and resource degradation in Africa.

The process, initiated in 2004 and finalized in 2009, was a very experiential exercise in that it portrays the tacit spatial knowledge systems of a semi-literate ancient hunter-gatherer community by using aerial photographs to map their cultural heritage.

Spatial tools can help to alter existing community power relations by generating and documenting information that could be used to develop appropriate responses to local socio-economic and political issues. Aerial photographs present a language that combines shades, texture, colour, shadow, and dimensions, thus bridging language, education and cultural barriers for socially differentiated communities. By involving elders, women, youth and children in the process, mapping can cultivate intergenerational guardianship of tenure, cultural and ecological entitlements.

The Atlas is, therefore, a suitable tool for local planning and governance of territorial assets and conflict management. It can serve as an aid in decision-making among policy makers involved in the formulation and implementation of policies for tenure and cultural and natural resources management. It can also promote collegial learning among development partners.

It is hoped that this initiative will prove useful to many other local communities in a similar context. It can be an asset to educational institutions interested in learning more about the participatory use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS). It can also assist researchers engaged in investigation in various academic disciplines with a focus on territorial domains. The donor community may also find it a valuable instrument in the implementation of community projects.

Congratulations to the Ogiek Indigenous People, ERMIS Africa, CDE, and project partners from the Kenyan universities and civil society organisations for this collaborative endeavour to produce the first ever indigenous peoples atlas in the African continent.

Prof. Elias H.O. Ayiemba
Professor and Chairman
Department of Geography & Environmental Studies

BACKGROUND

1. Introduction

The Ogiek people are among the last remaining ancient forest-based hunter-gatherer communities in Kenya and Northern Tanzania. Scattered in most forest areas in Kenya, with a majority predominantly found within the Mau Forest Complex and Mt Elgon Forest areas, the communities are struggling to safeguard their ancestral territories, cultural heritage, natural resources, livelihood and political rights.

The Eastern Mau Forest, one of 7 major forest stands in the Mau Forest Complex, is occupied by the Ogiek people from 3 sub-tribes: Tyepkwereg, Morisionig and Kipchorng'woneg. These three sub-tribes are further divided into 21 clans, listed in the table below. According to the Ogiek, the number of clans is not fixed, but changes over time as a way to avoid inter-marriage and resolve cases involving killings within the clans. An example is the split of the Gapkubei from the Gapyegon, due to the suspected killing of a clan member, or the split of the Gapkaigi from the Gaptrigoi, due to a marriage within the clan, or the split of the Gipsirchegoin from the Gimengich, due to the defilement of a girl.

	CLAN	FAMILY	SUB-TRIBE
1	Gapseina		Tyepkwerereg
2	Gaplepul		Tyepkwerereg
3	Gaploibor		Tyepkwerereg
4	Gapshoi		Tyepkwerereg
5	Gaptiepopo		Tyepkwerereg
6	Gipkepoi		Tyepkwerereg
7	Gimengich	Neing'ola	Tyepkwerereg
	Gimengich	Gapkirasi	Tyepkwerereg
	Gimengich	Gapsahalai	Gipchorng'woneg
8	Gipsusuo		Tyepkwerereg
9	Gaptirigoi		Tyepkwerereg
10	Gapkaigi		Tyepkwerereg
11	Gaptiepoin		Tyepkwerereg
12	Gipsiron		Morisionig
13	Gapyegon		Morisionig
14	Gapkubei		Morisionig
15	Gipkwonyo	Gaptiren	Morisionig
	Gipkwonyo	Gaptolu	Tyepkwerereg
16	Giptyepongoi		Morisionig
17	Giptieromo		Morisionig
18	Gipartore		Morisionig
19	Gapyemit	Gaptiepken,piig	Gipchorng'woneg
	Gapyemit	Gapsaibala	Gipchorng'woneg
20	Gipsirchegoen		Gipchorng'woneg
21	Giptopog		Gipchorng'woneg

2. Ogiek Territoriality

The three sub-tribes occupy different parts of the Eastern Mau. The Tyepkwereg sub-tribe occupied the forests southeast of the Eastern Mau Forest towards Lake Nakuru and southwards, in the areas of Sururu[1] Forest, Likia[2] Forest, Logoman[3] Forest, and Teret[4] (Tiritap Susweeg) Forest. The Morisionig sub-tribe occupied the forest areas of Nessuit[5] (Nesoit), Elburgon[6] Forest (Lembega), Marioshoni[7] (Moreseei soogot) Forest, and parts of the Keringet[8] Forest. The Kipchorng'woneg sub-tribe occupied forest areas in the west and north of the Eastern Mau Forest: Molo[9] Forest, Bararget[10] Forest, and parts of Keringet Forest.

Over time, the Ogiek partitioned Mau Forest into clan territories (*gonoitweeg*). The boundaries of these territories are clearly delineated using natural markers, topography and vegetation features. The records of these boundaries are held as an intangible cultural heritage by such means as oral traditions, songs, dances, ceremonies, folklore, and riddles. The ancestral boundaries are recognised and respected by all the clan members inherited along the lineage, through intergenerational learning processes, and through the intangible cultural heritage and landscape exploration.

The clan-based territories formed the basis of Ogiek occupation, ownership, utilisation, protection, conservation and governance of the forest as well as the resources therein. Issues of trespassing from one territory to another, destruction of forests, and hunting of game across the territories was severely dealt with in a bid to ensure consultative utilisation of the territory. Mutation of clan territories occurred as a mechanism of resolving conflicts. Where disputes occurred within a clan, there were two possible territorial mutations: The aggrieved family could either split from the clan to form a new clan with a distinctly curved out territory, or remain within the clan but have their own distinctly delineated territory.

As a result of weather conditions, climatic patterns, and topography for biodiversity distribution and human habitat, the Ogiek established clan territories that run from highlands to lowlands, across various eco-climatic zones. The clan territories are further sub-divided into family territories, which form distinct transect units that run along the topo-climatic zones in a way similar to the clan territories. The clan and family territories form the basis of community's ecological governance relating to resource utilisation, protection and conservation. The highland-lowland alignment of territories enabled the Ogiek to plan their resource utilisation across the Mau escarpment through vertical transhumance. The community migrated seasonally across the Mau Escarpment and into the Lake Nakuru plains in response to seasonal weather patterns such as temperature and rainfall, as these influence the availability of game

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[1] Named after the Ogiek traditional chief "Sururu Tarimbo Olekiwanja"
[2] Named after a cluster of clans called "Likyo" and comprising the Gaplepul, Gaploibor, Gapshoi and Gaptiepopo clans, as well as the Kirasi family of the Gimengich clan
[3] Named after the logomeg plants which are common in the area
[4] Named after a grassland area within the forest
[5] Named after a sacred stone in the area
[6] A traditional dancing ground
[7] Named after fresh branches which the Morisionig would place at the junctions of paths leading into the forest to inform others whether one has gone into or come out of the forest
[8] A place with numerous natural pits
[9] Named after an Ogiek elder called Mololo from from Gapyemit clan
[10] Referring to the sound of trees swinging in a strong wind

and the quality of honey. Vulnerable community members, for example women with infants or asthma patients, usually remained in the warmer lowlands.

3. Governance

Ogiek society is patriarchal and patrilineal. The community had clearly structured traditional governance systems composed of hierarchical structures such as the council of elders (*poisionig*) and age-set leadership institutions. Both had a leader (*Giruogiintet*) and an assistant (*Goororriet*). The council of elders had three levels: the clan leaders (pooyon), who represented the clan on matters that affected its members, the council of elders (poisionig), composed of leaders of the constituent clans, and the chief council (*Girugiintet*), who with the help of his assistant would govern the whole community. The last such overall chief council (*Girugiintet*) was known as Chief Tiwas from the Gapyegon clan of the Marisionig sub-tribe. As such all the three sub-tribes and individual clans would be democratically represented in the overall Ogiek governance structure and system. The community would carefully assess the person to be elected to leadership. Required qualities were high moral values and recognised leadership skills. A ceremony was conducted during the election of clan leaders and chief councils, during which traditional honey brew was prepared for the elders. The brew was kept under the care of the leader who hosted the ceremony.

The chief council adjudicated on issues such as boundary matters, theft of hives, inter-clan conflicts, and guidelines on formulation of overall community rules and regulations. The council of elders adjudicated over issues such as marriage and family matters, and provided guidance on adequate punishment for various offences. Usually an oath was administered to hinder a repetition of the offence. The elders also resolved tribal conflicts with the neighbouring communities such as the Maasai. In addition, the elders would help the community in emergency situations or hardship cases, such as in case of disease, when they would seek the help from foretellers (*orgoyot*), who would offer charms to appease the spirits.

The age-set leadership, which was confined to the specific age-set, was structured in a way that one prime leader and his assistant represented the entire age-set across the entire community. Leaders would be elected by members of the respective leadership institution. The social groups would adjudicate on issues affecting their members and appeal to the council of elders, either in their respective clan or at the sub-tribe level.

A number of social group leaders can be named: traditional healers or medicine men and women (*typogetiig*), male (*pangelmataa*) and female (*motiig*) circumcisers, men healers (*Gipaasget*) and women healers (*masagiseeg*), traditional teachers (motireeniig) who train the initiates on social roles and norms, traditional birth attendants (*tyemosianisieg*), and finally, in one case, a rainmaker named *Imburuoit*, who was an ancestor of the Gaptiepoin clan. Leadership among women was a spontaneous process through which gifted and socially accepted individuals evolved to address social issues affecting women. They would choose amongst themselves women in

charge of presiding over issues like marital conflicts and the advising of girls. They would also be consulted by the elders in matters affecting women. Leadership was also based on age groups, with women and young people having their own representatives, who presented issues affecting them to the council of elders.

Spiritual leaders were selected based on their skills and the social acceptance they enjoyed among the entire community. These leaders performed social rituals, outside the house of the person requiring their services, during which they prayed while sprinkling a mix of honey (*goomeg*) and water filled in a calabash (*ingootit*) using a band of grass (*tonguriot*)

The community rules were defined by sacred and unquestionable taboos, which were meant to maintain law and order within the community. These taboos included the following:

- Small children and young people were not allowed to light the fire used for ceremonial purposes
- Young people were not allowed to plant shrines
- Honey harvested from a new hive could not be eaten together with fruit, as it was feared that the hive would not produce honey henceforth
- Children were not allowed to play along the paths used by elders to go into the forest, as this would bring misfortune
- Each family was allowed to place its hives only within its own territory
- Hunters shooting a wild animal had to seek consent from neighbouring clans before following the animal, in case it crossed into their territory after being shot
- The killing of birds portraying the behaviour of an insane mind, like *simporoch* (swallow) or *kipkokonet* (woodpecker), was forbidden
- The fig tree was considered sacred and it was forbidden using it for firewood or timber
- Constructing beehives from living trees was forbidden. Beehives were constructed from dead wood, e.g. cedar (*torokwet*), fulva (*oonet*), or euphorbia (*kuuresiet*).¨

3.1 Community Conflict Resolution and Peace Building

The Ogiek had few conflicts with neighbouring tribes due to their seclusion in the forest. Conscious of their vulnerability, they skilfully positioned their homes in secret places within their territories, developed mechanisms to detect intrusions and trespasses, and used warriors to guard the territory. Ogiek homes were strategically located within the thick forest areas of their territories. Only one path was prepared to access the river, and another led to the hunting grounds. Threads of grass were tied at different heights across these paths to identify animal and human trespassers. Warriors guarded the paths to the homesteads and forests territories. When human trespassers were identified, the community used to shift to other parts of the territory.

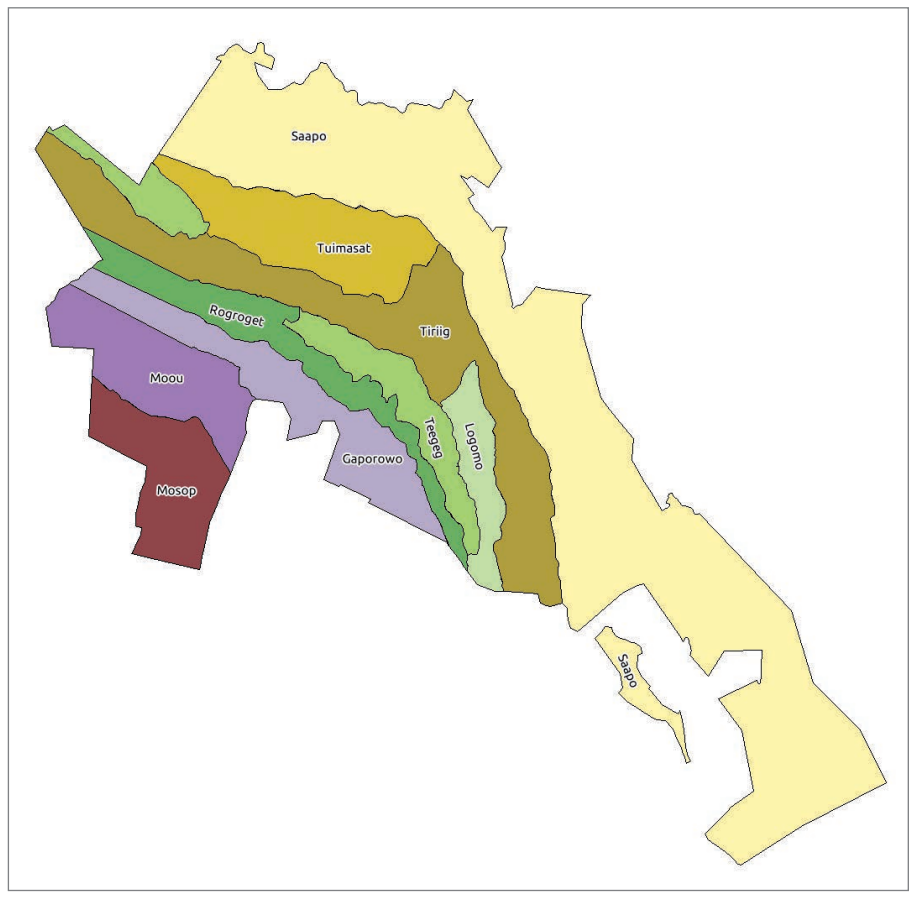
Ogiek huts (gootop-*teeleg*) had two doors, one in front and another at the rear, as an escape route in case of an attack. Members of a family had an obligation to defend one another. Failing to do so was considered an offence and one was judged for it. Girls were taught by their mothers how to hide during attacks. Two types of whistling were used, one symbolising danger and the other peace. All members of the community were supposed to know these signals.

The Ogiek trained their youths as warriors for self-defence. The youths used bows (*guyang'ta*), arrows (*gootieg*), swords (*rootuetop choogeet*) and shields (*longeet*) made from buffalo skin. Targets (*esuuyeteet*) made from tree bark (mostly *masaita* (*olea capensis*) and silipwet (*dombeya*) trees), or buffalo skin were used to practice shooting. The warriors wore two pieces of skin cloth, one (*molointo*) made from the skin of a female bushbuck (*poinet*) and another bigger piece (*oguurietop-interit*) made from the skins of hyraxes (*inderit*) to keep them warm.

The Ogiek only had conflicts with the neighbouring Maasai pastoralist community. Minor conflicts could be caused by accidental tampering with beehives, especially when fetching firewood. When someone was seriously stung by bees, they considered it an offence and sought reconciliation with the owner of the hive, who would invite the elders to facilitate the reconciliation. Major conflicts with the Maasai were caused by attacks that led to the death of an Ogiek. Attacks mainly took place during the dry season, usually very early in the morning. After such events Ogiek warriors would seek to avenge the dead. During such confrontations the elders from both sides met to declare a truce and facilitate a peacekeeping oath taken by both sides. During such rituals a cow was provided for by the Maasai and slaughtered by elders from both tribes. The meat from the chest (*taagateet*) of the cow was divided among the warriors as a sign of truce. This was considered to be an oath between the two communities not to fight again.

4. Eco-climatic Zones

The Ogiek classified the Mau Escarpment and its adjoining area, the Lake Nakuru plains, into distinct eco-climatic zones. Because of the great variety and complexity of weather patterns across the Mau Escarpment, they attempted to reduce the countless local climates to relatively few that posses unifying characteristics. The Ogiek eco-climatic classification system clearly differentiates the major types of climate and ecosystems within the Mau Escarpment and Lake Nakuru plains, and shows the relationship between these eco-climatic zones. The classification provides a framework for further subdivision of the major types of climate and ecosystems, which cover specific niches within the region, and demonstrates the factors that cause particular climatic patterns. The Ogiek have used an accumulated body of traditional ecological knowledge, gained through observation of weather conditions and climatic patterns across the region, to categorise, characterise, define and delineate the various ecological zones.



The Ogiek defined ten eco-climatic zones (see figure above). Eight face north (*moipagee*) and include *Sooywo*, *Saapo*, *Tiriig*, *Logom*, *Tuimasat*, *Teegeg*, *Rogroget*, *Gaporowo*. Two face south (*ingotogoon*) and include *Mooo*, and *Mosop*. The reference point for direction is the water divide (*Gaporowo*). Using temperature (*borgeinto*), humidity (*siitateeg*), rainfall (*ropta*) and wind (*isoonet*), as well as topographic details such as location, altitude, aspect, and relationship of terrain features, the Ogiek defined, delineated, and described the climate of the entire Mau Escarpment and the adjoining Lake Nakuru plains. The definition of these eco-climatic zones utilised terrain, altitude (*Torotindo*), topographic features (rivers, hills, valleys, caves), climatic conditions, soil types (*Ng'unyenyeeg*), vegetation types and composition, quality and type of honey, and presence or absence of wild animals

Sooywo lies in the northern lowlands of Njoro and in the Lake Nakuru plains (*taltall*) at an altitude of 1800 to about 2400 m. The main vegetation in this zone is savannah grassland (*turgut*). Temperatures are warm, average annual rainfall low (about 700 mm), and soils are a mixture of white loamy clay and silt, which dries up severely during dry seasons and holds water during rainy seasons.

Saapo is a transitional zone between the Lake Nakuru plains and the forested zone of the Mau Escarpment. The zone runs alongside the lower parts of the Mau escarpment between 2300 and 2700 m. It is moderately colder than Sooywo and experiences rainfall of about 1000 mm per annum.

Tiriig is a bamboo (*sisieg / ketig*) zone located in the middle ranges of the Mau Escarpment, between 2600 and 2800 m. It borders the Logomo zone in the east

and Tuimasat zone in the west. The medium-sloped zone has brown and wet soils (*Ngarng'ar*) and sparsely distributed bamboo forests that are conspicuously short. The zone receives average annual rainfall of about 1200 mm, and experiences very cold weather (*kaitit*). The zone has an abundance of wild game and is inhabited by two types of dark bees producing sweet honey: *Gosomeg* (dark underground bees) and *Kipirigei* (dark but not very aggressive bees).

Logomo is a depression (*N'guony*) zone located at an altitude of 2500 to 3000 m, which is curved out of the Tiriig zone. It receives heavy rainfall of about 1200 mm per annum and is warmer than the Tiriig zone. Soils in the Logomo zone are brown volcanic, with impervious rocky surface (*aran*), and hence there are numerous glades (*tiriikweg*) in this zone.

Tuimasat zone is located to the west of Mau Escarpment at an altitude of 2500 to 2800 m, sandwiched between the Logomo and Teegeg zones, which both have heavy rainfall, cold temperatures and windy conditions. Tuimasat zone, however, has a warmer climate (*Purgei*) with less rainfall, but intermittent showers. The vegetation is composed of trees and shrubs and is considered by the Ogiek to be an infertile forest (*Timdo ne gemngem*).

Teegeg zone runs along the escarpment over a distance of about 30 kilometres from east (*Cherunoteet*) to west (*Ooyosieg*) at an altitude of 2800 to 3000 m. It is sandwiched between Tiriig and Logomo zones on its lower side and Rogroget zone on its upper side. The zone experiences high and heavy rainfall of about 1300 mm per annum, with misty and windy weather, has a mixture of volcanic shallow brown and brick-red soft soils (*Pospos*), and is covered by thick Bamboo forest.

Rogroget zone consists of steep rocky scarps with scattered short bamboo and tress. It ranges from the lower western parts at an altitude of 2800 to the higher eastern parts at 3000 m over a distance of about 30 kilometres. The zone has brown-coloured infertile volcanic soils. There are numerous medicinal plants in this zone, for example the endemic *Puinda* herbs, which are symbiotic to bamboo trees and grow berries used for stomach cleansing.

Gaporowo zone forms the water divide of the Mau Escarpment. The zone engulfs a sub-zone called **Inng'utngutiot**, which is a flat stretch across the ridge containing numerous swamps (*Isawanit*) that recharge the main rivers (*oinet*) flowing to the south to lake Natron, to the west to lake Victoria, and to the north to Lakes Nakuru, Bogoria, and Baringo. Gaporowo, which is above the Bamboo zone, has thick indigenous forest cover (*timndo waonet*). It stretches over a distance of about 30 kilometres from the western to the eastern parts of the Mau Escarpment at an altitude of about 2800 to 3100 m. It has cold and misty weather and receives appreciably high rainfall of about 1300 mm per annum. In addition to other medicinal herbs, the zone has three crucial endemic medicinal plants: *Chelubut*, which carries berries containing wax that is mixed with honey to treat chest pain, *Masaita*, the bark of which is used to treat back and waist pains, and *Sitotiig* and *Puinta*, plants with berries that are used to cleanse the stomach.

Moou is one of the two zones facing south and forming the upper catchments of rivers draining into Lake Natron and Lake Victoria. The zone runs at the top of Mau Escarpment between 2700 and 2900 m. It is covered by thick indigenous forest, experiences heavy rainfall and cold weather, and has mainly loamy soils (*Ng'arng'ar*) and white soils (*Tartariig*). Some of the endemic medicinal herbs include Masaita and Goisisito. "Mau" (Escarpment) is derived from *Moou*.

Mosop is a zone facing south and running along the upper part of the escarpment between 2700 and 2800 m. It is covered by thick indigenous forest (*timdo*), has cold temperatures (*kaitit*), receives high rainfall (*nyigis*) of about 1300 mm per annum, and has red volcanic soils (*Ng'eremug*) and clay soils (*menet*). One of the key endemic medicinal plants in this zone is Goisisito, which has roots that are used as appetizers, to treat constipation, and to cleanse the stomach.

Using this traditional climatic classification system, the Ogiek have enumerated and ascribed several vegetation types, medicinal plants, wild animals and types of honey bees to specific eco-climatic zones. The vegetation types include: *Ing'utngutioit* (swampy with grass), *Sisieg/ketig* (small bamboo trees), *Teegeg* (bamboo), *Timdo ne gemngem* (unfertile forest, trees and shrubs), *Tirikwek* (clearing), and *Turgut* (grassland). The medicinal plants include:

Ogiek name	Latin name	Part used	Use	Zone
Gopirpirsiet		Stem	Eyes	
Gusmateteit		Roots	General	Tegeeg
Ingirenyit	*Tridentate rhoicissus*	Bark, leaves	Cough	Saapo, Tiriig
Ingologoit	*Rhamnus staddo*	Roots	Venereal diseases	Saapo
Gontororuo	*Ekebergia capensis*	Bark	Children: stomach problems Adults: backache	Saapo, Tuimasat
Giparnyat	*Baddeia polystachya*	Bark, roots	Appetizer, cleaning stomach and constipation	Logomo, Tiriig
Manarariet	*Helichrysum schimperi*	Leaves	Stomach	Saapo, Tiriig, Tuimasat
Masaita	*Olea capensis*	Bark	Back and chest pain	Tuimasat, Tiriig, Saapo, Logomo
Mosilingiet	*Kalanchoe crenata*	Leaves and stem	Teeth, pain relief	Saapo
Sitotiig	*Mysrsine melanophloeos*	Fruits	Worms, wounds	Moou, Gaporowo
Nukyat	*Dovyalis abssinica*	Roots	Joint pains, after pregnancy	Saapo, Tiriig, Logomo
Puinda	*Engleromyces goetzei*	Berries	Washing stomach	Tegeeg
Simeito	*Cucumis ficifolius*	Roots	Malaria	Saapo, Tiriig
Soget	*Warbagia ugandensis*	Bark	Chest and ear problems	Saapo
Sugumerit		Root and tuber	Worms	Saapo, Tiriig
Yemdit	Olea europaea	Bark	Eye problem	Saapo, Tiriig, Logomo, Moou, Gaporowo

Wild animals include: *Eiririt*, *Irugutet*, *Pechenit*, *Poinet* and *Gipkonyiret* (different antelopes), *Impolet* (ant eater), *Inderit* (tree hyrax), *Kipkamit* (rhinoceros), *Engo*, *Tereweito* and *Ilosirait* (zebra), *Tingaina* (elephant), *Puteito* (warthog), *Tyenyogosoig*, *Sing'oito*, *Sulguta*, *Tisiet* (black monkey), *Tontoricheet* (small wild pig), and *Tumda* (big wild pig).

The Ogiek are familiar with five types of honey bees, each defined by body colour, habitat, and quality of honey: Gaposwet produces sweet honey, but usually people vomit it after eating, which is why it is used to cleanse the stomach; *Gosomeg* are dark in colour, harmless and stay underground; *Kipirgei* are dark in colour and not very aggressive; *Ng'wan* produce bitter honey; and *Somosireg* are brown in colour and very aggressive. The brown bees are associated with the *Sooywo* and *Saapo* zones, while the dark bees are associated with the upper eco-climatic zones.

The soil and plant categories defined by the Ogiek are useful for predicting what types of game are likely to occur. Salty soils (*ng'eeinda*) attract certain antelopes; the dense indigenous forest (*timdo waonet*) houses particular food resources, as well as buffaloes and other animals. The Ogiek seasonally migrated up and down the mountains depending on temperatures, rainfall, availability of game and the quality of honey associated with this vertical alignment of resources and climatic ranges.

5. Ogiek Traditional Ecological Knowledge, Practices and Innovations

The Ogiek have an in-depth ecological knowledge of the Mau Escarpment and its various habitats. To them it is a home, school, cultural identity, and way of life that gives them pride and a destiny. To them, the Mau Escarpment is a fountain of traditional ecological knowledge, practices and innovations, which depicts their ancestral heritage in its territories. It is a lasting testimony to their claim of ancestral rights and interests. The Ogiek utilisation, conservation, and protection of the Mau Escarpment are based on a seasonal calendar that defines their practices within the forests of this region. The community followed the seasonal changes in the forest ecology, which controls natural resource dynamics. The Ogiek calendar has twelve months and five distinct seasons with distinct weather patterns and ecological characteristics:

Season	Gemeut		Ewoot-got		Ewoot	
Month	January	February	March	April	May	June
	Gemeiy	*Giptamo*	*Iniong'oit*	*Giplelapei*	*Ing'eetoop-taiy*	*Ing'eeito-oeny*
Meaning / description	Drought	Blasting of the sheath covering the bamboo canes (dry weather)	Muddy pools of water; opening of the rai-ny season (Ewoot)	Raining while sunny; inter-mittent rains that recede as the month progresses	First mo-vement of bees after a period of confinement in the hives due to cold weather (wet and dry)	The second movement of bees (those left behind feeding on honey in the beehive) (wet and dry)

Season	Roptuet			Mugeyoot		
Month	July	August	September	October	November	December
	Roptuuet	*Puureeito*	*Yeepeeset*	*Gipsundesieg*	*Mugeeyot*	*Garipai*
Meaning / description	*Heavy rains*	*Fog (showers and fog)*	*Flowering (less rain with sunny intervals)*	*Gloomy and cloudy wea-thers (rains)*	*Foggy and misty (little rains)*	*Bees make honey combs with honey gel on one side and bee larvae on the other side (receding rains)*

The Ogiek eco-calendar is shown in the following table, which lists the seasons, their climatic and ecological characteristics and changes, and community adapta-tion strategies.

Season	Climate and Weather Characteristics	Historical Ecological and Social Responses
Gemeut **January-February**	• Sunrise in the south-east (Tropic of Capricorn), in the direction of *ildonyo-buru* hills; longer nights than days • Prevalence of whirlwinds • Sky generally clear • Normally very hot during the day and cold at night • Moist air during the day • Moon sickle is in the west and as the season progresses it slowly in-creases to quarter moon, half-moon and eventually to a dark full moon at the end of the season • Shooting stars visible around mid-night and associated with frost (*gi-poweyet*); frost scorches the grass	• Bamboo trees produce crackling sounds due to whirlwinds • Water in the streams is low due to lack of rain • Ground cracks due to prolonged heat • Some trees, such as silipwet (*Dombeya goetzen-nin*), yemtit (*Olea africana*), and sopotit (*Ficus natalensis*) shed leaves due to strong winds • Trees (*sereret, kwomoreriet, chorwet, setiot, tia-plamet*) flower, providing bee forage in the high-lands • Insect migrations (white butterflies, brown locusts, and bees) • Animal – leopard (*melilto*), elephant (*tingainana*), and rhinoceros (*kipkamit*) – migrations from the drier northern (*moipagee*) lowlands (*sooywo*) to the southern (*ildonyoit*) highlands (beyond Saapo) in search of food • Swallows (*simbororoch*) hover around the higher parts of the Mau Escarpment • The Ogiek move to the cooler highlands • People feed on roots (*norieg*) and stinging nettle (*tirigocho*)

Ewoot-got **March**	• Start (*Got* = opening) of the rainy season (*Ewoot*) • Cold days, calm with thick clouds; warm nights • High humidity during the day and at night • Beginning of torrential rains • Dark full moon slowly changing to bright full moon, emerging from the east, after the first rains	• Water level in rivers increases, water is laden with debris and has a murky appearance • Sprouting of green vegetation and regeneration of trees and grass (*susueg*) • Ground is generally muddy • Toads and frogs stop hibernation and move from muddy pools to fresh water pools for breeding • In the mornings cranes (*aaoo*) migrate to the Napuiyapui swamps in the highlands of the Gaporowo zone to feed on frogs and return to the lowlands in the evening • Animals such as waterbuck (*suruguit*) migrate from the Lake Nakuru plains (sooywo zone) to the saapo zone around forests in the *ututenig* territories of the Kipsiron clan • Bees migrate from Teegeg to Sapoo and Sonywo in search of warmth during the rainy season • Emergence of round worms (*ganyitwaagig*), beetles (*injuta*), ants (*meseseg*), and animals like crabs (*tagelig*), toads (*gipkaat*) and frogs (*mororoget*) • Ogiek migration from Teegeg to Sapoo and Sonywo in search of warmth during the rainy season
Ewoot **April - June**	• Nights longer than days • Chilly and calm weather; dark and heavy clouds; thick fog and mist in the mornings and evenings • Heavy rains with hailstones (*ingongioriait*), long duration of individual rainfalls over a prolonged period of time	• Multiplication of frogs and toads from breeding pools • Plenty of birds due to abundance of food • Migration of bees to the warmer Sapoo and Soywoo; those remaining die due to cold weather, or after feeding on poisonous moss plants (*kipkolomboit*) • Migration of buffalo (*sooet*) from thick forest to grazing areas in the warmer glades • Small and large mushrooms (*popeeg*) emerge from termite hills and from water-soaked and decaying wood and vegetation • Migration of Ogiek to the Saapo and Sooywo to escape the cold in higher zone; the community gathers roots from *norieg* and *gerejusiig* plants as a source of food
Roptuet **July - October**	• Days longer than nights • Weather cold, calm and chilly with dark and gloomy clouds and short intervals of sunlight • Torrential rains and hail, especially in the afternoon and at night	• Rivers often flood and water pools appear everywhere • All animals migrate to the forest to shelter from heavy rains • Torrents break tree branches and fell weak trees • The Ogiek pursue less outdoor activities due to cold weather
Mugeyoot **November - December**	• The sun rises at about 7:00 a.m. in direction of *Oldonyo-buru* (towards Naivasha) but often remains covered in clouds • Weather is very cold, plenty of fog, heavy clouds in the afternoons and at night; mist moving from east to west along the escarpment	• Despite an abundance of flowering plants and plenty of honey in hives from the previous season, bees stay in their hives due to cold weather, making it difficult to harvest honey • Presence of termites that attract hedgehogs (*guuteet*) • Appearance of ground hornbill (*muunduut*) feeding on insects • Buffalo wallowing in the mud

6 Livelihoods

6.1 Food

The Ogiek people mainly relied on honey (*goomeg*), berries (*ingumula*), game meat and wild vegetables like the stinging nettle (*tirgocho*). Honey (*goomeg*) was stored in big hives (*kesungut*) made from the cedar tree and kept in the forest. Roots (*noorieg*) and preserved meat was consumed mainly during the rainy season. Generally, food was plentiful during the mugeeyot season, and women stored it in a big bag called milleet made from the skin of siroet or kipriyiret. The food from this bag was made available only during periods of drought. Men would also store food in big containers (*lekweleet*) made from bamboo twigs and kept in the forest. The availability of food varied during the five Ogiek seasons.

Season	Food
1. *Gameyei* (dry season)	Honey and berries (*ingumula, tagtaggonig*)
2. *Ewoot-got* (start of rain)	Animals, e.g. *eurugwita, gipkonyiret*
3. *Ewoot* (heavy rains)	Roots (*noorieg and gerenjasig*) and vegetables (*tirgocho*)
4. *Roptuet* (rainy season)	Honey and meat stored in *gesungut*
5. *Mugeyoot* (cold season)	Berries (*ingumula, tagtagoomig*)

Food barter was common between the Ogiek and their neighbours. The Ogiek would barter honey and game with the Maasai in exchange for cows, as the Maasai did not gather honey or hunt wild animals. The two communities would offer each other commodities to promote good neighbourhood. Circumcision among the Maasai was not considered complete without honey contributed by the Ogiek.

Ogiek houses (*gotopteleeg*), constructed by women and girls, contained a bed (*itogo*) made from bamboo stems (*teegeg*) with a bed cover (*muito*) made from animal hides. There was also a basket (*lelkweleet*) made from bamboo peelings and *dombeya* ropes. These baskets were used to store dried meat and other solid foods and items. In the house there was also a big skin bag (*milleet*) used by Ogiek women to store honey and animal fat, and small women's bags (*polloloot*) packed in smaller containers.

The house was partitioned into three parts: one for the couple, the next for small children, and the third one for boys who had reached adolescence.

6.2 Clothing and adornment

The Ogiek used to wear skins. Married men wore a heavy warm skin cloth known as *injoruboit*, and unmarried warriors or graduated initiates wore a light skin cloth called *molointo*. During the cold season warriors would wear the *injoruboit*. Women wore a wrap-over skirt-like light skin cloth called *gaauya*, while girls wore a similar skin cloth called leginjusa after graduating from initiation. All cloths were made

from *poinet* (bushbuck) and *inderit* (tree hyrax) skins. Elders generally wore shoes (formerly called *taalamog*, nowadays *kweeog*) made from light skin. Infants were covered with a warm small hyrax skin called *magateet*.

Chapasta, an arm ring made from buffalo horn and decorated with beads, was worn by warriors around the biceps to measure changes in body weight. They also wore a pot-shaped cap (*rosieet*) made of hyrax skin, as well as bells (*misiga*), which are currently called *kipkurkurit* and are worn around the ankles to give rhythm to songs and spice up music during initiation ceremonies. Women wore bangles made from wires (*topogeg*), a ring on their head (*ngisilit*) and a coil-shaped wire around the nipples (*isuyasieg*) to cover them. This adornment was worn during prayers on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon (*gamee arrawet*). Warriors painted their hair with red ochre (iregoit), which was acquired from the Kikuyu in exchange for hyrax skins. Women were shaved and smeared with fat from buffalo (*soet*). They wore two types of earrings, *mwenigop-iitig* and *imunisieg*, the former made from skin and beads and the latter from wires and beads.

6.3 Health

Human health was associated with seasonal changes and variability in climatic conditions, weather patterns, and ecological changes. During the month of June (*in'geeito*) the flowers of certain plants, e.g. a climbing tree called *ng'ang'awet*, released a substance that caused irritation in children's eyes. Such irritation was treated with drops of hyrax blood or milk from women's breasts. It was believed that the cold weather during the month of July (*roptueet*) was the main cause of frequent coughs. Several herbs were used to treat coughs, e.g. rhizome (*sumeriet*). These were burnt, crushed and chewed in order to swallow the juice. A mixture of other herbs, such as bark of tridentate Rhoicissus (*ingirenyit*), was boiled together with the bark of *chepintoruet*, *gowonteet*, and *Rhamnus staddo* (*ingogoloit*) to prepare a juice that was ingested as a cure for coughs. Worm attacks (helminthiosis) were treated by oral administration of a juice extracted from the *sugumeriet* tree. Extracts from the *ing'onoyeeg* tree mixed with honey were used as a broad-spectrum herbal medicine for treating multiple ailments such as joint problems, coughs, and worms by drinking a cup of it in the morning and in the evening. Infants were given an herb (*manarariet*) that was burnt and mixed with honey or fat, a concoction that was referred to as pusareeg. Another herb (*ilokwoit*), which was chewed by the mother and then spat in the infant's mouth, was used for treating the flu.

7. Cultural Practices

7.1 Sacred sites and worship

The Ogiek believed the Sun (*Asis*) was a deity. They offered worship as a way of revering the deity. Prayers were said as a form of communion and included requests for favours from Asis, for example rain, while sacrifices were made as an appeasement and atonement for the sins committed by the community against the deity. The Ogiek offered sacrifices to the deity when faced by calamities or upon noticing signs associated with calamities, such as drought or celestial signs like the crescent moon. Elders performed prayers at sunrise every morning, requesting blessings for their families and communities. The beautiful rays of the rising sun were associated with a flow of blessings. Prayers for rain were also performed during the day, by rainmakers, who were accompanied by chanting women in skins (*oguurietop-interit*). Prayers for protection from calamities related to an eclipse were offered at night by elderly women. Sacrifices consisted of honey mixed with water, which was sprinkled into the air while chanting prayers.

The Ogiek had numerous sacred sites marked by springs and trees, such as *Orgot*, the fig tree located at Sururu by the side of the road to Elementaita. Springs and rivers producing abnormal sounds were also considered sacred, like the *Kipluglugit* spring in *Logoman* forest, which sounds like a roaring lion. A place was also considered sacred if the elders decreed specific regulations pertaining to its use or non-use, until the day when a ritual was performed and a sacrifice offered in order to cleanse the place and return it to its normal state and function. This happened to the *gong'tap toriitig* source at Sigotik. The elders sealed the source and decreed that a sacrifice would have to be offered before the spring could be unsealed and its waters used. The stone at Intilteit glades (*nesoit*), after which Nessuit was named, was used by elders to perform morning prayers. It was believed that these prayers yielded positive response. Some trees like *yemtit* (*Olea Africana*) were considered sacred. The sacredness of a place or object was either historically inferred, or conferred through declarations made by traditional foreseers and herbalists, both elderly women and men, or pronounced after the performance of certain rituals. In addition, if a dead person was placed under a tree (usually yemtit) this tree was henceforth considered sacred.

7.2 Marriage ceremony

The Ogiek treasured family and considered it a sacred institution due to its role in procreation. Family was seen as the basic unit of social organisation. The making of the family unit began with the process of marriage, while its sustenance was based on fulfilment of marital responsibilities and observance of cultural values. Marriage was only permitted among adults, although the process of couple formation started long before the attainment of adulthood. For boys the qualifying sign of adulthood was circumcision, while for girls it was both circumcision and the onset of menstruation. Marriage within the same clan, across the same age-set, or to daughters of one's age-mates was a taboo. Therefore, a young man could only marry younger or older women who were not within any of the above forbidden categories.

Marriage entailed a lengthy but well ordered, culturally prescribed process:

- Identification of a potential bride: Usually, young Ogiek became engaged when the girl was about 12 years old. The actual marriage, however, could take place as long as ten years later, after the girl was circumcised upon attaining puberty. During this period, as part of the marriage deal, the boy's family supported the girl's family in meeting her needs up to the time of circumcision.

- Engagement to the bride: The mother of the future bridegroom visited the potential bride's home to perform an engagement ritual (*esiireetit*), which marked the beginning of the marriage process. In a small bag called *motoget* she carried honey, to be eaten by women and children, and a chain (*impisiaiti*), which she placed around the girl's neck to symbolise the engagement. She then returned home without having discussed any issues relating to the intended marriage, as a sign of respect.

- Discussions and negotiations regarding bride price: After the girl's circumcision, the boy's mother returned to the girl's home to initiate discussions. On the night prior to the negotiations she would bring along honey (*engiroretit*) to make a traditional brew that was used to open the marriage discussions. The boy's father, in the company of an elder, preceded the mother to find out whether there were any critical issues or past scandals or wrangles between the two families that could affect the marriage, and whether they were resolvable. If these investigations revealed that there had been a murder involving both families, marriage negotiations were aborted, as it was considered a taboo for marriage to take place in the light of such a sin. If a girl eloped without following the proper marriage procedure and later discussions revealed the existence of an unresolved murder, the union was considered a restitution of the murder.

- Payment of the bride price: In the absence of restrictions, the negotiations were concluded with consent for the marriage process to continue. The boy's parents would go home and return later with seven calabashes (*sootet*) full of traditional brew to inform the girl's family that they were coming for her. The boy would then gather the required dowry (*tiepking'etit*), which consisted of a bag of honey and seven to twelve calabashes of traditional brew (*rotig*). If the boy was unable to gather the dowry, he was assisted by relatives. A day before the wedding a contingent of women from the boy's side, accompanied by men, would carry the dowry to the girl's home. The boy, in the company of a close friend who would later become the marriage aide (*pagulee*), followed the next morning, i.e. on the actual wedding day.

- Sealing of the institution of marriage: The bride and groom were made to stand on a skin (*muitoo*) facing east (*cherunoteet*) with a young boy between them. The boy's father stood to their immediate right and the groom's mother and a young girl to their left, followed by the boy's mother. This signified that the couple desired a boy as a first child and a girl as a second child. Now the girl's mother took a horn full of oil (*laneet*) from a sheep or cow and, using a stick from the *yemtit* tree, sprinkled the congregation, starting with the boy's father, the bride

and bridegroom, the young boy and the girl and finally the mother. The girl's father then took a mouthful of traditional brew and sprayed the couple to bless the marriage.

- The bridegroom taking the bride to his home: The couple and the boy's family were then asked to leave for their homes without looking back in order to avoid bad luck. The bride's family was left behind feasting on the honey and traditional brew that had been brought by the boy's mother.

- Taking the bride to her home: Upon arriving at her new home, the bride spent four days in her mother-in-law's house before being taken back to her own mother's house for shaving. Her mother would first soften her hair with water mixed with honey to ease shaving and help heal cuts. Then she shaved her using a knife called *mechenuet*. After this, the bride was taken back to her new home by her mother-in-law, where she was assisted in constructing a new house for her family. After the house was complete, the mother-in-law would come and make a cooking place for the new bride. She also gave her utensils and made the first meal for the newly-wedded couple.

- Cancellation of the marriage if the virginity of the bride was not confirmed.

- Final commissioning of the bride to start her own family.

Any deviation from this process was considered a sin that required the performance of certain rituals to be cleansed.

If a girl became pregnant out of wedlock and before initiation, her parents would try to find the man responsible for the act and summon him. The man would come with his parents and elders from his neighbourhood and would be asked whether he was responsible for the pregnancy. If he admitted, he was asked to take the girl right away. If he denied, the parents and the elders were asked to bring an unspotted castrated male sheep. The man would then be asked to hold its neck and the girl to hold its rump. Then the elders would kill the sheep by suffocating it, slaughter it, and observe internal parts such as the heart, stomach and intestines for any defects. If defects were detected, it was assumed that the girl's pregnancy did not involve the man and he was free to go. The search for the man responsible would start afresh. However, if no defects were found, the man and his family were ordered to take the girl to their home. The following day they would take her to the forest, away from home, to initiate her under the *yemteet* tree. The girl was then taken through the entire initiation process and stayed in her mother-in-law's house for 2 to 3 months. During this period the girl and the man's family could not share anything with the girl's family until a cleansing ceremony (*Geng'utita*) was held. For this ceremony, the man's family had to take an unspotted male calf to the girl's parents. The girl's family had to prepare a mixture of charcoal and water and give it to the man's parents, for them to gulp it and spit it out four times. The same was then done by the girl's parents. After this, the two families were presumed to be clean and could share food and other items. The man's family would walk away

with the girl without looking back. The calf would be left behind with the girl's family, who would kill it immediately with a spear and slaughter it. The meat was roasted and eaten. The girl's family and neighbours were not allowed to carry the meat. After this cleansing ceremony, the man's family began the normal marriage procedure.

Marriage was governed by certain norms that the couple had to adhere to. These included the following:

- Divorce was not permitted. In rare cases, if the husband was unable to provide for his family, the wife was at liberty to take another husband (as his second wife) but would leave the children with her first husband.

- Bearing children was considered a blessing from God. If a couple only had children of the same sex, the husband was allowed to marry another wife in an attempt to have a child of the opposite sex. Alternatively, the couple could seek the counsel of an herbalist who would treat them with herbal medicines to induce children of the opposite sex.

- Couples with many children were considered blessed and enjoyed the privilege of being invited to preside over many ceremonies that entailed blessing a couple in order to produce children.

- Barrenness was considered natural, thus attempts would be made to cure it using traditional herbs. If the herbal treatment failed, the husband was at liberty to marry another woman.

- In the case of a husband's death, marriage to one of his brothers was taboo and considered a sin that could result in death.

- If a couple lost children successively, they pierced the ear of a newly born child in an attempt to put an end to the bad omen.

- When a woman gave birth she was considered dirty and was therefore isolated for a period not exceeding one month. During this period, she was not allowed to prepare meals for her husband or to share his bed. The door to the house was partitioned into two and she used one door while the husband used the other one.

7.3 Birth and naming

Procreation was highly valued. Great care was taken of pregnant women, newborn babies, and growing children. The health of both the woman and the child were protected by ensuring they ate a proper diet and avoided anything that could induce abortion, death of the foetus or still-birth, or endanger the life of the mother.

Pregnant women were prohibited from eating certain foods, such as meat from dead animals (to avoid food poisoning), the meat of sheep (owing to its vulnerability to many diseases), or honey (which made the foetus too big and thus complicated delivery). They were allowed to eat the meat of goats and hyrax, as these were more immune to diseases due to their browsing a variety of herbs, some of which had medicinal properties. Before a pregnant woman ate food, she had to take bitter herbs or cold water. This was believed to prevent the foetus from absorbing the food. When the time to deliver drew near, a woman would seek the services of traditional birth attendants (*tiemosianisieg*). After delivery, the umbilical cord (*sootweet*) was cut and placed under a yemtit tree. The baby was then smeared with fat from a sheep or a cow in order to clean it. The woman stayed indoors for four days, after which a cleansing ritual was performed allowing her to move outside the house again. After one month, she was shaved by the birth attendant and was then again allowed to serve her husband food. After this, the child was named: the names of ancestors were shouted out until the child sneezed, which was a sign that it had accepted one of the names. Children were weaned after approximately two months. Once a child had begun to crawl it was fed with hyrax meat.

7.4 Initiation Process

Among the Ogiek, circumcision was a social process through which boys and girls were ushered into adulthood. In addition, it was a basis upon which the community structured age-sets. Around these age-sets social norms and values were trained and community rules and regulations enforced. Circumcision was performed on young boys and girls who had reached puberty. In addition, the boys had to have some experience in honey gathering and hunting. The girls were required to have experienced menstruation (*gogirgoog*).

The sexual life of initiates prior to circumcision was critical for their safety during the operation and had therefore to be scrutinised in order for the circumciser to know how to adapt to the situation. A young circumcised man would question male initiates; a young circumcised woman would do it for females. Girls were asked whether they had ever had sex and, if they had, whether they were pregnant, in which case the circumcision was performed with extra care and the girls' parents had to pay one sheep. It was believed that if a boy had had sex before being circumcised this would cause excessive bleeding which could lead to death. Boys were therefore questioned as well; if they confessed having had sex, they were asked to pay a fine of 2 kilograms of honey.

Circumcision began with the piercing of the initiates' earlobes and the removing of two lower incisor teeth by their uncles in order to harden them, and continued one year later with the planning of the initiation ritual. The initiation team was made up of selected circumcised young men (*gipratmugulel*) wearing a skin (*oguurietopinterit*), the initiates themselves, and the escorting teams (young circumcised men and uncircumcised girls). The *gipratmungulel*, a person of good reputation, uprooted the initiates' shrines (*saptee*) and tested the initiates' courage by asking them to search for a straight-stemmed shrine, which was perceived as a warrant of

their perseverance during the cut. The girls were asked to test their courage and ability to withstand the pain of the knife, as well. The girl and boy initiates were taken into the forest in different directions. Both groups had to identify, choose and clear shrines by uprooting a young, approximately 7 feet tall, very straight and evergreen podo tree (*sapteet*). Meanwhile, the escorting teams would cut the stem of a *yemteet* tree. After this, the groups met at a specific meeting point and formed a procession headed by the leading chosen circumcised men, followed by the male initiates, the female initiates, and finally the escorting team. Upon arriving home, they were met by women, who joined in their song as they made four rounds around the homestead. Then an elder (*gipisio*), appointed by the other elders, walked around the group and blessed it by spraying it four times with honey beer from his mouth. A woman (*gipisio*) followed and performed the same ritual. Finally, the group members' faces were smeared with animal fat (sheep or cow). Then the *tolochiig* women came and took the shrines and placed them on the roof of the hosting mother's house in the homestead. A wreath was made from a climbing tree (*sinendet*) for the mother of the homestead to put on her head, as well as for the initiates' uncles.

The following day, the initiates were taken to the planted shrines early in the morning and made to sit on animal skins beside the shrines. There were two types of shrines, one in the homestead and another in the boy initiates' house. Boys were initiated at the shrine close to their house (*menjet*) by a male circumciser (*pangelemta*), girls were initiated at the homestead shrine by a female circumciser known as a pomwai. Initiation was performed at sunrise when the rays of the sun emerged from the skies and shone on the land, which was believed to indicate the blessing of God (*Tororroo*). Circumcision was performed during the mugeyoot season (November–December) when food was plentiful.

Circumcision was followed by singing and ululation around the homestead shrine in praise of the initiates for enduring the knife. Women took one Olea shrine with them to their homesteads to certify the perseverance of the initiates.

Once the initiates were circumcised, the male initiates were sheltered in a small hut called *menjet*, located away from their homes and out of bounds for women. In the *menjet* a caretaker and an elder called *ponnet golal maat*, appointed especially for the ceremony, ensured that a fire burned continuously until the initiates were out of seclusion. This fire was considered a sign of sustained life and prosperity of the initiates. If it went out, which was considered a bad omen, the initiates' parents had to bring an unspotted castrated male sheep and slaughter it for the elders. The female initiates were taken care of by their mothers in a secluded room at their home called sumuut. The hosting mother took care of the girl initiates and ensured that the fire in the house did not go out. The elders also appointed a child (*tolongiiot*) to take care of logistics in the initiates' camp. The *tolongiiot* would feed on leftovers called tolongig, after the initiates had been fed.

Several rituals were conducted to progressively usher initiates into public life. The initiation ceremony is held by the families of the initiates (Toorusieg), who also host the ceremony. The family elders start preparing by gathering honey from the forest and bringing it to a place where the initiates' mothers can collect it to bring it home.

Building the house (Meenjeet)

After the initial preparations, the initiates' house (Meenjeet) is built by elderly, skilled women. Most of them are past childbearing age, since women of childbearing age, especially those who have recently given birth, are considered to be unclean (Molipwop) and therefore to harbour the risk of defiling the house. Natural materials acquired from the forest are used to build the house. Bamboo sticks hold bamboo plummets, which are used for roofing the dome-shaped house. The house is erected with four poles (Ilngaapeisieg) from the Olea africana tree placed strategically at the arcs of the round house. The house has two doors: one facing east (Choruunotet), which is used by the initiates and their teacher when praying or carrying out any activity to acquire blessings from the Sun Deity that rises in the east. It is also believed that the door is a blessing if opened to the east. The door facing west (Ooyosieg) is intended as an escape route (found in all traditional Ogiek houses); in the initiation process, however, it is used to teach the initiates how to escape in case of danger.

Harvesting shrines

The materials used to build the shrines were picked from the forest.. Honey beer is prepared by the initiates' fathers before the women go out to pick these shrines. The beer is used to bless or consecrate the shrines. Two days before the climax of the initiation ceremony, the elder would order women, whose firstborns survived childhood to go to the forest to pick shrines called Tolochiig, meaning "laying the foundation of the shrine/ceremony", from stems of the Olea Africana , using the Ogiek traditional hoe (Kisieenjot). While picking the shrines, the women are adorned with a head wreath (sinendet), an undercloth (Moloonyto) made from an unskinned bushbuck hide and an overall (ogurietop-interit) made from hyrax skin.

After picking the shrines, the women return singing in a single line queue, led by the woman perceived to have all of her children alive including the firstborn. On reaching the homestead they are met by two elders (giipisio) who bless the shrines. The women then stand in a circle facing east with an opening on the east and another on the west (the openings are believed to offer blessings). The harvested shrine stems are then aligned on the walls of the initiate's mother's home. The older women are served with beer, the younger women with honey. The women spend the night at the initiation ceremony host's home, as they will be receiving the initiates and the accompanying young girls and boys the following day when they return from picking more shrines (Torroriosieg) from the forest. The Torroriosieg shrine marks the climax of the initiation ceremony after which circumcision takes place.

The initiates go into the forest, accompanied by respectable young married men who help them uproot the shrines, and by young boys and girls. When uprooting the shrines, the initiates are asked various questions, such as whether they have insulted adults. The young men uprooting the shrines especially from the Saptet or the

Yemtit are supposed to be people who have not engaged in acts such as quarrels that resulted in breaking of bones, impregnating someone's daughter, or promiscuous behaviour. The initiates wear hyrax skins to the initiation ceremony from the forest.

During the procession from the forest the initiates are led by the young men and followed by the young boys and girls. They return singing and chanting courage to the initiates and are met by the women who picked the foundation shrines (Tooloochiig). The women take the shrines from them and join in singing on the way back into the homestead. In the meantime, pregnant girls have been circumcised at the prospective husband's home or away from the home under a dry Olea africana tree, and the circumciser has been cleansed using certain herbs. Four boys who have had sex are asked to clang pieces of sticks together to ward off defilement.

At the homestead both men and women make a circle, with the women on the left and the men on the right and the initiates and the young boys and girls in the middle. The elders then start blessing the initiates and young boys and girls from the right using a type of grass called Tonguriot dipped in beer from a calabash carried by an elder. The blessing is done four times. After the blessings by the elders, the shrines are handed over to elders, who are considered to have killed fierce animals such as leopards and buffaloes, who then places the shrines on the rooftop of the host mother's house.

Planting Shrines

The shrines are planted and fire is made from traditional fire sticks, with dry cedar being lit using dry olea firewood. The shrines are planted at a distance from the fire using Yemtit, Lepekweet and Teegat. The trees are tied together using Ilmoliloi and Segutuet (Sporobolus pyramidalis), and honey is sprinkled on them as a sign of cleansing. Then the elders drink beer and chant songs of courage to the initiates.

Shaving Initiates

In the evening, the initiates are asked to sit on hides (Muito) next to the shrines. Several chosen women who are considered to be clean from all sins shave the initiates, after which the boys are referred to as "Toorusieg" and girls as "Saapinyiig".

Instilling Courage on the Initiates

The initiates sit near the shrines while the men and women chant songs of praise and courage. At two o'clock in the morning the initiates are taken naked to the Menjet, led by the traditional teacher (Pamong'o) along with the young men who have taken them to the forest to uproot the shrines. Inside the Menjeet, the initiates go through several stages, beginning with the leader of the initiates (Gipooret) and ending with the last (Goyumgot). The stages the initiates go through inside the Menjeet are:

- Kisienyot and Mecheita. The initiates were restrained by two young circumcised men at the door and commanded to wrestle out to go and pick Kieinyot (traditional hoe used by women to dig out shrines) and Mecheita (a metal rod used to pierce holes on the bee hive) from the fire. The wrestling was to proof the courage and strength of the initiates.

- Gitoog: The initiates were made to lie on a hide with stinging nettle and young adults would roll the hide making the initiate to roll onto the stinging nettle to make get used to the pain

In the morning, old women who do not have any sexual contact walk around the Menjeet four times singing songs of courage. After the songs end, the initiates step out courageously.

Circumcision

During circumcision, hides (Muuto) are put around the shrines where the initiates are circumcised by the Pangalemeta while being supported at the back by the pamongo. If an initiate cries during the process, he is called Typkoteyat, meaning that he will be stigmatised. He is made to drink water at the lower side of the river while the courageous ones drink at the upper side of the river. After initiation, they are given honey to lick four times and then spit out. They are not supposed to touch fire and food; a specific elder is chosen to do all this (Poyon).

After four days, the initiates undergo the following stages.

1. Gelapeun:
- The beer made from honey is prepared to bless white ochre (Tartarig/Intorotoil), bows and arrows, and a club (Iloput).
- The initiates are then given authority to handle these weapons and to handle fire and meat.
- They are also trained in aiming at birds.

2. Geengotio wokweeg: The initiates would be forced to pass through a doomed shaped gate (Olmarichet) made with bundled clipping plant and stinging nettle symbolizing that they were allowed to pass through all the paths in the forests.

3. Gong'etunoito:
- Olmerichet at the river where the initiates dip in the river four times.
- They are later moved to their mothers' homes.
- The following day they are made to move to another home termed as Geelta, led by young men (Pamongo).
- The initiates then play and demonstrate that they are like leopards (Niemosit).
- The following day they go to their mothers' homes and are dressed by Pamongo.
- They are given clubs and swords.

Since the circumcision ceremony takes place in one of the initiates' home, the initiates are led by young men to visit the home of the initiate second in line to be circumcised. Here, they refuse to eat or drink anything (Geecham chaam Omtit) before they are given presents, e.g. a beehive (mwenget), by the father of the homestead they are in. After being persuaded, they then agree to eat. After this ceremony, the initiates are free to mingle with the rest of the community members.

The Ogiek age-set has similarities with that of other indigenous communities such as the Maasai, Samburu, Rendille and Yiaku, and the years can be extrapolated across these communities to fill gaps in the age-set periods.

	Ogiek Age-sets	Initiation Year	Maasai Age-sets	Initiation Year	Samburu Age-set	Initiation Year	Yiaku Age-set	Initiation Year	Rendille Age-set	Initiation Year
1	Mirishoit		Irratanya				Ngerejon			
2	Interito	1823	Ilpetaa		Kipayang	1823			Irbandif	1825
3	Intalala	1837	Isalaash		Kipeko	1837	Salash	1837	Ikubuku	1839
4	Meinito	1852	Ilmeiris-har		Kiteku	1851	Kidotu	1851	Libale	1853
5	Ilpeles	1865	Ilkidotu		Taragirik	1865	Il toton	1865	Dibgudo	1867
6	Iterate	1879	Iltuati		Marikon	1879	Il Mari-kon	1879	Dismaala	1881
7	Interito	1893	Irratanya		Terito	1893	Il twati	1893	Irbangu-do	1995
8	Intiyegi	1916	Ilpetaa		Mericho	1912		1912	Difgudo	1909
9	Ukalikal/ inyangusi	1922	Isalaash		Kiliaku	1921	Il Tiyeki	1921	Irbales	1923
10	Ing'enjere	1938	Ilmeiris-har		Mekuli	1936	Il mekuri	1936		
11	Ilgamanigi	1950	Ilkidotu		Kilmaniki	1948	il kima-niki	1948	Libale	1937
12	Intere-geya/inti-yongo	1960	Iltuati		Kichiri	1962	kishili	1962	Irbandif	1951
13	Irambawi	1975	Ilnyan-kusi		Kinoro	1977	kiroro	1977	Difgudo	1979
14	Ingisaruni	1986	Ilaimer							
15	Intichilu	1990	Iltalala		Imore	1990	il meoli		Dibgudo	1993
16	Gaplelala-ch/meoli	1997	Iltuati				Il me-puoakiti			

7.5 Death

Natural death among the Ogiek was associated with allergies to certain trees. The sosonet tree was known to produce a strong pungent smell at flowering time which was believed to cause death to most elderly members of the community. Likewise, the *gegeyoito* tree was believed to cause the death of young children by emitting a poisonous smell.

After death a person was immediately wrapped in skin cloth, usually from bushbuck or tree hyrax, and laid by relatives under a *yemtit* tree. Men were laid on their right side facing east, women on their left side also facing east. A member of the dead person's family would later check whether the corpse had been eaten by wild animals. If not the relatives would light a fire near the corpse and pour fat on it to produce a smell that would attract wild animals. The house of the deceased person was consecrated by lighting a fire applying cow or sheep fat to *yemtit* branches. Old women would then sweep the house to allow the family members to spend the night in it. The following morning the family would vacate and abandon it to

migrate and set up a homestead in a different location within their territory. After a week, in the evening when the sun was about to set, all family members' heads were shaved (*Gerier-geiy*). It was believed that this ritual would send evil spirits away permanently.

7.6 Cultural dances

Cultural dances and sports were part of the Ogiek culture. Cultural dances were performed during traditional ceremonies (*geeam-tiento*) on open dancing grounds. Cultural dances were performed when entering and leaving the forest to pick shrines, as well as in the homesteads around the planted shrines, especially during initiation. Some of the songs included Tiepkitileit, which was sung by elders during circumcision to give courage to the initiates. Young men and women sang chanting praises and ululation for the initiates who endured the knife. Initiates also performed songs during rituals like *Tiento neserpen, geelap'eun, tiento neewi* and *giing'eet*. These were also performed on the occasion of the naming of a child, to accompany the name that the child accepted.

Dances were an ingredient of rituals and other ceremonies and were therefore structured and performed in respect of age-sets and the participating community members in a particular age bracket, e.g. elderly men and women.

METHODOLOGY

Mapping Process and Use of Diagrams and Maps

The development of the Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories Atlas (OPAT) started in 2005 and was concluded in June 2009. It was prompted by the multi-faceted needs of the Ogiek community and development partners operating in the Mau Escarpment. It was driven by the need to safeguard the Ogieks' rights over their ancestral lands despite the failure by colonial and independent governments to recognize these rights. Hence, the Ogiek considered the mapping of their ancestral territories as a crucial step in clarifying aboriginal rights and tenure conflicts. Even though Ogiek people live in many forest areas in Kenya, the Eastern Mau Forest was selected as a start since the first request forwarded by the Ogiek community to ERMIS Africa concerned this area. Historical narratives describing the spatial extents of Ogiek ancestral territories indicate that they used to encompass the Mau Escarpment and the adjoining plains of Lake Nakuru Catchment.

In recent times, the Ogiek have noted an increased degradation of the forests in the Mau Escarpment. They attributed this trend to the lacking recognition of their rights and the lacking inclusion of their traditional ecological knowledge into national policy formulation and implementation processes. Thus, the need to document this knowledge in a format that would lay the foundation for its future inclusion into national environment policies was considered by them to be of high importance.

Indigenous and local communities hold traditional spatial knowledge about natural and cultural landscapes as mental maps. This knowledge is neither codified nor disseminated beyond the Ogiek community, making it difficult to mainstream it within national policy formulation and implementation. To date, no practical initiative has attempted to link scientific and traditional ecological knowledge systems in view of promoting collaborative natural resources management in the Mau Escarpment. Past mapping initiatives assessing land use and land cover change have been conducted without involving the local communities. Sky-borne mapping approaches, exclusively undertaken by scientists from government or international agencies were used. Despite some limited consultation with local communities in such mapping initiatives, there is an eminent weakness in involving minority groups like the Ogiek.

The methodology adopted to develop the OPAT Atlas sets up a foundation for combining traditional and scientific knowledge towards improved tenure, as well as secured cultural heritage, ecological management, and livelihoods. The atlas production process counts five main stages: Community organization, participatory mapping, information analysis and synthesis through GIS supported focused group discussions, and finally publishing and distribution. A combination of scientific

research and participatory methodologies were used to generate and document data and information about the Ogiek people's ancestral territories. This combination ensured the process was conducted in a scientifically valid way, and that community members maintain control of the process and information products through participation and building of local capacities. Key activities included community mobilization and awareness creation, delineation of the mapping context, choice of mapping typology, acquisition of foundational spatial dataset, community mapping sessions, community dialogues for documenting narratives about traditional ecological knowledge and practices, GIS Laboratory work, editing and revision of mapping outputs.

Clan-based Community Mapping Teams (CMT) were formed. Each clan named 20 representatives, from which they elected 10 CMT members. The twenty one mapping teams were each composed of 5 men elders, 3 women elders, and 2 youths. The age of elders played an important role for the temporal depth of the clan history that could be reconstructed. Youths were elected on the basis of their ability to find directions, identify locations of natural and cultural landscape features, to transcribe information provided by the elders, and to communicate with other clan members. This way, a sense of intergenerational learning and gender equity were achieved. Nessuit was selected as the site for conducting the mapping activities, as it was important to have a central meeting point with adequate working space and storage facilities for mapping products within the environs of Ogiek ancestral territories.

The participatory mapping was undertaken using two main processes:

Aerial photography mapping, which enabled to delineate ancestral clan and family boundaries, was chosen as a very suitable mapping technology due to its ability to depict ground features in pictorial format thus helping the CMT during visual interpretation. Aerial photos were selected on the basis of the following criteria: (i) area coverage; (ii) sufficient spatial resolution; (iii) aerial survey conducted when the area had appreciable forest cover; (iv) availability of negative for enlarging the photograph. The main aerial surveys considered were from Survey of Kenya (1967) and Photomap Company (1991). Both existed in black and white, at a scale of 1:25,000 with lateral overlap of 60% and inter-run overlap of 40%. The aerial survey of 1991 was found to best satisfy the above requirement. A total of 66 photographs were selected to cover the entire OPAT Atlas area, while reducing the lateral overlap to about 5%, which was sufficient for joining adjacent areas, since no stereographic analysis was to be done. Two sets of aerial photographs were developed, a digital set and hardcopy set. The digital set, containing a total of 198 stereo-pairs, was developed from the 23 cm x 23 cm film at a scale of 1:25000. Large format hard copies (92cm x 92cm) at a scale of 1:6,250 were developed from the same films. The digital copies were used to digitally transcribe the features manually traced during the field mapping exercises. The mapping teams traced the various spatial elements, including boundaries, rivers and other water sources, cultural sites and natural resource management units using colored marking pencils. Place names and names of various spatial elements were also appended. Harmonization of the inter-

clan spatial elements, like common boundaries, social fields and place names was done through meetings between neighboring clans and GPS surveys done by specially trained youths. The traced elements were transcribed onto ortho-rectified aerial photo scans.

Participatory 3-Dimensional Modeling (P3DM), introduced by ERMIS Africa, CTA and IPACC helped delineating eco-climatic zones and building up a documentation of cultural heritage and traditional ecological knowledge, which is partly included in the background section and in the narratives in this Atlas. A typical P3DM is constructed to simulate the real world by creating its physical model. The process involves combining spatial knowledge with elevation data to produce a stand-alone, scaled and geo-referenced relief model. The CMT were taken through an orientation session to give them an overview of the entire modeling and mapping process: (i) delineation of mapping extent; (ii) estimation and sourcing of raw material; (iii) assembling the blank model; (iv) development of a legend; (v) depicting cognitive maps; (vi) data extraction; and (vii) composition of maps using a GIS.

The OPAT Atlas area was identified using topographic maps, and then fitted into a regular bound with straight vertices and coordinate bounds recorded. A unitary model template measuring 1.2 m x 2.4 m, was used to calculate the total number of model units that covered the entire area. A horizontal scale of 1:10,000 was chosen. This was found to agree with what is generally used by physical planners for purposes of facilitating local planning. A vertical scale of 1:5000 was considered appropriate. The preparation of the legend was done through intense inter-generational dialogues. The symbols utilized included push pins, yarns, paints and paper labels for points, lines and area features respectively ensuring that the colors conformed as much as possible to the natural landscape features. The preparation of base maps entailed four stages: (i) tracing of contour lines; (ii) cutting carton board along contour lines; (iii) layering and consolidating the carton layers to gain the vertical exaggeration; and (iv) applying of white crepe paper on top of the carton boards to smoothen the surface of the relief model. Upon completion of the blank model, the community started depicting the mental maps of different areas onto the blank model using the symbols from the legend. The delineations were only confirmed and transcribed onto the blank relief module after intensive discussion over the validity of the features' location, shape, size, name and code. Spatial analysis of livelihood issues in terms of characterization and relationship were also conducted with respect to food and human mobility across various eco-climatic zones.

USER GUIDE

Summary Guide for Atlas Users

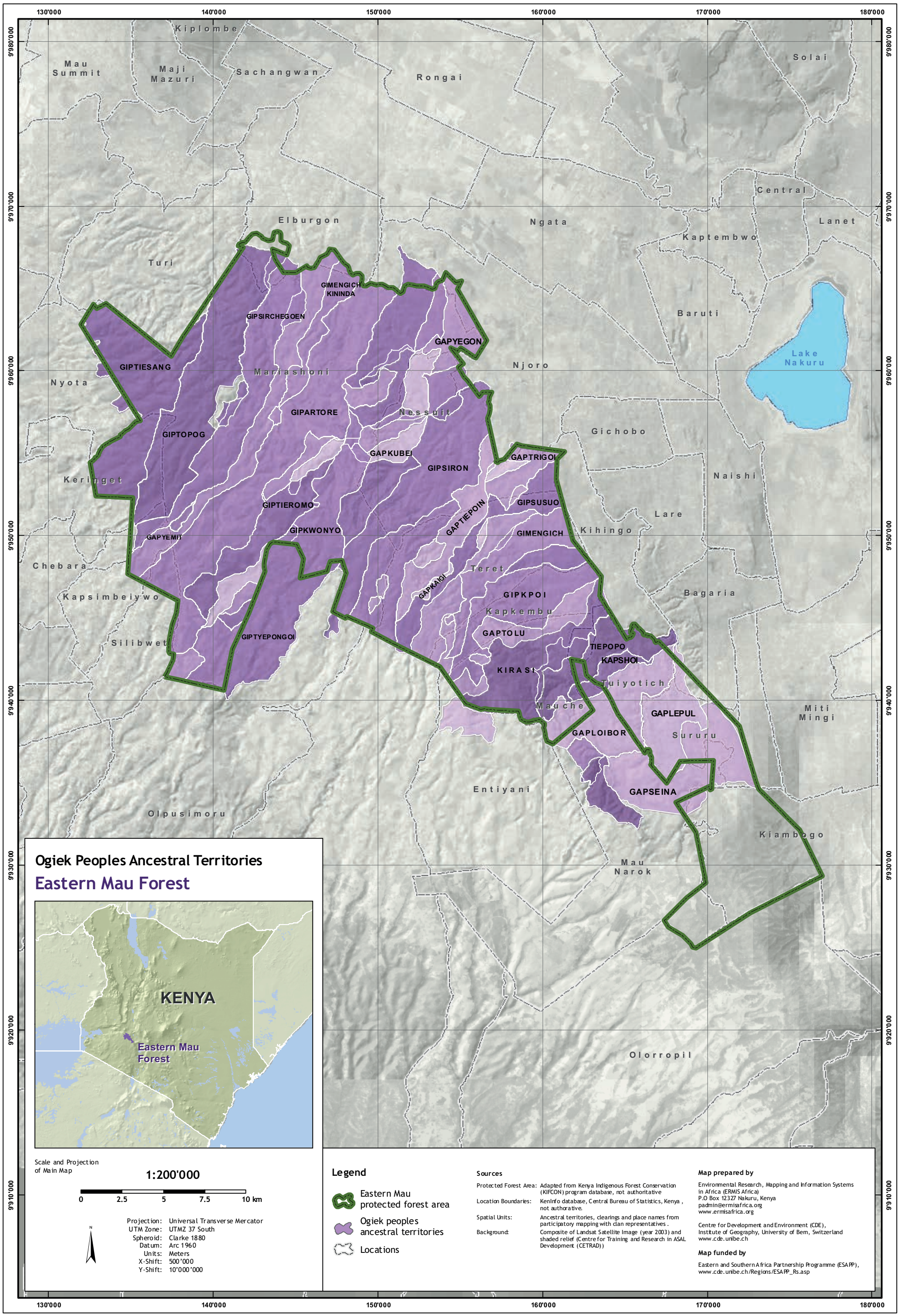
How to read the ancestral territories maps: An overview map of all ancestral territories is provided just after the present section. The maps showing the ancestral territories of either a clan, or a family of a clan follow and are numbered from 1 to 25 (see also table of contents). Clan territories are drawn with a broad purple line, which is hatched whenever located outside the Eastern Mau Forest. In some cases, the ancestral territories were not mapped outside the Eastern Mau Forest. In these cases, the hatched line is interrupted just outside the forest boundary (broad green line) and a label "not mapped outside forest area" is added to the map at the respective locations. Clearings, which are important landscape elements of the Ogiek are drawn in orange colour. Line features include rivers (including their names in Ogiek language) and roads. The background of the maps is composed of a combination of scanned topographic maps, which are useful for general orientation, and a hillshade, derived from a digital terrain model, which provides a better impression of the area's topography. A small inset map is added in the lower-right corner of each map. This inset map provides an overview of the Eastern Mau Forest (green area) and neighbouring sub-locations (light yellow areas). The ancestral territories shown in the main map are also shown in the inset map (purple areas). More than one map was produced for clans with family territories located in different areas of the forest. In these cases, the inset map shows the family territory of the respective map in purple colour and the family territories of the other clan maps in light purple colour.

How to read the family tree diagrams: Family trees showing lineages of each clan or family were generated on the basis of accounts provided by the clan elders. In these family trees, male representatives are symbolized with light green boxes and female representatives with light purple boxes. The clan or family founder, or the oldest still known ancestor of the clan or family is always located in the innermost circle of the chart; the last, most current generation is located in the outermost circle of the chart. Couples are linked together with a double line and children are linked to the mother through single lines. The software used to generate the family trees automatically links children to the mother, reason for which female parents always appear, even when their name was not recorded, or remembered by the elders. In such cases "unknown" is written in the respective boxes. The underlying database used for the preparation of the family trees follows standards of genealogical databases and can be altered at any moment in order to produce updated family trees. Hopefully, missing clan members, especially the female representatives will be added at a later date.

Possible errors and limitations: Both the maps and the narratives (including the family tree diagrams) were elaborated on the basis of accounts from Ogiek clan elders and other representatives. A tedious process of translating the tacit Ogiek knowledge into a formalized knowledge that can be disseminated outside the Ogiek community was necessary to arrive at the outputs shown in this Atlas. The authors are fully aware that some inaccuracies, omissions and translation errors may have occurred during this process. Therefore, the Atlas can not be considered as a final and complete representation of Ogiek clan history and territorial claims, but as the current status of an iterative process through which more details and accuracies might be added in future. However, it is also important noting that the Atlas was produced on the basis of a broad-based participatory process and that it is the fruit of a well rooted consensus. Therefore, it can be considered as a true representation of Ogiek's testimony and perception of their own history and territorial claims.

MAPS

- OVERVIEW MAP -



GAPSEINA CLAN

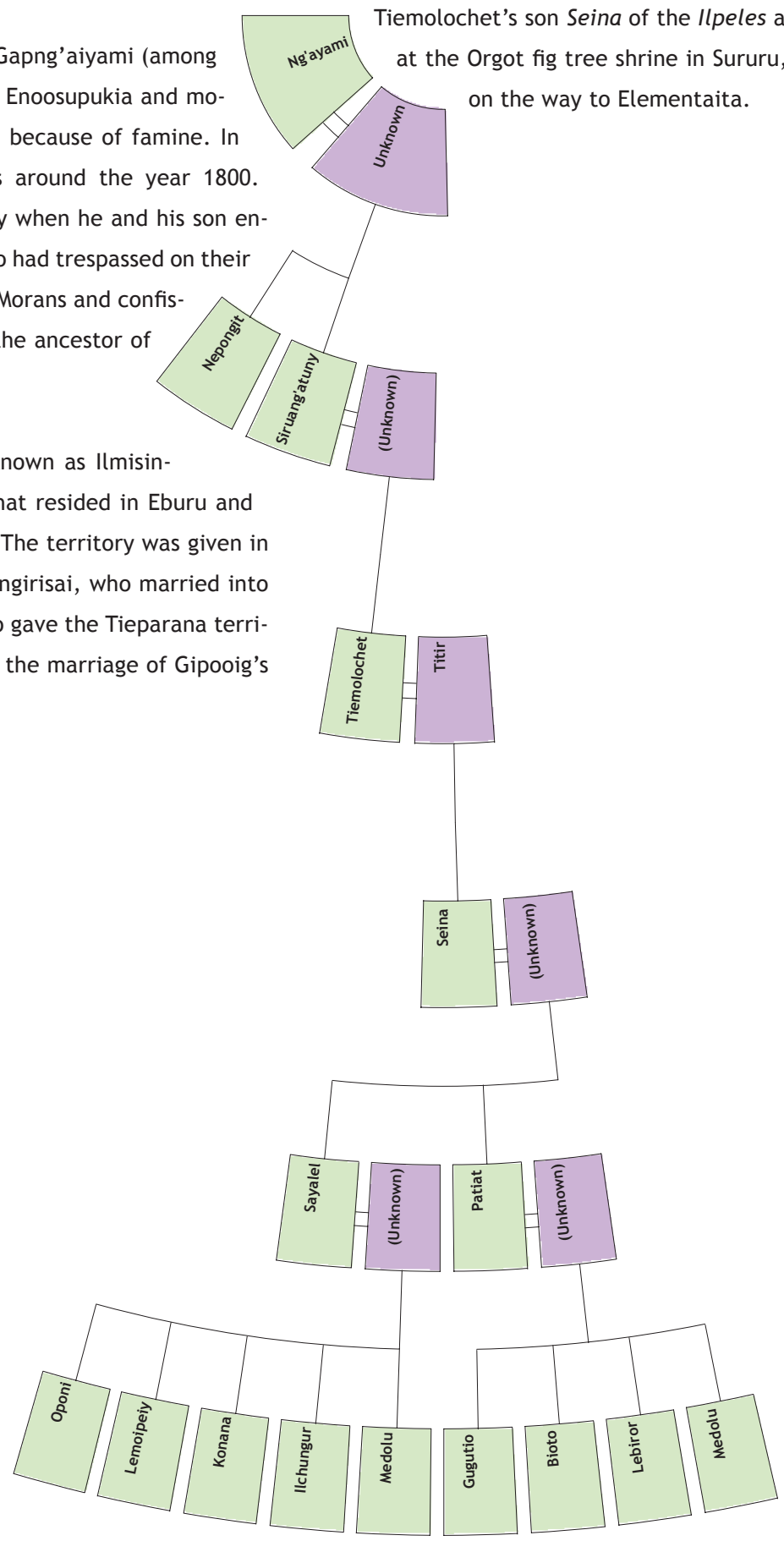
The Gapseina clan originated from a section of the Ogiek known as Isaaleit during the *Ildalala* age-set. The Isaaleit are mainly found in Narok in an area called Enoosupukia near Naivasha. Their ancestor was Siruang'atuny who used to live close to the Tiepopopo clan, and married a woman from their clan. She gave birth to Temolochet, who, in turn, bore Seina whose name was adopted as a clan name.

The Gapseina clan split from a clan called Gapng'aiyami (among the Isaaleit Ogiek) after Siruang'atuny left Enoosupukia and moved to the Sururu area in the Eastern Mau because of famine. In Sururu, Siruang'atuny acquired territories around the year 1800. Siruang'atuny fought to retain the territory when he and his son encountered the Maasai/ Laikipiak Morans who had trespassed on their ancestral lands. They defeated the Maasai Morans and confiscated their cattle. Siruang'atuny became the ancestor of the Gapseina Clan.

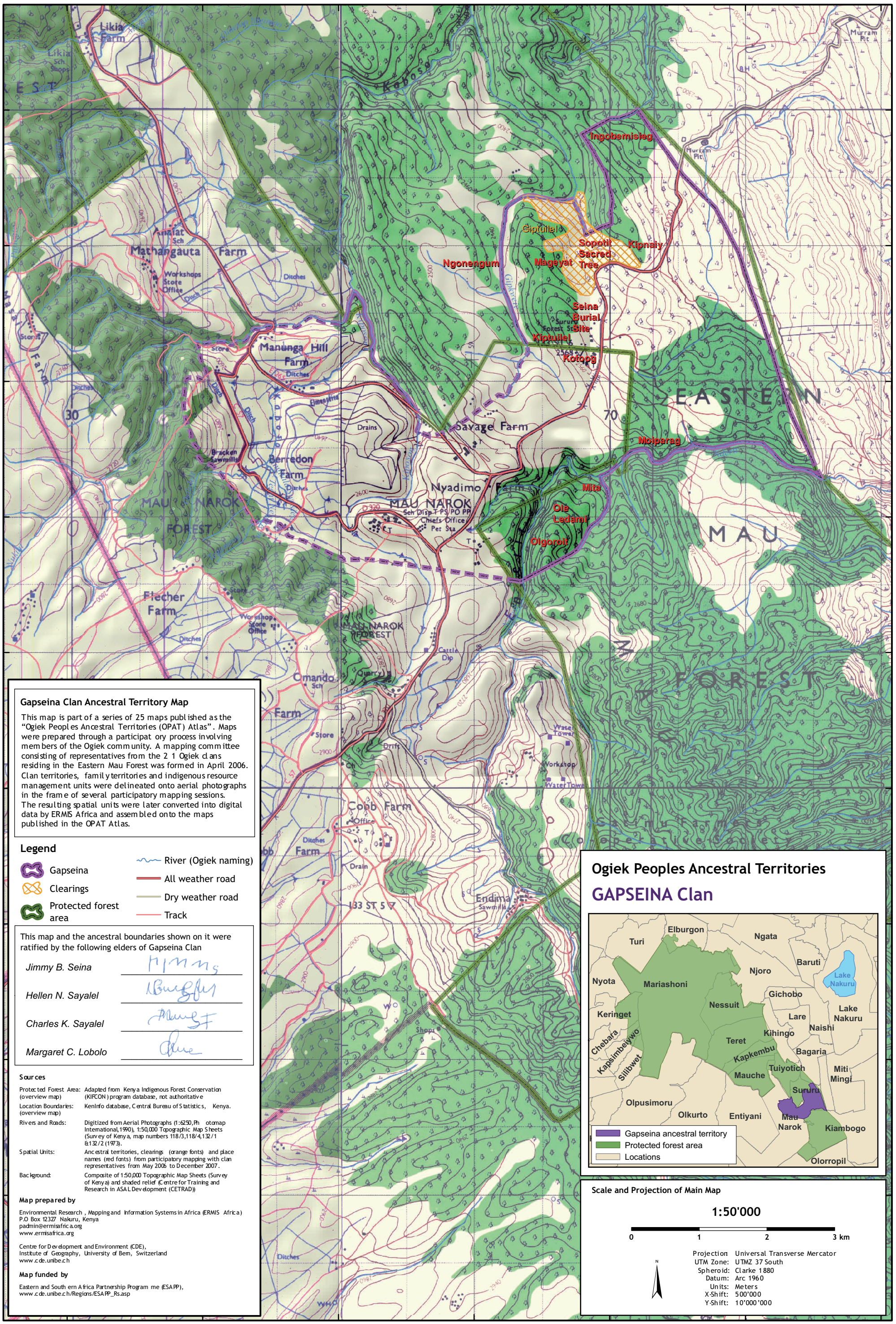
Later on, Siruang'atuny gave a territory known as Ilmisingiyoi to the Gapmidolu, a different clan that resided in Eburu and was a member of Ogiek called Ingiyerisho. The territory was given in honor of Siruang'utuny's daughter named Ingirisai, who married into the Gapmidolu clan. The Gapseina clan also gave the Tieparana territory to the Gaptiepopo clan as a dowry for the marriage of Gipooig's mother to Tiemolochet.

Tiemolochet married Titri, the mother of Muntarakwa from the Gapkaigi clan. Titri begot Seina (father of Sayalel from the Gapseina clan). Seina co-existed with Muntarakwa as a step brother and before Seina died, he made a will allowing Muntarakwa's sons to keep hives in his territory in Sururu area.

Tiemolochet's son *Seina* of the *Ilpeles* age-set offered sacrifices at the Orgot fig tree shrine in Sururu, by the side of the road on the way to Elementaita.



- GAPSEINA Clan -

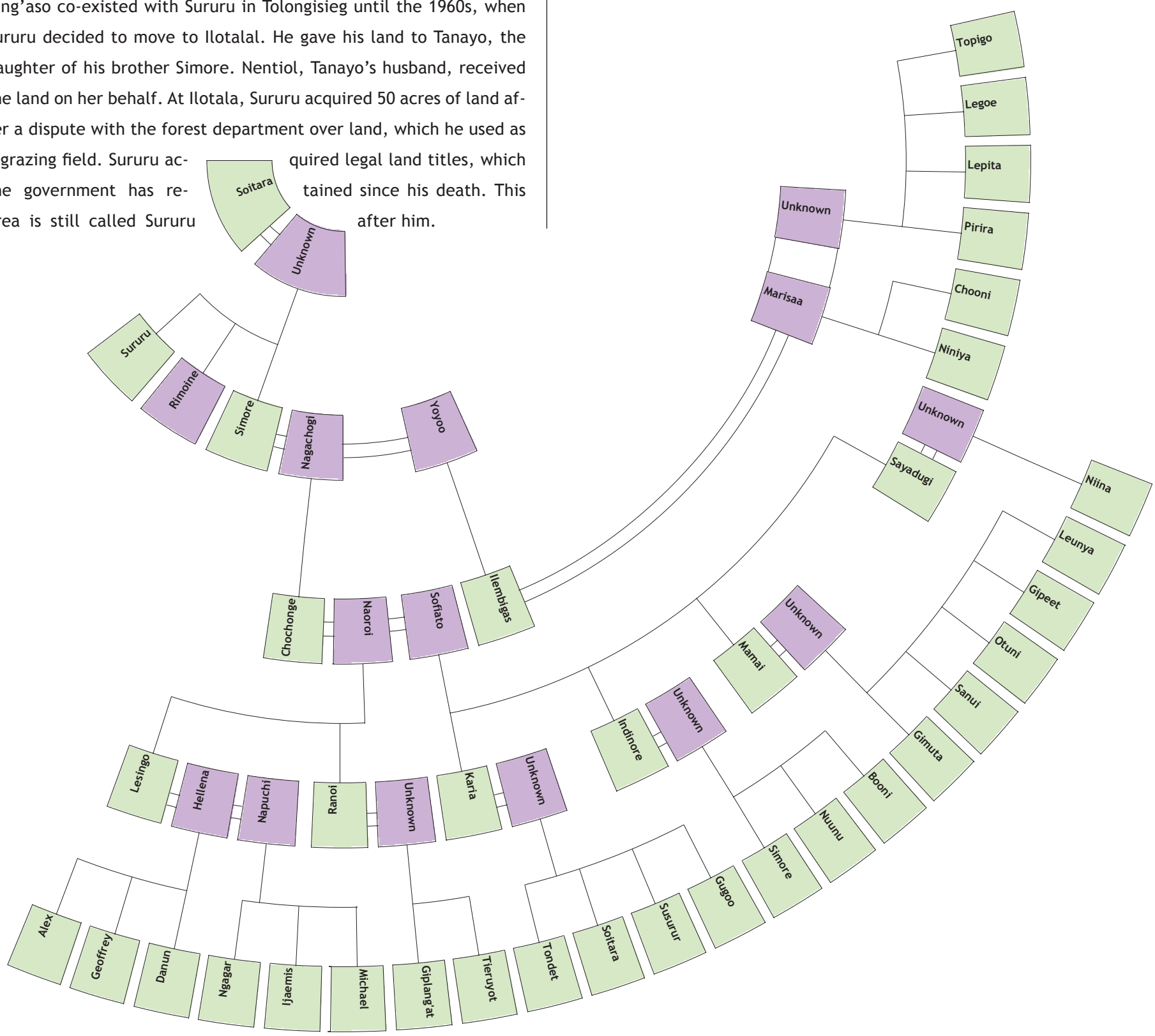


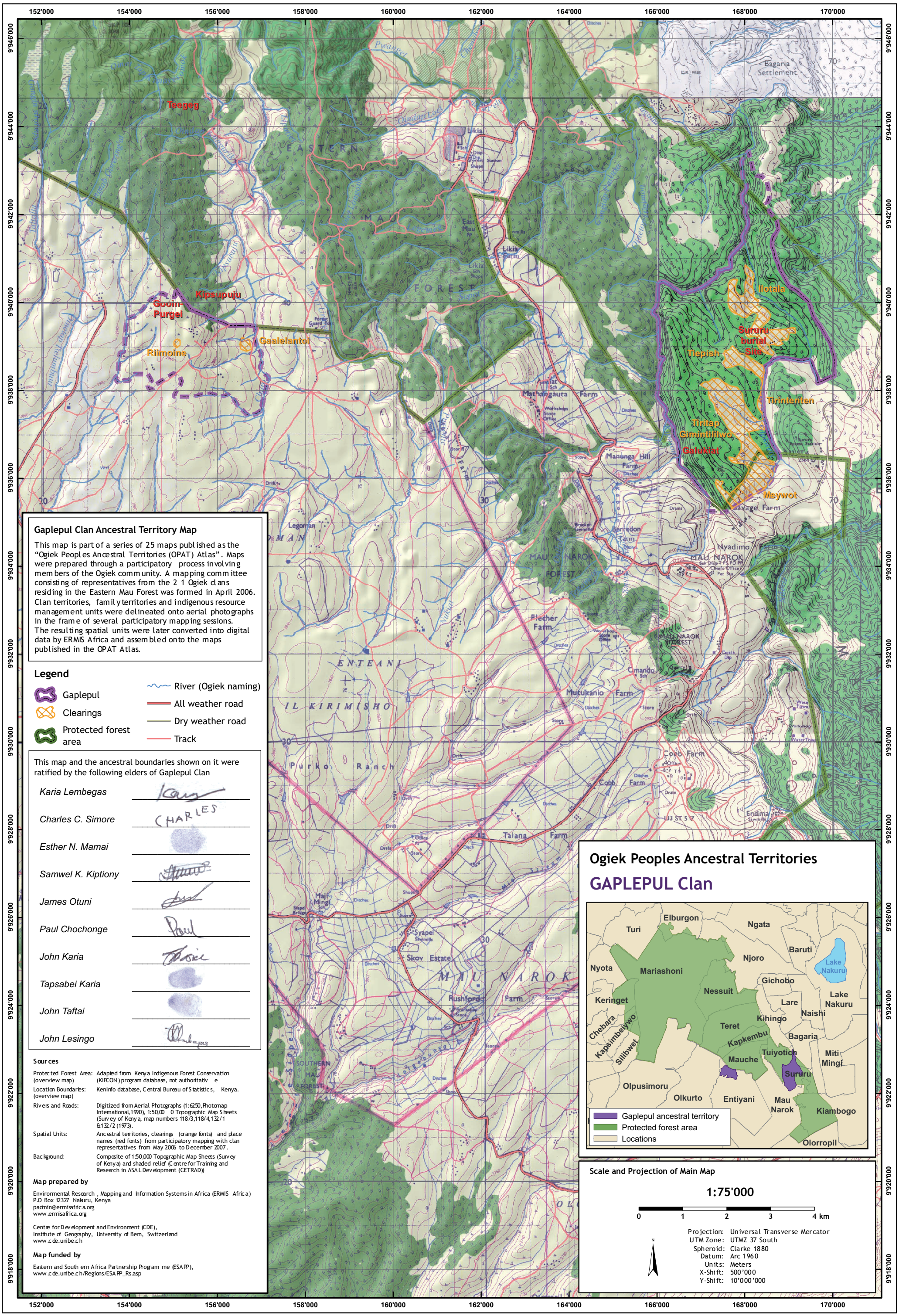
GAPLEPUL CLAN

Lepul is a term that refers to a place in the forest where the Maasai warriors feast. These clan warriors used to feast like Maasai Morans (warriors), which is the reason they were given the name Gaplepul.

Soitara, the ancestor of the Gaplepul, originated from Ildamat, part of the Laikipiak Maasai territory. In 1856, during the *Ilpeles* age-set, there was a war between the Laikipiak Maasai and the Purko Maasai in Nakuru area. As they were dispersed, Soitara fled into the Eastern Mau escarpment to seek refuge. There, he met Sokwoni of the Gaptirigoi clan, who welcomed him in the Gipluglugit area. After some time Oloitoleit of the Gipkwonyo clan requested Sokwoni to allow Soitara to live at Oloitoleit's home, since he was lonely and without children, and to share the abundance of honey in the Sooywo area near Lake Nakuru. After they moved, in the 1870s, Soitara begot Simore and Sururu at a place called Ingonyoi. Sururu Taribo Lekiwaja was of the Gaplepul clan and Ring'aso of the Gimengich clan. Ring'aso married Esidoit's daughter from the Gaptiepopo clan. Sururu moved to Tolongisieg to stay with Ring'aso. He was integrated into their family, allowed to use their clan beehive mark (*Samta*) and to put his hives in an area called Samitap Guutonet in Mogontim (forest of red cedar logs). Ring'aso co-existed with Sururu in Tolongisieg until the 1960s, when Sururu decided to move to Ilotalal. He gave his land to Tanayo, the daughter of his brother Simore. Nentiol, Tanayo's husband, received the land on her behalf. At Ilotala, Sururu acquired 50 acres of land after a dispute with the forest department over land, which he used as a grazing field. Sururu acquired legal land titles, which the government has retained since his death. This area is still called Sururu after him.

Simore moved from Ingoonyoi to Likia with his two wives. The first wife was called Nagachogi and gave birth to a boy known as Chochonge, while the second wife, Yoyoo, gave birth to Lembegas (Leunya). In Likia, Chochonge bore a daughter called Naitasha before moving to the Gang'uungtaeg area inhabited by the Gaptiepopo clan, and then back to Teret (Sirontisieg), inhabited by the Gipsusuo clan, where Karia was born. Chochonge moved to the Ilgoroi Sururu area in 1944. In 1948 he moved to Topoti, where Maamai Chochonge Simore was born. In 1953, he moved to Torrortoo and then to Logoman in 1955, and to Lopirig and back to Rimoine in 1957. Sayadugi was born in 1959 in Logoman. In 1964 Chochonge moved to stay with his step-father in Ilotala. They stayed together until Sururu died. According to the Ogiek culture Chochonge was the heir to his stepfather's land. In 1992, the Mauche settlement scheme was created to settle squatters. The *Sururu* settlement scheme was contained within this scheme, including Sururu Taribo's land, also known as Ilotala. The Gaplepul clan was displaced to Nessuit, into a territory belonging to the Gipsiron clan.





Gaplepul Clan Ancestral Territory Map

This map is part of a series of 25 maps published as the "Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories (OPAT) Atlas". Maps were prepared through a participatory process involving members of the Ogiek community. A mapping committee consisting of representatives from the 21 Ogiek clans residing in the Eastern Mau Forest was formed in April 2006. Clan territories, family territories and indigenous resource management units were delineated onto aerial photographs in the frame of several participatory mapping sessions. The resulting spatial units were later converted into digital data by ERMIS Africa and assembled onto the maps published in the OPAT Atlas.

Legend

- Gaplepul
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gaplepul Clan

Karia Lembegas	
Charles C. Simore	CHARLES
Esther N. Mamai	
Samwel K. Kiptiony	
James Otuni	
Paul Chochonge	Paul
John Karia	
Tapsabei Karia	
John Taftai	
John Lesingo	

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

Map prepared by

Environmental Research, Mapping and Information Systems in Africa (ERMIS Africa)
P.O Box 12327 Nakuru, Kenya
padmin@ermisafrica.org
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Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
Institute of Geography, University of Bern, Switzerland
www.cde.unibe.ch

Map funded by

Eastern and Southern Africa Partnership Programme (ESAPP),
www.cde.unibe.ch/Regions/ESAPP_Rs.asp

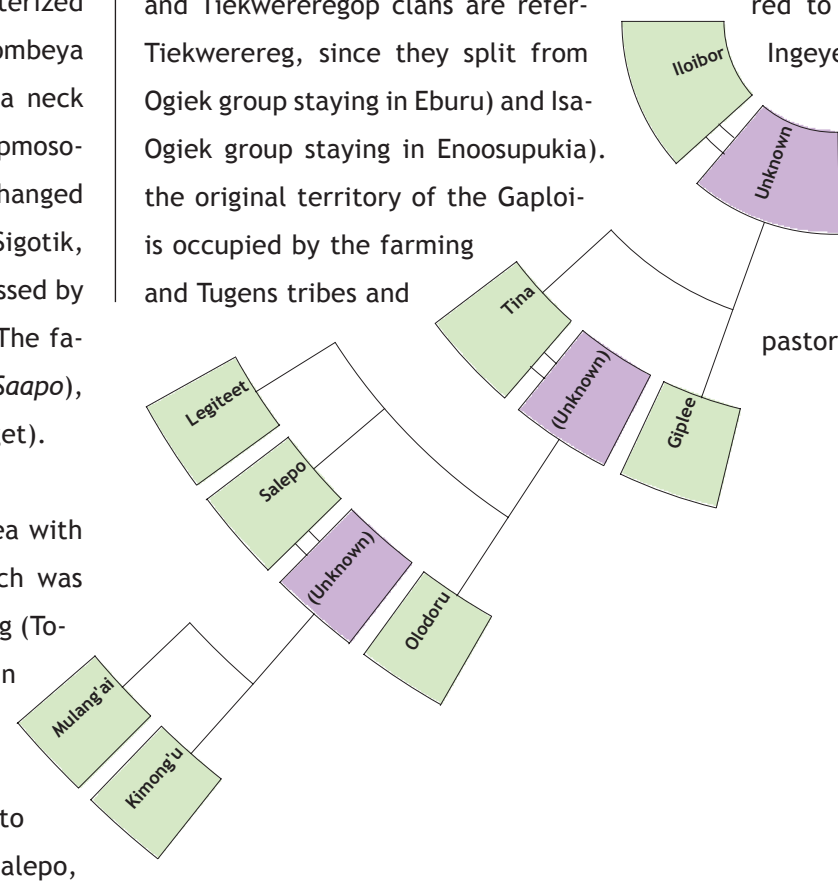
GAPLOIBOR CLAN

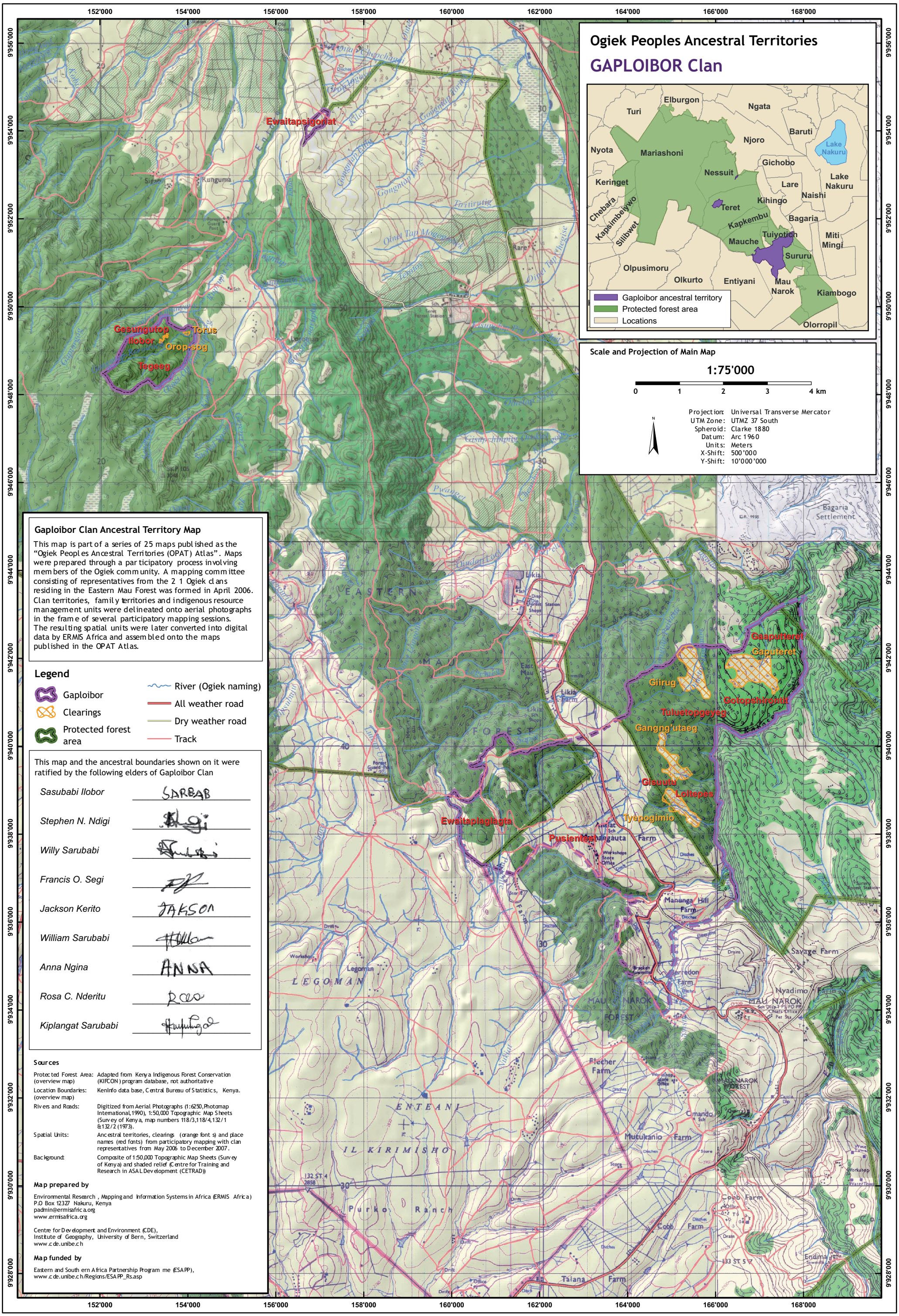
The forefather of the Gaploibor clan was Iloibor, whose name stems from the Maasai *Loibor* (white) and was given to him because he lived in a place with white soil. He came from an area known as Gaplelach inhabited by members of the Ogiek community who lived in Southern Mau near Narok. Iloibor had 2 sons: Tina, who moved to the Eastern Mau during the *Intalala* age-set, and Giplee, who was left behind with the Gaplelach clan in the Ngareta area in Narok. Tina had 3 sons: Legitet, Olodorumbe and Salepo. Legitet was joined by Aeoletit (also called Ndigi) from the Giptoog clan, which had earlier migrated from Koibatek to Marioshoni due to famine. Aoleetit killed Legitet, whose brother, Olodorumbe, fled to Ngegonyonyokie (in Enosupukia near Naivasha) with his 2 daughters, Leso and Tagogo, leaving behind Salepo and Aoleetit.

Salepo had 2 sons, Mulang'ai and Kimong'u (Ngareta), named after his grandfather's place of origin. Mulang'ai had no son, but Kimong'ui had a son called Sarubabi Loibor. The family shared the following territories: Gotopchoruet (meaning "house of Choruet" i.e. *pavetta gardeniifolia* trees) in Gapurowo; Somikweeg (a small thicket surrounded by glades) in Logomo; Teegeg (an area of bamboo); Orop-sog (an area of shrubs); Rogroget (an area resembling an island characterized by moorland); Gaporowo (an area dominated by Dombeya- Dombeya goetzenin tree groves); Gatitap Kuget (an area shaped like a neck (*gatitap*), i.e. constricted in the middle); and finally Goretopmosotiot (an area dominated by Olea Capensis). Later ngaret exchanged Gotopchoruet located in Gaporowo for Ewaaitap Sigoriat in Sigotik, which belonged to the Gapkaigi Clan. The exchange was witnessed by Ingaret of the Kaploibor clan and Kimando of the Gaigi clan. The family thus had a territory consisting of areas on the lowlands (*Saapo*), mid-escarpment (Tegeg), and highlands (Gaporowo and Rogroget).

The Salepo family lived in Sigotik in Ewaaitap Sigoriat (an area with dry firewood), exchanged with Gaigi for Gotopchoruet, which was witnessed by Ngareta and Kimando and in Logomo and Teegegeg (Torus). The Salepo family used to move across 3 territorial zones in response to climate change. During the rains they dwelled in the lowlands (Saapo), during the dry season they moved to the mid-escarpment (Logomo), and during drought they moved to the highlands (Gaporowo and Rogroget). Ngareta, the son of Salepo, gave a territory, Gotop Tenetonig, to his niece Kitae Mburuo (who was still alive when this atlas was written) of the Gaptiepoin clan in honor of her mother and because she was a daughter in Salepo's family.

Gapiindigi (Aoleetit) Family: Aoleetit, otherwise called Ndigi, had two wives, Nagachogi and another one whose name is unknown. Nagachogi gave birth to a son called Segi. The second wife gave birth to four sons called Parsapa, Mering'o, Lengeiywa, and Nguusush. The five sons founded the Gapiindigi family of the Iloibor clan. This family lived in a territory called Tiepogimio, among the Likyo clan between Sururu and Likia. The Likyo clan is a geographically defined cluster of clans consisting of the Gaptieopopo, Gapkirasi, Gaptolu, Gapiindigi and Gapshoi clans. The other geographically defined clusters were the Riianiig, living in a place called Tiritap-riiangiig and including the Gimengich and Giakepoi clans; the Gaplegeno, living around Sigotik and including the Gaptiepoin, Gipsusuo, Gaptirigoi, and Gapkaigi clans; the Tiekwerereg, living in Sururu area and including the Gapseina and Gaplepul clans. Geographically defined clusters of clans lived in a proximity that prohibited intermarriages among the constituent clans. The above-mentioned clans are further divided and referred to as the Tiekwerereg Ogiek sub-tribe, meaning a cluster of clans that splits to form new clans. As the Likyo clans are referred to as Tiekwereregop-likyo, Riianiig clans are referred to as Tiekwereregop-Riianiig, Gaplegeno clans are referred as Tiekwereregop-Gaplegeno, and Tiekwereregop clans are referred to as the real Tiekwerereg, since they split from Ingeyerisho (an Ogiek group staying in Eburu) and Isaleeita (an Ogiek group staying in Enoosupukia). Currently the original territory of the Gaploibor clan is occupied by the farming Kipsigis and Tugens tribes and Masaai pastoralists.




Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories
GAPLOIBOR Clan
Elburgon
Turi
Ngata
Baruti
Njoro
Lake Nakuru
Nyota
Mariashoni
Gichobo
Nessuit
Keringet
Lake Nakuru
Lare
Naishi
Kihingo
Chebara
Teret
Kapsimbeiywo
Kapkembu
Bagaria
Siliibwet
Tuiyotich
Mauche
Miti Mingi
Sururu
Olpusimoru
Olkurto
Entiyani
Mau Narok
Kiambogo
Olorropil
Galoibor ancestral territory
Protected forest area
Locations
Scale and Projection of Main Map
1:75'000
0 1 2 3 4 km
Projection: Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone: UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid: Clarke 1880
Datum: Arc 1960
Units: Meters
X-Shift: 500'000
Y-Shift: 10'000'000
Ewaitapsigoriat
Gesungutop
Ilobor
Torus
Orop-sog
Tegeeg
Gaaputeret
Gaputeret
Giirug
Gotopshirohtit
Tuluetopgeyeg
Gangng'utaeg
Gisuutu
Lolltepes
Tyepogimio
Ewaitaplagiagta
Pusienteebangauta
Manunga Hill Farm
Savage Farm
Nyadimo
Legoman
Bagaria Settlement
Likia
Likia Farm
East Mau
EASTERN
MAU
FOREST
LEGOMAN
MAU NAROK FOREST
ENTEANI
IL KIRIMISHO
Purko Ranch
Fletcher Farm
Mutukanio Farm
Cobb Farm
Talana Farm
Endima
Galoibor Clan Ancestral Territory Map
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Legend
Galoibor
Clearings
Protected forest area
River (Ogiek naming)
All weather road
Dry weather road
Track
This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Galoibor Clan
Sasubabi Ilobor
Stephen N. Ndigi
Willy Sarubabi
Francis O. Segi
Jackson Kerito
William Sarubabi
Anna Ngina
Rosa C. Nderitu
Kiplangat Sarubabi
Sources
Protected Forest Area: (overview map) Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
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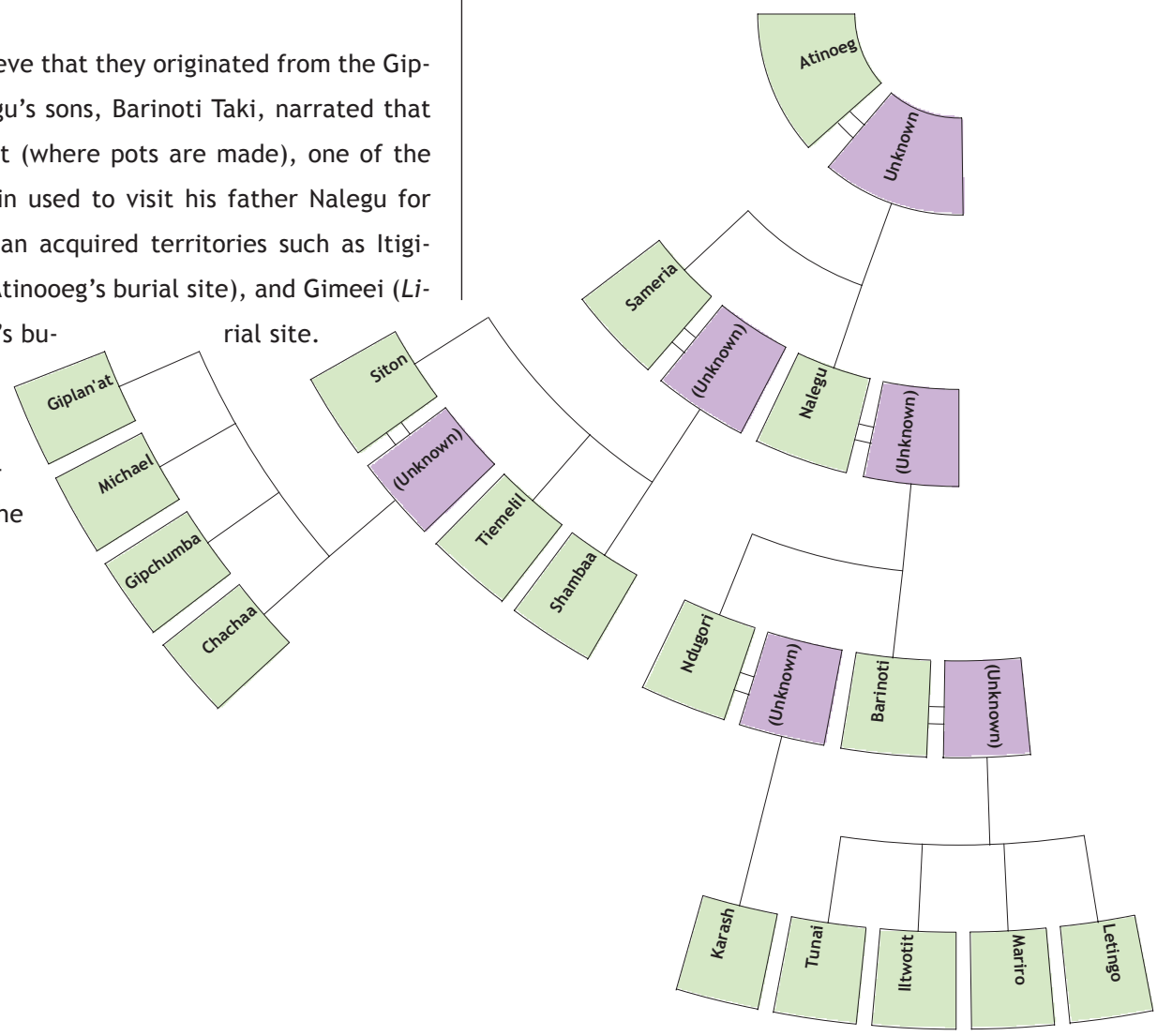
GAPSHOI CLAN

The founding father of the Gapshoi clan was Atinooeg (Shoi), a brother of Kulumwa, who went to Enoosupukia when there was great famine in the area. Atinooeg was left in the Eastern Mau where he had two sons, Sameria and Nalegu. Sameria gave rise to the Gapsameria family and Nalegu to the Gapnalegu family.

The Gapshoi clan members believe that they originated from the Gipkwonyo clan since one of Nalegu's sons, Barinoti Taki, narrated that during their stay in Gaput'teret (where pots are made), one of the Gipkwonyo elders named Otenin used to visit his father Nalegu for good relations. The Gapshoi clan acquired territories such as Itigimooo, Gaput, Teret, Goponig (Atinooeg's burial site), and Gimeei (*Likia* extension), which is Nalegu's burial site.

The Gapshoi clan belongs to the Likio grouping of the Tiepkwerereg Ogiek sub-tribe. The Gapshoi clan lived in Likia since time immemorial, until 1992 when, after clashes, they were displaced to the Nessuit Gipsiron clan territory and forced to settle there as part of a government settlement initiative. Their former territory was allocated to Kipsigis and Tugens.



- GAPSHOI Clan -

Gapshoi Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gapshoi
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gapshoi Clan

Jackson K.Saningo

John M. Barnoti

Siton Sameria

William B. Nduati

Peter K. Saningo

Peter T. Barnoti

Daniel S. Totoni

Nongisa Ndingori

David K. Ndingori

Nancy N. Tunai

Sources

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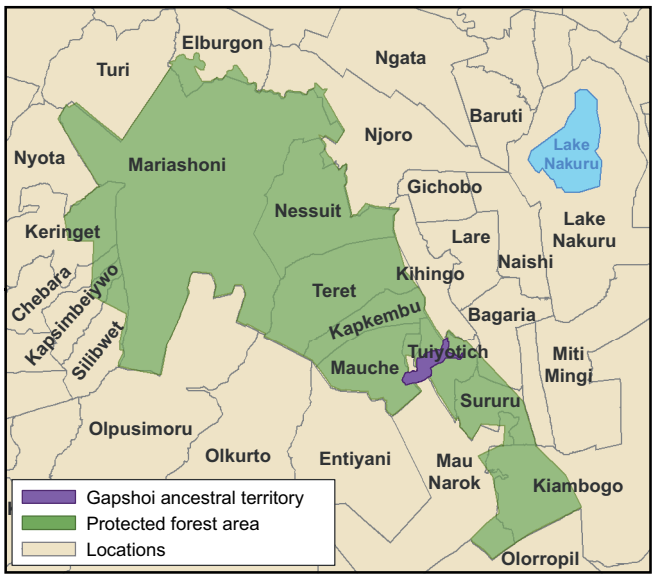
Soyet
Goponig
Loitepes
Patat
Sogononutiet
Songoinet
Otinoeg Burial Site
Walitap Sapoo
Kimeyi
Likia
Mathangauta Farm
Manunga Hill Farm
Berredon Farm
Kabosa
Legoman
ENTEANI
IL KIRIMISHO
Purko Ranch
Talana

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GAPSHOI Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:50'000

0 1 2 3 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

GAPTIEPOPO CLAN

The forefather of the Gaptiepopo clan was called Luigembe and lived at about the the time of the *Eltareto* age-set. He lived with 4 other elders from other clans, namely Gapshoi, the Ndigi family of the Iloibor clan, and the Gapkirasi family of the Gimengich clan. These 4 elders from the Likio group of the Tiepkwereg sub-tribe lived together in a place called the Likia area. The colonial administration referred to them as the Likyio grouping, and the forest in which they lived as the Likia forest.

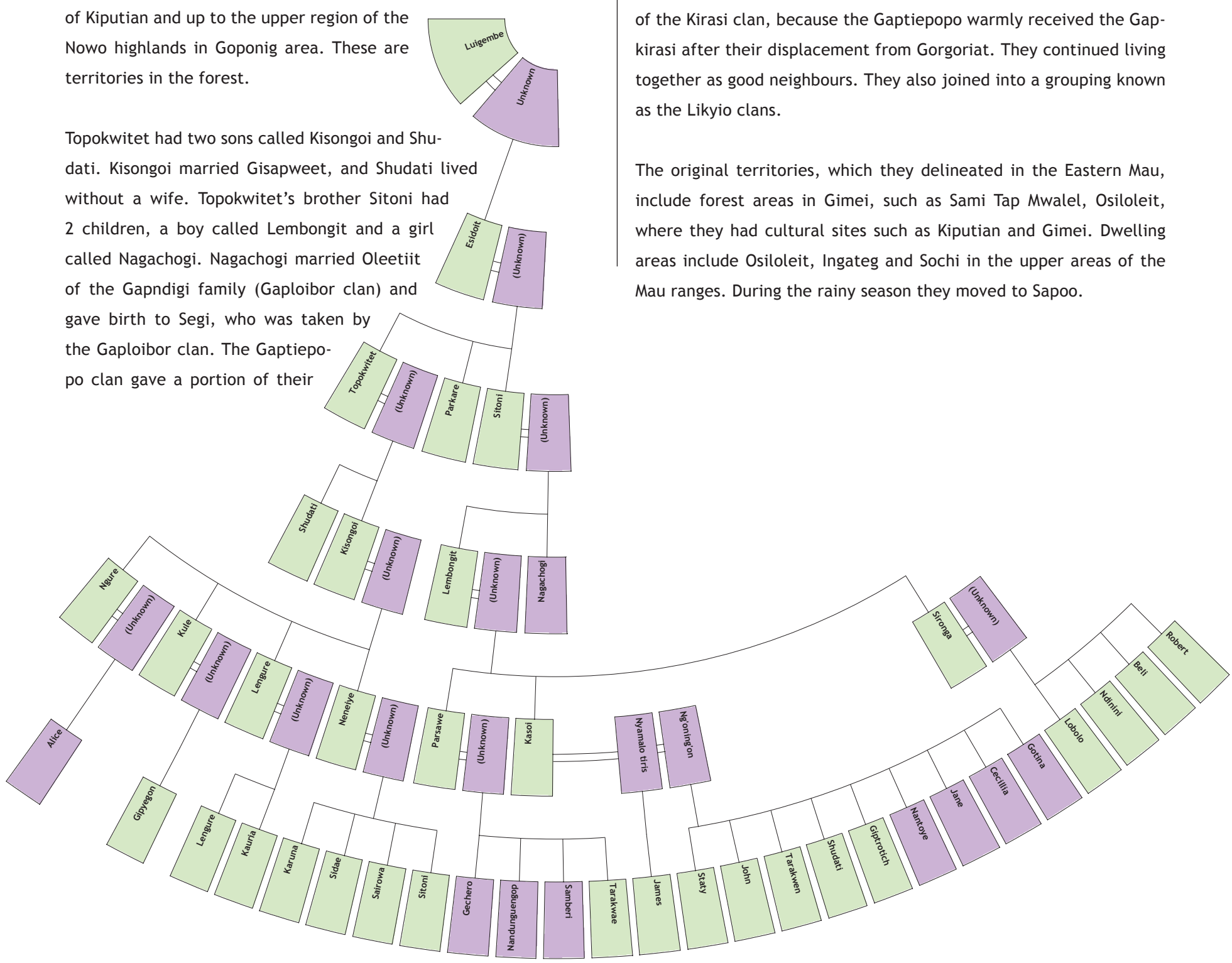
Gaptiepopo is a Maasai term meaning 'going back'. Luigembe (Nembongit), the Gaptiepopo ancestor, was originally from Enoosupukia. He came to the Eastern Mau and went back to see his relatives in Enoosupukia. After staying for some time, he came back to the Eastern Mau. The relatives said "he has gone back", hence the name Gaptiepopo. Luigembe begot a son called Esidoit, born to a woman called Nejaruimi Sidai. Esidoit had 3 sons: Topokwitet, Sitoni and Parkare. These 3 sons established family lineages that make up the Gaptiepopo clan, namely Gaptopokwiteet, Gap,pargare and Gapsiton. The Gaptiepopo clan territory is made up of 3 portions of forests that extend from the lower zone of Gimei, Osiloleit and Ginyilng'ape to the middle region of Kiputian and up to the upper region of the Nowo highlands in Goponig area. These are territories in the forest.

Topokwitet had two sons called Kisongoi and Shudati. Kisongoi married Gisapweet, and Shudati lived without a wife. Topokwitet's brother Sitoni had 2 children, a boy called Lembongit and a girl called Nagachogi. Nagachogi married Oleetiit of the Gapndigi family (Gaploibor clan) and gave birth to Segi, who was taken by the Gaploibor clan. The Gaptiepopo clan gave a portion of their territories called Kipkwombei, located at Goitamur, as a gift to Nagachogi. When Oleetiit died Nagachogi came back home to stay with her parents in Ng'inng'in because she was unable to sustain herself. Later on, she moved elsewhere after several years due to famine and remarried Simore of the Gaplepul clan, giving birth to a son called Chochonge.

Lembongit was the only son of Sitoni who married Tiepose Sokwoni of the Gaptirigoi clan. Parkare had one son and Lembongit had 3 sons: Parsawei, Kasoi and Sironga. The Gaptiepopo clan formed a union with the Gaptirigoi clan after the intermarriage of Tieposei Sokwoni and Sitoni. The wife of Sitoni and the wife of *Atinoeg* of the Gapshoi clan were sisters. The children of the Gap*shoi* and Gaptiepopo clans therefore have a special relationship known as '*Lianashe*' (great love).

During migrations, in search of food, the Gaptiepopo clan relied on honey. They were living in the Sapoo region at the time that a nectar tree known as Oloileit was blooming. Some parts of the forest territories that belong to the Gaptiepopo clan are similar in name to those of the Kirasi clan, because the Gaptiepopo warmly received the Gapkirasi after their displacement from Gorgoriat. They continued living together as good neighbours. They also joined into a grouping known as the Likyio clans.

The original territories, which they delineated in the Eastern Mau, include forest areas in Gimei, such as Sami Tap Mwalel, Osiloleit, where they had cultural sites such as Kiputian and Gimei. Dwelling areas include Osiloleit, Ingateg and Sochi in the upper areas of the Mau ranges. During the rainy season they moved to Sapoo.



Gaptiepopo Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gaptiepopo
- Clearings
- *Protected forest area*
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gaptiepopo Clan

Kasoye Tarakwai _____

John L. Sironga _____

Simon K. Kasoi _____

Sironga D. Lobolo _____

Esther L. Sironga _____

Esther N. Kisongoi _____

Simon N. Sironga _____

Samwel M. Marara _____

James Karuna _____

Joseph K. Kidai _____

Sources

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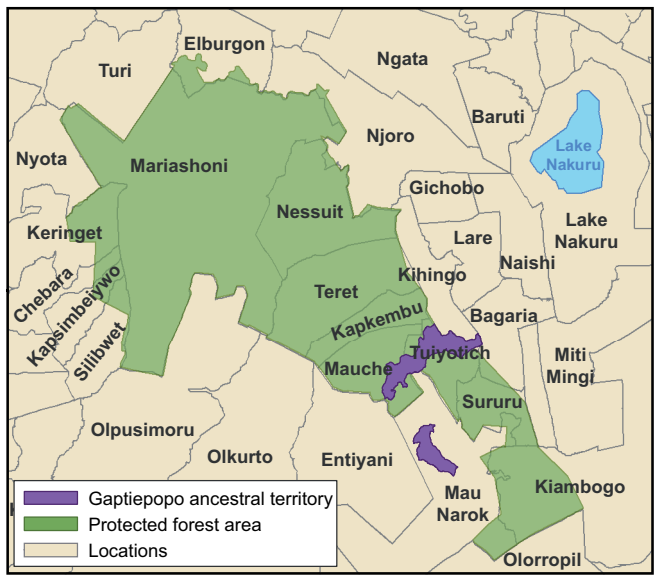
Pataat
Olosiroit
Nogwo
Kiputian
Kirug
Simbeywet
Ngting'in
Gimei
Kinyilgabe
Serion
Tororto
Tienyogosoig
Ingateg
Sochi
Osiloleit

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GAPTIEPOPO Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:75'000

0 1 2 3 4 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

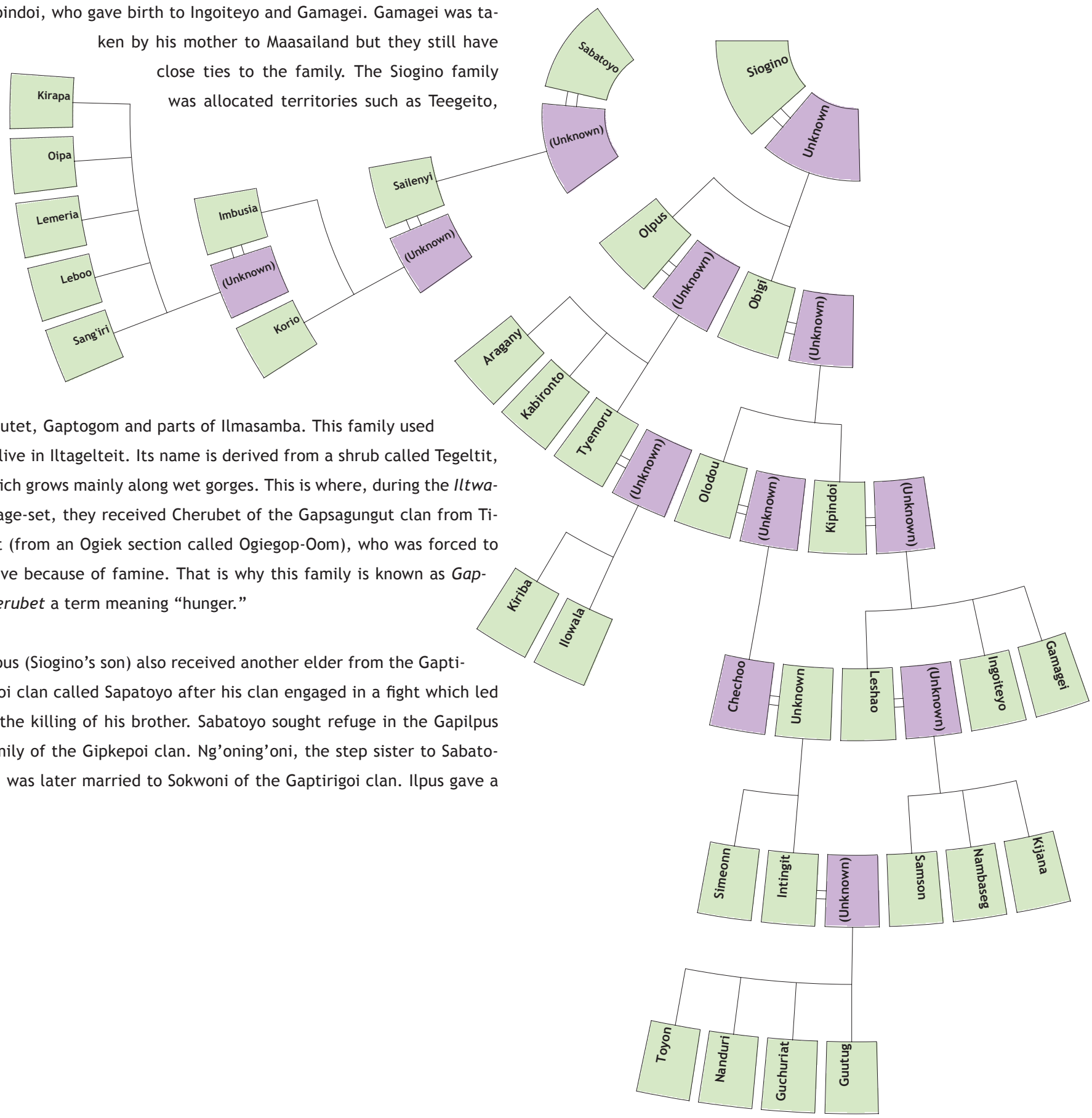
GIPKEPOI CLAN

The ancestor of the Gipkepoi clan was Molonti, who used to play with baboons (*Gepoiy*), the reason why this clan was named Gipkepoi. Molonti had only one son, Mareya, who had 2 wives. His first wife gave birth to Zembui Leleshwa, Pushengei and Joru, who formed the Zembui family. Mareya welcomed Komeiyan from the Gipsirchegoen clan of the Gipchorngwonig sub-tribe, who moved to the Gipkepoi because of famine. Komeiyan was given beehives in a territory called Leteipa, located at Teret forest (Tiritap-susueg), and became a member of the Zembui family. He was given the Teesieg-lelach territory. Mareya received a man called Siogino from the Gaplelach Ogiek section. He had a son called Obigi, who had 2 wives. Pesii, the first wife, gave birth to Olodoo, who later bore a girl known as Naishorwa (Cheechoo). Naishorwa married Mering'o of the Gapndigi family (Gaploibor clan).

Olodoo had a dispute with Mering'o, his son in-law, who refused to pay dowry in the 1940s. He said that his daughter could not continue living with Mering'o and told his brother Tipilit of the Gaptiepoin clan (they were of the same mother but of different fathers) to look after his daughter and her children. Obigi's second wife, Tyepkil,i bore Gipindoi, who gave birth to Ingoiteyo and Gamagei. Gamagei was taken by his mother to Maasailand but they still have close ties to the family. The Siogino family was allocated territories such as Teegeito, Liputet, Gaptogom and parts of Ilmasamba. This family used to live in Iltagelteit. Its name is derived from a shrub called Tegeltit, which grows mainly along wet gorges. This is where, during the *Iltwati* age-set, they received Cherubet of the Gapsagungut clan from Tinet (from an Ogiek section called Ogiegop-Oom), who was forced to leave because of famine. That is why this family is known as *Gapcherubet* a term meaning "hunger."

Olpus (Siogino's son) also received another elder from the Gaptirigoi clan called Sapatoyo after his clan engaged in a fight which led to the killing of his brother. Sabatoyo sought refuge in the Gapilpus family of the Gipkepoi clan. Ng'oning'oni, the step sister to Sabatoyo, was later married to Sokwoni of the Gaptirigoi clan. Ilpus gave a territorial gift called Goret goi, which was owned by Gaptirigoi clan. Sabatoyo from the Gaptirigoi clan had 2 sons, Sailenyi and Ilpus, who both formed a family called Gapilpus. They were allocated territories such as Samugig and Goretop-Toponisieg, while the Gapcherubet family was allocated the Legemig and Gaptogom areas. The Gapobigi shared with Olpus and Sailenyi, who had their territories in arid Sooywo areas, but the Gapobigi family used the Gaploibor and Gatiepoin territories since their daughter, Naishorwa, bore other children in Gaploibor and one in the Gaptiepoin clan.

Minyororo of the Gapcherubet family is believed to have lived in the 1860s. He begot Lengusat, Musere and Ndioli. Lengusat begot sons: Sangare, Rubare (John), Ngisa, Nalungutei, and daughters: Nangida, Naisute and Masangala. Sangare begot Punyuti, Hassan, Muchai, Nene, and Tibirian, among others. Rubare begot Guguya Ninilay, Popoy, and Rerego, among others. Ngisa begot Gabete, Indara, Kilelo and others. Nalungute begot Samuel Nalingute, Harrison and others. The Gipkepoi clan families lived throughout their territories, e.g. Choroi, Samita, Koita and Lelechwet.



Gipkepoi Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gipkepoi
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gipkepoi Clan

Hassan Sangare	HASSAN
Harrison N. Cherubet	Harrison
Johnson M. Rana	JRana
Samuel C. Langat	Samuel
Joseph M. Sabatoyo	Joseph
Taprandich N. Ngisa	
Kiriba Kaburu	KIRIA
Anna M. Kaoni	
Peter S. Leleshwa	
Jonathan K. Muchai	

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Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

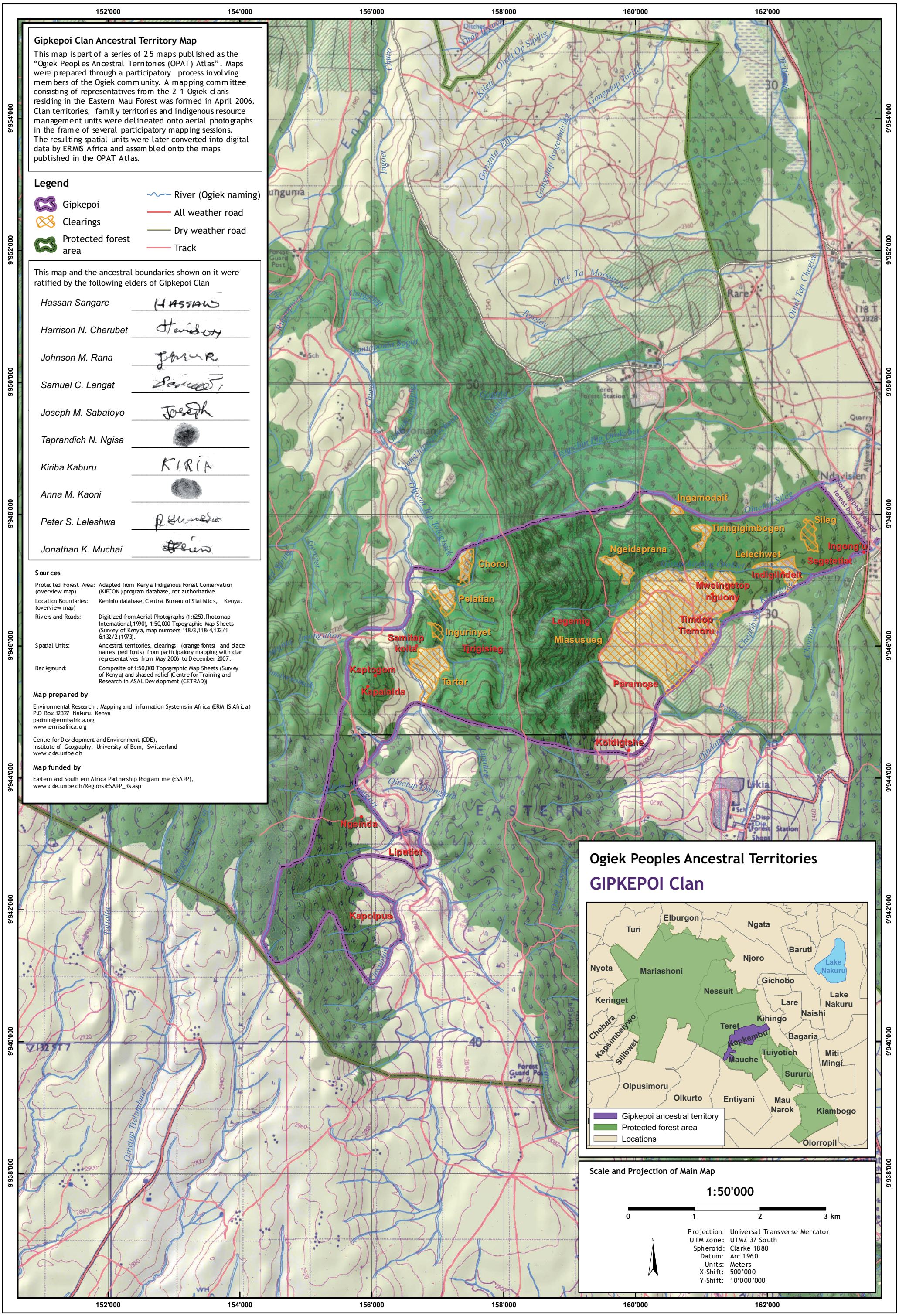
Map prepared by

Environmental Research, Mapping and Information Systems in Africa (ERMIS Africa)
P.O Box 12327 Nakuru, Kenya
padmin@ermisafrica.org
www.ermisafrica.org

Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
Institute of Geography, University of Bern, Switzerland
www.cde.unibe.ch

Map funded by

Eastern and Southern Africa Partnership Programme (ESAPP),
www.cde.unibe.ch/Regions/ESAPP_Rs.asp



GIMENGICH CLAN – NEING'OLA FAMILY

The Gimengich clan consists of 3 families: Gapneing'ola, Gapkirasi and Gapsahalai. Neing'ola, the brother of Sahalai, gave rise to the Gapneing'ola family. He had 5 sons; Rogoi, Rogoipei, Gisegei, Intirgama and Nengusei. Gisegei, Intirgama and Nengusei went to Laikipia during the Ilnyangusi age-set after a dispute with the Gipsiron clan. Nengusei had 2 wives. The first wife gave birth to Tutuu and the second gave birth to Intirgama. Rogoi begot Bargiris, Kariangei and Imboigoit (Kisato). Bargiris bore Elijah (Ilgitoiphit), and Kariangei bore a girl called Nangwetiaji. Imboigoit bore Ingeneruoit (1912) and Sanguya (1920). Both lived in Teret (Tiritap Susueg) with their children until 1988 when Ingeneruoit moved to Signat and Lemberian (Sanguya) moved to Sururu. Rogoipei begot Ng'entui and Sororo. Ng'entui's son Teet begot Tiepopoin and Teiyaa and Sororo bore Meiseiye. Rogoi adopted Sipildi, his sister's son, who was born to the Ildamat, a section of the Laikipiak Maasai, as a member of the Gimengech clan. Sipildi begot Oitosi. Oitosi had a son called Ngerembe who begot Moitonig and Gugutio. Gugutio begot Ringaso, Leintoi and Ramwani in Tiritap Susueg. Leintoi bore Kuroto and Sasine, while Ringaso bore Kinyinge in 1918, Mailo (Lependo), Meiseiye (Leisi), Lerionga and Kirutari in Tiritap Susueg (Teret). The Sipildi offspring moved to the Tolongisieg, Muguso, and Logomo areas during dry seasons and to Tiritap Susueg during rainy season.

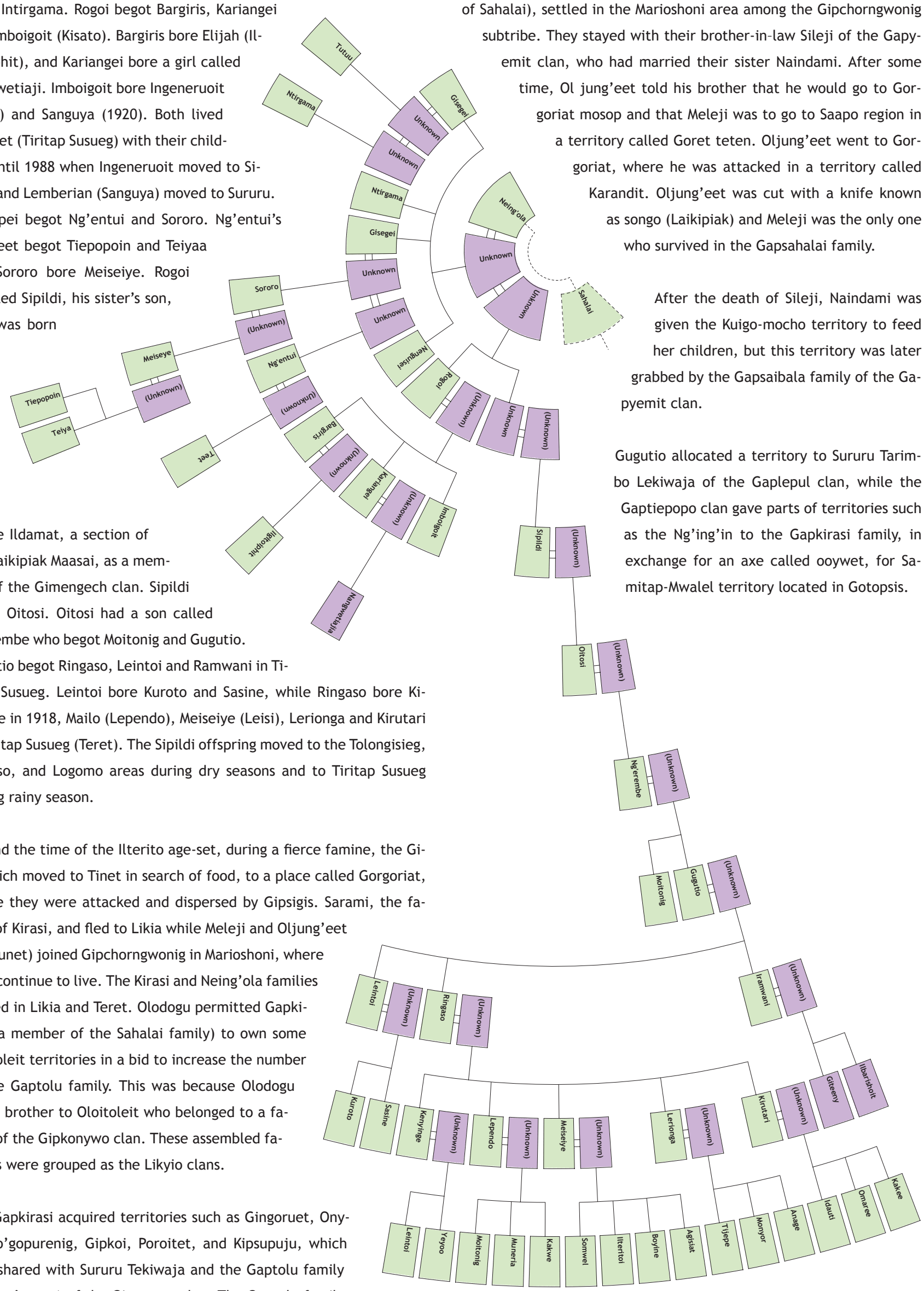
Around the time of the Ilterito age-set, during a fierce famine, the Gimengich moved to Tinet in search of food, to a place called Gorgoriat, where they were attacked and dispersed by Gipsigis. Sarami, the father of Kirasi, and fled to Likia while Meleji and Oljung'eet (Olchunet) joined Gipchorngwonig in Marioshoni, where they continue to live. The Kirasi and Neing'ola families settled in Likia and Teret. Olodogu permitted Gapkirasi (a member of the Sahalai family) to own some Oloitoleit territories in a bid to increase the number of the Gaptolu family. This was because Olodogu was a brother to Oloitoleit who belonged to a family of the Gipkonywo clan. These assembled families were grouped as the Likyio clans.

The Gapkirasi acquired territories such as Gingoruet, Onyin –po'gopurenig, Gipkoi, Poroitet, and Kipsupuju, which they shared with Sururu Tekiwaja and the Gaptolu family (Oldogu's sons) of the Gipwonyo clan. The Gaptolu family therefore inherited most of the territories which formerly belonged to Oloitoleit of the Gipkwonyo clan.

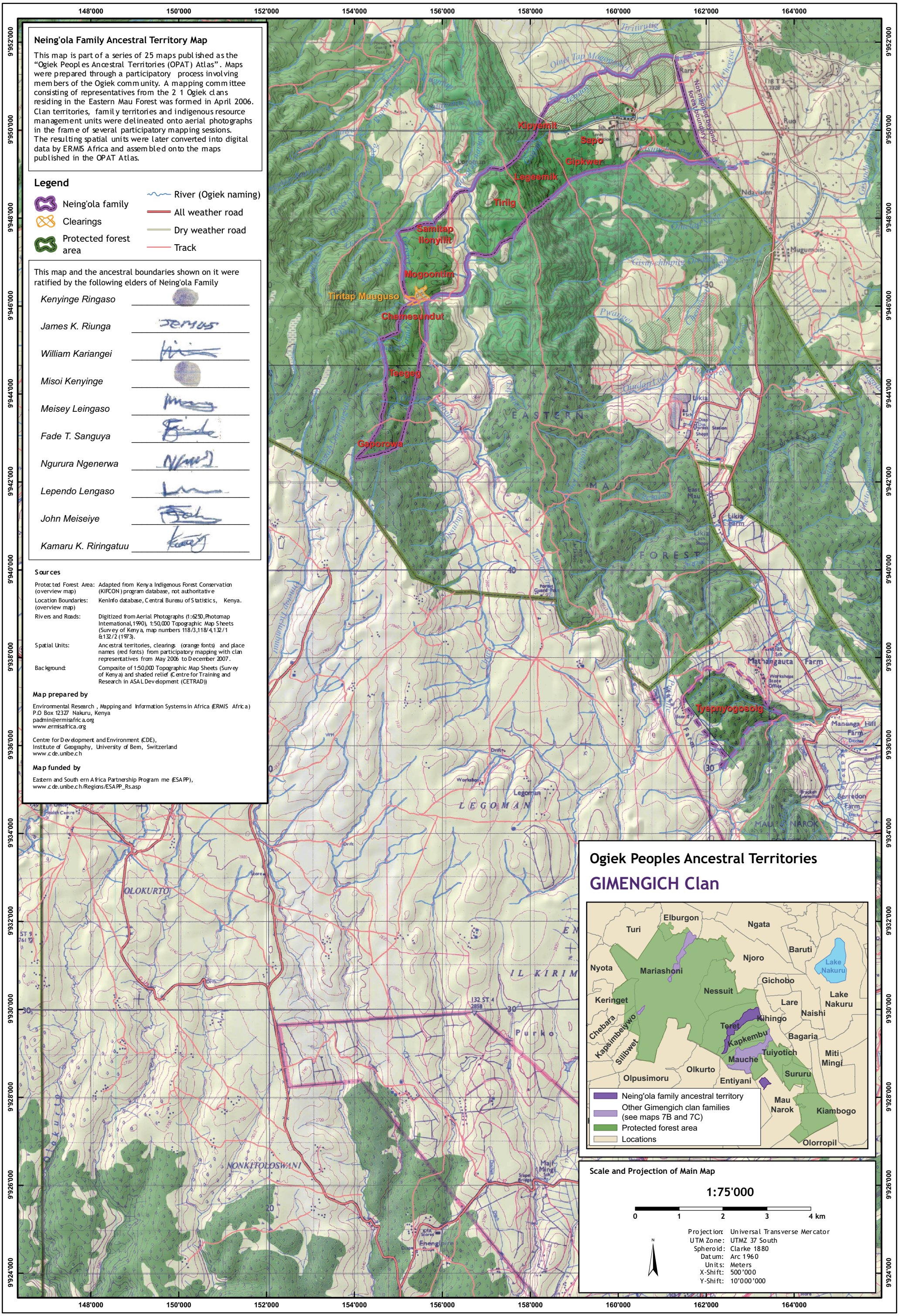
When the Gimengich clan was attacked by the Kipsigis, the Gapneingola and Gapkirasi families joined the Riingiig grouping of the Tiepkwerereg sub-tribe. But Meleji and Oljung'eet, the 2 sons of Kimulwo (son of Sahalai), settled in the Marioshoni area among the Gipchorngwonig subtribe. They stayed with their brother-in-law Sileji of the Gapyemit clan, who had married their sister Naindami. After some time, Ol jung'eet told his brother that he would go to Gorgoriat mosop and that Meleji was to go to Saapo region in a territory called Goret teten. Oljung'eet went to Gorgoriat, where he was attacked in a territory called Karandit. Oljung'eet was cut with a knife known as songo (Laikipiak) and Meleji was the only one who survived in the Gapsahalai family.

After the death of Sileji, Naindami was given the Kuigo-mocho territory to feed her children, but this territory was later grabbed by the Gapsaibala family of the Gapyemit clan.

Gugutio allocated a territory to Sururu Tarimbo Lekiwaja of the Gaplepul clan, while the Gaptiepopo clan gave parts of territories such as the Ng'ing'in to the Gapkirasi family, in exchange for an axe called ooywet, for Samitap-Mwalel territory located in Gotopsis.



- GIMENGICH Clan - NEING'OLA Family -



Neing'ola Family Ancestral Territory Map

This map is part of a series of 25 maps published as the "Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories (OPAT) Atlas". Maps were prepared through a participatory process involving members of the Ogiek community. A mapping committee consisting of representatives from the 21 Ogiek clans residing in the Eastern Mau Forest was formed in April 2006. Clan territories, family territories and indigenous resource management units were delineated onto aerial photographs in the frame of several participatory mapping sessions. The resulting spatial units were later converted into digital data by ERMIS Africa and assembled onto the maps published in the OPAT Atlas.

Legend

- Neing'ola family
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Neing'ola Family

Kenyinge Ringaso _____

James K. Riunga _____

William Kariangei _____

Misoi Kenyinge _____

Meisey Leingaso _____

Fade T. Sanguya _____

Ngurura Ngenerwa _____

Lependo Lengaso _____

John Meiseiye _____

Kamaru K. Riringatuu _____

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

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Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GIMENGICH Clan

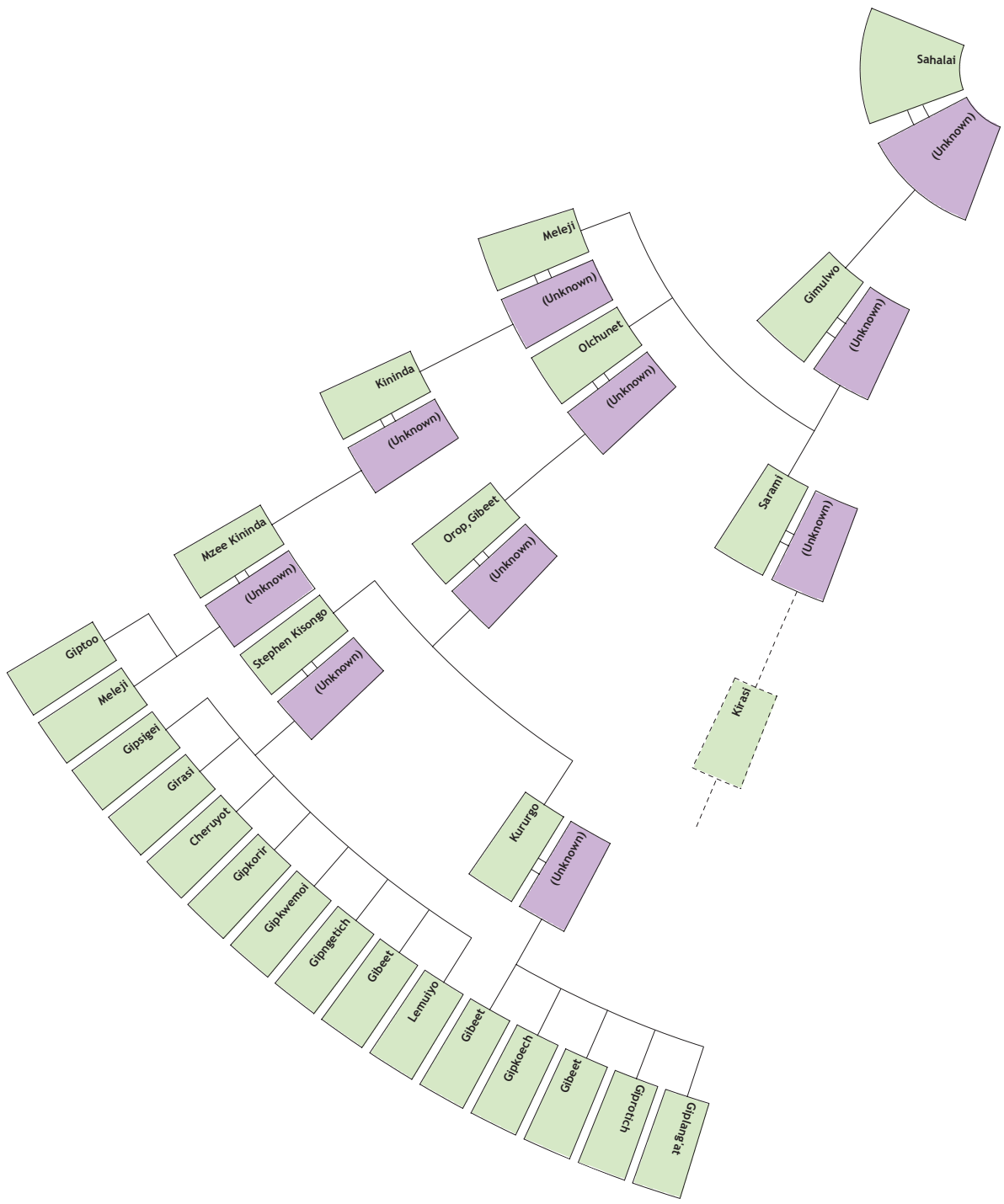
Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:75'000

0 1 2 3 4 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

GIMENGICH CLAN – GAPKIRASI FAMILY



- GIMENGICH Clan - GAPKIRASI Family -

Gapkirasi Family Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gapkirasi family
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gapkirasi Family

- Ngoninwo Nandemwa
- Dicklerk Ndiyoine
- Joseph T. Konini
- Samson N. Nandemwa
- Nanguto Ndonyo
- Joseph Ndiyoine
- James Buruburu
- Christina C. Nandemwa
- Zipporah Nandemwa
- Joseph Nanguta

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
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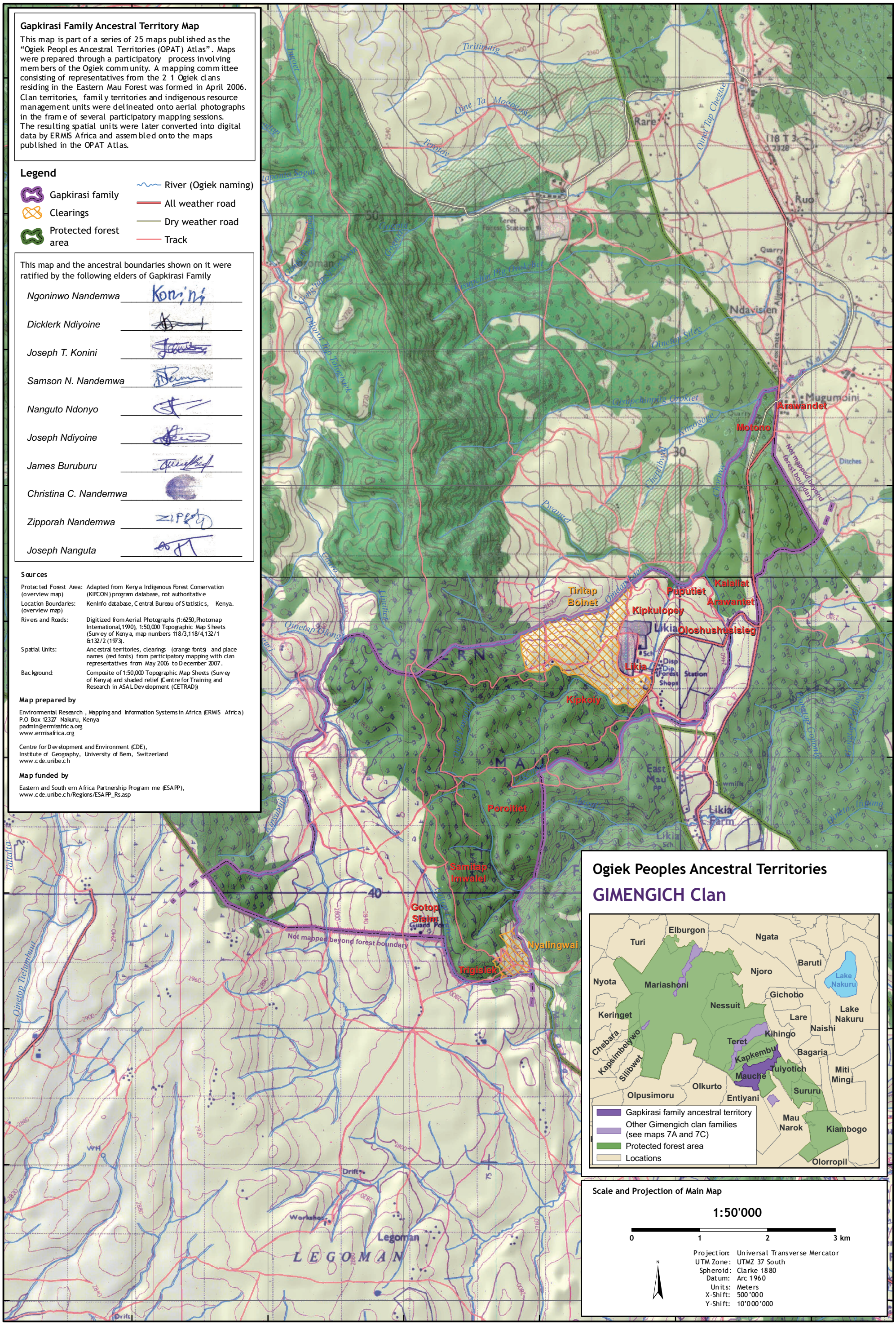
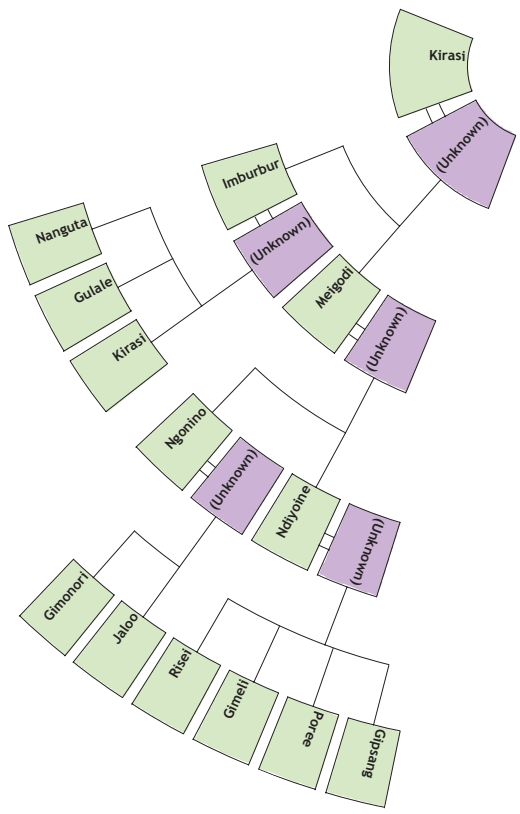


GIMENGICH CLAN – GAPSAHALAI FAMILY



- GIMENGICH Clan - GAPSAHALAI Family -

Gapsahalai Family Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gapsahalai family
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gapsahalai Family

James K. Kisongo	
Samuel K. Kisongo	
Stephen Kisongo	
Joseph M. Kininda	
Stephen Kininda	
Sarah Taputany	
Tapkili Kiptoo	
Joseph K. Kisongo	
Reuben Kirasi	
Robert S. Kisongo	

Sources

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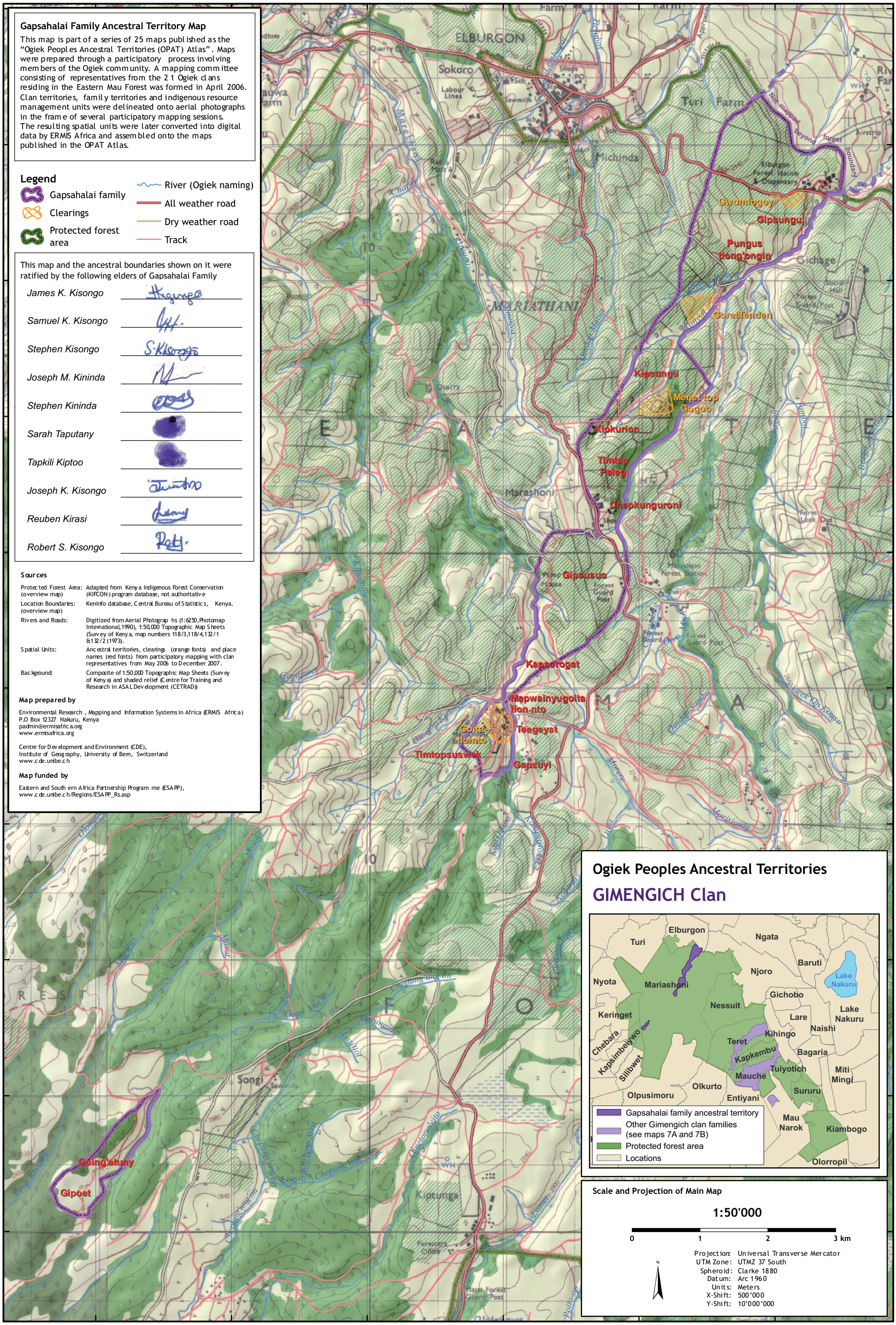


GIPSUSUO CLAN

The Gipsusuo clan is named after lichens, since their ancestor Ilobiroit used to stuff his honey bag with lichens more than members of any other clan to prevent the honey gel from spilling out. This earned them the name *Gipsusuo*.

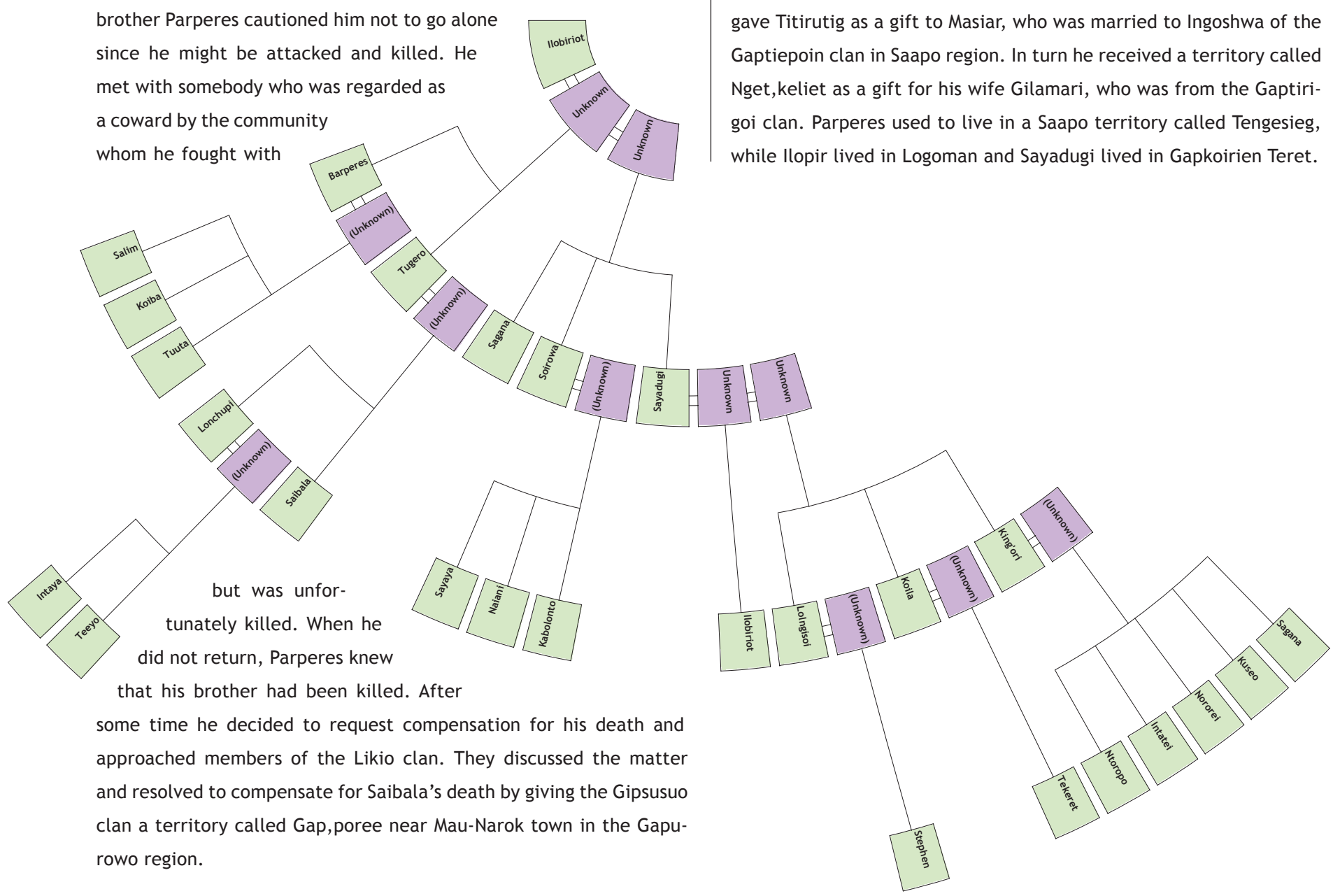
Ilobiroit was the brother of Tugero. He had a wife called Gilamari, from the Gaptirigoi clan. She gave birth to 2 daughters called Maito and Sumuyan. When her husband died, she fled to Gapseina, where she gave birth to Sayalel and Patiat. When she was about to die she made a will stating that her daughter's dowry, the Ologusori territory in Topoti area (Emburu), should be entrusted to the Gipsusuo and not to the Gapseina clan.

Tugero had one wife who gave birth to Saibala (of the Iltwati age-set) and Arus Enkardaiti (of the *Iltiyegi* age-set). Saibala was attacked by an elephant while hunting with Likio clan members. The elephant threw him against an *Olea* Capensis tree in the forest. Later Arus Enkardaiti decided to avenge his brother's death. He went to the Sooywo region at a place called Ingoponisieg, where he could locate the whereabouts of those who had gone hunting with his brother. His brother Parperes cautioned him not to go alone since he might be attacked and killed. He met with somebody who was regarded as a coward by the community whom he fought with but was unfortunately killed. When he did not return, Parperes knew that his brother had been killed. After some time he decided to request compensation for his death and approached members of the Likio clan. They discussed the matter and resolved to compensate for Saibala's death by giving the Gipsusuo clan a territory called Gap,poree near Mau-Narok town in the Gapurowo region.

The second wife of Illobiroit gave birth to Sagana, Sairowa and Sayadugi. In pursuit of nectar, Sayadugi went to Eburu joining a group of Ogieks called Ilgiyerish (Ogieks enslaved by the Maasai to perform cooking tasks). The Ilgiyerish were given territories by the Maasai in return for cooking meat for the Maasai. He had sons who continued living in Emburu until one day they decided to go back to the Eastern Mau, after hearing rumors that other clan members were harvesting their beehives. Upon arriving home they met women of whom they asked where everyone else was. They were told that Risa's father and Soilei had gone to harvest tree barks to dress their beehives. They went to the forest to ambush them. They killed Risa's father, who was in front and then Soilei, who was behind. Then they returned to the village and asked the women to show them where their husbands kept their quivers and bows. The women directed them and they took the quiver, bows and arrows. They told the women that their husbands had died and that they should go their way. The women fled to Maasai land along with Risa.

The Gipsusuo clan received a territory known as Teessieg leelach from Komeyan, a Gipkepoi clan elder, as a gift to Sairowa's wife. The latter had children in the Gipsusuo clan, but fled to Maasai land after the death of her husband. She went with her son Naini and her daughter Sagaya. Her children, those who were left in Ogiekland and those who were born in Maasailand, are related and occasionally visit each other.

Lonjupi of the Gipsusuo clan gave out a territory called Ointa-sagat to his daughter Resiato, who married into the Gapkaigi clan. He also gave Titirutig as a gift to Masiar, who was married to Ingoshwa of the Gaptiepoin clan in Saapo region. In turn he received a territory called Nget,keliet as a gift for his wife Gilamari, who was from the Gaptirigoi clan. Parperes used to live in a Saapo territory called Tengesieg, while Ilopir lived in Logoman and Sayadugi lived in Gapkoirien Teret.



Gipsusuo Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gipsusuo
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gipsusuo Clan

- *John W. Sayaya*
- *Kumare Salim B.*
- *Miriam Sayaya*
- *Tegeret Koka*
- *Lembere Rotigen*
- *James Kamunge*
- *Sinyok Leseo*
- *David P. Sayaya*
- *Stephen Kamunge*
- *Lororei Ole Barberes*

Sources

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Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

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Map funded by

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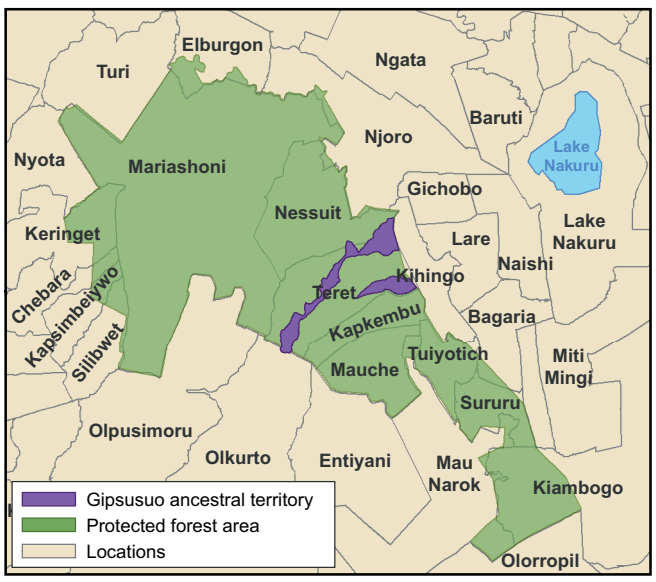
Egerton
Ngondi Farm
Beestons
Mwigito
Montello Farm
Gichobo
Lolchorai
Runguma
Rare
Teret Forest Station
Gongntap Chepchagai
Gongntap Torinis
Tiritap Getuonig
Moiparag
Olmotumboselit
Gorigap Maat
Giplopotwo
Titirutig
Legemig
Ointap Gungurig
Intasagait
Logomo
Ruprupweg
Lesana
Ewataplalagta
Intigilteit
Samitap Ilonyilit
Samitap Iregoit
Ointap Urlin
Rogrogeet
Kepeenetop teegeg
Walisieg
Ingutngutiot ne tepes
Ng'etkeeliet
Gooreto Epuronig

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GIPSUSUO Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:50'000

0 1 2 3 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

GAPTIRIGOI CLAN

The Gaptirigoi clan initially consisted of 4 families, but in the 1960s the Lebiror family formed its own clan, the Gapkaigi. The 3 remaining families were Gapsosoknwoni, Gap'pararang' and Gapuunguurut. The forefather of the Gaptirigoi was called Nanyalisho and lived during the Il-Nyangusi age-set. He had a brother named Porron, who was adopted by a Maasai tribe. Nanyalisho had five sons named Sokwoni, Pararang, Uunguruut, Inganon and Sabatoyo, as well as a daughter called Tiepopor. Only Sokwoni, Pararang, and Uunguruut established family lineages, which nowadays make up the Gaptirigoi clan. The Gapsokwoni and Gap'pararang families dwell in the Eastern Mau.

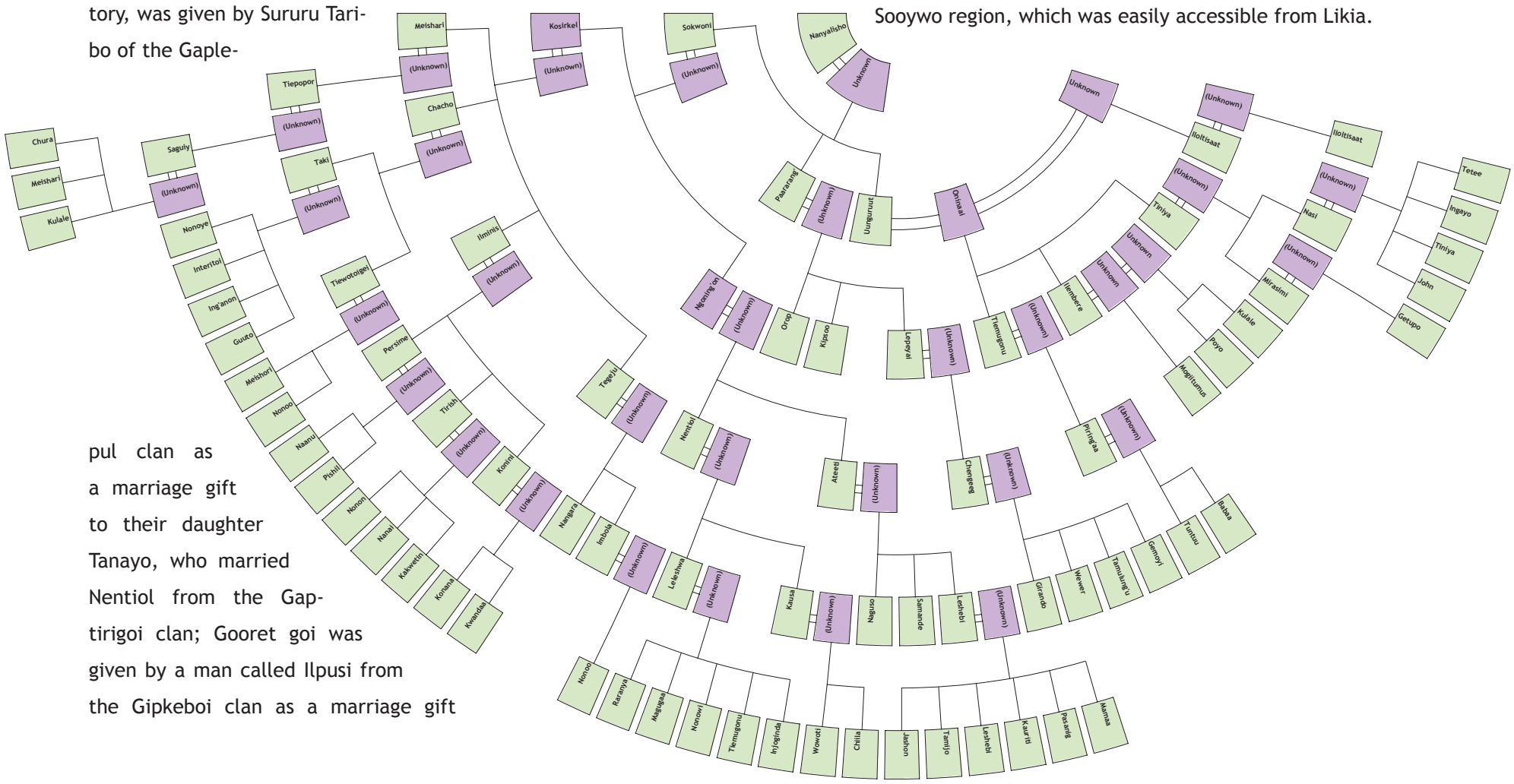
One day Tiepopor disturbed bees in the family's beehives. Her brother Inganon started beating her. While rescuing her, Sokwoni killed Inganon. This fratricide (Gain-toreigei) is the origin of the clan's name. Sabatoyo fled and joined the Gipkeboi clan. Sokwoni decided to leave as well. He went to his uncles, then to Menengai crater, where he lived in a cave, then to Lake Nakuru area, then to Likia. Finally, he went to Logoman and continued to Olpusimoru, before going back to Luitap-goyuyuonet in the Sigaon territory of the Gipsiron clan. There his brother Inganon, whom he had killed, had married a woman called Goriskel, who had not remarried. Sokwoni requested the Gipsiron elders to allow him to leave with Goriskel. His wish was granted and they moved to the Naituruje clearing of Sigotik. Sokwoni had a son called Nendiol who married Tanayo. In the 1920s Tanayo accused a woman of the Gapuunguruut family of bewitching her children. The Gaptirigoi family was known for witchcraft. The Gapuunguruut family was displeased with Tanayo's claim and migrated to Narok to occupy a territory belonging to the Gaptirigoi clan that extends to the Olpusimoru forest. The family was highly respected by the Maasai because of witchcraft used to predict future happenings, treat diseases, improve the fertility of women, and bless the first harvest of both the Ogiek and Maasai communities.

The Gaptirigoi clan territory is made of 5 forests. Other territories are located in Olpusimoru forest in Maasai Mau. Some were given by clans who married into the Gaptirigoi clan: Samitap guutonet, a small territory, was given by Sururu Taribo of the Gaplepul clan as a marriage gift to their daughter Tanayo, who married Nentiol from the Gaptirigoi clan; Gooret goi was given by a man called Ilpusi from the Gipkeboi clan as a marriage gift for their daughter Ng'oning'oni, who married into the Gaptrigoi clan; Gapu,lichong was given to them by the Gipkwonyo clan after one of them impregnated an uncircumcised girl. The Gaptirigoi gave a territory called Ng'etkeliet located in Gapurowo as a gift to their daughter Gilamari, who married lonjupi of the Gipsusuo clan. They also gave a piece of forest located in the Gapurowo zone as compensation to the Gipsusuo clan, after a man called Sabayoki stole honey from their hives.

The original territories delineated in the Eastern Mau during the time of the Ilpeles age set included portions of the Sigotik forest. The clan families dwelled in Moiparak and Naituruje areas of the forest during the rainy season, Lesana in logomo zone during dry season, and gorigap gisoig in teegat, also known as Tegeg, due to the presence of bamboo canes, as well as in taltallta in gapurowo zone, which was only habited during drought period. They also had cultural sites such as as Siginat and Naituruje.

For the Ogiek, the father of a woman's first child becomes the father of all her other children, whether or not he is their biological father. This practice led to the adoption by the Gaptirigoi of a boy named Tiewoo, whose father, Legembe, was of the Gapyegon clan and had a concubine, who had had a child with Nanyalisho, the forefather of the Gaptirigoi. The step-brothers of Tiewoo sought permission from the Gapyegon elders to bring him into the Gaptirigoi clan.

During the Nyankusi age-set (1850s) a famous tribal war took place between the Laikipiak and Kwavi (Purko) Maasai over grazing territories. Afterthe Laikipiak Maasai heavily defeated the Kwavi Maasai, the latter sought support from the Liota and Ildamat Maasai. With combined forces they defeated the Laikipiak Maasai, killing many of them. Some of those escaping fled back to Laikipia, others joined other tribes, including the Ogiek. One of them, Soitara, went to Giplugugit (Logomo) where he met Sokwoni, who sheltered him. Later Oloitoleit, a man from the Gipkwonyo clan, requested Sokwoni to allow him to stay with Soitara in his Likia territory. They relied on honey from the Sooywo region, which was easily accessible from Likia.



Gaptirigoi Clan Ancestral Territory Map

This map is part of a series of 25 maps published as the "Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories (OPAT) Atlas". Maps were prepared through a participatory process involving members of the Ogiek community. A mapping committee consisting of representatives from the 21 Ogiek clans residing in the Eastern Mau Forest was formed in April 2006. Clan territories, family territories and indigenous resource management units were delineated onto aerial photographs in the frame of several participatory mapping sessions. The resulting spatial units were later converted into digital data by ERMIS Africa and assembled onto the maps published in the OPAT Atlas.

Legend

- Gaptirigoi
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gaptirigoi Clan

- Simon K. Konini
- Joseph R. Otech
- Lesingo Miangare
- William N. Leleshwa
- Stephen N. Taki
- Lennox Mailoji
- Johana B. Ekejo
- Charles K. Mutarakwa
- Taputany Chenge
- Joseph K. Taki

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

Map prepared by

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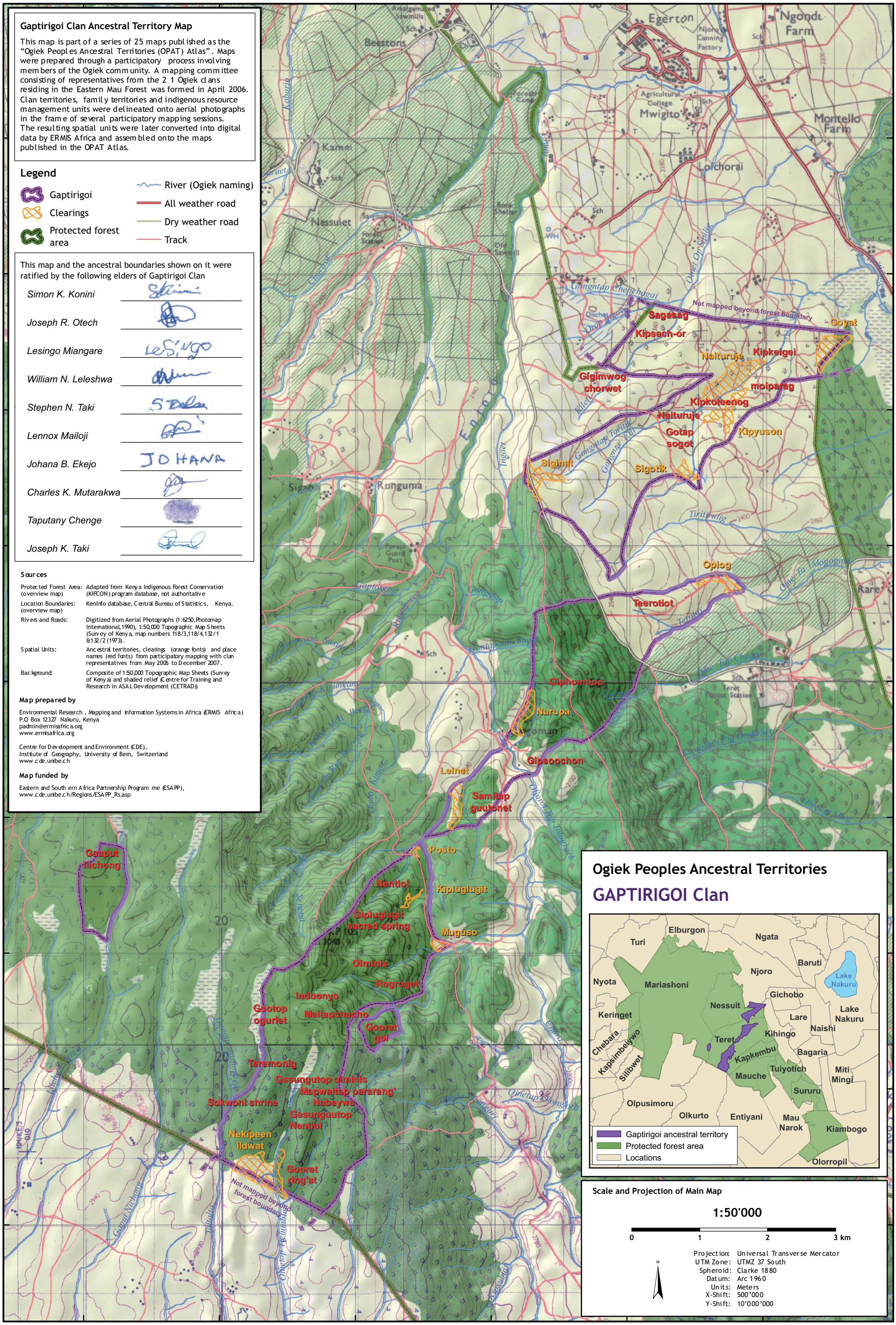
padmin@ermisafrica.org
www.ermisafrica.org

Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
Institute of Geography, University of Bern, Switzerland
www.cde.unibe.ch

Map funded by

Eastern and Southern Africa Partnership Programme (ESAPP),
www.cde.unibe.ch/Regions/ESAPP_Rs.asp

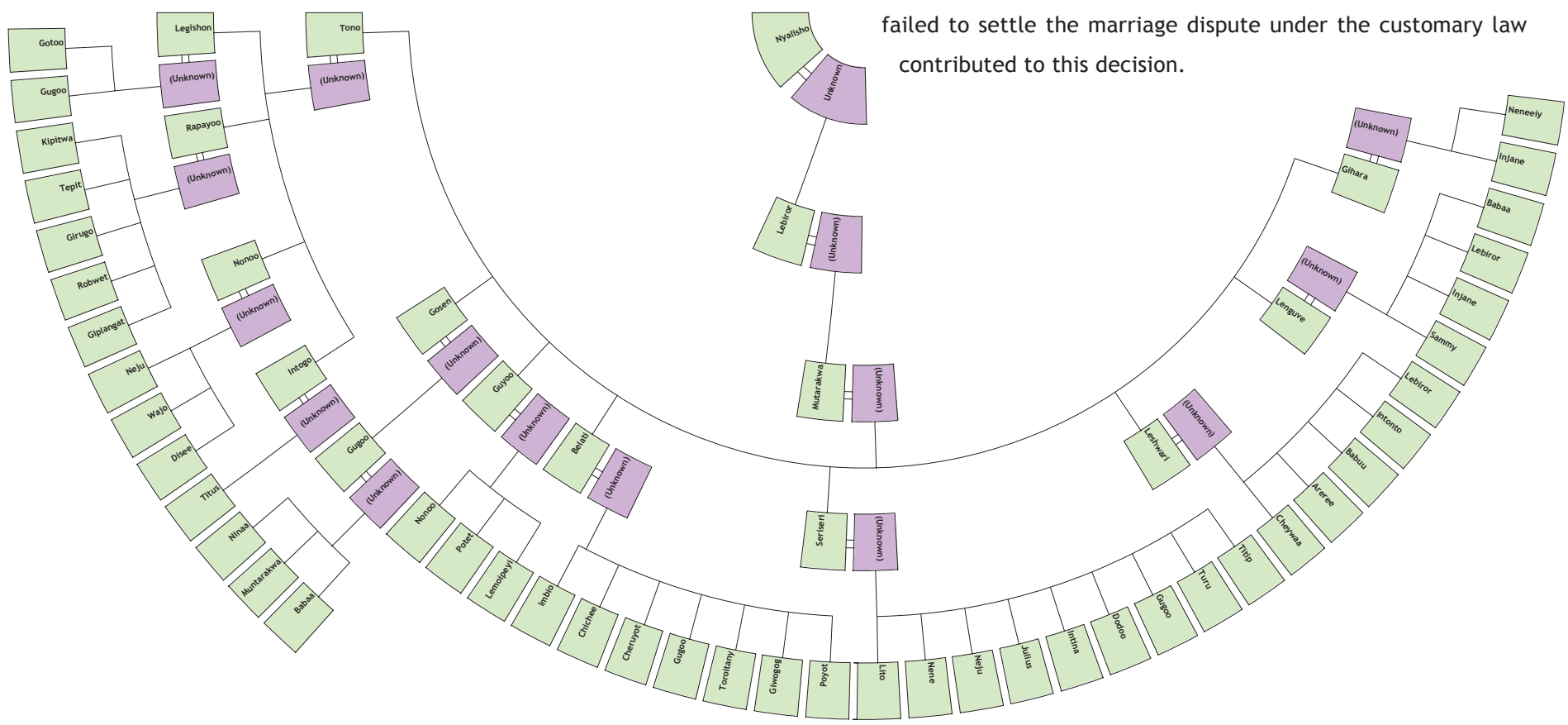


GAPKAIGI CLAN

The *Gapkaigi* clan came into being during the 1960s. Its ancestral territory consists of 4 areas across the middle part of the Eastern Mau Forest. Territories in the lower and warmer (northern) part are located around *Sigotik* (a type of lichen growing saprophytes on acacia trees, used to stick feathers on an arrow), where the clan lived during the rainy season. Territories with temperate climates in the intermediate zone (*Logom*) were used for stopovers during migration between the lower und upper zones. Territories in the upper zone, called Rogroget (water-divide), *Teegeg* (bamboo), or *Kaprowo* (high altitude dombeya trees) were used for gathering honey and hunting during the dry season. The *Sigotik* territories are currently occupied by *Kipsigis* and *Tugens*. The *Logom*, *Tegeeg* and *Gapuroro* territories are owned and managed by the forest department. Hence, the *Gapkaigi* clan was displaced and sought refuge in territory occupied by the *Gipsiron* clan in *Nessuit*.

The *Gapkaigi* and *Gaptirigoi* clans share the same forefather, *Nanyalisho*, who belonged to the *Intalala* age-set and lived in *Gigimwoog choruuet* in *Sigotik*. He had 4 sons named *Sokwonyi*, *Pararang*, *Uunguruti*, and *Lebiror* who was born of a concubine. The *Gapkaigi* family was established in the 3rd generation of the *Lebiror* family. After the death of *Nanyalisho*, *Lebiror's* mother fled to *Masilingisieg*, a territory occupied by the *Gapiyegon* clan in *Nessuit*. There she became a concubine to *Legembe* and a stepmother to his son. She gave birth to *Tiewoo*. Around the time of the *Nyankusi* age-set, the 4 sons of *Nanyalisho* went to look for her and her son. When they found her they negotiated for her return. The *Gapyegon* elders agreed but claimed an elephant tusk as compensation for the child's upbringing. She was not allowed to go with her step-son. The boy was named *Mogiiput* ("who cannot be separated"). Tiewoo (also called *Gaigi*, ornewcomer) was made a member of the *Gaptirigoi* clan through a ceremony called *Gaigoeg*. *Lebiror* married a woman called *Titir* from *Songoo*, in Narok. The couple gave birth to *Muntarakwa* of the *il-Tareto* age-set and later to *Sabayuki*. *Titir* divorced and subsequently married *Lomeut* of the *Gapseina* clan. She gave birth to *Seina*. The two half-brothers, *Muntarakwa* and *Seina*, used to visit each other. Before *Seina* died he gave a will to *Muntarakwa* which provided that his sons could establish their beehives in his territory in *Sururu*. *Sabayuki* stole honey in the *Gipsusuo* clan territory. He was caught and the *Gipsusuo* elders claimed a territory named Pusientet as compensation. The elders of *Gaptirigoi* accepted but, to avoid future expropriation of territories through compensation of thievery, they apportioned some territories to *Mutarakwa* and *Sabayuki*. Should *Sabayuki* steal honey again, his family would compensate the beehive owner with its own territory. Their territory consisted of portions of land in five regions (i) *Gotop-peleg*, *Iwaaitap-sigoriat*, *Gigimwogchoruet Oropingooyoand*, and *Kipserianmorogit* in *Sigotik* in the *Saapo* region; (ii) *Ointasaagat*, *Gepeper*, *Lesena*, *Girangiriet*, *Gepeper* and *Gipnyiiy'geei* located in *Logomo*; (iii) *Kimalong* located in the *Teegat* region; (iv) *Pussiendet* located in the *Rogroget* region; (v) *Gotopchoruet*, located in *Gaprorowo* region.

Until 1959 the Lebiror and *Tiewo* families were members of the *Gaptrigoi* clan. But the marriage of *Lebiror's* grandson, *Leshwari Muntarakwa*, to *Sokowoni's* granddaughter, *Selina Leleshwa* caused a split in the clan, as it was taboo for members of the same clan to marry. This led to the formation of the *Gapkaigi* clan. As *Lebiror* and *Sokwoni* were half-brothers and the grandchildren's marriage was therefore incestuous (*Tiepng'wanit*), the matter was brought before the elders, who failed to resolve it due to the couple's defiant attitude. The final decision was made by elders of the *Sokwoni* family, who excluded the *Lebiror* family from the *Gaptirigoi* clan. The fact that members of the *Lebiror* family were previously involved in theft of honey and failed to settle the marriage dispute under the customary law contributed to this decision.



Gapkaigi Clan Ancestral Territory Map

This map is part of a series of 25 maps published as the "Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories (OPAT) Atlas". Maps were prepared through a participatory process involving members of the Ogiek community. A mapping committee consisting of representatives from the 21 Ogiek clans residing in the Eastern Mau Forest was formed in April 2006. Clan territories, family territories and indigenous resource management units were delineated onto aerial photographs in the frame of several participatory mapping sessions. The resulting spatial units were later converted into digital data by ERMIS Africa and assembled onto the maps published in the OPAT Atlas.

Legend

- Gapkaigi
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gapkaigi Clan

Ephantus Cheruiyot

Simon Kimando

Joseph Seriseri

Sisiri Mtarakwa

Esther C. Serser

Simon C. Koita

Jane C. Robongo

Sammy L. Mutarakwa

Mbingwa Sabayuki

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
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Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

Map prepared by

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Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
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Map funded by

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Gigimuoogchoroet
Tuimasy
Gotop
Pheleg
Ilchigopoit
Oropingoyo
Eewaitapsigoriat
Wagtaoo
Kipsierian
Morogit
Siginat
Ntasagat
Narupa
Lesanaa
Kirangiriet
Kimyigei
Teteimet
Ointapkimalog
Pusiedet
Tepeesoo
Rogroyet
Gatopchoruet
Muntarakwa
Seretut
Gotopchoruet

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GAPKAIGI Clan

Turi, Elburgon, Ngata, Baruti, Njoro, Nyota, Mariashoni, Lake Nakuru, Gichobo, Nessuit, Keringet, Lake Nakuru, Lare, Naishi, Chebara, Kapsimbeiywo, Teret, Kihingo, Bagaria, Kapkembu, Silibwet, Tuiyotich, Mauche, Miti Mingi, Sururu, Olpusimoru, Olkurto, Entiyani, Mau Narok, Kiambogo, Olorropil

- Gapkaigi ancestral territory
- Protected forest area
- Locations

Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:50'000

0 1 2 3 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

GAPTIEPOIN CLAN

The Gaptiepoin's ancestor, Imburuoit, was well known in the Ogiek community for being a rainmaker. He had 9 sons who were soldiers. One time, as the Imburuoit family was celebrating an initiation ceremony, one of the 9 sons had a fight with one of his brothers and killed him. In the commotion that followed, another son was killed. After this, one of Imbruoit's sons fled to the Gapkongin, a clan of the Uasingishu Maasai, who lived in the Eburru area. Four of Imbruoit's sons died of unknown causes. The remaining 3 sons founded the 3 Gaptiepoin families known as Gapmarenaga, Gapleshait and Gapintilait.

Imburuoit's family dwelt in places such as Girangiriet and Ointa-motin peeg (a valley without water). One day, Imburuoit decided to go out on a hunting expedition to Sagasagag in the Sigotik Saapo region with 2 of his 3 remaining sons, to ambush elephants at Lake Nakuru. When the other son, who had fled to Gapkongin, arrived, he found his mother alone at home and asked her where his brothers and father had gone. The mother told him that they had gone hunting. He followed them, but on reaching Ng'erng'eruet in Logoman region he was ambushed by two Laikipiak warriors, who were feasting in the forest. They approached from behind and he heard one of them telling the other "allow me to kill him!" Upon seeing the enemy he started shooting arrows and killed one of them. The father and brothers who were nearby heard the fight and ran to save him. When they reached him, the Laikipiak Moran leader was already there. They resolved to stop the quarrel and each group went their way. Imburuoit and his sons returned home, since it was a taboo to continue hunting when such an incident had occurred on the way. Later they came back to see whether the Laikipiak Moran were still feasting in the forest, but they only found leftover meat, which they collected and began to eat. The Laikipiak Morans who had reached the Signat Sigotik area saw the smoke of Imburuoit's fireplace at Orop Mario along river Njoro next to Logoman forest. They came back slowly. Imburuoit, seeing them approaching, told his sons to let them warm themselves at the fireplace since they had been rained on. But then he ordered his sons to attack and they killed all of them.

The Marenanga family descended from one of Imburuoit's sons experienced another incident: When he was ten years old, Imburuoit's grandson Ngonino Mburuo was left behind by his mother while she went to check traps. While he was killing birds he saw a huge animal that looked like a chimpanzee. It roared and moved away as dogs chased it, destroying baboons and thickets on its way. The boy hid behind trees to avoid being spotted as he watched it disappear into the valley of the Mau. When he told the story to his mother, it was decided that they should move to another dwelling place for fear that the animal would return and attack them.

The Gaptiepoin acquired a territory called Gotomat from the Gipsusuo clan as a penalty for defiling a girl, and another territory called Gimawaweet as a penalty from the Iloibor clan, because one of their members broke the bones of a Gaptiepoin clan member. A territory called Gotop choruet ("*a group of trees*") was given to Nariguni, Illoibor's daughter by the Iloibor clan as a gift.

Gaptiepoin Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gaptiepoin
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gaptiepoin Clan

Muraya Merenga	
Boniface M. Kasoi	
John K. Mburuo	
Naorue Ngonino	
William Koita	
Bernard O. Kivoi	
Ollojo Kivoi	
Musa K. Mburuo	
Ngonino M. Lechait	
Mombi K. Mburuo	
William Subukiei	

Sources

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Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

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Map funded by

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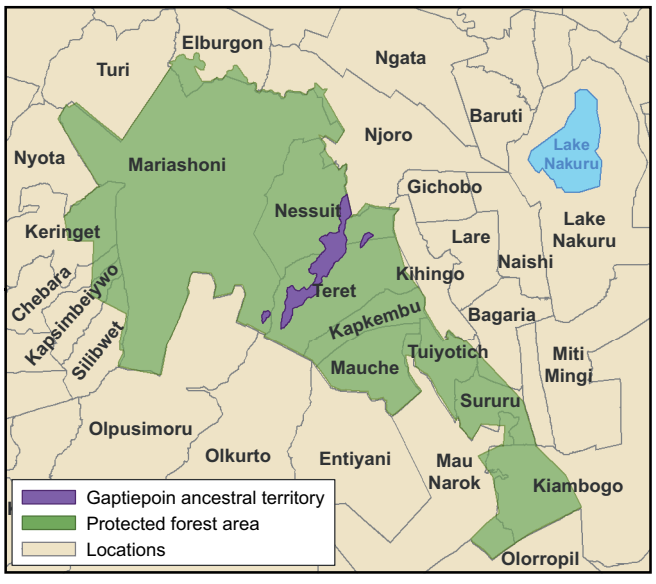
Sigeetaat
Topomyeg
Ingooet
Tiritap Saluet
Saluuet
Seerion
Giraangirieet
Tiritap Tulonog
Tulonog
Ng'emg'eruet
Oitap Tulonog
Ruprupweeg
Gipuunyany
Iwatap Laglagta
Onyinieten
Ewaaitap lalagta
Iwaitap Lalata
Samitap ruprupweeg
Iwasanitap Ruprupweg
Tiritap Ingeperat
Ruprupweg
Gesungut top Ingoswo
GorigopTuluet
Gorigop Isonet
Goretop Tinet
Goretop Siliponiot
Timto oowi
Gotomaat

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GAPTIEPOIN Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:50'000

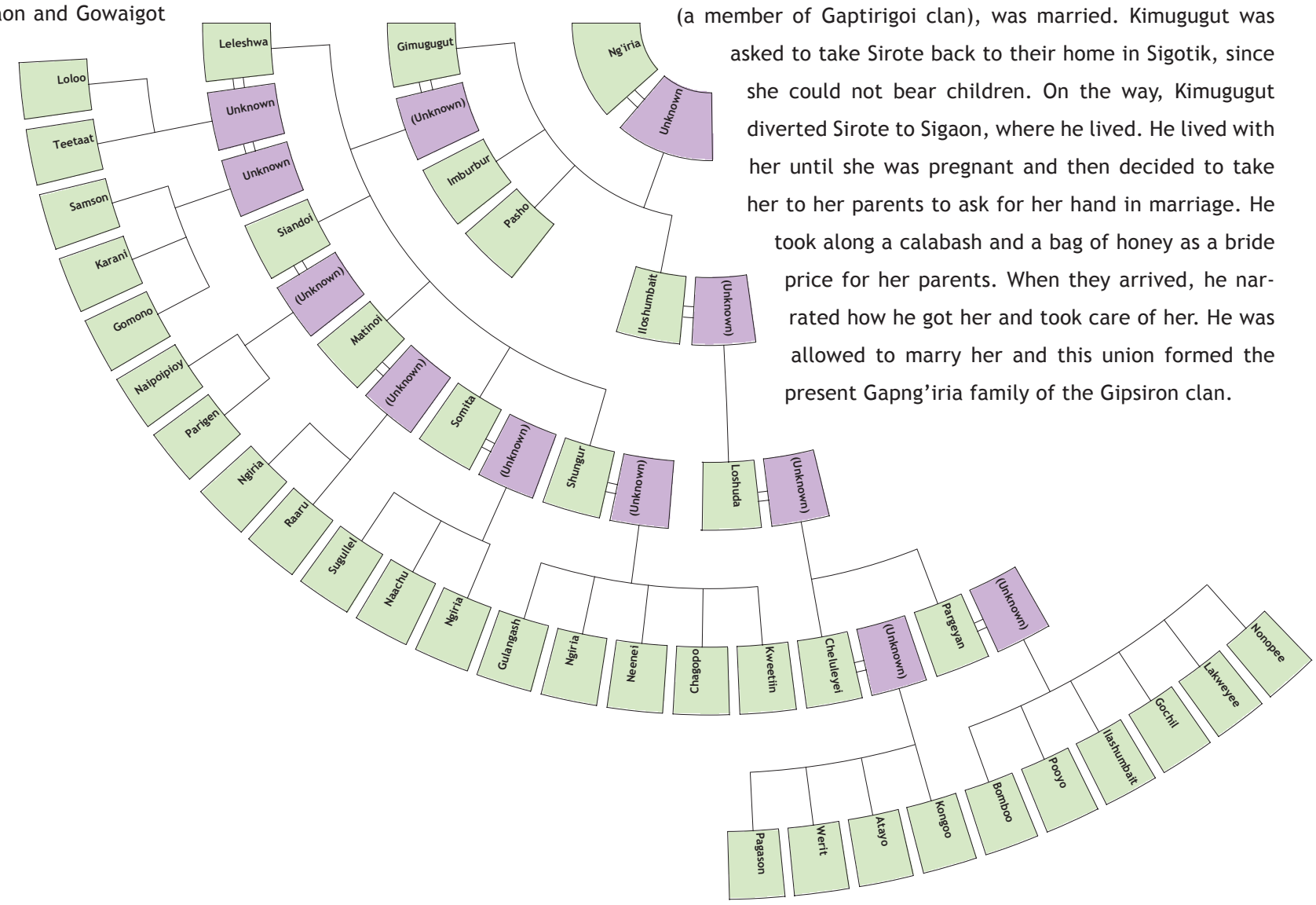
0 1 2 3 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

GIPSIRON CLAN

The Gipsiron clan arose when Sirnonoo, a member of the Giptiepongoi clan, killed a furry-eared fox. This act is called “Parsiron” and is considered a taboo in the Ogiek community. It led to the banning of Sirnonoo, who was renamed Parsiron, from the Giptiepongoi clan. The banning of Sirnonoo gave rise to the Gipsiron clan, which consists of two families: Gapterere and Gapng’iria. Sirnonoo, the founder of Gipsiron, is believed to have been born around 1800. He was the son of Ragita from the Giptiepongoi clan.

Sirnonoo begot Chung’eyo and Oldaisaba in the 1820s. This gave rise to the Gipsiron generations that exist to the present day. They lived in the Sigaon and Gowaigot areas in Nessuit, and moved during summer to Tiepoin Gaporowo, Tiepilmet, Kipsirsir, Tirpet, Morigo and Gopurenig Olpusumoru in Mosop regions. Later on, they were joined by Ng’iria and Kulangash, both members of the Isaleita Ogiek Group from Enoosupukia, in Narok. When Ng’iria and Kulangash moved to Eastern Mau and joined Chung’eyo and Oldasaba, Ng’iria married Sialala’s daughter. Sialala was an elder in the Gipkwonyo clan. Ng’iria’s wife begot Pasho, Imburbur, Kimugugut and Iloshuda. Ng’iria was then killed by a clan known as Gapgong’in or Kimugugut. Ng’iria’s son was deserted by the Gapterere family in the forest. He found his way out of the forest and met the Sialala family where Sirote, the daughter of Pararang (a member of Gaptirigoi clan), was married. Kimugugut was asked to take Sirote back to their home in Sigotik, since she could not bear children. On the way, Kimugugut diverted Sirote to Sigaon, where he lived. He lived with her until she was pregnant and then decided to take her to her parents to ask for her hand in marriage. He took along a calabash and a bag of honey as a bride price for her parents. When they arrived, he narrated how he got her and took care of her. He was allowed to marry her and this union formed the present Gapng’iria family of the Gipsiron clan.



Gipsiron Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gipsiron
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gipsiron Clan

Meisitore Ngiria	
Joseph Lenduse	
Ismael Lenduse	
Tapsabei Rael	
Somita Saita	SOMITA
Stephen Siandoi	
Elizabeth Kipkoi	
Nelson M. Ngiria	
Julius Sangogo	
Harrison P. Ngiria	
William Leleshwa	

Sources

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Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
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Map funded by

Eastern and Southern Africa Partnership Programme (ESAPP),
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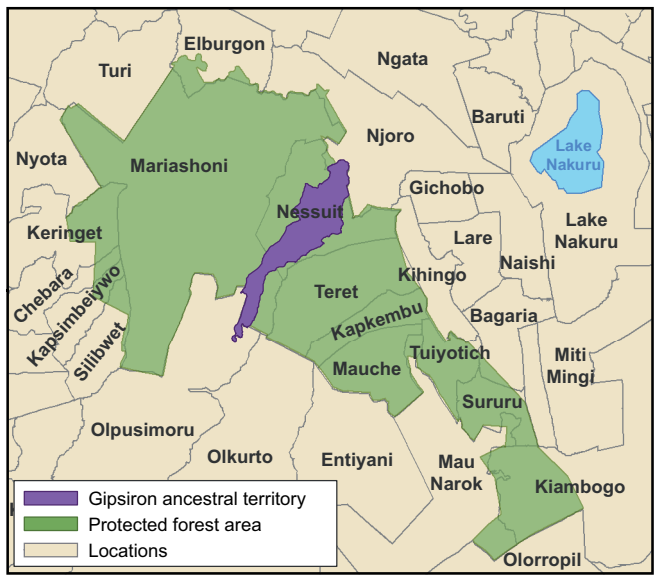
Ndoswa
Mukungugu Farm
Beestons
Kamei
Ndorobo
Ututenig
Gowaigot
Gowagot
Togoitop iloweg
Gorigop oito
Getiemat
Simeto
Tiritagoi
Menet
Gororog
Gorigap Poito
Gaapogeiy
Sigoon
Tieptimbual
Samitap ririg
Ngiria
Tiritap ilmoliloisieg
Rungumo
Gondololwet
Melkwangoi
Ngeidap gopsokwet
Luitap goyuyuonet
Goitap choget
Sachornig
Gopurngungonig
Rogrogget
Chumchumaha
Sorpup
Sorpup
Gipendoug
Tiepkongony
Goitap sorpup
Walitap tiepoin
Tiepoin
OLONGWE
CHEBUIN
PUSIMORU
FOREST

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GIPSIRON Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:50'000

0 1 2 3 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

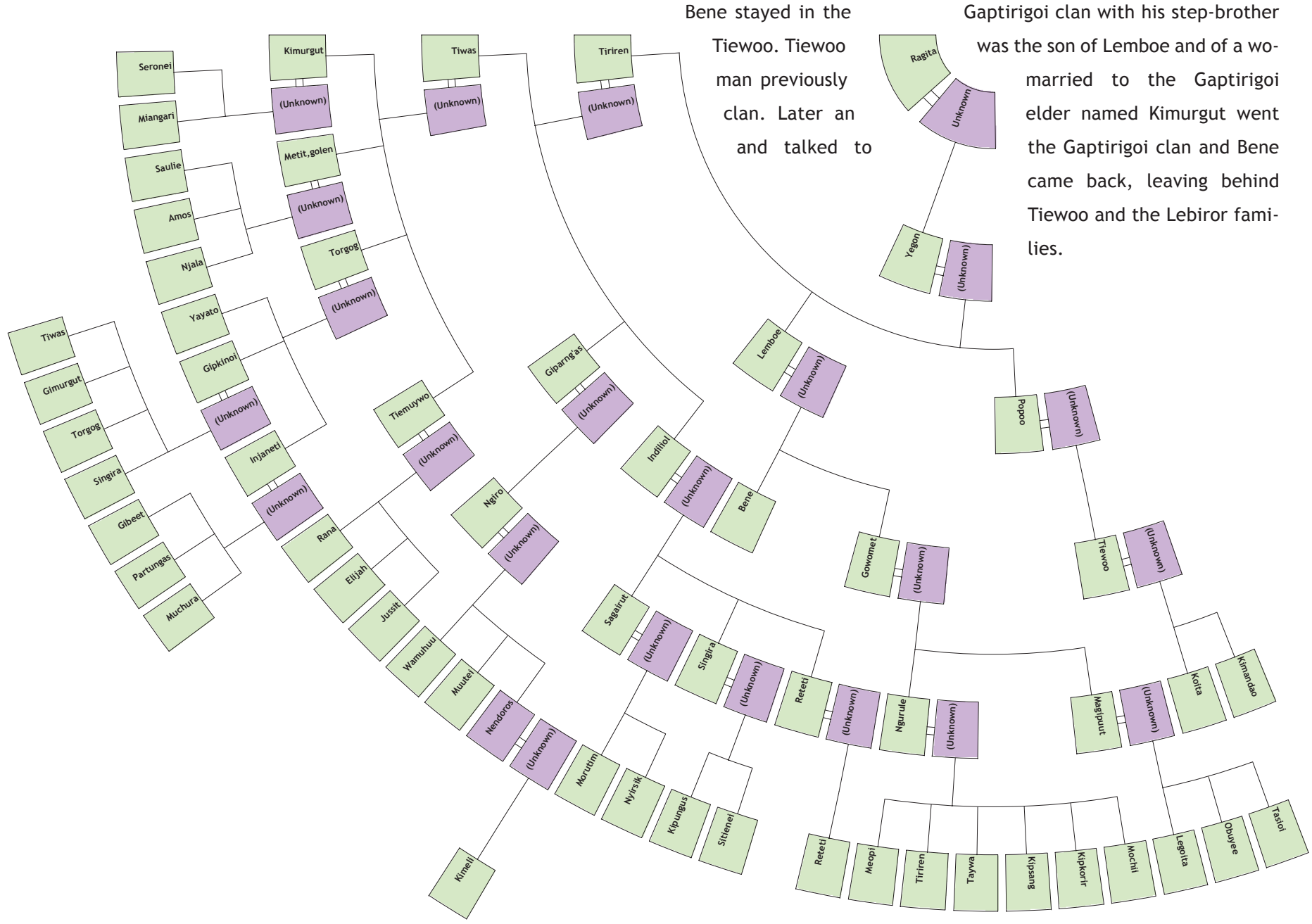
N

GAPYEGON CLAN

The Gapyegon clan was formed due to an incestuous relationship between Yegon and Nawasila, the children of Ragita, a man from the Giptyepongoi clan. Nawasila used to help her brother to hang hives around their homestead. The two became too intimate and she finally got pregnant. When the elders discovered that a taboo had been broken they resolved to separate the two from the clan. Yegon and Nawasila formed their own clan, the Gapyegon. Ragita had other children: Mungeeyee founded the Giptiepongoi clan, and Parsiron is the ancestor of the Gipsiron clan.

Mailetieny, the child of Yegon and Nawasila, had 3 sons: Tiriren, Popoo (Boboo) and Lemboe. One day, Popoo and Tiriren went hunting and gathering honey. On the way back they walked at a distance from each other since the area was bushy and it was dark. When they reached Masillingisieg they met Laikipiak Morans (Gipchooig), who were enemies of the Ogiek. Tiriren did not have time to warn his brother and Popoo was killed. Upon reaching home Tiriren narrated the story but Popoo's sons did not believe him. They accused him of killing Popoo and suspected the Gapyegon clan of planning the murder. Thus they decided to form their own clan known as the Gapkubei (see narrative on Gapkubei clan): Tiwas and Indiliol, the sons of Tiriren, went to hunt and collect honey in the Menengai crater around the Tuluetab-Sirgog hills (the hills of the zebra). Their brother Giparng'as went to his in-laws in Tinet with his wife Lentoros and his two sons (Ng'iro and an unknown son who later disappeared). Lentoros died and was buried in Tinet. Giparng'as returned to the Eastern Mau with Ng'iro. When he came back without his wife, a conflict broke out between the Gapyegon and the Giptieromo (the clan of Lentoros), who claimed a territory called Tyepsongos, which had been given to Lentoros as a gift.

Tiriren's brother Lemboe was a renowned hero. He had two wives. The first one had two sons, Gowomet and Bene. One day, while collecting honey, Bene met a woman who was giving birth alone in the bush. He helped her until she was well, and then returned home to report the incident to her parents, who decided to marry their daughter to Lemboe. The elders did not approve of this union, as they wanted her to get married to Gowomet. Out of jealousy Gowomet and Topuru, son of Gugonyon of the Gapkubei clan (formerly a family of the Gapyegon clan) decided to kill Lemboe by tying him to a tree and leaving him to die. The death of Lemboe unleashed a curse: Gowomet died without a son. When the elders realized that a curse was haunting them, they decided to pay the deceased by slaughtering sheep and giving cows to the bereaved family. After the death of his father, Bene stayed in the Gaptirigoi clan with his step-brother Tiewoo. Tiewoo was the son of Lemboe and of a woman previously married to the Gaptirigoi clan. Later an elder named Kimurgut went and talked to the Gaptirigoi clan and Bene came back, leaving behind Tiewoo and the Lebiror families.



Gapyegon Clan Ancestral Territory Map

This map is part of a series of 25 maps published as the "Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories (OPAT) Atlas". Maps were prepared through a participatory process involving members of the Ogiek community. A mapping committee consisting of representatives from the 21 Ogiek clans residing in the Eastern Mau Forest was formed in April 2006. Clan territories, family territories and indigenous resource management units were delineated onto aerial photographs in the frame of several participatory mapping sessions. The resulting spatial units were later converted into digital data by ERMIS Africa and assembled onto the maps published in the OPAT Atlas.

Legend

- Gapyegon
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gapyegon Clan

Simon K. Muchura

Alex C. Sang

Justus Kuresoi

John K. Naimando

William Tiwas

Johnson K. Meopi

Boniface K. Tegeret

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

Map prepared by

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P.O Box 12327 Nakuru, Kenya
padmin@ermisafrica.org
www.ermisafrica.org

Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
Institute of Geography, University of Bern, Switzerland
www.cde.unibe.ch

Map funded by

Eastern and Southern Africa Partnership Programme (ESAPP),
www.cde.unibe.ch/Regions/ESAPP_Rs.asp

Isingetit
Masilingisieg
Mugulaita
Tirikweg
Tolongisieg
Choriroiy
Intigilteit
Tiepotoy
Kiptilatil
Not mapped beyond forest boundary
Beyond forest boundary

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GAPYEGON Clan

Gapyegon ancestral territory
Protected forest area
Locations

Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:75'000

0 1 2 3 4 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

GAPKUBEI CLAN

The ancestral territories of the Gapkubei stretch from Soiywo to Timpteget and Belgut (Olenguruoni). In the Eastern Mau Forest they have Ambopo, Tolongisiek and Kobiryo (Saapo region), Tiriig and Karabwet (Rogrogget region), Samita, Kiptormom, Tiepungungon, Muguber, Lomet, Tiepotoiy, Ingapiemit and Taparia (Gaporowo region), Kopurenik and Kiptilatil (Mosop region).

The Gapkubei clan originated from the Gapyegon clan of the Morisionig sub-tribe in the Eastern Mau. Two brothers, Popoo and Tiriren, went hunting and gathering honey. On their way home they walked some distance apart from each other since the area was bushy and it was dark. They came across Kipchooig (Laikipia Maasai), who were enemies of the Ogiek. Having left his brother behind, Tiriren did not have time to warn him and Popoo was killed. A grudge erupted as the Gapkubei blamed the Gapyegon clan for the death of their father (see Gapyegon narrative). They thought it was a planned murder and decided to go their own way and split from the Gapyegon in order to form a different clan.

Kubei (Popoo) was the son of Mailetieny, who was the son of Yegon. Kubei was also known as Kibe Sijeyan. This name originates from Syieyan, which means belching. Syieyan had two sons, Toporu and Kipurpur. Toporu went south to an area near Kuto in the Narok district. Kipurpur went north to Koibatek (Kiplombe), in the Mau ranges stretching from Narok to Koibatek. Later on Kipurpur returned home to Tiritap Kipurpuret on top of Ampobo hill. He did not have children. Topuru had one son named Olpilis, a Maasai name, because of his character. He was the first Orgoyot, meaning "prophet", from the Morisionig sub-clan. He had the ability to vanish into thin air when he detected danger from the Maasai community, who were by then very dangerous. In the early 1740s, Olpilis begot two sons, Indaruet and Gugonyon. Indaruet begot three sons: Kimuei, Sadira and Boopo. Guganyon had three sons: Topuru, Kilesi and Lebonda.

Kimuei , one of Indaruet's sons, is said to have been very huge and strong. In the early 1770s Indaruet's sons were still living in Isinoni near Guto. Here, a fight erupted between them and the Maasai people. Kimuei took part in the fight. He was put on the front line and owing to his strength the fight did not last long. The Maasai warriors (Moran), who were on the back line, waited to kill Kimuei, as they had defeated their enemies. They asked, "Where is this Oldorobo? We will put our spears through him!" Others defended him. Kimuei decided to run away and changed his name to Kimusia. Indaruet's sons came back home with their brother Sadira (who by then had acquired the knowledge and skills of a Loibon (Maasai name for Orgoiyot, which is a spiritual title) from his grandfather Olphilis and his younger brother Sopo who was still a boy in the Kobiryo area, where their neighbors were the Gapyegon family.

Toporu and Kilesi, the sons of Gugonyon, went to live near Nasanangururu near Ampopo. Later on they moved to Tiriikweg.

In 1830 Minjil, the son of Kimuei, was born in Kobiryo area, where his forefathers were living. His real name was Sinoni, but he was also named after their forefather Olphilis. Kimuei's other son was Kiriba who had one son, Simbiri. Minjil's sons were Kobiryo and Orop Kubei. The latter had two sons, Sagana and Kausa. Kausa died at a young age. Sagana had five sons: Nanar, Kausa, Raffael, Kubei and Kugo Kobiryo. Orop Kubei was a good friend of Tiwas. The relationship deteriorated when Tiwas cut a bridge connecting the Tolongisieg and Tiirig territories of the Gapkubei clan. Kobiryo's sons were Moila (Tiemogurgen), baa and Nguare. Moila's sons from a first wife were Nengupe, Nain, Nabetoh and Sitienei. Moila's mother was called Mechwa. The second wife of Moila was Tiemulong, who bore one son, Kipreres Kiprotich Moila, and then died, never breastfeeding him. Kipreres Kiprotich Moila now has two sons: Injon and Kubei Kibe.

Gapkubei Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gapkubei
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gapkubei Clan

Peter K. Moila

Simotwo O. Sitoni

Melita Arap Kiles

Aldonate K. Kiginai

Kiginai Arap Kubei

Harison S. Moila

Mangret Nabetoh

Michael Nguare

John K. Kiprotich

Isaack Nabetoh

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

Map prepared by

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Map funded by

Eastern and Southern Africa Partnership Programme (ESAPP),
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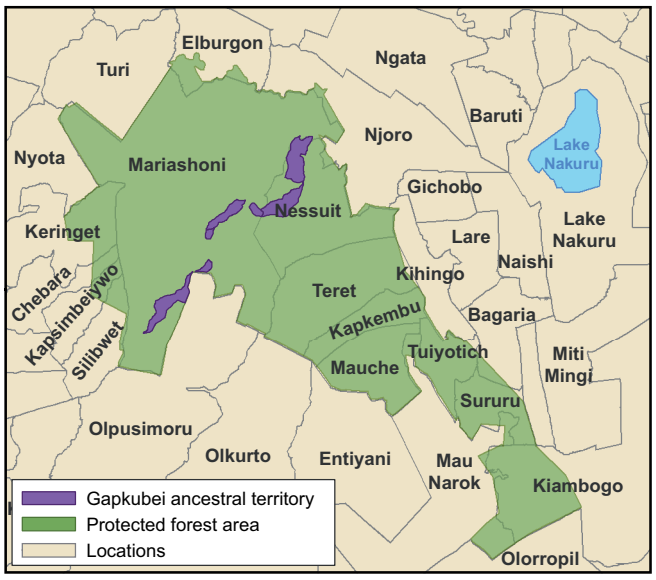
Kipurpuret
Tirikweg
Tirikweg
Luita
Nasanguruni
Ampopo
Kobirio
Togorutiet
Tolongisieg
Morisionig
Mapwaitap
saruriet
Seguteg
Samita
Tiriig
Kobirio
Karapwet
Mapwaitap
tiepung'ung'on
Luita
Tolpungungon
Kiptormoo
Giptormom
Muguber
Muguber
Natelegewan
Lomeet
Gichomit
Napurpurana
Lelechonig
Tyepotoiy
Gotmutiet
Lelechonik
Taparia
Ingapuneit
Kopureng
Kiptilatil

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GAPKUBEI Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:75'000

0 1 2 3 4 km

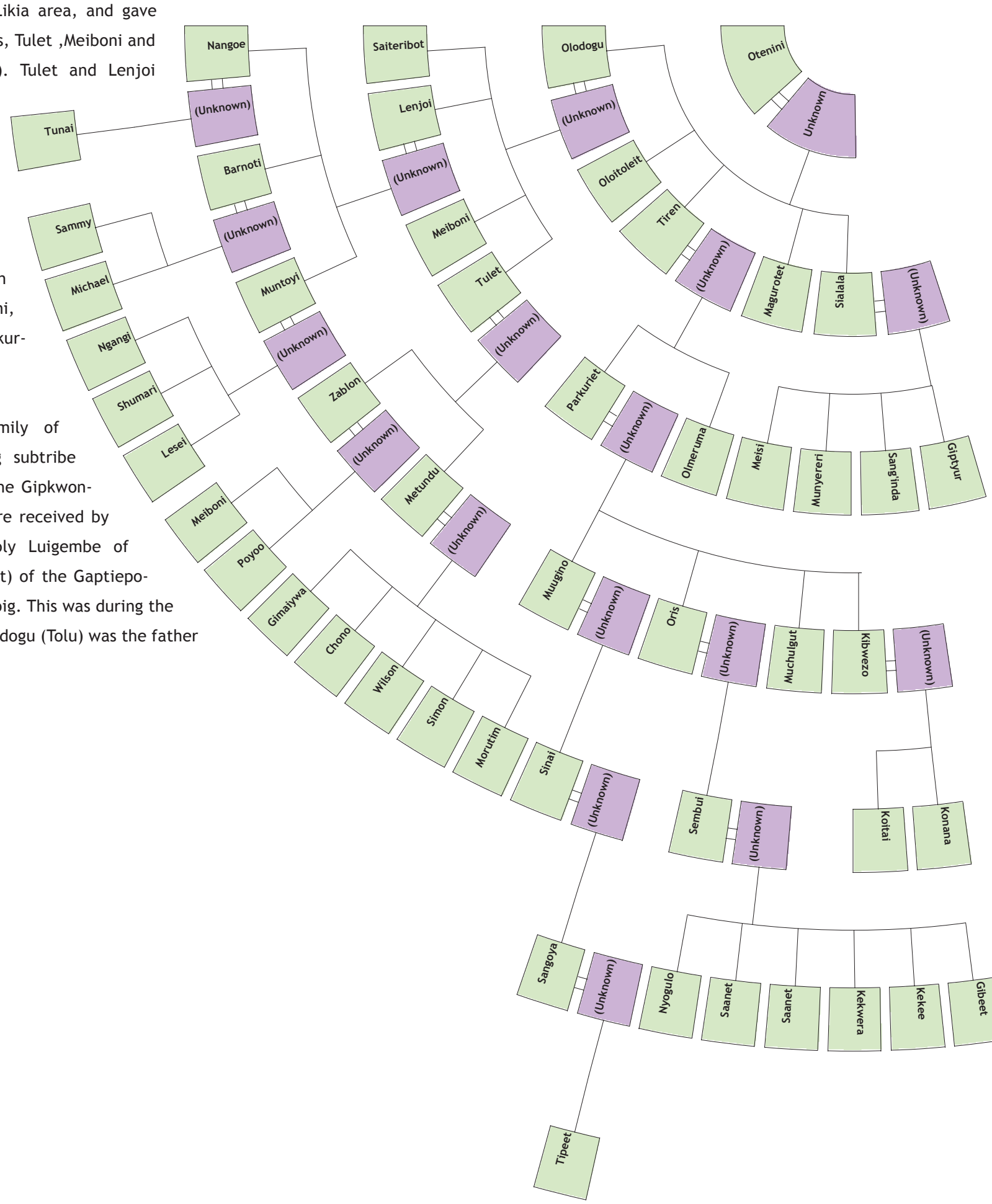
N

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

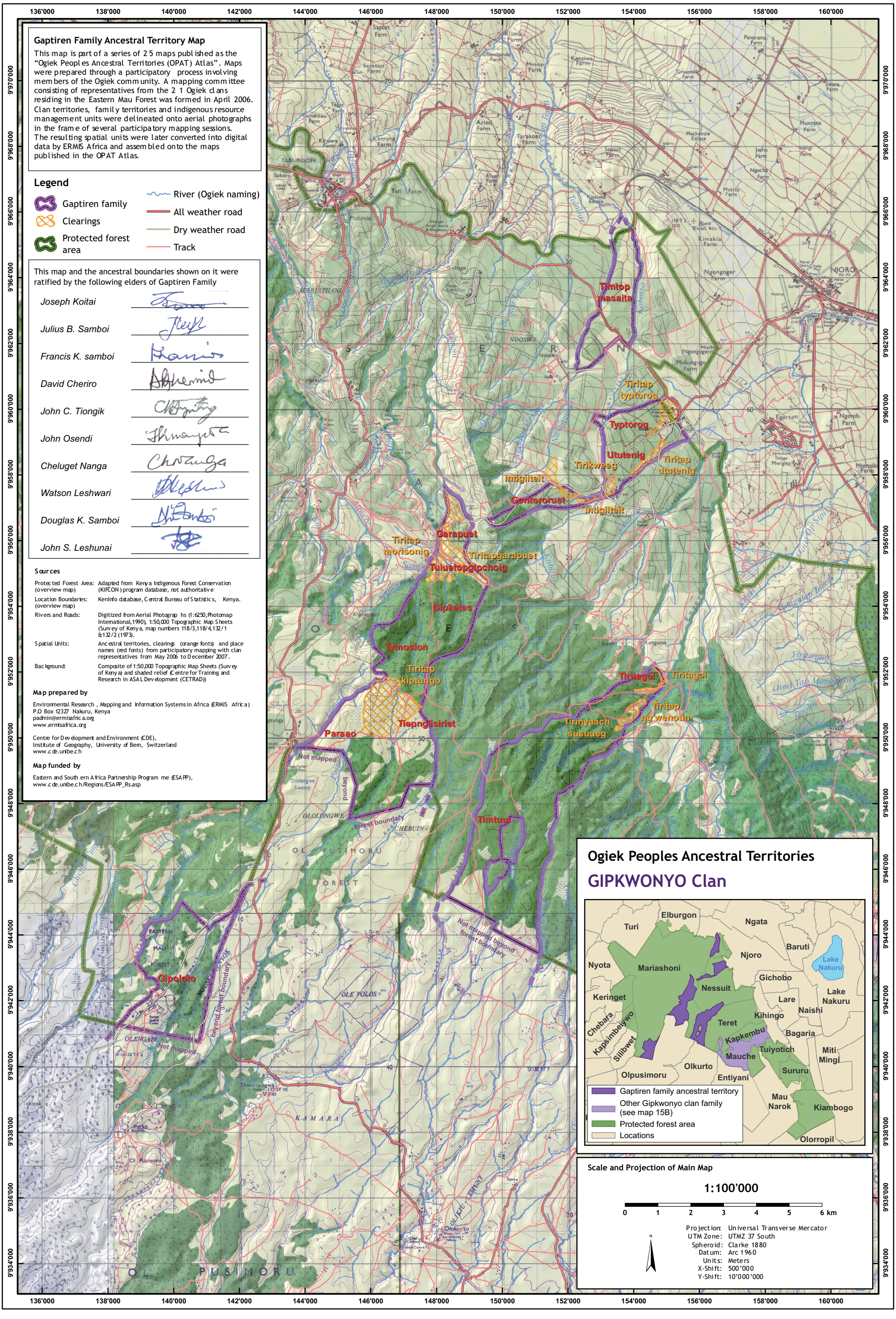
GIPKWONYO CLAN – GAPTIREN FAMILY

"Gipkwonyo" is a term derived from "Gonyogig" (honey nested in the ground by stingless bees (*Gosomeeg*). Otenini, the Gipkwonyo ancestor, was the first to come across this kind of honey, which is very rare. The Gipkwonyo clan includes the Gaptiren and Gaptolu families. The ancestors of the Gipkwonyo clan first settled in the Eastern Mau. Later, Otenini moved to Songoo, where he gave birth to Moguroteet, Oloitoleit, Olodogu and a daughter, whose name was not recalled by the elders. Olodogu and the daughter moved to the Eastern Mau and married each other. After they had two children, Olodogu went back to his father and took along a cow to cleanse the internal marriage, which was perceived as a defilement. They were allowed back home in Goidigishe in Likia area, and gave birth to three sons, Tulet ,Meiboni and Lenjoi (Parsantoi). Tulet and Lenjoi gave rise to the Gaptolu family and Moguroteet gave rise to the Gapmoguroteet family. These families are found in Narok (Sasumwani, Naibelibel and Lokurto (Lopirig).

The Gaptolu family of the Tiepkwerereg subtribe originated from the Gipkwonyo clan. They were received by Ngananjoi (possibly Luigembe of the *Ilpeles* age-set) of the Gaptiepopo clan at Gesumoig. This was during the Ilpeles age-set. Oldogu (Tolu) was the father of Meiboni, Tuulet, Aranjoe and Saiteriebot. Sateriebot went to Laikipia and the others remained in Likia, at a place called Galaliat. They inherited Oloitoleit's territories (Ilmasamba, Gaptogom Ointaploet, Metitopeliot, Gapkemoi, Pwaget, Motono, Tiesir, Gimwatit, Tililleikwen and Roigetop-ngwony). Tiren (Ildala) went to Morisionig, and begot a family called Gaptiren, which became part of Ogiek's sub-tribe called Morisionig. The father of Tiren (Sialala) from Songoo received Chopiswo from Laikipia. Chopiswo's mother, Kiigen, was the daughter of Gapkubei and her father was a Laikipiak Maasai. Chopiswo came to Sigaon in Nessuit from Laikipia as a child during the Kipchoig war between Laikipak and Purko.



- GIPKWONYO Clan - GAPTIREN Family -



Gaptiren Family Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gaptiren family
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gaptiren Family

- *Joseph Koitai*
- *Julius B. Samboi*
- *Francis K. samboi*
- *David Cheriro*
- *John C. Tiongik*
- *John Osendi*
- *Cheluget Nanga*
- *Watson Leshwari*
- *Douglas K. Samboi*
- *John S. Leshunai*

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photograp hs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
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Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

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Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
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Map funded by

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www.cde.unibe.ch/Regions/ESAPP_Rs.asp

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GIPKWONYO Clan

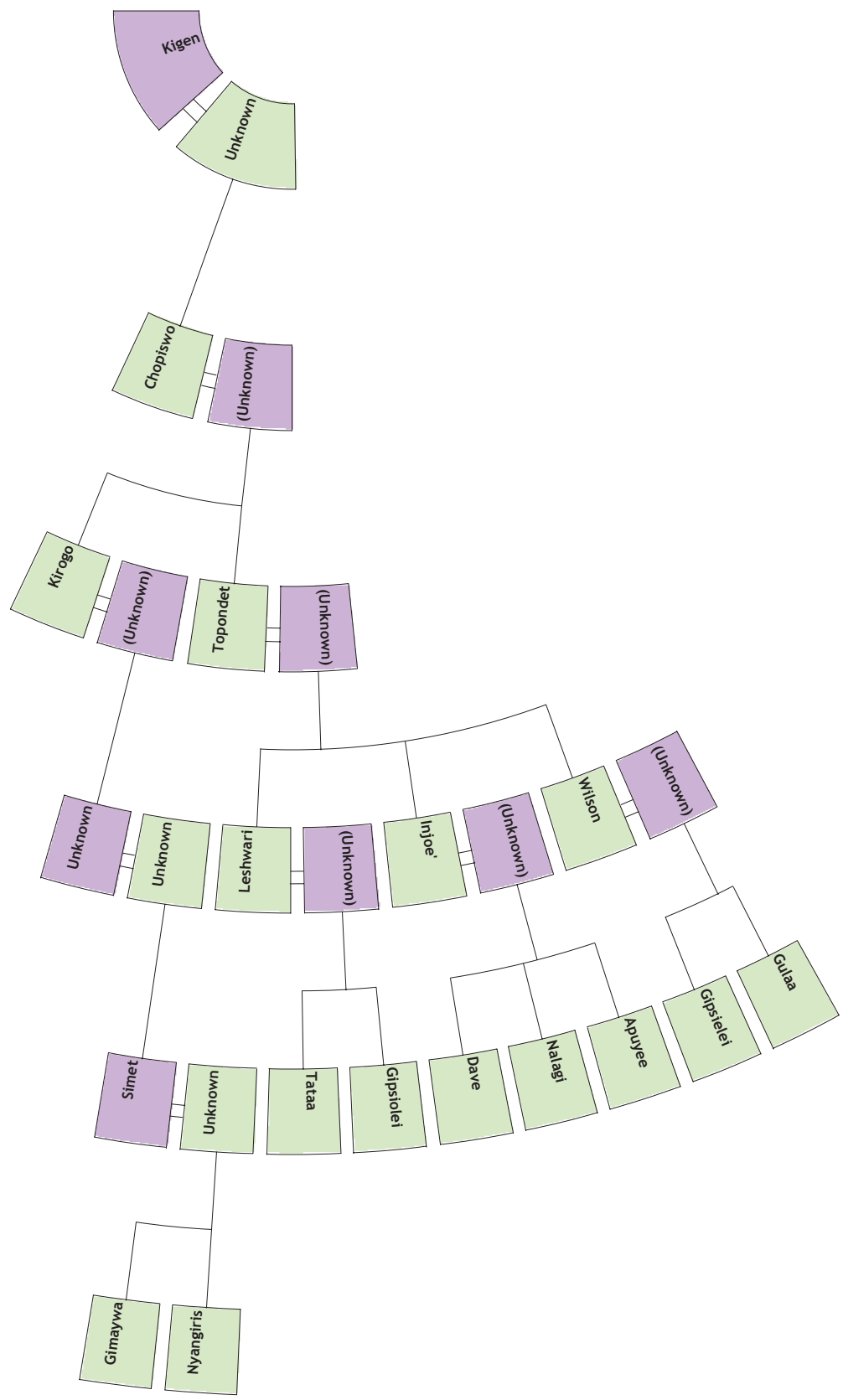
Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:100'000

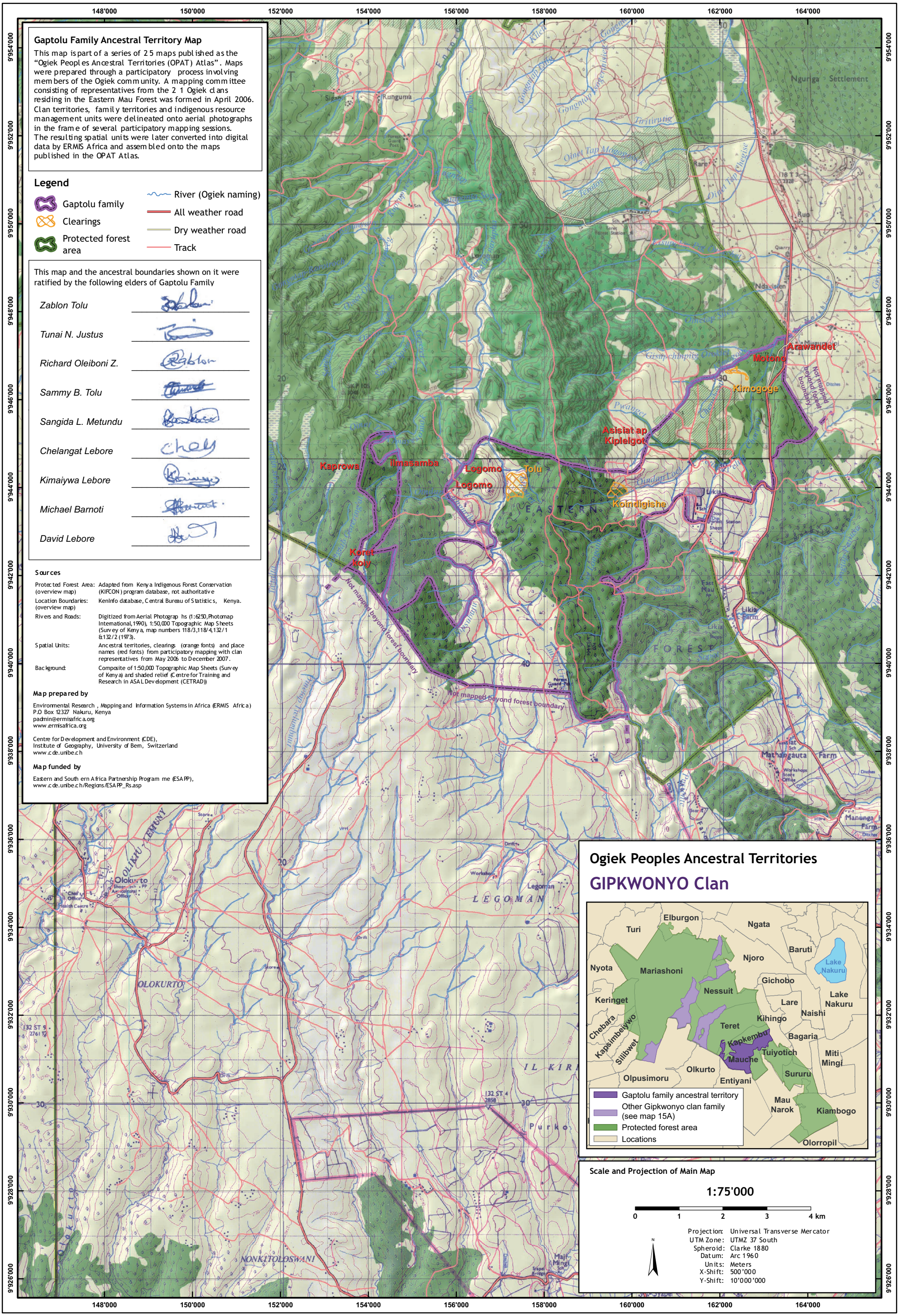
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

GIPKWONYO CLAN – GAPTOLU FAMILY



- GIPKWONYO Clan - GAPTOLU Family -



GIPTYEPONGOI CLAN

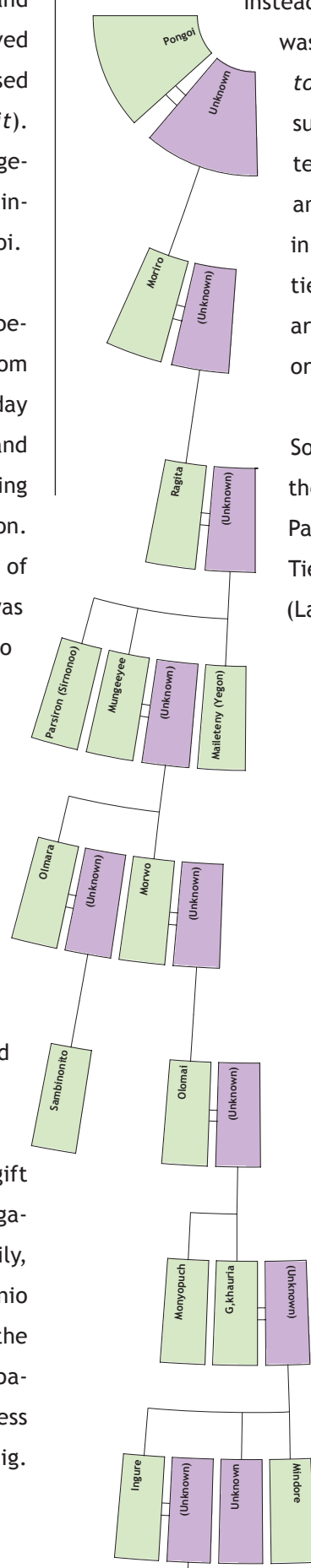
There was once an ogre who used to disturb the Ogiek community, especially when they were hunting in the forest. The body of the ogre was part human and part animal; some parts were made of stone and one leg was like a bamboo rod with donkey hoofs. The ogre, who lived mainly in a territory of the Gipyepongoin clan called Gipkogog, used to shout "Woo! Woo!" The Ogiek used to call him Angoi (*Tiepogalit*). A man from the Giptyepongoi clan called Meterai, of the *Ildwati* age-set, finally killed the ogre. The clan was thereafter named Gaain-gipar-ongoi (the clan that killed Ongoi) which became Giptyepongoi.

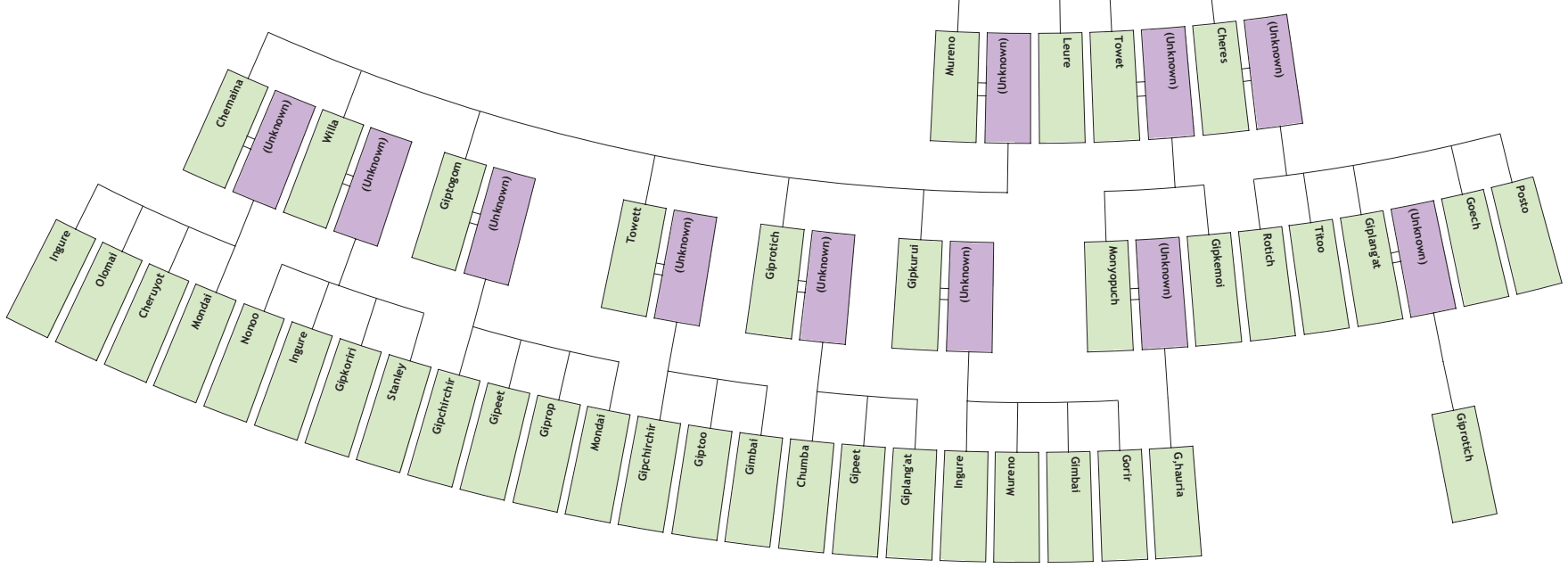
The ancestor of the Giptyepongoi was named Lel-iruet (Tusk), because he had killed many elephants and had produced artifacts from the tusks. The clan was subdivided into several other clans. One day a man called Sirnonoo killed a furry-eared fox, which was a taboo and led to a separation: Sirnonoo was renamed Parsiron, (meaning "killing the furry-eared fox") and the breakaway clan was named Gipsiron. Another separation took place when Yegon impregnated Nawasila of the Giptyepongoi clan. The elders decided to kill them, as it was taboo for a boy to defile a girl from the same clan. The two fled to Koibatek, where they gave birth to 2 children. They then decided to return home. They hid near their village and Nawasila climbed a tree while carrying her second baby. The elders noticed her presence and she was asked to enter the village, as it was taboo to chase away a child. Nawasila's return with her children made the elders sympathize with her and they declared that she should not be killed. The elders asked her where Yegon was and she answered that he was hiding outside the village with the older son. He was summoned, and in the ensuing discussions it was decided that they should be separated from the Giptyepongoi clan and be called the Gapyegon clan.

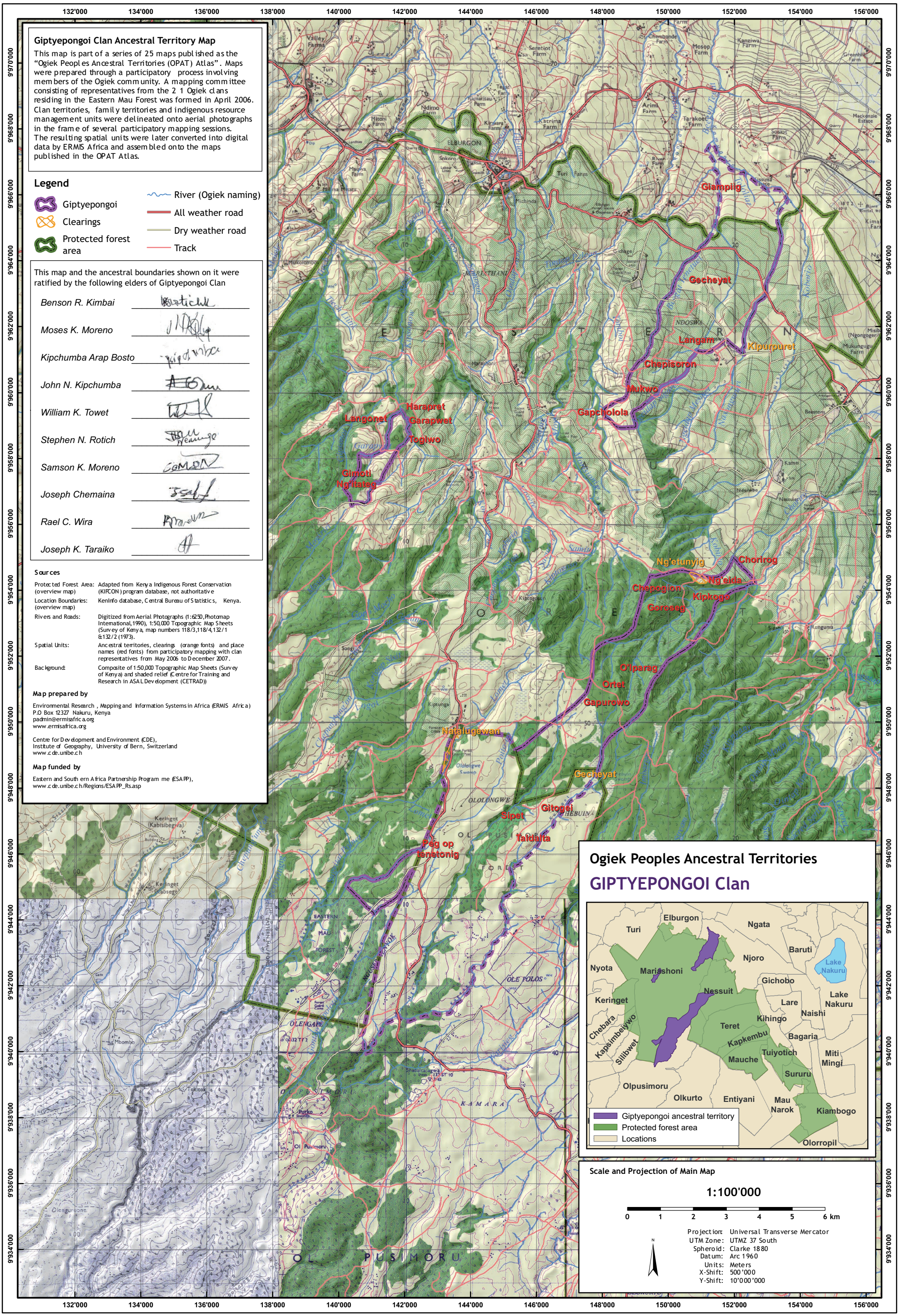
The Giptyepongoi clan received a territory called Intanait as a gift to Logara after she married a man from the Giptyepongoi clan. Logara, who could not bear children, was from the Gapsaineneng family, which was adopted by the Giptopog clan. The territory of Kimonio was bought from the Gipsirchegoen by the Gapmorigo family of the Giptiepongoi clan. The family of Moripo from Tinet was given separate territories after the elders decided that they should not possess territories within the clan, such as Ngetunyig, Simbeywet, Tenetonig.

Giptyepongoi people used traps to hunt bushbucks at the Gipkogog salt lick. Of every five traps set, one entrapped a kenel (*Goktoo*) instead of a bushbuck. For this reason, this territory was named Gipkogo, which is derived from *Goktoo*. The traps set in the territory were made in such a way that they strangled bushbucks. The territory was thus given the name *Kaigeti* (meaning "to strangle"). Bushbuck meat was stored in the forest in a basket hung on a tree. The Giptiepongoi had a girl known as Chochoo, who guarded this basket of preserved meat (*Lekweleet* or *Nambachachaa*).

Some Giptyepongoi clan families used to live in the Tiepkorog (Ndoswa) Sapoo area and in the Paraoo area in Gapurowo. Now they still live in Tiepkorog and Tiring-yaech susueg, but Tololiat (Lawina) has been taken over by Tugens.






Giptyepongoi Clan Ancestral Territory Map
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Legend
Giptyepongoi
Clearings
Protected forest area
River (Ogiek naming)
All weather road
Dry weather road
Track
This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Giptyepongoi Clan
Benson R. Kimbai
Moses K. Moreno
Kipchumba Arap Bosto
John N. Kipchumba
William K. Towet
Stephen N. Rotich
Samson K. Moreno
Joseph Chemaina
Rael C. Wira
Joseph K. Taraiko
Sources
Protected Forest Area: (overview map) Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map) KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads: Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
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Background: Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))
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Map funded by
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Giampiig
Gecheyat
Langam
Kipurpuret
Chepisoron
Mukwo
Gapcholola
Harapret
Langonet
Garapwet
Togiwo
Gimoti
Ng'itateg
Ng'etunyig
Chorirog
Ng'eida
Chepogion
Kipkogo
Goroseg
O'Iparag
Ortet
Gapurowo
Natalugewan
Gecheyat
Gitogei
Sipet
Taldalta
Peg op tenetonig
Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories
GIPTYEPONGOI Clan
Elburgon
Turi
Ngata
Njoro
Baruti
Lake Nakuru
Nyota
Mariashoni
Gichobo
Nessuit
Keringet
Lare
Naishi
Chebara
Kapsimbeiywo
Silibwet
Teret
Kihingo
Kapkembu
Bagaria
Tuiyotich
Mauche
Miti Mingi
Sururu
Olpusimoru
Olkurto
Entiyani
Mau Narok
Kiambogo
Olorropil
Giptyepongoi ancestral territory
Protected forest area
Locations
Scale and Projection of Main Map
1:100'000
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 km
Projection: Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone: UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid: Clarke 1880
Datum: Arc 1960
Units: Meters
X-Shift: 500'000
Y-Shift: 10'000'000
N
132'000 134'000 136'000 138'000 140'000 142'000 144'000 146'000 148'000 150'000 152'000 154'000 156'000
9'970'000 9'968'000 9'966'000 9'964'000 9'962'000 9'960'000 9'958'000 9'956'000 9'954'000 9'952'000 9'950'000 9'948'000 9'946'000 9'944'000 9'942'000 9'940'000 9'938'000 9'936'000 9'934'000

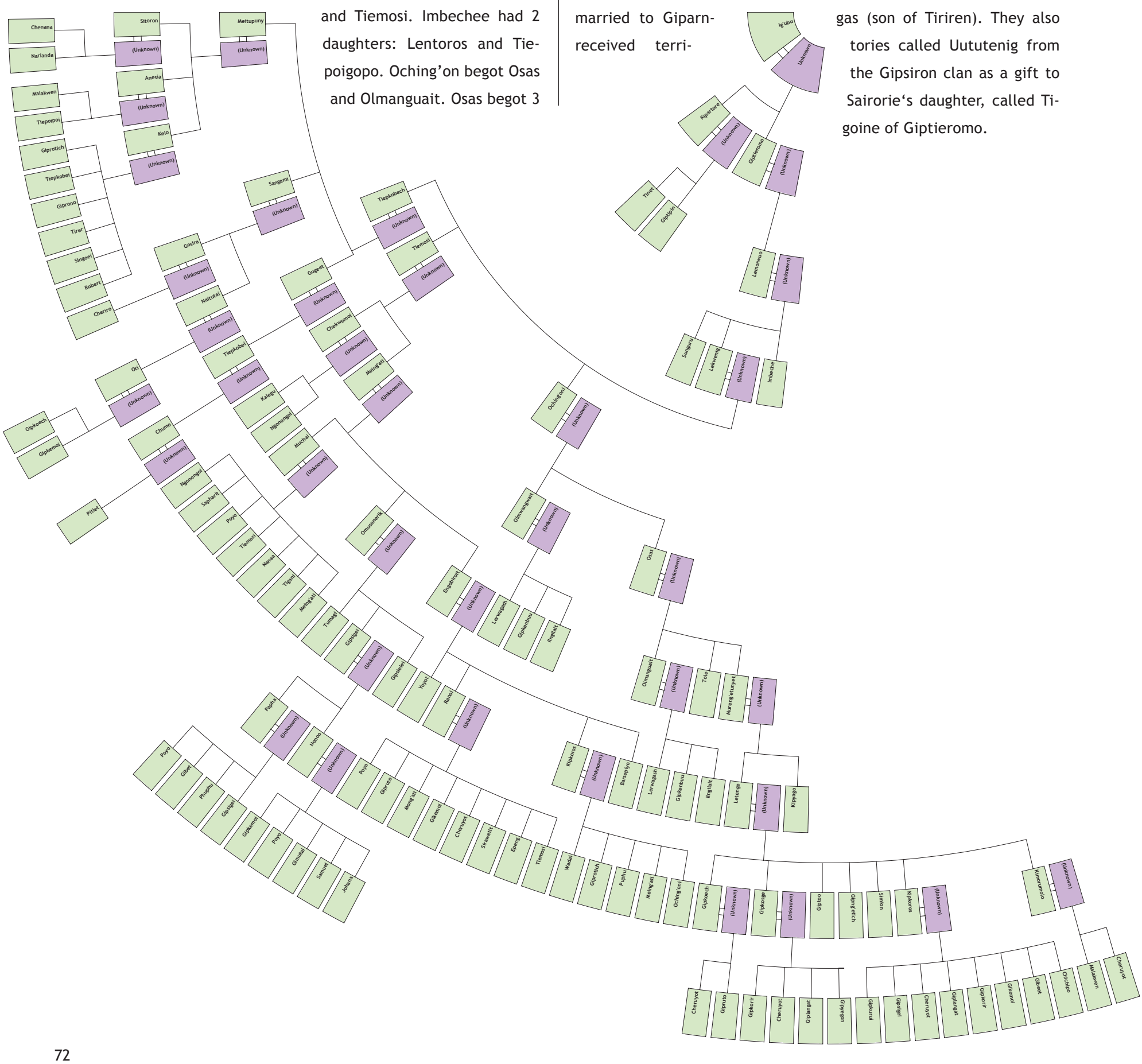
GIPTIEROMO CLAN

The Giptieromo clan gave rise to the Gipatore clan, after a member of the Giptieromo impregnated a girl of the same clan, which was a taboo. They were chased away and later formed the Gipatore clan (see Gipartore clan narrative).

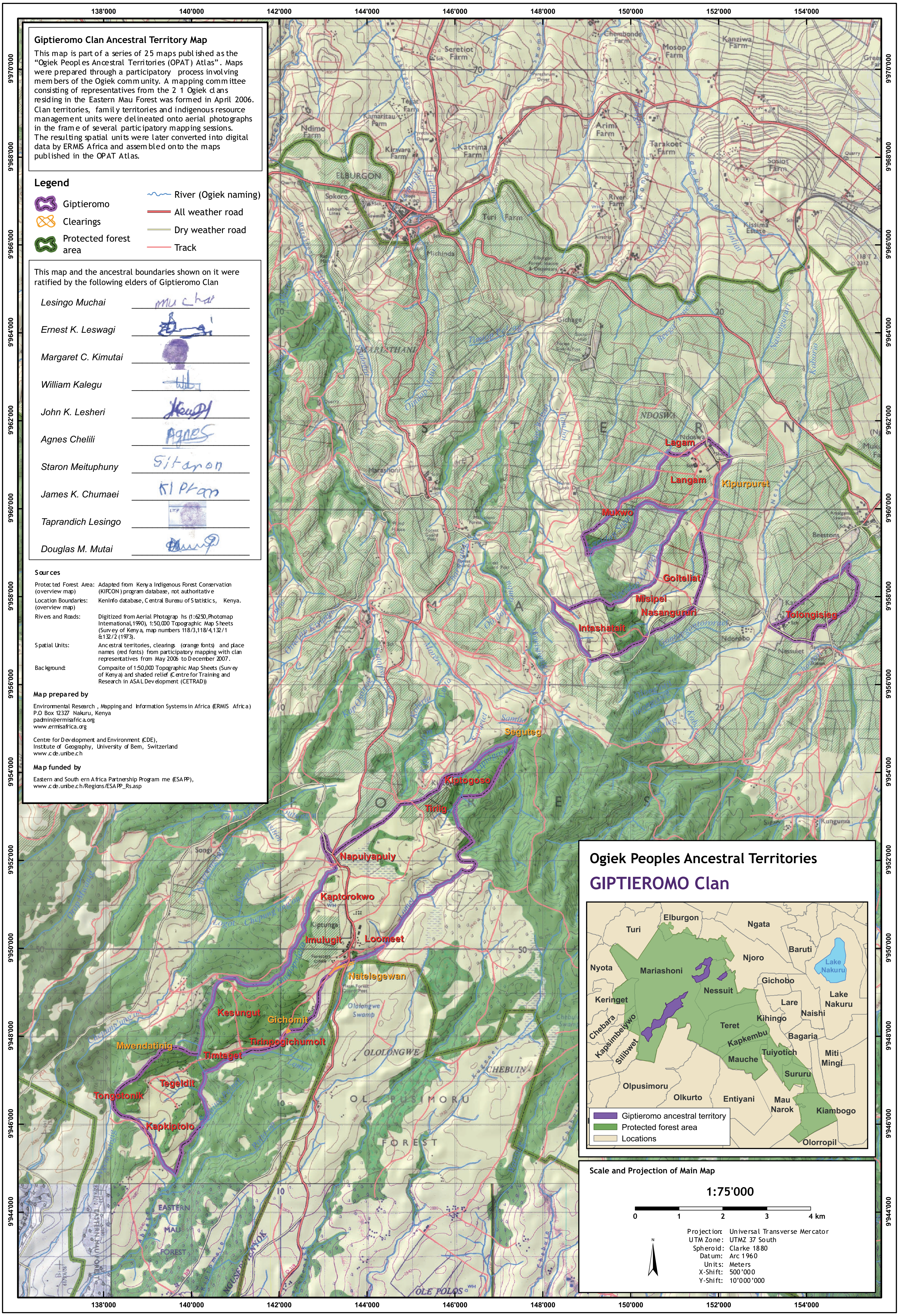
The Giptiromo clan ancestor was Lemworwo, who was a brother of Tiepkarasi, who did not marry. Lemworwo had 3 sons, Lekwenig, Imbeche and Sunguru, who became the first Giptieromo clan elders. During the *Ildalala* age set, there was a famine and people used to go to the Kipsigis to beg for millet. Along the way, a marauding lion used to terrorize and kill people. Lemorwo armed himself with poisoned arrows. When he heard the lion approaching, he climbed a tree and shot and killed it before proceeding to the Kipsigis. When he arrived, he narrated how he had managed to kill the lion. His clan was hence named, Giptieromo (Gain Gipar-Ogoromuet), "the clan which killed the lion."

Sunguru, the last-born son of Lemworwo, went to Maasai land and never came back. Lekwenig and Imbechee remained behind. Lekwenig had 3 sons, Oching'on, Tiepkobech and Tiemosi. Imbechee had 2 daughters: Lentoros and Tiepoigopo. Oching'on begot Osas and Olmanguait. Osas begot 3 sons and 2 daughters. The sons were Letende, Kimisoi and Tiesir, and the daughters were Naosi and Nonoo. Olmangwai begot Lerwagash, Gipkenbuu and Ilngilait. Tiepkobeck had 3 sons and 3 daughters: Tieboley, Meitupuny, Guget, Surumbet and Loloyndet, and one daughter whose name is not known. Meitupuny begot Kelo, Staron and Arusai. Tiepolet begot Orop Kogityo and Naitutai. Naitutaai begot Kishoyan and Oldiyegit. Kelo begot Tiemoloisyo, Chumoit, Kipron, and Leleyo. Guget begot Chilili. Tiemosi had 3 sons: Tiepkwemoiy, Meing'ati and Tiepoipopo. Tiepkwemoiy begot Olmusonegit, Kalegu, Gonongoi, Tiepchawis and Tiemeseg.

The Giptirimo clan had a main honey store at Giptogoso, in the Gaporowo region, and in parts of Naipuiyapui swamp, which is the source of many rivers. There were territories which the Giptirimo clan did not use but which were used by a bordering clan called Giptopog (for example, Mwengetop ngwony territory at Baraget and Narubat territory in Chemoguro Mosop region (in Narok district), or Giptisya in Tinet). They also gave a portion of land (called Tyepsongos) to the Gapyegon clan as a gift to the daughter of Imbeche, married to Giparngas (son of Tiriren). They also received territories called Uututenig from the Gipsiron clan as a gift to Sairorie's daughter, called Tigoine of Giptieromo.



- GIPTIEROMO Clan -



Giptieromo Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

Giptieromo	River (Ogiek naming)
Clearings	All weather road
Protected forest area	Dry weather road
	Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Giptieromo Clan

Lesingo Muchai mucha

Ernest K. Leswagi

Margaret C. Kimutai

William Kalegu

John K. Lesheri

Agnes Chelili Agnes

Staron Meituphuny Sitaron

James K. Chumaei

Taprandich Lesingo LTP

Douglas M. Mutai

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

Map prepared by

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padmin@ermisafrica.org
www.ermisafrica.org

Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
Institute of Geography, University of Bern, Switzerland
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Map funded by

Eastern and Southern Africa Partnership Programme (ESAPP),
www.cde.unibe.ch/Regions/ESAPP_Rs.asp

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GIPTIEROMO Clan

▨	Giptieromo ancestral territory
🟩	Protected forest area
☐	Locations

Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:75'000

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

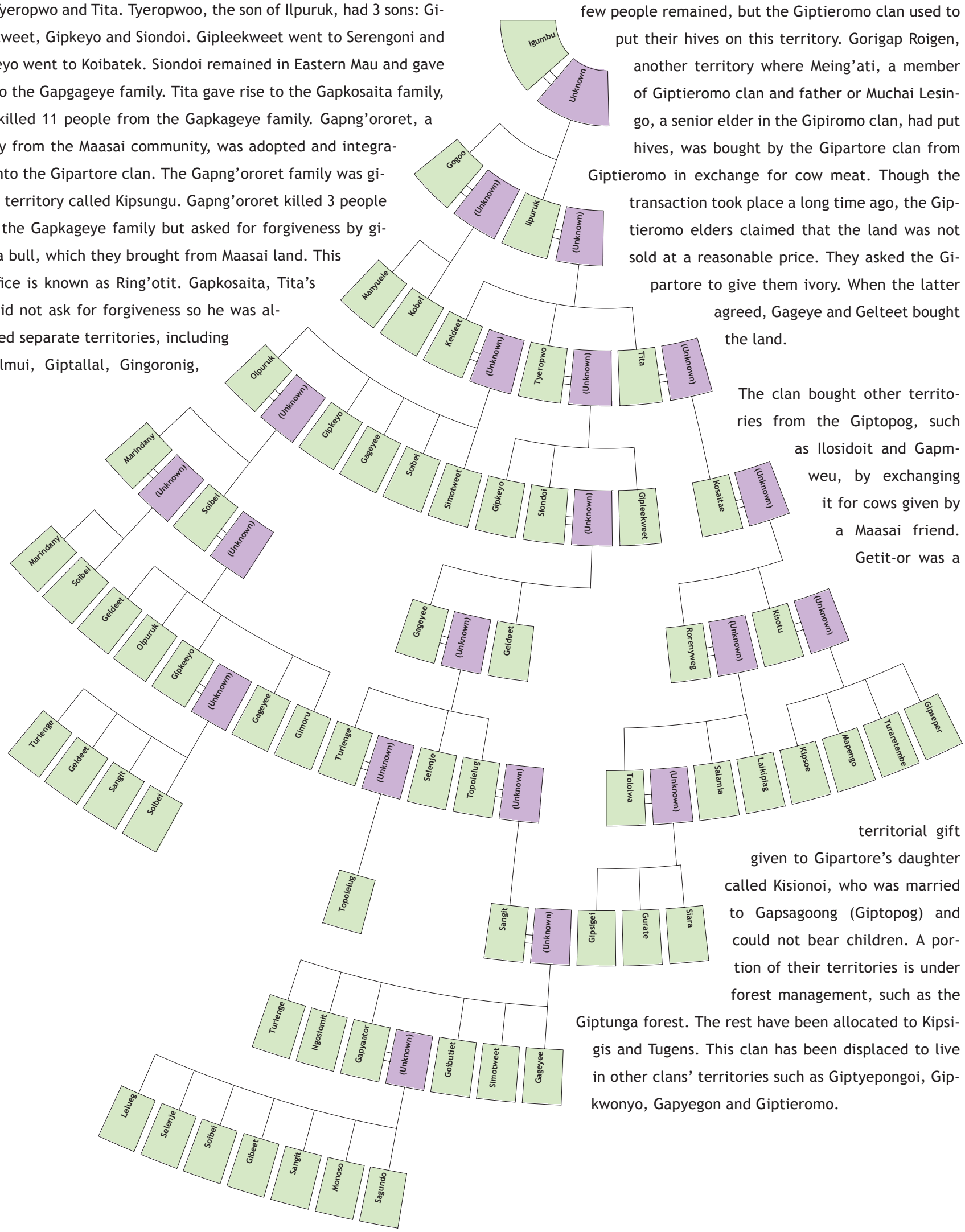
GIPARTORE CLAN

This clan originated from the Giptieromo clan when Ilpuruk impregnated his sister, which led to the eviction of Ilpuruk and his brother Gogoo from the clan. They settled in a new place, where a leopard used to attack the dogs in the village. The two killed the leopard, after which they were referred to as "the family that killed the leopard" (*Gain gipartoreet*).

The Gipartore clan included two families, the Gapkosaita (brown) and the Gapgageye (black). The Gapkosaita family was initiated by Ilpuruk and the Gapgageye by Gogoo. Ilpuruk and Gogoo were sons of Igumbu. Gogoo begot Manyuele and Kobei and Ilpuruk begot Keldeet and Tyeropwo and Tita. Tyeropwoo, the son of Ilpuruk, had 3 sons: Gipleekweet, Gipkeyo and Siondoi. Gipleekweet went to Serengoni and Gipkeyo went to Koibatek. Siondoi remained in Eastern Mau and gave rise to the Gapgageye family. Tita gave rise to the Gapkosaita family, who killed 11 people from the Gapkageye family. Gapng'ororet, a family from the Maasai community, was adopted and integrated into the Gipartore clan. The Gapng'ororet family was given a territory called Kipsungu. Gapng'ororet killed 3 people from the Gapkageye family but asked for forgiveness by giving a bull, which they brought from Maasai land. This sacrifice is known as Ring'otit. Gapkosaita, Tita's son did not ask for forgiveness so he was allocated separate territories, including Giplelmui, Giptallal, Gingoronig, Ointapsambu, Gipteerit, Gorigapa-assista, and Tiepkolenotiot. Manyuele, son of Gogoo, went to Tinet to a place called Cheptuech, while his brother, Kobei, went to Songoo and founded the Gapkobei family. In Tinet, Manyuele (Orop Puyon) gave permission to Osas of the Giptieromo clan to use a territory called Timtegeet in exchange for ivory 90 years ago.

The Gipartore clan had a chief, Gageye, son of Kelteet, who was famous in settling disputes among the Ogiek clans. Timtop werig, another territory that belonged to the Giptieromo clan, has remained unused because the Gaptyeropwo family was killed and only a few people remained, but the Giptieromo clan used to put their hives on this territory. Gorigap Roigen, another territory where Meing'ati, a member of Giptieromo clan and father or Muchai Lesingo, a senior elder in the Gipiromo clan, had put hives, was bought by the Gipartore clan from Giptieromo in exchange for cow meat. Though the transaction took place a long time ago, the Giptieromo elders claimed that the land was not sold at a reasonable price. They asked the Gipartore to give them ivory. When the latter agreed, Gageye and Gelteet bought the land.

The clan bought other territories from the Giptopog, such as Ilosidoit and Gapmweu, by exchanging it for cows given by a Maasai friend. Getit-or was a territorial gift given to Gipartore's daughter called Kisionoi, who was married to Gapsagoong (Giptopog) and could not bear children. A portion of their territories is under forest management, such as the Giptunga forest. The rest have been allocated to Kipsigis and Tugens. This clan has been displaced to live in other clans' territories such as Giptyepongoi, Gipkwonyo, Gapyegon and Giptieromo.



Gipartore Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Clearings
- Gipartore
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gipartore Clan

Johnson Monoso	
Alice C. Barsaloi	
Wilson K. Barnoti	
Johnson Muchenegi	
Tiondo Chemonos	
Anna Tapletgoi	
Andrew Kiprotich	
Paul K. Kuraty	
Wilson C. Monoso	WILSON
Richard Barsaloi	RICHARD

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
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Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

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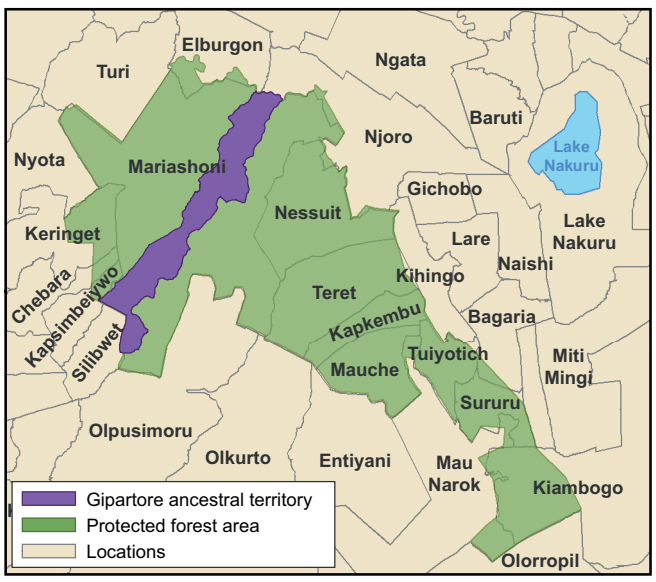
Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GIPARTORE Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:75'000

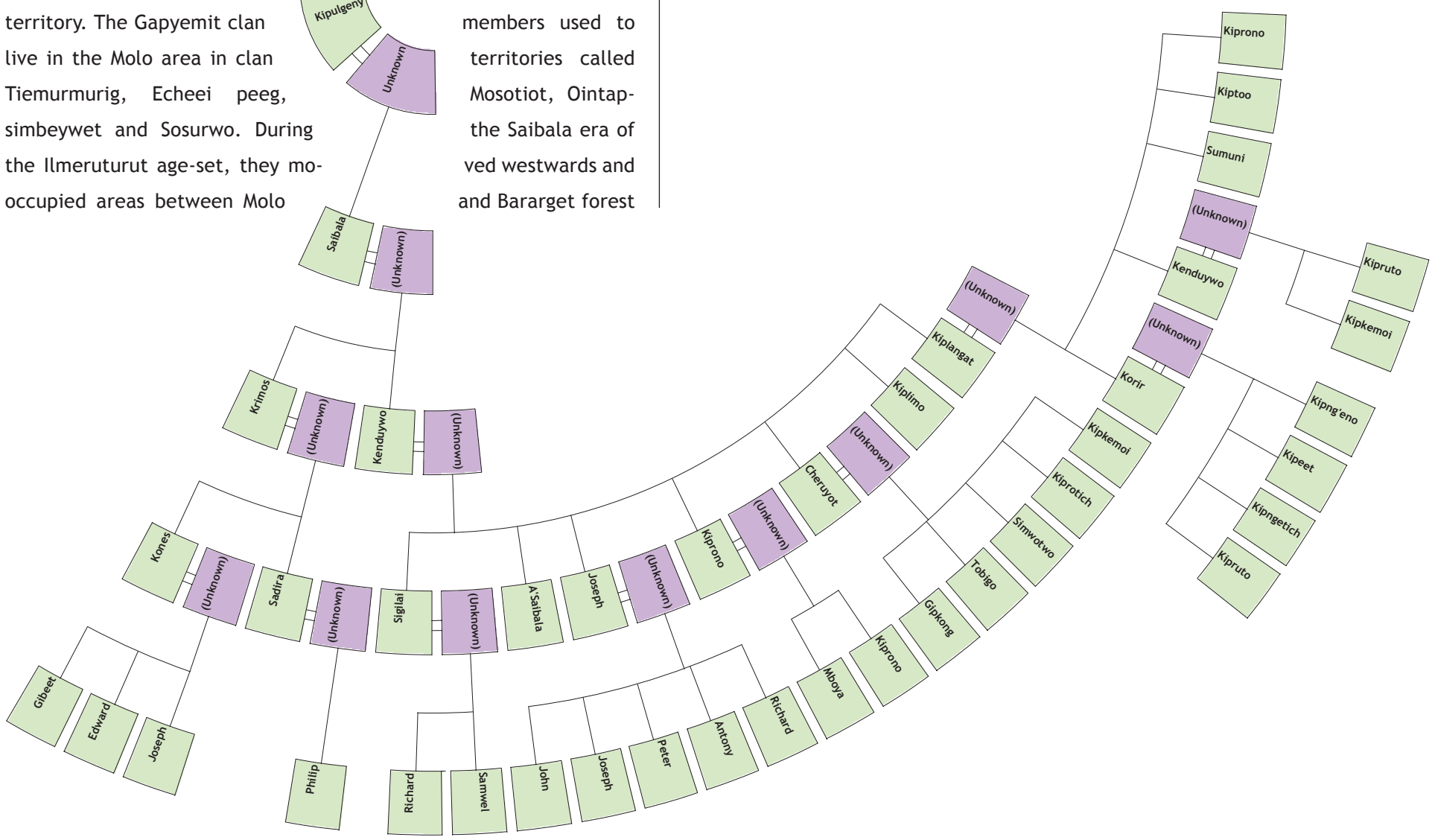
0 1 2 3 4 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

N

GAPYEMIT CLAN – GAPTIEPKEN, PIIG FAMILY

The ancestor of the Gapyemit clan was Giptegereron, who had 2 wives. The first wife gave birth to Giptiesang (Gipulgeny). The second wife gave birth to Opweny, also known as Yemit because he used to trap animals using Olea Africana trunks. She also gave birth to Gipulgeny, also know as Giptiesang since he moved to live away from their territories in Marioshoni. When Giptegereron died, Opweny's mother fled to Gimengich with her son. She was given a territory called Tongoror in Southwest Mau, where the founding elder lived until the colonialists came. The latter dispersed families such as the Gapkipogon and the Gapoton, who fled to the Eastern Mau. The Torigo family was left in Tongor in Koibatek in the clan territory. The Gapyemit clan members used to live in the Molo area in clan territories called Tiemurmurig, Echeei peeg, Mosotiot, Ointapsimbeywet and Sosurwo. During the Saibala era of the Ilmeruturut age-set, they moved westwards and occupied areas between Molo and Bararget forest in the Gaporowo region and in the Mosop region near Olpusimoru forest. Another family called Gapsirma (the brother of Saibala) moved to a place called Tinet due to famine. Another elder, called Potoon, came from a clan called *Gaptegechen* and joined Saibala after an anointing (Geeil) ceremony. Gapyemit clan members also allocated separate Potoon territories such as Simbeywet and Mwengetop Ng'wong in the Keringet areas, and they became wholesome Gapyemit clan members. Giptopog gave a territorial gift called Mwengetop ng'wony, which formerly belonged to the Giptieromo clan, to their daughter (Titoo), who married into the Gapsaibala family of the Gapyemit clan.



Gaptiepken,piig Family Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gaptiepken,piig family
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gaptiepken,piig Family

David K. Barngetuny

Kipkurui Ndaraiya

Joseph M. Kariuki

Wilson K. Kipkurui

Jane Chelangat

Juma Ndaraiya

Joel K. Tangus

Stephen K. Kiptangus

Stephen Y. Kiptaraiya

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

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Centre for Development and Environment (CDE),
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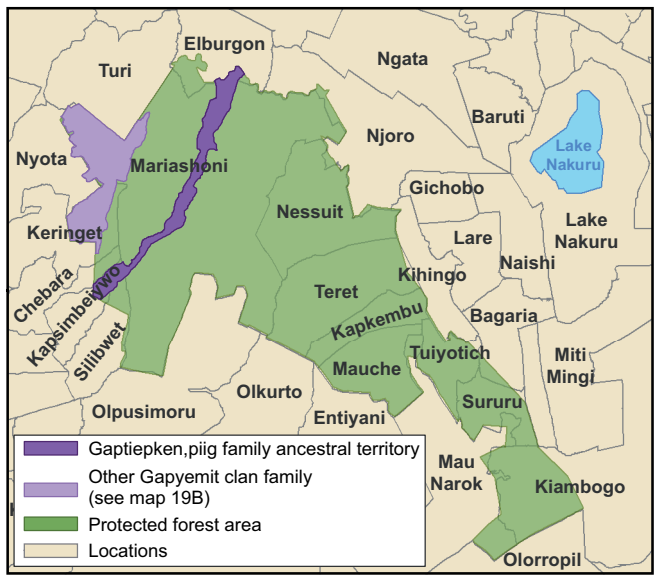
Map funded by

Eastern and Southern Africa Partnership Programme (ESAPP),
www.cde.unibe.ch/Regions/ESAPP_Rs.asp

Kambala
Valley Farms
Turi
Ndimo Farm
Mitoni Farm
Kamaritau Farm
Kirwara Farm
Katrima Farm
Saptet Farm
Seretiot Farm
Kilima Farm
Chembonde Farm
Arimi Farm
Tarakoe Farm
River Farm
ELBURGON
Sokoro
Mauwa Farm
Not mapped beyond forest boundary
Turi Farm
Tapararet
Gichage
MARI-CHANI
Ointap
Motiet
Porogen
Chang morig
Gurupuun
Titrtap
Koisisieg
Longonig
Gumuliet
Masariat
Gipsusuo
Gapsorogat
Saptet
Kapsorogat
Gotoo
Tiepotui
Lamwul
Tiemurotuet
Gapkweniot
Timoo
Puitapwerig
Epuronig
Tiriniyiyiate
Goin yaa isono
Poitop werig
Songisiek
Lepeliet
Tiondo
Sololeito
Kel mosot
Moson
Chepkolenotiot
Not mapped beyond forest boundary
Kiptogosen
Kipsunga
Ololongwe Swamp
Kerinet (Kabisibegwa)
Keringet (Kabsege)
EASTERN MAU FOREST

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GAPYEMIT Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:75'000

0 1 2 3 4 km

N

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

Gapsaibala Family Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gapsaibala family
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gapsaibala Family

Samwel K. Kiplimo	
Cosmas K. Saibala	
Stephen K. Saibala	
Kiplilmo A. Kenduiywa	
Francis K Saibala	Francis
Joseph K. Kenduiywa	
Emily Chelangat	
Peter K. Saibala	Peter
Julius K. Saibala	
Wilson M. Saibala	

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
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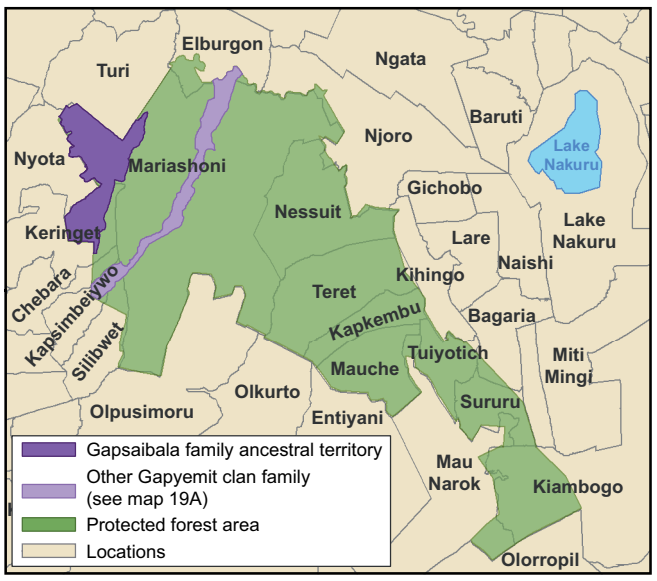
Kipcholimet
Motongweg
Kotop chorwet
Orogeriet
Tongurog
Triik
Mororochig
Oindap simbeyowet
Chigamba
Kapkiraon
Epeig
Sosurwo
Kososiat
Mweget op ngweny
Mosotiot

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GAPYEMIT Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:75'000

0 1 2 3 4 km

N

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

GIPSIRCHEGOEN CLAN

The Gipsirchegoen clan originated from the Gapsahalai, a family of the Gimengich clan. This happened because one member of the Gimengich clan impregnated a daughter of the Sahalai family. After this incident, the family was named Goser-eem (meaning “to separate people”). According to the Ogiek culture, it is considered a sin for a man to impregnate a woman from his clan. Since it was a taboo to share the same territory with defiled people, the two were allotted territories called Segut and Timoo, where they moved, settled and installed beehives. This family was thereafter named Gipsirchegoen.

Komeiyan of the Gipsirchegoen clan (Gipchorngwonig sub-tribe) joined the Gipkepoi clan (Tiepkwerereg sub-tribe) because of the famine in their territory, which was called Leteipa, and located in Teret forest. He was given clan beehives to use at a place called Samita Koita, located in the Logoman area of Mau Forest. Thus he became part of the Zembui family of the Gipkepoi clan (see narrative of the Gipkepoi can). He was also given a portion of the clan territory to own, for example Teesieglelach.

Gipsirchegoen Clan Ancestral Territory Map

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Legend

- Gipsirchegoen
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Gipsirchegoen Clan

Fredrick K. Salimu	
Kiprono Sigilai	
Jane C. Sitienei	
Onesmus K. Rono	
Harrison K. Sitienei	
Agnes C. Salimu	
Samson K. O. Salimu	
Paul K. Rotich	
Mary K. Sembui	

Sources

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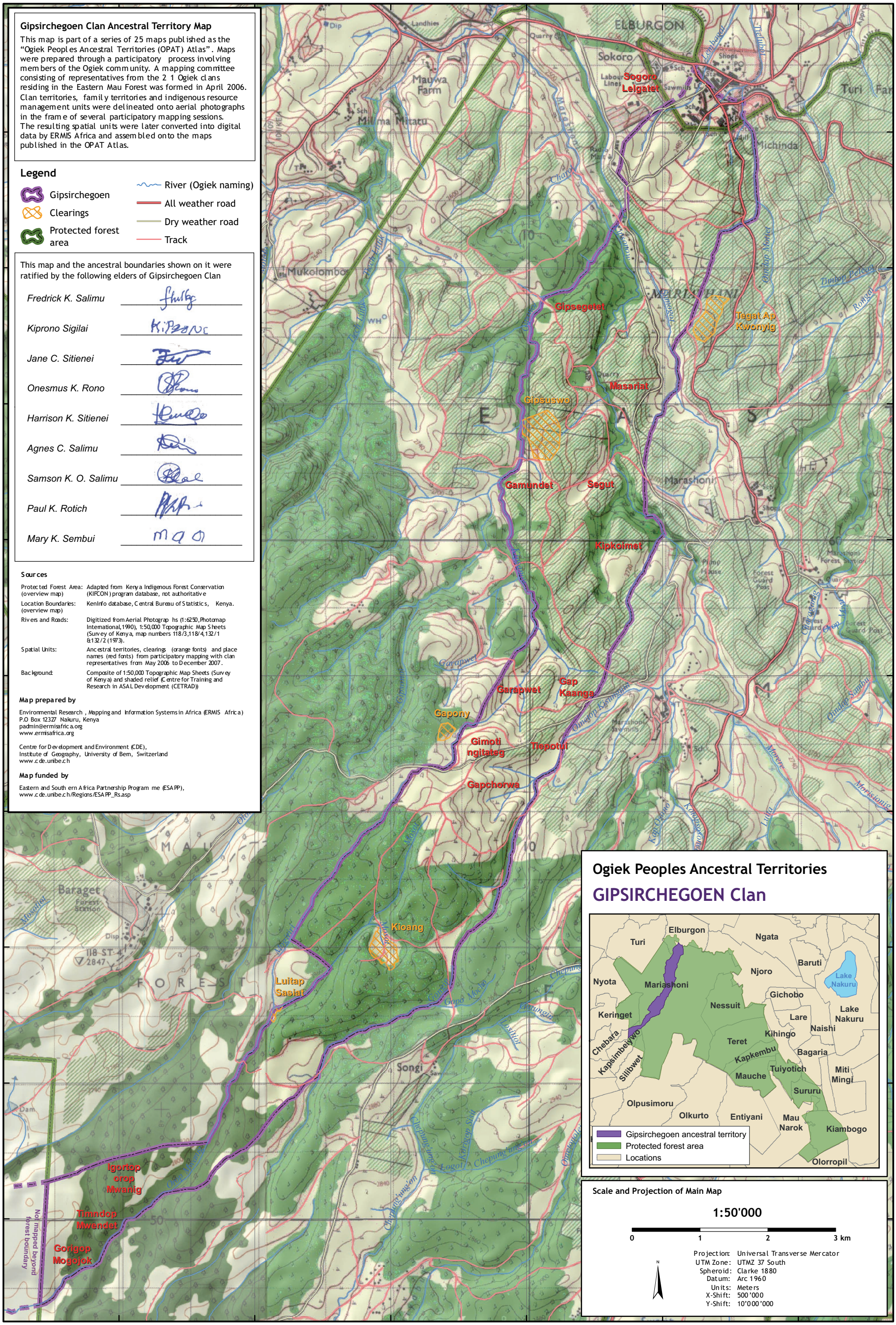
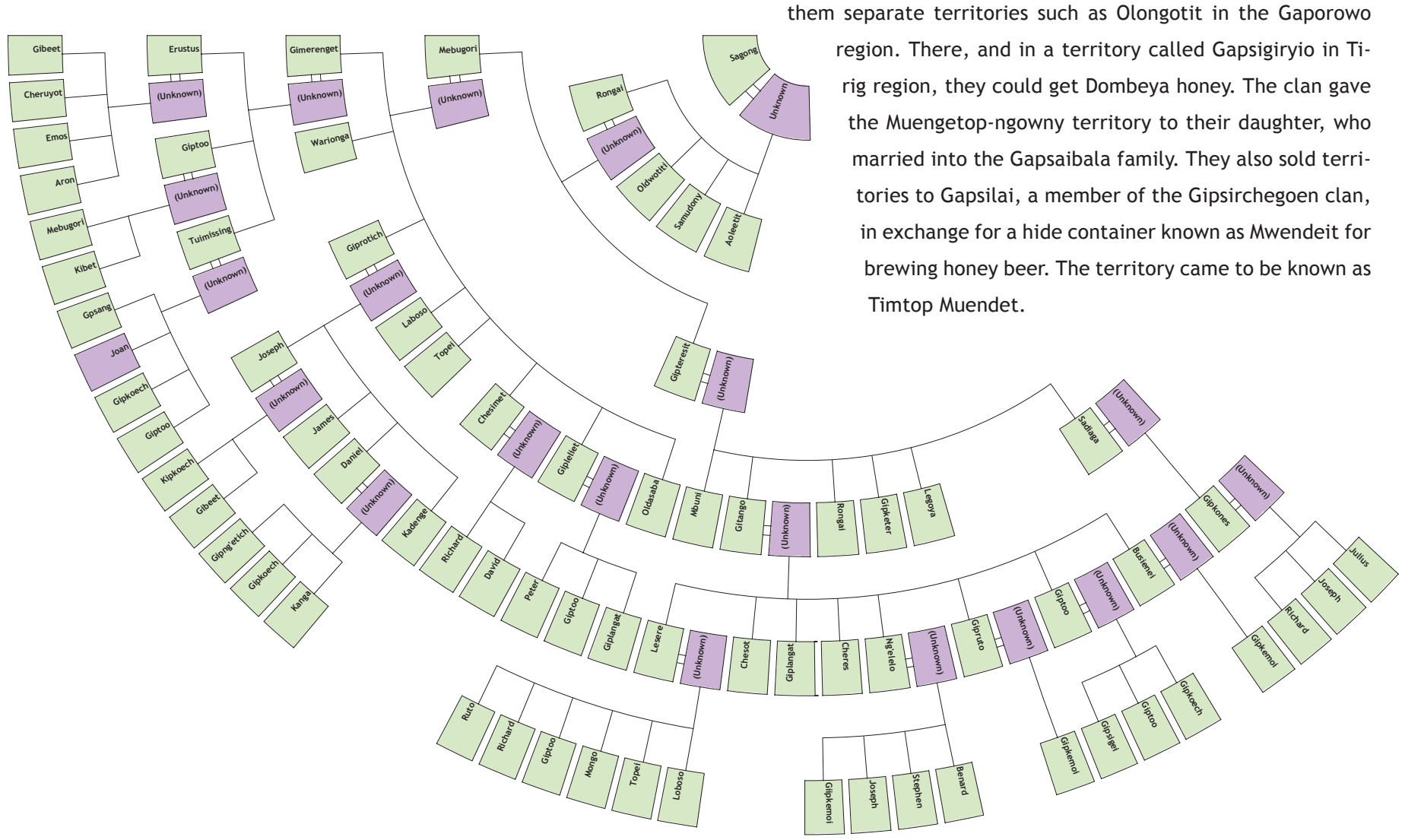


GIPTOPOG CLAN

Giptopog was the ancestor of the clan. The name means “making things using wires,” reflecting his skill. Giptogog was a brother of Gipasis, so named due to his habit of basking in the sun. Gipasis left the Rongai area and moved to the Tinet area, where he joined the Ogiek–gop–om (a section of the Ogiek). Giptopog and Gipasis came from Kiplombe area in the time of the *Ilnyangusi* age-set. They followed the abundance of nectar from Dombeya and Sereret trees found throughout the territories they owned vertically, starting from the eastern side of Lake Nakuru to the south-western part of the three regions - lowlands (Sooywo), midlands (Saapo) and uplands (Gapurowo).This was because of the availability of differentiated natural resources within each region.

Giptopog had a son named Kipkur–Ngwony, who bore a son, Ganya. Ganya begot Imagat, whose son was Kakai. Kakai begot 3 sons, namely Kipteresit, Mepugori and Ng’elelo. Kipteresit had 2 wives. After the death of his first wife his children went back to an uncle in Koibatek. The children of the second wife, a Marishonig from the Gipsiron clan, gave rise to the Kitango family. Ng’elelo’s wife gave birth to Oldaisaiba. She fled from the Giptopog clan and later remarried in the Gipsiron clan, along with her son Oldaisaiba, who was adopted. The Giptopog elders decided to pursue Ng’elelo’s wife. They discussed with Gipsiron elders at Sigion and resolved that Ng’elelo’s wife should be taken back to the Giptopog clan, and assumed that their child Oldaisaba would come back home in future even though he had gone with his mother to the Gipsiron clan. Oldaisaba of the *Ildawati* age-set used to visit his Giptopog stepbrothers. Oldaisaba begat Lenduse and Koina of the Gipsiron clan.

Mebugori’s nephew called Saineneng impregnated a girl named Nagang’eso. It was a taboo to defile a related family member and this led to their exclusion from the clan. They went and joined the family of Gaplengapos, who did not take them seriously. This made them go back to Mariashoni, where Giptopog elders received them and gave them separate territories such as Olongotit in the Gaporowo region. There, and in a territory called Gapsigiryio in Tirig region, they could get Dombeya honey. The clan gave the Muengetop-ngowny territory to their daughter, who married into the Gapsaibala family. They also sold territories to Gapsilai, a member of the Gipsirchegoen clan, in exchange for a hide container known as Mwendeit for brewing honey beer. The territory came to be known as Timtop Muendet.



Giptopog Clan Ancestral Territory Map

This map is part of a series of 25 maps published as the "Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories (OPAT) Atlas". Maps were prepared through a participatory process involving members of the Ogiek community. A mapping committee consisting of representatives from the 21 Ogiek clans residing in the Eastern Mau Forest was formed in April 2006. Clan territories, family territories and indigenous resource management units were delineated onto aerial photographs in the frame of several participatory mapping sessions. The resulting spatial units were later converted into digital data by ERMIS Africa and assembled onto the maps published in the OPAT Atlas.

Legend

- Giptopog
- Clearings
- Protected forest area
- River (Ogiek naming)
- All weather road
- Dry weather road
- Track

This map and the ancestral boundaries shown on it were ratified by the following elders of Giptopog Clan

- James K. Warionga
- Wilson K. Warionga
- Joseph K. Rotich
- Daniel K. Chesot
- Nahashon K. Kiptoo
- Joseph K. Tangus
- Peter K. Bett
- Tapletkoi Saitoti
- Benson N. Kiptoo

Sources

Protected Forest Area: (overview map)	Adapted from Kenya Indigenous Forest Conservation (KIFCON) program database, not authoritative
Location Boundaries: (overview map)	KenInfo database, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya.
Rivers and Roads:	Digitized from Aerial Photographs (1:6250, Photomap International, 1990), 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya, map numbers 118/3, 118/4, 132/1 & 132/2 (1973).
Spatial Units:	Ancestral territories, clearings (orange fonts) and place names (red fonts) from participatory mapping with clan representatives from May 2006 to December 2007.
Background:	Composite of 1:50,000 Topographic Map Sheets (Survey of Kenya) and shaded relief (Centre for Training and Research in ASAL Development (CETRAD))

Map prepared by

Environmental Research, Mapping and Information Systems in Africa (ERMIS Africa)
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Kaposwa
Tegeltet
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Amaran
Koitap kanyawas
Kimurgat
Segutiet
Kipkapsaos
Kepkemui
Mamkog
Cheposere
Olongotit
Kimotei
Cheposerei
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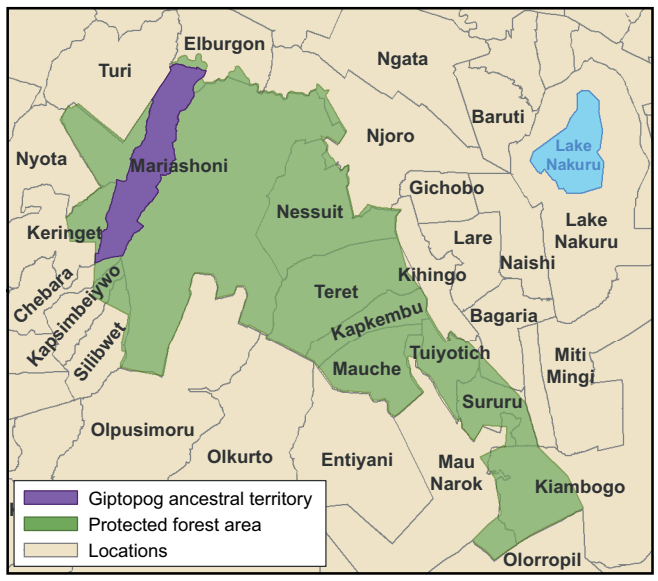
Lelget
Kurabwet
Kesumotinik
Kaptira
Tenetonik
Kapsio
Malekwony
Korgor
Lesundai
Tongotuet

Not included beyond forest boundary

Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories

GIPTOPOG Clan



Scale and Projection of Main Map

1:50'000

0 1 2 3 km

Projection:	Universal Transverse Mercator
UTM Zone:	UTMZ 37 South
Spheroid:	Clarke 1880
Datum:	Arc 1960
Units:	Meters
X-Shift:	500'000
Y-Shift:	10'000'000

The Ogiek Peoples Ancestral Territories (OPAT) Atlas demonstrates how spatial technologies can be used to safeguard the territorial rights and interests of indigenous communities against contemporary forces of tenure dispossession, cultural erosion, and resource degradation in Africa. Spatial tools can help to alter existing community power relations by generating and documenting information that could be used to develop appropriate responses to local socio-economic and political issues. The OPAT atlas is, therefore a suitable tool for local planning and governance of territorial assets and conflict management. It can serve as an aid in decision/making among policy makers involved in the formulation and implementation policies for tenure and cultural and natural resources management. It can also promote collegial learning among development partners.

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