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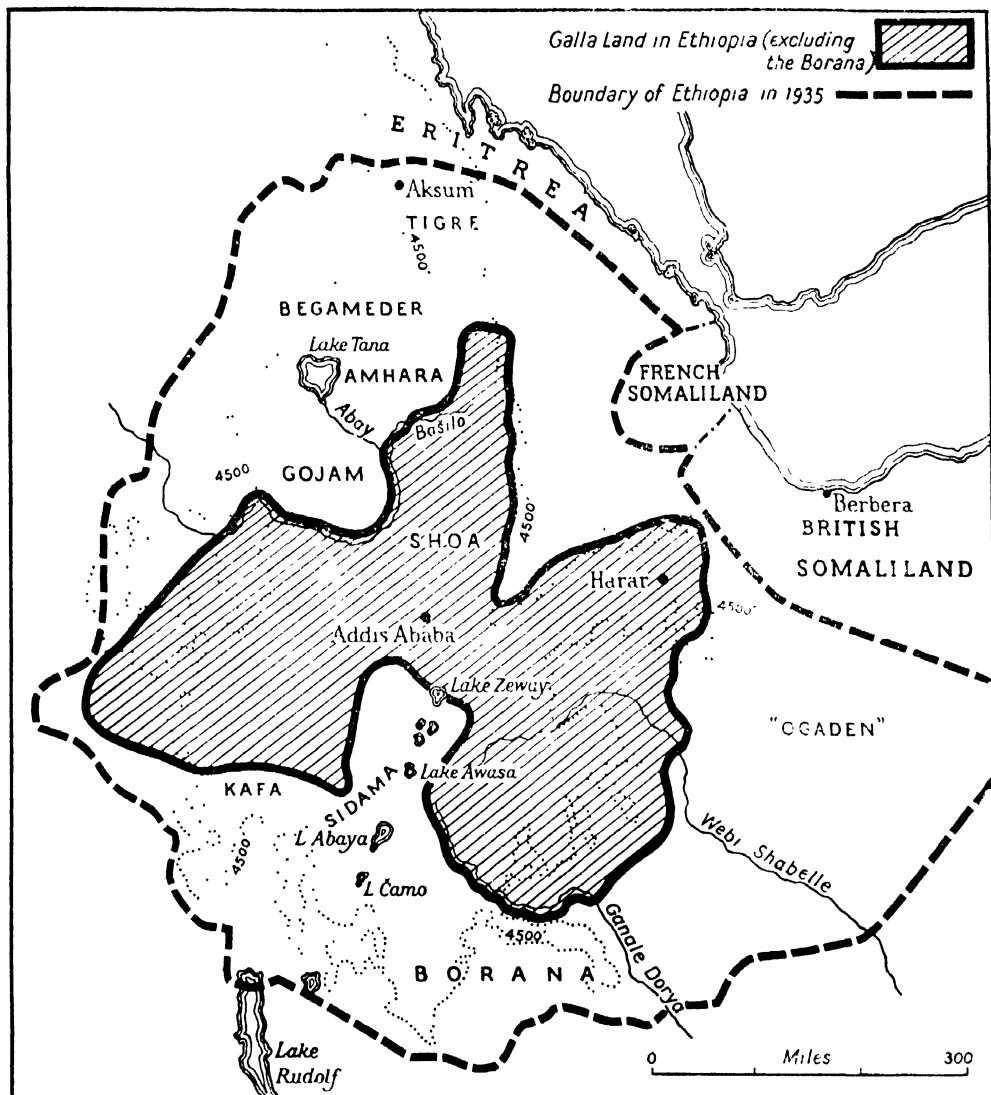
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MAP 1. GALLA LAND IN RELATION TO ETHIOPIA.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF AFRICA

EDITED BY DARYLL FORDE

NORTH-EASTERN AFRICA

PART II

THE GALLA OF ETHIOPIA
THE KINGDOMS OF KAFA
AND JANJERO

BY

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

LONDON

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

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FOREWORD

THE International African Institute has, since 1945, been engaged on the preparation and publication of an Ethnographic Survey of Africa, the purpose of which is to present in a brief and readily comprehensible form a summary of available information concerning the different peoples of Africa with respect to location, natural environment, economy and crafts, social structure, political organization, religious beliefs and cults. While available published material has provided the basis for the Survey, a mass of unpublished documents, reports and records in government files and in the archives of missionary societies, as well as field notes and special communications by anthropologists and others, have been generously made available and these have been supplemented by personal correspondence and consultation. The Survey is being published in a number of separate volumes, each of which is concerned with one people or a group of related peoples, and contains a comprehensive bibliography and specially drawn map.

A committee of the Institute was set up under the Chairmanship of Professor Radcliffe-Brown and the Director of the Institute has undertaken the organization and editing of the Survey. The generous collaboration of a number of research institutions and administrative officers in Europe and in the African territories was secured, as well as the services of senior anthropologists who have been good enough to supervise and amplify the drafts.

The work of the Survey was initiated with the aid of a grant from the British Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, on the recommendation of the Social Science Research Council, to be applied mainly though not exclusively to work relating to British Territories. A further grant from the Sudan Government has assisted in the preparation and publication of sections dealing with that territory.

The Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer and the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire were good enough to express their interest in the project and through their good offices grants have been received from the Governments of French West Africa and the French Cameroons for the preparation and publication of sections relating to those areas. These sections have been prepared by French ethnologists with the support and advice of Professor M. Griaule of the Sorbonne and Professor Th. Monod, Director of I.F.A.N.

The collaboration of the Belgian authorities in this project was first secured by the good offices of the late Professor de Jonghe, who enlisted the interest of the Commission d'Ethnologie of the Institut Royal Colonial Belge. The collaboration of the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale has also been readily accorded. Work relating to Belgian territories is being carried out under the direction of Professor Olbrechts at the Centre du Documentation of the Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren, where Mlle. Boone and members of her staff are engaged on the assembly and classification of the vast mass of material relating to African peoples in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. They work in close collaboration with ethnologists in the field to whom draft manuscripts are submitted for checking.

The International African Institute desires to express its very grateful thanks to those official bodies whose generous financial assistance has made the carrying out of this project possible and to the many scholars, directors of research organizations, administrative officers, missionaries, and others who have collaborated in the work and, by granting facilities to our research workers and by correcting and supervising their manuscripts, have contributed so largely to whatever merit the various sections may possess.

Since the unequal value and unsystematic nature of existing material was one of the reasons for undertaking the Survey, it is obvious that these studies cannot

FOREWORD

claim to be complete or definitive ; it is hoped, however, that they will present a clear account of our existing knowledge and indicate where information is lacking and further research is needed.

A list of sections already published will be found on pp. 155 and 156 of this volume.

DARYLL FORDE,
Director,
International African Institute.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Apart from the published sources used in the preparation of this Survey, to the authors of which our thanks are due, I am indebted to an unpublished English version of Paulitschke's *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas* by Miss Cory, of which I have made some use. I have discussed the subject, especially in its linguistic aspect, with Professor Tucker and Mr. B. W. Andrzejewski ; and I have also had the advantage of discussing tribal distribution and other matters with Professor V. L. Grottanelli of the Museo Preistorico-Etnografico, Rome, and with Father M. Borello of the Consolata Mission. I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym of the International African Institute for much careful and painstaking help.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

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INTRODUCTION

In spite of the large and varied literature dealing with Ethiopia, this country remains one of the least known regions of Africa to this day. The reason lies partly in the physical difficulties of travelling in the country, and partly in the attitude of its rulers to the foreigner. But these are not the only reasons. Numerous travellers and several expeditions have written accounts of most aspects of Abyssinian life and conditions; surveys have been made; European armies have fought at least four wars in Abyssinia; and the country was under Italian rule for a short period in the 'thirties of this century. Yet the maps are still only approximately accurate, and in the sphere of ethnography our knowledge is still very far from adequate. This is especially true of the Galla, an important people who during the last 400 years have spread over half Ethiopia. It is possible to produce a general picture of the Galla, fairly full in the sphere of political organization and religion, but still far from complete. Outstanding contributions have been made by great scholars like Guidi, Conti Rossini, and Cerulli. Of this band, however, none but Cerulli has been an anthropologist, and it is to him especially that we owe the most detailed accounts of various aspects of Galla ethnography.

Some of our sources go back to the 16th century: our most precious document is the work of a man who lived in Gamo (Southern Sidama) and had some first-hand knowledge of the Galla—the ecclesiastic Bahrey whose *History of the Galla* (c. 1593) forms the basis of what we know of the Galla *gada*-system. Before 1850, d'Abbadie, Beke, Isenberg, and Krapf were in Abyssinia, and all wrote something about the Galla, d'Abbadie producing the first attempt at a systematic account (not published till 1880). In the 'eighties of the century the Italian Cecchi and the French Borelli and Soleillet wrote on the Galla, and their works are valuable since they deal with the south-western Galla just before they were conquered by Menilek and their political and social systems altered. Of these three, Cecchi is the most useful and detailed. In 1901 the French missionary Martial de Salviac published the only existing full-length study of the Galla—a large and not very accessible book which contains, in addition to much important material, a good deal that is irrelevant to ethnographical study. He, d'Abbadie, and Cecchi were, however, the first Europeans to give intelligible though incomplete accounts of the *gada*-system which was the basis of Galla social and political organization; and it remained for Cerulli to elucidate this further in his *Folk-Literature* and *Etiopia Occidentale*. Even so, our knowledge is still not complete, and many details remain to be filled in. De Salviac, though he had time and opportunity for observation, was not an anthropologist even according to 19th-century standards; and Cerulli had to rely on texts and verbal information. In other words, no trained European observer has ever seen the working of even one eight-year *gada*-period. Moreover, the sources are of such a nature that, with respect to many Galla customs and beliefs, it is not possible to say to what extent they are current today, how far they have diverged from previous forms, or even whether they are still practised at all. The apparently indiscriminate use of the present and past tenses in the following pages is therefore unavoidable if regrettable. The chief object of this survey, however, is to produce within the compass of a single book a statement of what is known about the existence and practice of these customs and beliefs at *any* time; though I have tried to indicate, when the material allowed, the present state of social life and material culture.

From the historical point of view, a distinction may be made between the names Abyssinia(ns) and Ethiopia(ns). The former denotes the ancient kingdom of the plateau, the latter the modern empire incorporating the conquests of Menilek II in the last quarter of the 19th century. In the following pages, however, this distinction has not always been made, since from the Galla point of view it is immaterial.

Not all the books and papers listed in the Bibliography have been drawn upon; some of the writings included I have not been able to see. But a study of what I

believe to be the eight chief European sources has shown that from them can be constructed an account which includes the essential facts so far as they are recorded. These eight are the most reliable for the requirements of modern ethnography ; in Paulitschke's *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas* a number of the lesser sources are used, and further reference to them seemed to be unnecessary. Of the reliability of the main sources, it may be said that d'Abbadie spent many years in Abyssinia, and is considered to be reliable as far as his material goes, and this estimate is on the whole confirmed by comparison with other sources. De Salviac had the opportunities that a missionary has through close contact with the people. Cecchi and Borelli, the travellers, were both in the country for more than two years, and they visited and described a remote part of Galla land just before the inevitable changes took place that resulted from the Abyssinian conquest ; their evidence, even if incomplete, is thus of considerable value, and their general accuracy is confirmed on the whole by the later work of Cerulli. Paulitschke visited Abyssinia and wrote an encyclopædic work based partly on personal observation and partly on the work of others, in a thorough and systematic manner. Azaïs and Chambard were mainly interested in archæology, and though their book would have benefited by more careful editing, they have made a substantial contribution which amplifies and confirms the earlier work of de Salviac. Lastly, Cerulli's scholarly work and profound linguistic knowledge put his material in the front of recent work on the Galla. But none of these writers has told the whole story. My own knowledge of Galla land is confined to the Harar region ; I was there during the war and had unfortunately no opportunity to do any anthropological work beyond some field archæology ; but I have had the advantage of seeing at least one part of the Galla country.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

Since there is at present no accepted standard orthography of Galla, and since the Amharic alphabet is sometimes used in Ethiopia for writing Galla, an attempt has been made to reconcile the different modes of spelling the language¹ by reference to the Amharic form of transcription. This has been done, in particular, when there is any doubt as to whether k or q should be written (k represented by the Amharic letter *kaf*, q by *qaf*), an important guide being the Galla-Amharic vocabulary entitled *Afan Ormā mā yā Gällā quānquā* (see below, p. 18) in the Mača dialect. It has also been done whenever possible with respect to tribal names, the orthography of which is chaotic, and in the absence of a better guide the Amharic form when available (unless obviously wrong²) has been followed. In certain names there is a glide which cannot be indicated in Amharic letters, e.g., Lyeqa, Gibye ; but since the Amharic forms are Lē-qā, Gi-bē, these have been adopted for the reasons given above. The form Arusi has been kept, though the name is pronounced Arsi, because in Amharic it is written A-ru-si, and because it is more easily recognized in this spelling. The cerebral d is written *ḍ* ; the letter represented in Amharic by *ṭayt* is written *ṭ* ; and ch and sh are written *č* and *š*, in conformity with the common method of transliterating Amharic ; ts does not occur in Galla though in Amharic words it is represented by *s*.

¹ e.g., Tutschek, Cecchi, Foot, Hodson and Walker, da Thiene, Moreno, Nordfeldt, to mention some.

² The name Warra Himano, for instance, appears in one Amharic document as Warromenu, obviously not a correct rendering. Equally incorrect is the form Warra Haymanot, due to confusion of Galla *himano* with Amharic *hāymānot*, "faith."

THE GALLA OF ETHIOPIA

NOMENCLATURE AND TRIBAL GROUPING

THE NAMES OROMO AND GALLA

The people known to the Ethiopians and Europeans as Galla call themselves Oromo, pl. Oromota, and their language *afan oromo*; or Ilma Orma (*ilm orma*), "sons of men" (*afan orma*, "language of men"). The name Oromo is said to be derived from Oromo, son of Omer of Ghellad in Arabia, who crossed the sea to Berbera and settled in Africa¹; another meaning attributed to *oromo* is "race, nation."² The origin of the name Galla is uncertain. The well-known tale that when a Galla chief "was summoned by Mohammed to Islamize, the messenger returned to report that 'he said *no*'—Kal la pronounced Gal la—which impious refusal, said the Prophet, should from that time become the name of the race,"³ is not to be taken seriously. d'Abbadie claimed that it was explained to him as derived from a war-cry, and used by the Galla of themselves when at war.⁴ It is, however, of a respectable antiquity, for it is used by Bahrey at the end of the 16th century. Bahrey does not mention the name Oromo, and since he came from the Sidama country of Gamo in south-western Ethiopia, *Galla* may possibly be a Sidama word which gained currency through his work and its use in other Ethiopian chronicles like the *History of Sarsa Dengel* written a little later. On the other hand it may be a genuine Galla word (adopted by non-Galla), for there is a word *gallā*, "wandering," which occurs in a text in Cerulli's *Folk-Literature*, p. 26, in the phrase *gallā lenčada*, "wandering lion"; as a name it might allude to their movements over such a large part of north-east Africa. The Abyssinian form is *Gällā*; and in Ludolf's Latin the people are called Gallani (*History*) and Gallaci (*Commentaries*).

THE BORANA AND THE BARAYTUMĀ

Bahrey, in whose *History of the Galla* this people are first mentioned, says that the Galla "are two tribes called Baraytumā and Boran"; the first he writes also as Bārtumā, and other forms of it are Bareituma and Barentu. It seems clear that these names refer roughly to the eastern Galla (Baraytumā) and western Galla (Boran), and that they serve to distinguish, again approximately, the eastern or agricultural from the western or pastoral Galla. In actual fact, however, there is some overlap, and at the same time Boran, in the form Borana, meaning "free" in Galla, is used as their distinctive name by the pastoral Galla of southern Abyssinia, who are outside the scope of this volume.⁵ The distinction between Boran and Baraytumā as applied to the Ethiopian Galla is therefore largely theoretical, for though the western Galla belong to Bahrey's "Boran" group, to refer to them as such will lead to confusion with the southern Galla. However, among the Mača tribes of western Ethiopia the term is used by the people to distinguish between the Galla and the survivors of the original Sidama population which became merged with them after the Galla conquest in the 16th century. This distinction seems to be most marked among the Leqa, where the true Galla claim descent from a Galla named Babbo; but some Leqa tribes, being of Sidama origin, are known as Čalla Gabaro, from the name of one of the chief local Sidama tribes; Čalla occurs as a place-name in Gera and

¹ Cecchi, II, p. 473 seq.

² Cecchi, III, p. 238.

³ Burton, *First Footsteps*, p. 99.

⁴ "Sur les Oromo."

⁵ See Ethnographic Survey volume dealing with the Southern Galla (forthcoming). There are considerable cultural differences between the Ethiopian Galla and the Southern Galla—the Borana of the Kenya-Ethiopia frontier region, and the Tanaland Galla—and it seemed best to separate the Ethiopian and Southern Galla for descriptive purposes.

Gomma.⁶ According to d'Abbadie, "a brave plebeian" named Kuti Bose made it possible for the Gabaro to enter the *gada*-system⁷ and at their periodical initiation ceremonies the Leqa elect two leaders, one for the Borana and one for the Gabaro.⁸ Though admitted to the *gada*, the Gabaro do not make pilgrimages to the Abba Muda.⁹

LIST OF GROUPS AND TRIBES

The Galla of Ethiopia, divided into some 200 or more tribes, are found in six major territorial groups:

Western: I. Wallaga, west of the Didessa river. II. Mača, east of the Didessa, and south of the Abay. The Gibē kingdoms belong to this group.

Central: III. Tulama, east of the Mača.

Northern: IV. Wallo, north of the Tulama, and extending as far as Lake Ašangi.

Eastern: V. [Apparently no Galla group name], centred on Harar, and extending thence 120 miles westwards and 40 miles eastwards.

Southern: VI. Arusi, on both sides of the Webi Shabelle.

In the following list only principal variants are given; alternative names, not mere variants, are given in square brackets.¹⁰

I. Wallaga

Habitat: West of the Didessa and north of the Gojeb; to the west of the area are various Šanqella (Shangalla) or "negro" tribes, and the Koma, Anfillo or Mao, Anuak (Yambo), and Nuer; to the south are Sidama peoples (Kafa, etc.). Eastwards their neighbours are the Mača Galla.

Tribes

Doranni (Dorenni).

Ilu Alga (Illu Alga).

Ilu Babor (Hillu Babor, Hilu Babor, Ilu Abba Bor). (See Index 2.)

Leqa Nos.

Leqa Qellem.

Leqa Šayo (Saio).

Nole Kabba (Nolikabba).

Nonno Ilu.

II. Mača

Habitat: East of the Didessa and south of the Abay (Blue Nile), which separates them from Gojam, Damot, and Agawmeder. Eastwards they extend approximately to a line running southwards from the mouth of the Mugar, a tributary of the Abay, to Qabena, north of Guragē. On the south are the former Galla monarchies of the Gibē (referred to as the Gibē States or the Gibē monarchies) comprising Guma, Gera, Gomma, Limmu-Enarya, and Jimma, and the former Sidama State of Janjero (Yamma). In Gojam, north of the Abay, there are or have been certain Galla settlements: (A) Mača or Meča, south of Lake Tana, who were allowed to settle here by Iyasu I of Abyssinia (1681–1704), because they had nearly depopulated the region, and also in return for military help; they became absorbed into the previous inhabitants, and adopted Amharic, though they still spoke Galla in Bruce's time, but were even then not considered a separate Galla people. (B) Jawe, who had crossed the Abay and were living in the Gafat country in the time of Iyasu I. (C) In south and south-east Gojam, the Basso, Liban, and Metta represent an overflow from the south side. (D) According to Paulitschke, the Mabil (Mavil) in Wambarma or Gafat formed a

⁶ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 14; *Etiopia Occidentale*, II, chap. xix.

⁷ "Sur les Oromo."

⁸ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, II, chap. xix; and see p. 51 below.

⁹ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 141. On the Abba Muda, see p. 83 below.

¹⁰ This list, it must be emphasized, is provisional only.

separate Galla tribe ; this name is presumably connected with that of the ford called Malka Mabil. (Mačča, Meča, Miecha, Metja, Matja.)

Tribes

Ababe (Abebe).	Leqa Horda.
Amuru (Amoru, Amoro).	Leqa Naqamte.
Basso (Baso).	Leqa Sibū.
Botor.	Leqa Wayu.
Čabo.	Liban (Liben).
Čaleha (Čeliha, Cellia, Chelea).	Liban Kuttaye (Kutay, Kuttai, Kutawe).
Činču.	Liban Toko (Toke).
Gudru (Gooderoo, Guderu).	Limmu.
Hebantu (Ibantu, Evantu, Hevantu).	Mabil (Mavil).
Horro.	Nonno.
Jawe (Jawi).	Nonno Gači.
Jidda (Gidda).	Nonno Jebat (Jibat, Jibati).
Jimma (Gimma).	Nonno Migra (Mighera).
Jimma Arjo (Argio).	Nonno Roggē (Rogghie).
Jimma Gobo.	Obo.
Jimma Gudaya.	Sulu.
Jimma Hinē.	Tequr (Tukur, Tucur).
Jimma Horro.	Waliso (Woliso, Uoliso).
Jimma Qadida.	Warra Badesso (Bedesso). ¹¹
Jimma Rarē.	Warra Gode.
Jimma Tibē.	Warra Jibu.
Jimma Warqē.	Warra Kumbi (Arcumbi, Arkumbi).
Leqa (Leka, Laica, Lega).	Wasa.
Leqa Billo.	Wečati (Wachiti, Washiti).

III. Tulama

Habitat : Extend eastwards from the Mača across Shoa beyond Ankobar to the edge of the highlands ; on the south, to Lake Zeway and the Hawaš river ; and on the north to the region north of the Wančet river. The Galla tribes here are much mingled with the Amhara Abyssinians, who are called Amara and Habaša by the Galla.

Tribes

Abiču, Abeču.	Koat (Kaot).
Abu.	Laga Gora (Legagora). ¹²
Ada.	Laga Ida (Lagaida, Legahida).
Adaberga (Adaverga, Ajaber).	Metta (Mietta).
Awberi (Uoberi).	Metta Hadaha (Hata) ; [Bargay].
Bečo (Baju, Beccio) ; [Aureppe].	Metta Robi.
Borana (Borena).	Mullu (Mullo).
Derra (Darre).	Saggo Mugar (Yaya Mugar, Moger, Muger).
Ekka.	Saka.
Galan (Galen).	Salale.
Girru.	Soddo (Soddu).
Gombiču (Genbiču, Gombaču).	Suba.
Gulale.	Tumuga.
Jamma.	Warra Jarso (Uorra Giarso).
Jidda.	Wasorbi (Uassarbi, Osarbi).
Jilli (Jele, Jile, Gille).	Waya.
Karayu (Carraiū).	
Keču (Keku).	

¹¹ *Warra* means people, descendants of, family, and is a common element in the names of Galla tribes and sub-tribes.

¹² *Laga* = people.

IV. *Wallo*

Habitat: North of the Tulama to the Bašilo river, in the highlands between Gojam on the west and the Afar lowlands on the east. The Wallo are much mixed with the Abyssinians, and in some tribes the process of assimilation has gone so far that it is difficult to say whether they should now be classed ethnically as Galla or Abyssinian. In some, too, the Galla language has been largely superseded by Amharic (e.g., Warra Himano). North of the Wallo region proper, and extending up to and beyond Lake Ašangi, is a tongue of land occupied by Galla consisting mainly of the Raya and Yeju tribal groups. The Raya are also known as Azabo; and the Yeju appear to be a mixed people due to intermarriage of Galla with a people of Afar type. The Raya have a reputation for ferocity, and are fairly recent converts to Islam; the Yeju and Wallo are Moslem as well. The Wallo are said to consist of seven tribes, and were referred to by the Amhara as Sabbāt bēt wallo, "the seven 'houses' of the Wallo."

Tribes

(a)

Borana (Borena).

Čereča.

Dugugur.

Gače.

Hartuma (Antoma).

Herike.

Kollo Abiet.

Laga Ambo (Legambo).¹³

Laga Gura (Legagura, Legagora).

Laga Ida (Lega Idda, Legaida).

Wallo (Wollo, Woollo).

Wallo Babo.

Warra Ilu (Hailu, Yelu, Uorra Ilu).

Warra Himano (Warra Hemano, Haymanot, Haimanot, Uorra Imano, Warromenu).

Warra Qallu (Warrakallu, Kallu, Kallo).

(b)

Ala.

Gafra.

Jirana.

Maizella.

Raya (Raia), also called Azabo (Azebo, Assabo, Asebo).

Wojale (Ujale); [Čuladere].

Yeju (Yajju, Edjou, Edjow, Ieggiu, Ayzo).

V. *Eastern*

Habitat: The eastern Galla live on the Harar uplands. They comprise six tribal groups, which are, from west to east: Ittu, Ania, Ala, Nole, Jarso, and Babile. They are separated from the Tulama by the northern Arusi. On the north they border the Afar and the desert; on the east the Somali; on the south and west the Arusi. Harar is at the meeting point of the Nole, Jarso, and Ala.

Tribes

1. Ittu:

Alga (Halga).

Čerčer.

Gadulla.

Jedo.

Kodelle.

Manna Babo (Manna Abbu).

Mogi (Mugi).

Oborra.

Warra Qallu.

Dembi.

Ilmane.

Kodelle.

Kojē.

Kurkuru.

Malkattu.

Mukra.

Nura.

Ramis.

Wočale.

2. Ania (Annia, Enia):

Abuno.

Awborayu.

Babo.

Bidu.

3. Ala:

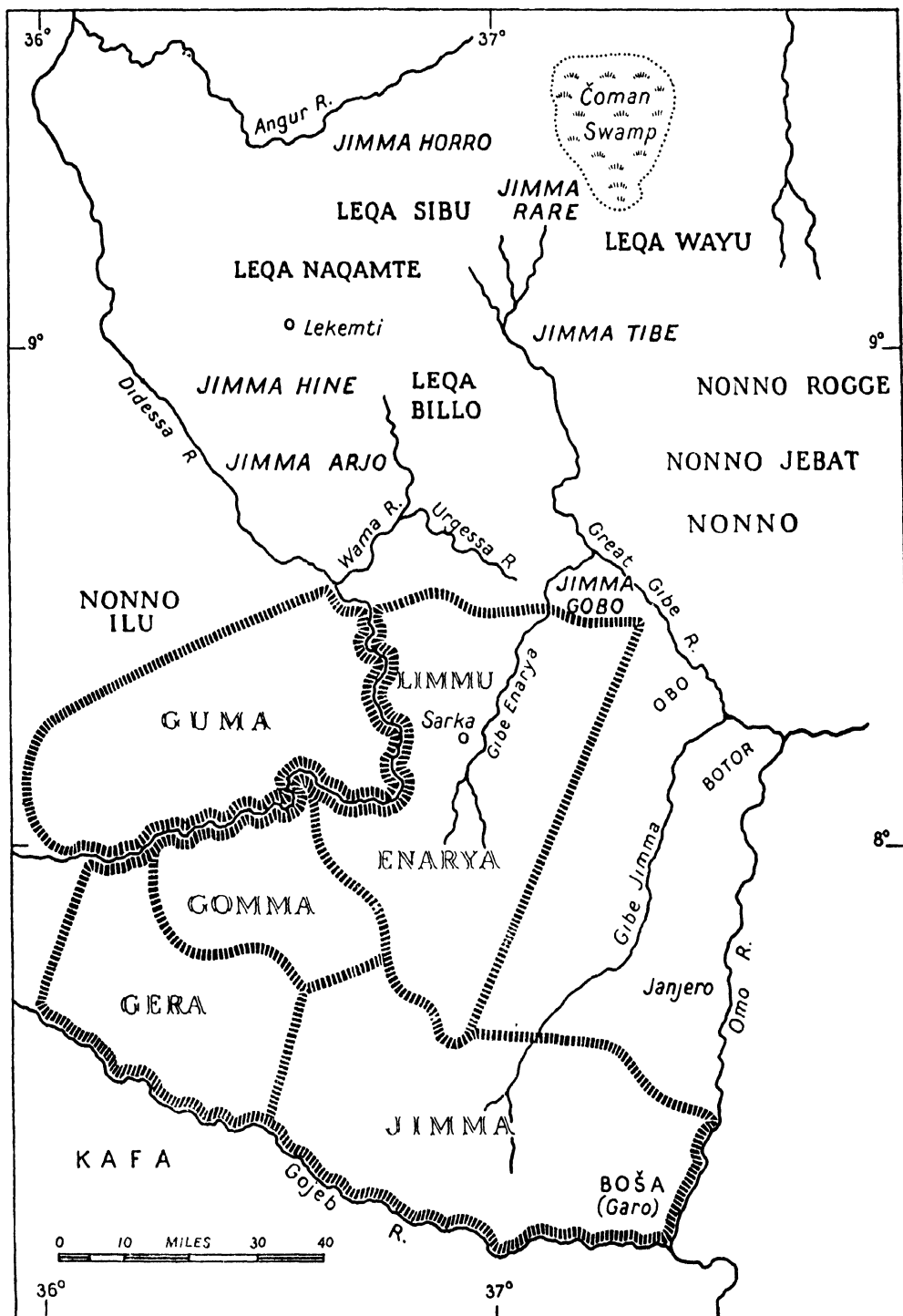
Diramo (Dirmu).

Fadis (Fidis).

Warra Abado.

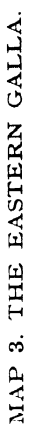
Warra Abay.

¹³ *Ambo* = tribe, ally.



MAP 2. THE LEQA, JIMMA, AND NONNO GROUPS, AND THE
GALLA MONARCHIES OF THE GIBĒ.

A scale bar labeled "MILES" with markings at 0, 10, 40, and 50.



MAP 3. THE EASTERN GALLA.

Warra Aroji (Qoje).
 Warra Bubassa (Bassadimo, Bisidimo).
 Warra Bubu.
 Warra Erer (Irir, Ari).
 Warra Galan (Jilan).
 Warra Gollo.
 Warra Gutayu (Gutiču).
 Warra Kako.
 Warra Metta.
 Warra Nunnu (Nun, Nonnu).

4. Nole (Noli) :

Alela (Halele, Lele).

Gurgura.

Manna Abu (Mannabu, Abu Umbenni).¹⁴

Manna Gariri.

Manna Gatu.

Manna Oromo.

Muča.

Yagara.

VI. Arusi¹⁵

Habitat : Bounded on the north by the Tulama and Ania, on the east by the Somali, on the south by the Borana Galla who extend into Kenya Colony, and on the west by the Sidamo and Darasa.

Tribes

Aminya.

Aymaru.

Ayub.

Dawadin.

Day.

Garura.

Hamida (Amida).

Jamjamo.

5. Jarso (Jarsa) :

Badu.

Dowan.

Manna Hayu (Hiyo).

Walabo (Wallabu).

Warra Ali.

Warra Danka.

Warra Dawaro (Duru, Duro).

Warra Huma (Humi, Humyarya).

Warra Jarso.

Warra Oga.

Warra Sayo.

Warra Ugedo.

6. Babile (Babilli, Babuli) :

Warra Bartale.

Warra Bersub (Burzuf, Bursuk).

Warra Karalle.

Warra Maya.

Jidda.

Mandu (Manduya).

Rabo.

Sabro.

Wačitu (Wajetu).

Walaši.

Yebsana (Ebsana).

Yebsana Warra Qallu.

Sources : The basis of this list and of the distribution of tribes shown on the general map is the list given by Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, pp. 58-66, and his map, revised, corrected, and supplemented from material in Bahrey, Cecchi, Cerulli (*Folk-Literature and Ethiopia Occidentale*), Azaïs et Chambard (*Cinq Années*), Borelli (*Ethiopie Méridionale*), and the G.S., G.S. series of maps ($\frac{1}{2}$ million, 1 million, and 2 million, on which see p. 97 below). It must be emphasized that the list is of a provisional nature, and it is uncertain to what extent some of the tribes of the Tulama and Wallo groups still maintain their separate Galla identity; a number of Paulitschke's tribes, indeed, has been omitted.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

Almeida thus describes the appearance of the Galla : " It should be known that they are a black race, but their features are not very Cafre-like, for they do not have flat noses or very thick lips. They have good features and well-made bodies, and to-day there are many of them who are copper coloured rather than black, particularly those who inhabit the kingdoms of Bizamo and Damot." ¹⁶ In general the Galla are well made, of tall stature, with only moderately broad noses (mesorrhine), well-

¹⁴ *Manna* (mānā) = house.

¹⁵ See note on Orthography, p. 10 above.

¹⁶ He means by this the old territories of Bizamo and Damot, south of the Abay.

formed mouths, and skin lighter than that of the negro. They are good horsemen and capable of enduring great physical exertion.

In head shape they are predominantly mesaticephalic, though some dolichocephals occur. Noses are mesorrhine, though Lester gives some figures which fall well below 70, and there is in addition some platyrrhinity. Their foreheads are inclined to be high and straight; there is an absence of prognathism. The following figures are based on material collected by Lester.

	Number	Range	Mean
Stature	100	160.0-185.0	173.0
Cephalic Index ..	177	72.0-81.0	76.9
Nasal Index ..	20	66.6-90.9	76.3

Skin colour ranges from the swarthiness of many southern Europeans to a deep brown, with intermediate variations of all shades, including Almeida's "copper colour." Their comparatively light skins suggested to the early missionaries that their name was derived from the Greek *gala*, "milk." Eye colour is usually dark brown. The hair is black, crisp and curly, but not woolly, and grows much longer than the negro's. When woolly hair occurs it is due to comparatively recent mixture with negroes.

Sources : P. Lester (Muséum d'Histoire naturelle), in *L. Anthropologie*, XXXVIII, pp. 61-90, 289-315; and Appendix II to Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*, pp. 311-320, and references there given.

SUBMERGED CLASSES OR PARIAH GROUPS

Among many of the Hamites of north-east Africa certain types of occupation are confined to groups which are held in contempt; members of such groups are in some cases socially if not ethnically distinct from the people among whom they live, and may be described for convenience as submerged classes or pariah groups. Among the Galla, hunters (i.e., people who live entirely by hunting), smiths (*tumtu*), potters (*ado*), and dressers of skins (*faqi*) are held in contempt. The most distinct of these are the hippopotamus hunters known to the Galla as Watta, pl. Watto; to the Abyssinians as Wayto (Woyto); and to the Guragē as Fuga; in Kafa they are called Manjō. These people live either in subjection to or in some sort of symbiosis with their more advanced neighbours. Massaja records that it is "a firm tradition of this race [the Watta] that in Kaffa as in Abyssinia they were the original lords and free peoples of these countries," and "in the beginning the greater part of the regions south of the Blue Nile were occupied by the . . . Watta."¹⁷ The people called Fuga by the inhabitants of Guragē, described as being darker than the rest of the local population, appear to be the same as the Watta of the Galla, as also do the Doko of Tambaro nearby.¹⁸ The name Watta also occurs along the Kenya coast, where the primitive hunters who preceded the Bantu and Galla in this region—the Boni and Sanya (Sanye) or Ariangulo (Walangulo)—are thus known to the Tanaland Galla. The Watta of Ethiopia are found in the following localities in Galla land: (1) among the Mača and in the Gibē States; (2) in the southern part of the Arusi country extending into the land of the Borana. Of the size of the various scattered groups of Watta little is known for certain; Grottanelli reckoned, on the basis of a survey of villages, that there were about 750 Wayto living round the shores of Lake Tana (outside the Galla sphere); Rava estimated their numbers first at six to seven hundred,

¹⁷ Massaja, *I miei trentacinque anni*, VII, p. 9; VI, p. 56.

¹⁸ Krapf, *Travels*, p. 51.

but later raised the number to a maximum of 1500; Cheesman thought two to three hundred might be near the mark. Among the Galla and Kafa the Watta live in family groups scattered among the free population, to whom they are in subjection; in Abyssinian territory they live in small villages separated from those of the Amhara, to whom they are politically inferior. Of their customs, it may be said that they pierce and elongate their ear-lobes, that they wear conical hats of monkey fur, and that they use spears with detachable heads as well as the bow and arrow. The Tana Wayto, who are mentioned by Almeida as "men who live by hunting and killing hippopotamuses" (Book I, chap. 7), are Moslems, speaking a form of Amharic; they circumcise boys at the age of two. Cheesman says that "their skill in boatmanship has protected them from eviction (by the Amhara) and they have been encouraged to remain, as the Amharas are dependent on them for water traffic and transport."¹⁹ They use the reed rafts called *tankua* in Amharic.

Sources: The principal sources for the Watta are Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, Appendix: The Watta: a low caste of hunters; and Grottanelli, *Missione di studio al Lago Tana*, chapter vii. Both these books, especially Cerulli's, give full references.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Galla belongs to the Eastern Zone of the north-eastern Hamitic (Kushitic) languages,²⁰ together with Somali, Afar and Saho; these four languages should probably be grouped thus: (a) Galla; (b) Somali; (c) Afar and Saho. Cerulli has divided the language of the Ethiopian Galla into three main dialect groups: (1) *Mača*, with two sub-groups, the dialects of (a) the pagan Galla, Limmu, Leqa, Nonno, etc.; (b) the Gibē States, Jimma, etc. (2) *Tulama*, spoken in Shoa. (3) *Eastern Galla*, including the Galla round Harar, the Ittu, Ania, Arusi, etc.²¹ To one of these three groups must be assigned the dialect spoken by the *Wallo* in the north; it is uncertain to which group this belongs, but it may be similar to the dialect of the Ittu or of the Arusi.²²

Nouns are formed by suffixes, most of which are mere formatives, though significant suffixes indicating action, status, quality, and condition occur. There is a case-system, and the plural is also formed by suffixes, though the Galla tendency is to avoid the plural to a great extent. Gender is indicated by suffix (feminine —t) to nouns, and it is also shown in the third person singular of verb tenses which have masculine and feminine forms. In demonstratives there are three degrees of reference: *this*, *that*, *that a long way off*. There are two main verb-classes: (a) "primitive" verbs, of which the imperative second person singular ends in —i: *ken-u*, to give, imperative *ken-i*, give! (b) "derived" verbs in which the imperative second person singular ends in —u: *hojed-u*, to work, from *hoj-i* (noun = "work"), *hoj-u*, work! Tenses are formed by suffixes which indicate person and time; the negative is *hin-* prefixed to the verb. The passive is indicated by suffix *-am-*, but is commonly avoided. Derivative forms of verbs ("verbal species") include Causative, Personal (i.e., do something for oneself), and Intensive. The normal sentence order is subject, object, verb.

Although Galla has no alphabet of its own—when written in Ethiopic the Amharic alphabet is used—it has a small amount of literature written in Amharic characters, and a good deal of folk-literature of the kind made accessible by Cerulli²³ in the shape of songs, stories, and oral chronicles. Of written material perhaps the most interesting is *The Galla Spelling Book*, by Onesimos Nesib, a Native Galla. Printed at the Swedish Mission Press, Moncullo near Massowah, 1894. This is the English title;

¹⁹ Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile* (1936), p. 92.

²⁰ The other zones of the north-eastern Hamitic languages are: (1) northern, Beja; (2) central, Agaw; (3) south-western, Sidama.

²¹ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, pp. 11–13.

²² Moreno, *Grammatica della lingua Galla*, p. 20. It may be mentioned here that the linguistic material of Tutschek, Cecchi, and Hodson and Walker seems to refer principally to the Mača group, as does most of Cerulli's *Folk-Literature*; Krapf's outline refers to Shoaan Galla (Tulama), and Moreno's grammar also mainly to Tulama.

²³ *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Harvard African Studies, 1922.

it has also a Galla title written in Amharic characters which reads, in English, "The beginning of teaching, that is, a book of words for those who teach the Galla language, to show the people of Galla land the way to God (Waqā), collected and printed by Awaj Onesimos and Ganon Aster, made this side of Massawa in the village of Monkullo 1894 years after our Lord Jesus Christ was born." The texts in this book are in the Mača dialect of Limmu, from which Onesimos came. Its purpose seems to have been to discredit the Swedish Mission, for the texts ostensibly intended to "show the Galla the way to God" include songs of love and war, and ritual songs relating to pagan worship and the cult of Atete, the Galla fertility goddess.²⁴

Though not a text, the Galla-Amharic vocabulary written in the early 19th century by one Habta Sellasē is of some interest, and of service in deciding points of orthography. It is called *Afan ormā mā yagāllā quānquā*, the first two words being Galla, and the rest Amharic, the whole meaning "the language of the *orma*, that is, the language of the Galla."²⁵ The important collection of material in Cerulli's *Folk-Literature* includes a large number of songs, providing examples of the Galla modes of rhyme and scansion. Of great interest are the historical traditions or oral chronicles, of which he gives a chronicle of the kingdom of Guma, and an account of the holy war of Hasan Injamo in the reign of Menilek II. This book, with its wealth of notes, is a valuable source book for Galla ethnography. Moreno's *Favole e rime Galla* contains a further collection of Galla "folk literature"; there are some Galla texts written in both Amharic and roman characters in Hodson and Walker's *Galla Grammar*; and Nordfeldt has some texts in Amharic characters. The problems of Galla verse have been studied by Littmann in his *Galla Verskunst*.

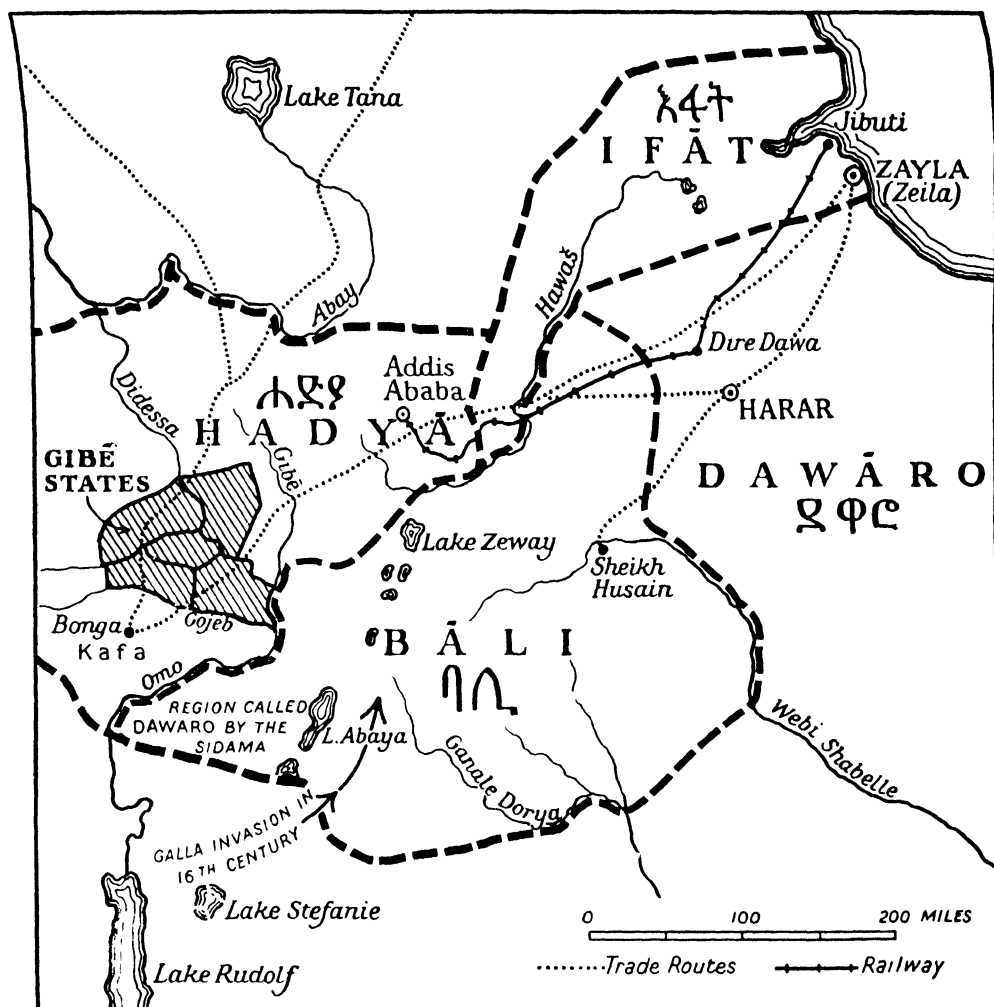
²⁴ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 15.

²⁵ C. Conti Rossini, "Il Nagara Galla," *RR. Accad. Linc*, 1904, 5 ser. XIII, pp. 307 seq. 330 seq., from d'Abbadie MSS, cat. no. 185.

NOTE ON MAP 4.

Since drawing this map I have re-examined the evidence provided by the Ethiopian Chronicles, Al'Umari, and Maqrizi for the position of these states ; and it is now clear to me that this map requires some modification. (1) IFAT is substantially correct, though it reached the Hawaš more or less due south of Entotto and left it after a short distance, going along the Kassam and rejoining the Hawaš farther east near the site of the railway station called " Auasc " on the maps. And it may not have extended so far north of Lake Abbe as shown. (2) The eastern limit of DAWARO seems to have been about 50 miles east of Harar, and to have reached the edge of the Marar plain, continuing southwards along or just east of the Tug Dakata till it reached the Balı boundary on the Webi Shabelle. On the north, Dawaro proper stopped at the southern boundary of Ifat ; but there seems to have been an extension of it immediately north of Ifat in the area north-west of Lake Abbe (3) BALI is shown as extending too far westwards , it probably did not go beyond the line of lakes Zeway, Langano, Šala, and Awasa ; and it seems to have reached the Hawaš north-east of Lake Zeway. This north-west corner of Balı was the site of the little states of Waj (in which lay Lake Zeway) and Faṭagar, which reached nearly to Sheikh Husain. The south-western limit of Balı was along the Ganale Doria to Lake Awasa. (4) HADYA continued westward from Balı as far as the Didessa, and included the future Galla monarchies of the Gibē except Guma. On the north its limit may have been a line drawn along the northern boundary of Limmu-Enarya, the Great Gibē, and Qabena to the Hawaš, rather than the Abay, as shown here (5) The " Region called Dawaro by the Sidama " should be shown on the *west* side of the Omo , the country between the Omo and Lake Abaya across which these words are printed was possibly an extension of Balı in the 16th century.

Erratum.—The name of Ifat in Ethiopic characters has been written inadvertently with the 6th order instead of the 3rd order (i.e. Efat instead of Ifat).



MAP 4. GALLA LAND, SHOWING THE MOSELM TRADING STATES
OF DAWARO, IFAT, BALI AND HADYA.

(See note on the other side of this page)

HISTORY

The Galla belong to the stock commonly known as Hamitic (or, as some prefer, Kushitic). They would seem to have been part of the Later Hamitic group, a group to which belong also the Somali, Afar or Danakil, and Saho¹. It is clear that the first African homeland of the Galla was what is now British Somaliland and northern Somalia, to which their own traditions bring them; these traditions are confirmed by the attribution to the Galla by the Somali of most of the cairns and other ruins in Somaliland, and there can in fact be little doubt that the Galla occupation here preceded that of the Somali. But as the Somali, settling in the Galla sphere, grew in strength and extended their territory, they exercised such pressure on the Galla as to drive them towards the west and south-west. The Galla migration from Somaliland must have begun at least by the 12th century A.D., for the Arab historian Yaquṭ claims the complete Islamization of the "Somali of the Zayla coast" by that time. The Galla, thus dispossessed, travelled towards Lake Rudolf, from the neighbourhood of which they entered the Abyssinian province of Bali from the west about the year 1522.² (Map 4.)

The period when the Galla began their penetration of Abyssinia was one of conflict and disaster for the Ethiopians, since it was in 1527 that the 15 years' war began with the Moslems of Adal (the eastern lowlands) under the Somali leader Ahmad Grañ, "the left-handed." The condition to which the Ethiopians were reduced, and their pre-occupation with repelling the Moslem attacks, prevented them both from realizing how serious was the Galla menace and also from taking any steps to oppose the Galla till it was too late. It was not in fact till 1569 that Sarṣa Dengel, the king of Abyssinia, was able to inflict upon the Galla their first major defeat. But by that time the Galla had got well into Abyssinia; they had crossed the Webi Shabelle and occupied the present Arusi country and much of the Moslem trading State of Bali, and had almost certainly begun to occupy the land between the Abay and Gojeb rivers. The establishment of some sort of Galla domination over certain of the Gibē States must also be placed as early as about 1550, for it is to this time that the traditions of the Gibē peoples, expressed in terms of their *gada*-system with its regular eight-year periods, refer. And before 1570 they had invaded not only Shoa but Amhara as well, reaching as far north as Angot. While these predominantly pastoral Galla were overrunning Abyssinia in the west, the eastern Galla, whose early movements and history are somewhat uncertain, were penetrating Abyssinia from the east along the Harar uplands, and by about 1590-8 some of them had crossed the Bašilo river and begun their occupation of the very heart of Ethiopia. The victory of Sarṣa Dengel in 1569 did not check their aggression, nor did successive defeats in 1572 near Lake Zeway and in 1578 at Wayna Dag'a in Begameder. By the beginning of the 17th century much of south-western Abyssinia south of the Abay was under Galla control; in fact, by this time they had become possessed of most of their present territory, though it is not certain how early Wallaga in the extreme west was first occupied. It was only the Sidama countries south of the Gojeb and extending east of the lakes (Zeway, Abaya, Čamo) that successfully resisted them, and the strange beast called Liqimsa, "the swallower," that, according to one tradition, harried the Galla settlers east of Lake Abaya, may typify a series of defeats inflicted by the Sidama. At least we do know that the Sidama south of the Gojeb were never conquered by the Galla. The pre-Galla population of the region between the Abay and Gojeb was also Sidama, but they were perhaps not so well organized or determined as their southern kinsmen, and entry into their country was easier, so that they fell a prey to the Mača Galla, among whom they became eventually absorbed.

Much of the country between the Abay and the headwaters of the Gojeb before the Galla invasion was comprised within two States named Bizamo and Damot, while

¹ See Beckingham and Huntingford, pp. 1, li.

² Ibid., pp. lxxi-lxxiii, 111, 208, where this problem is dealt with in detail.

adjoining them was an intrusive settlement of people speaking an Ethiopic language called Gafat. Bizamo lay between the Abay and the Angur, Damot between the Angur and the Gibē, while Gafat was farther east, probably between the Gudar and Mugar rivers. All three are reckoned as "kingdoms" by Ludolf, whose map of 1683 continues to show all of them south of the Abay, as does Almeida's of about 1640. Ludolf, moreover, claims that the king of Abyssinia still controlled Damot in the middle of the 17th century; this he may have done, but it was no longer a "kingdom," and was north of the Abay. Little is known of the earlier history of these kingdoms. Damot is mentioned in the "Hymns in Honour of Abyssinian Kings" as existing in the reign of 'Amda Seyon (1312-42), and it was certainly part of the king's dominions in the reigns of Zar'a Yaqob (1434-68) and Ba'eda Maryam (1468-78). Bizamo is also named in the "Hymns" as paying tribute in goats to king Yeshaq (1412-27); later it was part of Damot. Gafat, too, occurs in a hymn of 'Amda Seyon. But the first waves of the Galla invasion seem to have swept all three across the Abay; the destruction of Damot, according to indications in a passage of Bahrey, seems to have taken place between 1578 and 1586. Once the dispossessed inhabitants of these areas had crossed the Abay they lost all semblance of independence, and though they took their names with them, they became mere territorial units in Gojam.

In the southern part of the Abay-Gojeb region, the area of the Gibē, the five Galla States eventually arose, and it was here that the stiffest resistance seems to have been put up by the Sidama north of the Gojeb. The first of these Sidama districts to be overrun was probably that called Enarya, which in the early 13th century was part of Damot; with the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty between 1268 and 1283 it became part of the dominion of the king of Abyssinia under a viceroy, and early in the 15th century paid tribute in gold. When the war with Grañ broke out the viceroy, at that time a slave from Damot, submitted to the Moslems, and having lost all contact with Abyssinia, Enarya became an easy prey to the Galla, who, under a leader called Teso, conquered it between 1550 and 1570. Part of it was settled by the Limmu Galla and became known as Limmu-Enarya to distinguish it from the rest, which continued for a time under Moslem rule; owing, however, to the efforts of Sarga Dengel, both Abyssinian over-lordship and Christianity were re-established in Enarya till about 1632, after which Abyssinian influence, Christianity, and Islam faded out, and the Galla acquired control over the whole State. Islam was not re-introduced till early in the 19th century. The second district was Jimma, the earlier history of which is somewhat uncertain, though it may be the Šimi referred to by Al 'Umari in the 14th century. The south-east part, Boša, was, however, tributary to Yeshaq of Abyssinia in the early part of the 15th century. The Galla settlement here was drawn from six of the Mača tribes called Jimma, Jimma Gobo, Jimma Hinē, Jimma Horo, Jimma Arjo, and Jimma Rarē, on account of which it was known as Jimma Kaka, "the confederacy of Jimma"; later still it acquired the designation of Jimma Abba Jifar, from the name of a famous king who flourished about 1840. In Gera, the Galla occupation by various Mača tribes was probably later, and the Galla kings do not seem to go back beyond the early 19th century. Guma, the fourth State, seems to have been independent before the Galla took it over, and was ruled about 1770 by a man called Adam, "the hunter," who is said to have come from a Tigrean colony in nearby Guragē; and traditions indicate that Adam's line soon gave place to a Galla dynasty. Gomma, the fifth State, became a Galla monarchy about the same time as Guma. In all these States Islam was established early in the 19th century and took a firm hold on the people.

The pagan Galla spent the early part of the 17th century, from 1605 to 1617, in making raids on Gojam and Begameder, all of which, according to the *Paris Chronicle*, were defeated by King Susneyos. In 1617 the Galla formed what was known as the Borana League in an attempt to invade Gojam and Begameder with greater success; but Se'ela Krestos, the king's general, defeated them again soon after they

had crossed the Abay, and the League collapsed. In 1620 the Wallo were defeated. In 1627 the Galla again invaded Gojam, trying this time to achieve their object by cunning instead of mere strength of numbers. Finding the inhabitants on the alert they retired in apparent disorder after a little skirmishing, giving out that they were going to raid Enarya. The trick succeeded and Buko, the governor of Gojam, dispersed his forces; whereupon the Galla swarmed back across the Abay into Gojam, defeated the few men Buko had been able to recall, and retired with the loot to their own country before the king could get his troops there to give battle.

In 1636 they were defeated by King Fasiladas after another big raid into Gojam; but this did not stop them, for the *Paris Chronicle* records what were probably major attacks in the years 1639, 1643, 1649, 1652, and 1658. In the east, too, the Galla were being troublesome to the Abyssinians. Fasiladas had to deal with the Warra Himano in 1661; and the Yeju and Wallo who invaded Amhara were defeated by Iyasu I, who at the time was hunting in western Abyssinia, and had to hurry eastwards to meet them. In 1683 and 1699, however, the tide turned against the Abyssinians, for they were defeated in those years by the Gudru Galla, and in 1709, in the reign of Tewoflos, the Galla invaded Amhara. They looted and burnt the convent of Atronsa Maryam and threw over a precipice the bones of King Ba'eda Maryam who died in 1478.

In 1719 Bakaffa, the third son of Iyasu I, became king. He had previously been forced, for political reasons, to take refuge among the Galla, and had formed many ties with them. It was in his reign that the Galla began to get a foothold in the Abyssinian court, and to play an ever-increasing part in the domestic politics of the country. Bakaffa was largely dominated by his Galla followers: he had in his service a Galla regiment, his Master of the Household was a Galla named Kučo, and towards the end of his reign he was completely surrounded by his Galla guards and accessible to few. His son Iyasu II (1730-55) had a Galla wife, a woman of the Yeju tribe among whom Bakaffa had hidden. Iyoas, the son of Iyasu, who reigned till 1769, naturally favoured the Galla and spoke nothing but their language. He filled his court with them, gave them official posts, and soon after his accession fell completely under the control of his maternal uncles. His Abyssinian subjects watched with hatred and fear the growing influence and insolence of the Galla, an influence which has persisted till modern times in spite of continuous enmity between the two peoples.

Throughout the 18th century there were minor wars between the kings of Abyssinia and the Galla, especially during the chequered career of King Takla Giyorgis, who lost and regained his throne no fewer than five times between 1779, the year of his accession, and 1800. In the early part of the 19th century, King Egwala Seyon (1801-18) owed a good deal to Galla help, for it was owing to the political influence of a group of eastern Galla that he was enabled to retain his throne. None the less, his kingdom was assailed by confederacies of Galla in 1804 and 1808. These attacks were partly due to the machinations of a disgraced *balambaras* (Master of the Horse), a Galla named Asserat, who had begun to seek his revenge by attacking Walda Salomon (who reigned only in the year 1796-97). Asserat submitted to Takla Giyorgis in 1798, but escaped from captivity and renewed his private war on the king of Abyssinia some years later. He was defeated and sold into slavery from which he managed to escape and took refuge in the west, where he stirred the western Galla into action against Egwala Seon.

By 1837 it had become customary for the king of Shoa to make each year a military expedition against the Mača and other Galla to ensure the collection of tribute; and the lands of those who refused were looted and devastated. Though this may seem to imply that by now the Abyssinians had gained the upper hand, it was not really so, for Krapf remarks that "the rivers Chacha, Adabai, and Jamma form a natural dyke against the incursions of the Galla from the south, who therefore can never entirely subdue or even overrun the kingdom of Shoa, especially since King Sahela Selassie founded Angolala at a point where the Galla might otherwise

have been able to break in." ³ In fact, it was not till the second half of the 19th century that improved weapons (and greater skill in using them) enabled the king of Abyssinia to conquer the independent Galla and bring them more or less under the control of his government; but even to-day it is doubtful whether he can claim complete control in some of the more remote regions.

In the second half of the 19th century, Menilek, then king of Shoa, set out under the orders of King Yohannes to conquer certain parts of southern Abyssinia. He decided to bring back into the Abyssinian kingdom all the independent States which at one time or another had been part of it. Harar and the surrounding country was conquered in 1887; the Arusi were subdued; and between 1886 and 1900 the Gibe monarchies were reduced one after the other. It is thus a common practice to distinguish between Abyssinia, the ancient and historic kingdom of the highlands, and Ethiopia, the much larger area which was incorporated in it after the conquests of Menilek.

Sources. This very brief summary of the complex history of the Galla is based on Abyssinian records and on Galla historical traditions. The Abyssinian sources include: *The Paris Chronicle* (Basset, *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie*, 1882); the *Historia Regis Sarsa Dengel* (Conti Rossini, CSCO., 1907); the *Historia Gentis Galla* of Bahrey (Guidi, CSCO., 1907, and Beckingham and Huntingford, 1954); the *Annales Iohannes I, Iyasu I, Bakaffa* (Guidi, CSCO., 1907); *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia* (Weld Blundell, 1922); and the *Storia dei Mečča* (Guidi, MSOS., 1907). The main sources for Galla historical traditions are: Cecchi (*Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, 1885); Borelli (*Éthiopie Méridionale*, 1888); and Cerulli (*Folk-Literature*, 1922, and *Etiopia Occidentale*, 1932-3). For the summary given here I have made use of my summary of these sources printed in Huntingford and Beckingham, 1954, pp. l-xcii, from which I have reproduced in full, with the kind permission of the Hakluyt Society, paragraphs 5 to 9 above.

EARLY ACCOUNTS OF THE GALLA

Between the end of the 16th century and the end of the 18th century there appeared a number of works in which the Galla are described. A native writer, Bahrey, who wrote in 1593, has already been mentioned; and between 1643 and 1790 three Europeans contributed to the study of the Galla.

The Jesuit Manoel de Almeida wrote his *Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia* during the years 1628 to 1643; he was in Abyssinia from 1624 to 1632. The only complete text of his book was printed by Beccari in the *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti*, vols. V-VII, and the first English version is that by Beckingham (Beckingham and Huntingford, Hakluyt Soc., 1954). Ludolf's *Historia Aethiopica* was published in Latin at Frankfort in 1681, and in English (*A New History of Ethiopia*) by J. P. Gent in 1684 (London: ed. 2); this was compiled in Europe mainly from the information of a learned Abyssinian named Abba Gregorius. The traveller James Bruce of Kinnaird published his *Travels to discover the source of the Nile in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773*, in 1790.

DEMOGRAPHY

POPULATION

There are no census figures, and only very approximate estimates on the basis of ethnic groups; the Italian estimates were by provinces. The western Galla were included in the total figures for the Galla-Sidama province; hence no separate figures are available. Moreover, the Galla in Shoa are so intermingled with the Abyssinian population that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to work out separate figures for the two groups even if an accurate census was available. For smaller areas, we have the estimates of Cecchi, who put the population of Limmu in 1878 at about 40,000, including slaves; and of Gera at about 15,000 or 16,000. Paulitschke estimated the total Galla population at perhaps eight million; this is certainly in excess of reality. In 1930 Zoli estimated the Galla population at 2,350,000,¹ and de Castro estimated (1936) that the proportion of the various ethnic stocks in Ethiopia was ²:

Ethiopians	32.6%
Galla	42.7%
Sidama, etc.	10.1%
Somali	6.0%
Negroids and Nilotes	6.6%
Afar	2.0%

GROUPING OF RELIGIONS

Here again accurate information is lacking. While the principal Moslem areas are more or less defined, there is much uncertainty as to the extent of Christianity among the Ethiopian Galla, and as to how far groups nominally Christian or even Moslem are in reality still pagan at heart. The nearest approximation seems to be:

Pagan: Leqa, most of the Wallaga and Arusi, some of the Mača.

Christian: some of the Mača, Wallaga, Tulama, and Wallo.

Moslem: the Raya, Yeju, most of the Wallo, the Gibē States of Jimma, Limmu, Gera, Guma, and Gomma, the eastern Galla, and some of the Arusi.

In some areas there are mixed Christian and Moslem tribes, as among the Mača in tribes like the Nonno and Waliso.

In 1843 Beke wrote a short account of "Christianity among the Gallas," the conclusions from which, while differing from those of more recent observers, show how Galla paganism was to some extent permeated by distorted notions of Ethiopic Christianity—to such an extent, indeed, that Beke considered the Galla entitled to be called Christians, even though they did not profess Christianity.³

Sources: Paulitschke; Zoli; de Castro; Trimmingham; Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*.

¹ C. Zoli, *Cronache Etiopiche*, 1930, p. 12.

² L. de Castro, *L'Etiopia*, Milan, 1936.

³ *British Magazine*, December 1847.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

As can be seen from the map, the Galla are spread over nearly half Ethiopia, a country of very varied land surface, with high plateaux, hot lowlands, and deeply sunk rivers. There are three main geographical regions. The first is the Ethiopian Plateau, the area which includes the historical kingdom of Abyssinia, that is, part of what is now Eritrea, and Tigre, Amhara, Begameder, Gojam, Shoa, and the country south of the Abay extending southwards across the Sidama territories and Kafa. It is a vast table-land, 6,000–8,000 ft. in altitude, bounded on the east by the steep wall of the Rift Valley beyond which are the hot lowlands of the Afar or Danakil. The summit of the Plateau is largely open, the river valleys gorges or deep canyons, and the life of the country takes place on the plateau, the valleys being unsuitable for occupation. A characteristic feature of this region is the presence of *ambas*, steep, bare isolated cones or pinnacles, often of considerable height, and difficult of access, which form natural fortresses. The second region is the Rift Valley in which lies the chain of lakes stretching northwards from Lake Rudolf—Čamo, Abaya, Awasa, Šala, Zeway ; the Rift itself extends to the Red Sea east of the highlands. The third region is the central massif on the east of the Rift Valley, which extends eastwards and includes the Harar uplands and the Arusi country down to the Ganale Dorya.

Since many of the rivers run through deep gorges, they have formed very effective natural barriers. Such are the Abay or Blue Nile which surrounds Gojam with a deep gorge ; the Bašilo in the north of the Galla country ; and the Gibē and Omo in the south-west. The land surface is divided into altitude zones by the Abyssinians, who speak of the *barahā*, the desert ; *quallā*, the hot lowlands, from 2,000 to 5,000–6,000 ft. ; *waynā dag'ā* (*dega*), the temperate highlands, at 5,000–8,000 ft. ; and *dega*, the cold highlands, the land over 9,000 ft. On the Ethiopian plateau temperature varies with the altitude, from extreme heat to very cold ; the mountain called Mangesta Samayat in Gojam, for instance, is too cold for the Abyssinians to live on ; and in the *quallā* neither Abyssinians nor Galla can live. The average altitude of Galla land is between 5,000 and 7,000–8,000 ft.

Rainfall is seasonal, heavy and regular on the Plateau ; the central massif has less extremes of climate, and regular but not so heavy rainfall.¹ In the south-west, especially in the Gibē region and Kafa, rain falls throughout the year.

Sources : The geography of Abyssinia and Galla land is described in a number of books. Almeida has a good account in his first book ; and there is a useful summary in Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, which has been drawn upon. The *Guida dell' Africa Orientale Italiana* contains much useful information. Rey's *Unconquered Abyssinia* and *The Real Abyssinia* give descriptions of the country ; and the Foreign Office has compiled a *Handbook to Abyssinia* which is referred to by Trimmingham. A full list of sources up to 1891 is contained in Fumagalli's *Bibliografia Etiopica* (Milan, 1893) ; later works are given in the *Annales de Géographie : Bibliographie Géographique annuelle, 1891–1914 and 1915–1930*. (Paris, A. Colin.)

¹ Rainfall figures given in *Guida*, p. 50, are : Addis Ababa, 50 ins. in 139 days ; Dessie, 49 ins. in 95 days ; Harar, 36 ins. in 84 days ; and near Zeway, 23 ins. in 78 days.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

LIVESTOCK

The Galla are fundamentally a pastoral people, and a large part of them, the "Borana" group, is still mainly pastoral. The eastern Galla have practised agriculture for some centuries, though how long is not known. Cattle are objects of the greatest interest to all Galla, their importance being attested by their ritual status, expressed in such beliefs as that it is unlucky to count them, that milk should not be boiled, and that it is shameful for a person who has just milked to drink till someone else has taken a sip of it. This status is further emphasised by the use of cattle for sacrifice in initiation ceremonies, and the wearing of the hides of sacrificed beasts during the performance of various rites. Milk may not be put into vessels of pottery, but only into *wood*, that is, closely woven baskets made of plant fibre.

Cattle are of the zebu or humped variety, often with very long horns. Management, as generally in north-east Africa, is simple. Calves, and sometimes cows, are kept at night in their owners' huts; full-grown stock are penned for the night in wooden enclosures, or if left out all night, are guarded by the herdsmen. During the day cattle are normally watered twice, and the cows are milked twice a day—in the morning after grazing for about two hours, and again in the evening when they come home. Cecchi estimated that the average milk yield might be about five and a half pints in the morning and seven to eight pints in the evening; this figure may be somewhere near the mark, for certain types of Galla cattle, e.g., those of the Borana, are considered to be better milking stock than those of many East African tribes. The legs of restless cows are tied with ropes or withies before milking. Women milk, clean the milk vessels, and help to herd the cattle, though this last is mainly men's work. Milk is kept in closely woven baskets of fibre, *wenso*, lined with cow-dung mixed with ox-blood, and frequently fumigated. Cow-dung is an important substance in Galla domestic economy: it is used for fuel, for plastering household utensils, walls, and floors, and is applied hot as a poultice for stomach troubles; whence a common saying, "May you have plenty of cow-dung," as equivalent to "May you have many cattle." Water is provided by rivers, and where rivers are lacking by wells, which are often fenced. Salt or mineral springs, *hora*, provide the salt element in their diet. Plants which are sometimes fed to cows in the belief that they produce milk include: *kalala* (*Thunbergia alata*); and *argu*, a term covering the following: *Barleria ventricosa*, *Justicia leikipiensis*, *Justicia calcarata*, *Hypoestes triflora*, and *Plectranthus lamiifolius*.

Many Galla own large herds: some of the Arusi are said to possess as many as 5,000 head of cattle; and in Gera, Cecchi estimated that individual herds of four or five hundred were common,¹ while important people owned as many as two or three thousand head. Owners of 1,000 head of cattle receive the honour of being crowned, and the right to wear a goat-skin bracelet called *mediča* which nobody else may wear; at a public gathering they sacrifice two cows after the award.² In the Gibē States oxen were used a good deal as presents for the kings and notables, and cattle intended for this purpose were kept apart from the rest and herded with special care. Where the plough is used, it is drawn by oxen; in the Gibē States, "gift oxen" were not used as draught animals. Common terms for cattle are: cattle in general, *horri*, *sāwan*; herd of cattle, *lon*; bull, *korma* (*sāa*); cow, *sāa*; castrated ox, *sanga*, *qotiyo*; heifer, *goromsa*; calf, *jabi*, *watiyo*. Milk is *anan*; baskets for milking into, *elemtu*.

Almost as important as cattle are horses, *farda* (stallion, *farda korma*; mare, *farda daltu*), though the Galla did not possess any till after their invasion of Abyssinia

¹ An estimate based on the number of pegs counted, for cattle were kept tied to pegs near the huts. Cecchi, II, p. 283.

² Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 132.

in the 16th century, for we have the explicit statement of Bahrey that they did not adopt horses till the time of the Meslê *gada-set* in 1554–62. So high in their estimation is the horse that people give themselves names derived from their war-horse, such as Abba Jifar, "father, i.e., owner, of a dappled horse." In fact, from one aspect, the horse was considered the equivalent of a man: killing a horse was punishable by death, and in the scale of murder values³ a horseman was worth two foot soldiers. In some Galla groups, particularly the Arusi, every man has a horse, some more than one; and among the Arusi women ride when travelling. Having learnt to ride from the Abyssinians, the saddles of the Galla are of the Abyssinian pattern, with a narrow stirrup into which only the big toe is inserted. A bridle with a snaffle is used by some Galla, but many ride with only a plain halter and no saddle. Terms for harness are: bridle, *nekato*, *lugama* *⁴; wooden bit, *makama*; halter, *fulo*; saddle, *kora* *; girth, *arkissa*; stirrup, *fana kora*, "foot-piece of the saddle." Mules also are kept and ridden by those who live near the Abyssinians, who use mules a great deal for this purpose.

Of other stock the Galla in general keep donkeys, *harre*; sheep, *hola*, white with black heads and fat tails, and also with thin tails; goats, *re*; dogs, *sarre*; cats, *adure*; fowls, *handago*; and in some parts, civet cats, *tereñe*. The Arusi had once a cult of the cock, but after the Abyssinian conquest they took to killing the cocks lest the crowing give away their position.⁵ Civet cats, *viverra civetta*, from the anal glands of which a substance is secreted which is used as the basis of many perfumes, are kept in the Gibē States and Wallaga in small huts. To extract the secretion they are put in small narrow bamboo cages, the tail is held up and a spoon of bone or horn put into the sac. It is considered unlucky to count the number of a man's cats. The Ethiopian Galla keep camels on the edge of the desert.

Main sources: Borelli, *Éthiopie Méridionale*; Cecchi; Paulitschke, *Ethnographie*; de Salviac; Rey in J.I.S. XXIII, Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, Azais et Chambard, *Cinq Années*.

AGRICULTURE

Most of the agricultural work is done by men; in the Gibē States by slaves till the suppression of slavery by the Italians. The *crops* grown by the Galla include the following:

Grain crops: tef, *tafi*; barley, *garbu*, a plant like barley called *kičo*; sorghum (red millet), *misingu* or *bisinga*; white millet, *ančiro*; *Sorghum arundinaceum*, *dapo*, maize, *boqolo*; wheat, *kamadi* and *homborori* (*Triticum spelta*); "dagussa," *daguja* * (*Eleusine tocussa* and/or *E. coracana*).

Legumes: chick peas, *šumbura* *; peas, *atari* *; beans, *baqelu* *, vetches, *gayu*, lentils, *misira* *.

Other crops: potatoes, *diniča* *; onions, *šenkurti* *; garlic, *qulubi*; pepper, *dabus*; red pepper, *mimīta*; pumpkins, *buqe*; coffee (largely wild), *buna* *; citrons, *lomi* *; sugar cane, *kentisa*; edible oil is obtained from *Guizotia oleifera*, *nugi* *, "kat," or *Celastrus edulis*, *čati* (of Arabic origin); and cotton, *jirbi*. Some Galla, mainly those near Guragē, eat the *ensat*, called *kočo* or *inseta* * in Galla, the stem of the "wild banana" *ensete edulis* (formerly *Musa ensete*), the cultivation of which is described by Cecchi, vol. II, pp. 35–6.

Aromatic plants grown in the Gibē States and elsewhere include the following: cardamon, *ogiyo*; black cummin, *abbasuda*; *Schleria hispidula*, *marga gogorri*, "the plant of the quail"; *kefo*, a strong-smelling plant like a *Salvia*; fenugreek, *sunqo*, used as a perfume. Ginger, *jinjibila* *, is imported.

The seasons are:—Wet season: Ganna, from mid-June to mid-September (Amh. Keramt). Intermediate: Birra, from mid-September to mid-December

³ See below, p. 51.

⁴ Words of Amharic origin are marked with an asterisk.

⁵ Azais et Chambard, *Cinq Années*.

(Amh. Maṭaw). Dry season : Bona, from mid-December to mid-March (Amh. Bagā). Short rains : Arfasa, from mid-March to mid-June (Amh. Ṣaday).

The agricultural calendar of the Soddo Galla as given by Cecchi is as follows :

<i>Crop</i>				<i>Sown</i>	<i>Reaped</i>
Tef	..	..	..	July	December
Barley	..	..	..	August	February
Kiċo	..	..	..	August	February
Sorghum	..	..	..	March-April	November-December
Dagussa	..	..	..	June	October
Chick peas	..	..	..	September	March
Beans	..	..	..	July	January
Vetches	..	..	..	September	March
Lentils	..	..	..	July	December
Kat	..	..	..	July	January

Cultivation is done with the hoe, *gaso* and *doma*,* and the plough, *gindo* * or *marasa* *; these are described on pp. 72-3. Other implements used are an iron-shod digging-stick or "earth-chisel," with a circular stone weight, and the axe.

Grain crops are threshed on a level piece of ground smeared with cow-dung and water to make a firm floor. The stalks are spread out evenly and are first trodden by oxen; then a number of men with long curved sticks beat them rhythmically. The grain is collected with wooden shovels, winnowed by throwing in the air, and stored in granaries. Borelli describes a circular granary made of wickerwork supported by upright posts, with a movable thatched roof. A similar form is recorded by Cipriani from the Azabo, he also gives an example from Wallaga of the common type of East African granary, a circular wickerwork structure raised from the ground on short posts, with a conical thatched roof. It is also a common practice to store grain in pits, first noted by Burton. In the Gerer valley near Jigjiga is an earthwork, roughly 100 yards square, with a double ditch on one side and a single ditch on the other sides. The interior is filled with grain pits, which have an opening about 3 ft. wide going down for about 2 ft., when the hole opens out into a bell-shaped pit about 12 ft. deep and 12 ft. wide, with a sort of pedestal 3-4 ft. high under the opening. The top of each pit was covered with a small mound of earth set on wooden bars. The pits are arranged in rows, and number about 100; outside the earthwork are the foundations of two circular huts 8 and 12 ft. in diameter. Similar grain pits occur isolated elsewhere in the same area.

Main sources : Burton, *First Footsteps*; Borelli, *Éthiopie Méridionale*; Cecchi; Paulitschke, *Ethnographie*; Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*; Azais et Chambard, *Cinq Années*; de Salviac; Piovano.

LAND TENURE

In theory the tribe owns the land; but continued occupation of an area, accompanied by the hanging of honey-barrels in the forest, gives a certain degree of right over such land and forest, but no man may enclose for himself more than he can cover with a spear-throw or stone's-throw. However, distinguished warriors and very rich men own large areas of land, running into hundreds and even thousands of acres. Such men are called variously Abba Lafa, "father, i.e., possessor, of the soil," Abba Biya, "father of the land," Abba Burqa, "father of the spring of water," or Abba Mediċa, "father of the goat-skin bracelet" (which denotes ownership of 1,000 head of cattle). These can buy from the elders land rights over large areas. Relatives and friends come to live on their land as tenants, paying rent, the Abba Lafa treating them as brothers and protecting them, while they in return fight for their patron when necessary. Where the Abyssinian land system has been imposed on the Galla, the tenants were expropriated by the *qalad* system (Amh. *qalad*, "cord for measuring land"). The land was divided into small plots of about 190 acres, which were sold

for the profit of the royal treasury. One *qalad* in each area was reserved for the Abba Lafa, and his heirs paid inheritance duty to the king of Ethiopia. The price of such a plot, *qalad*, never exceeded about 50 francs.

Source : de Salviac, chap. X.

Food

The diet of the Galla is more varied than that of most East African pastoralists, their main foods being meat, milk, and cereals, the latter eaten as porridge and in the form of bread. Meat (*fon*) mainly beef, is eaten both raw and cooked. The custom of eating raw meat, *alala* or *berondo* (Amh. *berendo*), a characteristic of the Abyssinians, is common, and leads to much infestation by tapeworm (*minni*) to cure which the Galla, like the Abyssinians, dose themselves with a vermifuge derived from a tree called *hefo* in Galla and *kosso* in Amharic (formerly *Brayera anthelminthica*, now *Hagenia anthelminthica* or *abyssinica*). The favourite cut is a steak, served on a wooden platter, seasoned with salt and pepper, and held to the mouth in the right hand, while a knife is held in the left hand to cut off pieces of convenient size. When cooked, juices from the intestines are often added to improve the flavour. Blood is drunk. Milk, called "the son of the cow" by some Galla, is drunk both fresh and sour. From sour milk is produced a sort of cheese (not like European cheese) known as *eto sāa*, "food from the cow," *badu*, *aibi* * or *ergo* *. Butter, *addano*, is made by shaking milk in a gourd; ghee, *dada*, is also made. Butter with sweet-smelling plant substances added is used for smearing on the hair; *dada* is eaten with bread. Cereals are eaten as uncrushed grain only by the very poor or by travellers. Unless grain is roasted, it is normally crushed between two stones, *daga daku*, "stones for grinding." Meal is eaten as porridge, *merka*, and made into bread, *budena*, the grain used for the latter being sorghum, tef, or maize; tef is considered to make the best bread. No salt is added, though spices may be put in, and a fermenting agent called *buko*, *siddara*, and *račiti* is used as yeast; unleavened cakes called *malino* are also made. Bread is baked in an oven, *ele*, made of two conical plates of earthenware or metal set over the hearth-stones. Only those who are too poor to have meat or bread eat fish. Honey is much used, and is of various kinds, distinguished as red honey, *bila* and *keto*, and white honey, *dannisa* and *buto* ⁶; the general term for honey is *damma*. Condiments include salt, *sogida*; red pepper, *mimila*; black pepper, *qundo berberi* *; coriander; and ginger. The sweet roots of a plant called *qamu* * are chewed, and its fruit is edible. Although it is generally said that the Galla do not eat "vegetables," there are some exceptions: the people of Wallaga, for instance, eat the soap-plant, *andode* *, which is like a spinach. People sit on stools, and eat off wooden platters, using wooden spoons for liquid food. All eat together, including children, servants, and slaves.

Among restrictions on food it may be noted that the Galla do not eat hippopotamus,⁷ fowls,⁸ eggs,⁹ fish,¹⁰ or hare.¹¹ Moslem Galla eat poultry but not fish.¹⁰ Many Galla do not eat the biceps muscle.¹² It is common among the Galla for a man to eat only the produce of his own land; in any case food grown by Watta or the like is not eaten by Galla.¹³

The Galla drink milk, and a mixture of whey mixed with water called *arera*; of stimulants they have coffee, honey-wine, and beer. Honey-wine, *dadi*, is prepared thus: into a jar of water is put as much honey together with the wax as can be got into it, and pounded leaves of *gešo* (*Rhamnus prinoides*) and *ebiča* (*Vernonia amygdalina*), and roots of *saddo* * (*Rhamnus tsaddo*) are added. The mixture is stirred and left

⁶ Other names given by Cecchi, II, p. 281, as varieties of honey are names of trees and plants.

⁷ Isenberg and Krapf, p. 237.

⁸ Isenberg and Krapf, p. 237; Borelli, *Éthiopie Méridionale*, p. 341.

⁹ Borelli, loc. cit., p. 341.

¹⁰ Ibid; except, that is, the very poor.

¹¹ de Salviac.

¹² d'Abbadie, "Sur les Oromo."

¹³ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 179.

to ferment for two or three days, when the wax comes to the surface and is skimmed off; the *gešo* and *saddo* may be added then instead of earlier. It is left for about 15 days, then closed up and left to ferment in a cool place. Half-fermented honey-wine is called *bulbula*. Beer, *farso*, is made from millet and other grains. Coffee is roasted in the oven used for baking bread.

Paulitschke was told by the Ania that the Galla were once cannibals, but he thought it unlikely. Grottanelli, however, confirms that there are traces of it among the Galla.¹⁴

Main sources : Paulitschke, *Ethnographie* ; Cecchi ; de Salviac.

CALENDAR

Before the Abyssinian conquest the Galla had a solar year of 365 days,¹⁵ confirmed by Cecchi's statement¹⁶ that in Gera the beginning of the year was calculated by observing the heliacal rising of Sirius. Some ancient Galla names of months survive among the western Galla, and have been equated with those of the Ethiopian calendar :

<i>Galla</i>		<i>Ethiopian</i>	
Mudde	=	Maskaram	.. began in 1929 on 11th September
Dawa	=	Teqemt	 11th October
Worwori	=	Hedar	 10th November
[Tesasi]	=	Tāhsās	 10th December
[Tari]	=	Ter	 9th January
Furma	=	Yakātīt	 8th February
Hičur	=	Magābit	 10th March
[Mazia]	=	Miyāzyā	 9th April
[Jimbot]	=	Genbot	 9th May
[Sanē]	=	Sannē	 8th June
[Boru Sanē] ¹⁷	=	Hamlē	 8th July
Hadoleča	=	Nahasē	 7th August
[Pagmē]	=	Paguemēn	.. 6th September (intercalary)

The days of the week among the Western Galla are :

	Tribes on left bank of Hawaš ¹⁸	Soddo ¹⁸	Mača ¹⁸	Laga- mara ¹⁸	Leqa ¹⁸	Gudru ¹⁸	General ¹⁹
Monday ..	Oja dura	Jalbulte	Seño	Dafino	Dafino	Sandabo	Hoja dura
Tuesday ..	Oja lammafo	Apso	Maseño	Dongoro	Billo	Dongoro	Hoja lammafo
Wednesday ..	Robi *	Arbi *	Arbi*	Dikibi	Arbi *	Robi	Robi ; Arbi *
Thursday ..	Kamisa *	Kamsi *	Gifti	Kamisa *	Kamisa *	Kamisa *	Kamisa *
Friday ..	Jimata † ; Arbi *	Jimata †	Jimata †	Jimata †	Ayana kallu	Jimata †	Jimata † ; Arbi *
Saturday ..	Sanbata * tinno	Sanbata * tinno	Sanbata * tinno	Sanbata * dura	Sanbata * dura	Sanbata * dura	Sanbata * tinno ; Qēdamē *
Sunday ..	Sanbata * guda	Sanbata * guda	Sanbata * guda	Sanbata * guda	Sanbata * guda	Sanbata * guda	Sanbata * guda

Notes : *dura* = before ; *lammafo* = pair ; *sanbata* = sabbath ; *qēdamē* = preceding ; *tinno* = small ; *guda* = big ; *gifti* = lady ; * = Amharic ; † = From Arabic.

¹⁴ Personal communication ; and cf. Grottanelli, 1949.

¹⁵ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, 58.

¹⁶ II, p. 291.

¹⁷ Galla *boru* = tomorrow.

¹⁸ Cecchi, II, p. 291.

¹⁹ Foot, *Galla* . . . *Dictionary*.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

Men's work, apart from warfare and hunting, includes most of the work of cultivation, harvesting, and threshing; when the Galla had slaves, they did most of the agricultural labour and the free Galla spent much of their time herding cattle. Women's work includes part of the care of cattle (milking and some of the herding), cleaning the house, repairing walls and floors, and the preparation and cooking of food. Men build the huts, women help with the thatching.

HUNTING

Most of the Galla hunt, not so much for the meat (since they prefer beef as food), but for the other products of game—hides, ivory, and horns. Moreover, the slaughter of the larger animals has been from time immemorial a test of manhood; and in the Gibē States hunting was considered a school of warfare, in which young warriors learnt to handle their weapons and to accustom themselves to difficult situations which called for quick decision and coolness. Among the pastoral Galla, large parties of men go out for two or three days, searching for their quarry and surrounding it when found, narrowing the circle till they get near enough to kill it by throwing spears; the man whose weapon first strikes the animal has the right to it, no matter whether he actually kills it or not. The killing of antelopes is not considered an heroic deed; but just as those who have killed a man refer to themselves as *kan nama*, "he who (has killed) a man," so do those who have killed a lion (*lenča*), elephant (*arba*), rhinoceros (*warsēsa*), leopard (*qērensa*), buffalo (*gafarsa*), hippopotamus (*robi*), python (*jawe*), crocodile (*nača*), or wild pig (*boiye*, *karkaro*) refer to themselves in a similar manner. Bahrey says that those who killed a man, an elephant, a lion, a rhinoceros, or a buffalo shaved their heads, leaving a patch of hair on the top.²⁰ In the Gibē States people hunted the buffalo for its hide, used for making shields, and its horns, used as beakers; the elephant was hunted for its ivory, used as a medium of trade. The successful hunting of large animals was a social distinction, earning praise from the king and fame among the people, as well as profit from the sale of ivory and horn. The killer of a buffalo, however, was obliged to give to the king one of its horns, and the part of its hide least damaged by spear-thrusts. When hunting buffalo, a number of horsemen armed with long sharp-bladed spears, curved knives, and shields used to go to a part of the bush known to be a haunt of buffalo. They divided into groups to stop the animal escaping, and sent dogs accompanied by slaves armed with spear and shield into the thickets to drive the buffalo into the open. When it appeared, the horsemen galloped towards it, and from a distance of about 40 yards hurled their spears. They also used to trap leopard and lion.

Main sources : Cecchi ; Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq Années* ; de Salviac.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Villages, in the sense of large collections of huts, seem to have been commoner during the last century in the neighbourhood of the Abyssinians than elsewhere; in Southern Shoa, for instance, the Galla copied the *katamā* or fortress system of the Abyssinians, and set up *katamā* on ridges, with the cultivation along the sides of the ridge.²¹ In the Gibē States, something approaching small towns grew up round the *masera*²² or "palaces" of the kings; but even here the villages consisted of small groups of huts in the centre of patches of cultivated land, the "capitals" of chiefs and rich men being distinguished by the greater number of huts and larger area of cultivation. In the Soddo country the "village" of Galei consisted of groups of three or four huts in their cultivation, and each two to three miles from the other.²³

²⁰ Chapter 20

²¹ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie*, chap. 4.

²² *Masera* is used to mean "wall" in Galla.

²³ Cecchi, II, pp. 29, 131

The typical homestead is a plot of cultivated land surrounding one or more huts, each hut enclosed by a hedge of thorns, and sometimes a palisade, for the protection of the cattle. This enclosure, being undrained, soon becomes a morass, though Cecchi observed that one chief had a hole dug into which the liquid was cleared every day by a servant. At the entrance to the enclosure there may be a small hut raised on posts where a night guard can keep watch.²⁴ In Shoa, according to Krapf, homesteads were enclosed by stone walls.

The siting of these little villages is a matter requiring some care, for the Galla like to live near running water (either river or spring), and forest or at least trees, with a sycamore close by; they have also a fondness for living near mountains. Suitability of land for cultivation has also to be taken into consideration.

SLAVERY

In spite of de Salviac's assertion that the Galla do not keep slaves and will not sell their children into slavery,²⁵ it is quite clear that even as late as the time when he wrote (1900) slavery as an institution still flourished in the Gibē States and other parts of Galla land.²⁶ In Cecchi's day, nearly one-third (according to his reckoning) of the population of the Gibē States was composed of slaves of both sexes. Beke says that about 1840 Gomma was reputed to be "more doomed to slavery" than any of the other States, for the king, Abba Rebo, used to sell whole families into slavery for offences, even the most trivial, committed by a single member.²⁷ The court servants were all slaves, and slaves formed one of the chief properties of rich Galla. They were used also as a medium of exchange; for six or seven slaves a warhorse could be bought from a trader, and for three or four slaves a mule. No slave owner had the power of life and death over his slaves, who had even the right to complain of unjust treatment and obtain redress.²⁸ Eunuchs were common.²⁹ The Gibē slavers took many of their slaves from the Nonno, Soddò, and other Mača tribes among the Galla; the Sidama peoples to the south formed another source of supply. After the home needs had been supplied, the surplus slaves were sent in caravans across the Abay to a market near Dambača in Gojam which Beke calls Yejubbi, where he reckoned that some 7,000 slaves, many of them pagan Galla, were sold every year and dispersed through Abyssinia.³⁰

TRADE

Southern Abyssinia has for a long time been crossed by a number of trade routes. From the coast, a route led from Tajura and Zayla through the Harar uplands and eastern Galla land. This was probably the oldest route in the south, for it crossed the old Moslem States of Dawaro and Bali, established long before the arrival of the Galla, and with a firm tradition of trading. From the north another route traversed Gojam and going southwards crossed the Abay; from this, somewhere in the Mača country, a route branched north-westwards to Metemma in the Sudan. These roads led eventually to Bonga, the capital of Kafa, and since they came near to each other in the Gibē region they opened up a country suitable not only for the establishment of collecting centres for goods from round about but for the actual production of goods. Hence the position chosen for the Galla monarchies. Though Galla who lived anywhere near a trade route used to trade in a small way, it was in the Gibē States that Galla trading developed to the fullest, under the influence mainly of

²⁴ Paulitschke, loc. cit.; Cecchi, loc. cit.

²⁵ Chapter XIII.

²⁶ In the 16th century Bahrey seems to imply the existence of slaves among the Galla (chap. 20).

²⁷ *JRGS.* XIII. Beke calls it Guma, but evidently refers to Gomma.

²⁸ Cecchi, II, pp. 259, 292.

²⁹ See p. 61 below.

³⁰ *JRGS.* XIV.

Moslem traders. In the 'forties of the last century, the chief exports from the Gibē region were ivory, coffee, gold, civet, and slaves ; from nearer the Abay came cloths, iron, and cattle ; and from Wallaga ivory was brought to Basso in Gojam.³¹

The king of Limmu-Enarya in 1840 had in his service a few Tigre gunmen armed with matchlocks, and his people were reputed to be the most civilized of all the Galla. Beke saw "daggers with well wrought blades and ivory handles very elegantly inlaid with silver, as well as cloths with ornamented borders, brought from Enarea, such as would in vain be looked for in Abyssinia."³² Jimma, at the same period the most powerful of the Gibē States militarily, was much less developed commercially, for it then produced little but coffee, though many slaves ; but later in the century it made a great advance in agriculture, and it is to Jimma that the most detailed account available of trade in this region refers. According to Cerulli,³³ the principles by which commercial dealings were regulated in Jimma in 1928 were as follows. The king assigned, for the reception of traders from outside, a special area about an hour's journey from his residence, which was called *mandara*, "village, trading centre" (from Arab *bandar*, port). There were in fact two such *mandara* in Jimma, both under direct control of the king, who appointed in each a headman known as *nagad ras*,* "chief of the traders," from among the traders. Those who were not natives of Jimma could not acquire land, but were granted a concession to occupy a plot. They were subject to various restrictions, often of a vexatious nature ; thus, a man who wanted to replace the thatch of one of his sheds with corrugated iron had first to get permission from the *nagad ras*, and then, a more difficult matter, from the king. The traders paid to the king, in addition to taxes on their caravans (see p. 61 below), an annual rent in return for the protection he gave them.³⁴ At the *mandara* a weekly market was held ; and loaded caravans set off and arrived at uncertain intervals—uncertain because of the weather, the state of the roads, and the presence or absence of brigands and other disturbers of the peace in the surrounding countries. At the weekly market, theft was punished by the *nagad ras* with public flogging.

Though the Abyssinian coinage (both Maria Theresa dollars³⁵ and the modern series) is current among the Galla, over much of the less developed parts of Galla land bars of rock salt called *amolē* * are used as currency. Their value fluctuates ; in Gojam in 1933 it was between three and five dollars to a bar, which is about 10–12 ins. long and 2 ins. thick, though the shape varies ; the salt comes from the Danakil country, and is current all over Ethiopia. Since the bars are used solely as a form of money, they have to be handled carefully, and are kept near the hearth for preservation from damp.

Main sources : Beke ; Cecchi ; Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*.

³¹ JRGS. XVII.

³² JRGS. XIII.

³³ *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. vi.

³⁴ Cerulli, loc. cit.

³⁵ See note on p. 61 below.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Life Cycle

The Galla are organized in a strict system of age-sets and grades called *gada*, which are described below, pp. 41-53. At the same time they recognize, and have names for, the natural age categories. Circumcision does not take place till after manhood has been attained, and marriage comes before circumcision. The life-cycle is described by Bahrey in the following words: "They call the small children *muča*, and those who are older, *ēlmān*; those who are older still are called *guarbā*, and these are they who begin to take part in warfare. The young men who are not yet circumcised are called *quandalā*; they dress their hair like soldiers, and their style of hairdressing is called *kalalā*. . . . All the unmarried Galla, be they *luba*, circumcised, or *quandalā*, uncircumcised, are called *qēro*; the *qēro luba*, who are circumcised but not married, live in the same house with the *luba*, the circumcised married men; the unmarried *quandalā* live with the other *quandalā* who are married; and likewise the *qēro* who is a *gabar* (slave) lives with the *gabar*. . . . Those who wish to marry separate from the others and stay at home: they are called *jelhikā*. The old men are called *melguddo*. The *jelhikā* do not altogether abstain from fighting if they are not too feeble." The statement about the *qēro* seems to mean, in essence, that men are grouped according to whether they are circumcised or uncircumcised, and not according to whether they are married or unmarried. At certain periods, and apparently during the time when a *gada*-set is in power, the every-day duties of domestic life are divided among chosen members of the set. This division is described also by Bahrey, with reference, it would seem, to the activities of each village: "A score of men have the duty of building the *saqualā*, the tents¹; they are called *ajartu*, 'the builders.' The Galla also assign to people the duty of killing oxen, and call them *walkā*, 'the butchers'; again, two people are appointed to roast and cut up the meat, and they distribute it in pieces equally to all, they are called *wājo*, 'those who roast.' Likewise five men are chosen to milk the cows of all, and they are called *halabdo*², two have the duty of taking the milk in buckets (i.e., woven milk baskets) and giving it to each man in proper proportion; these men are called *lehito*, 'the herdsmen'; and seven men have the duty of bringing home the herds and searching for strayed animals: they are called *barbādo*, 'the searchers.' Some ten men have also the duty of herding the cattle; they are called *tawtu*, 'those who inspect the cattle'."

Kinship

The basis of Galla society is the group called *warra*, "family," or *ida*, "root," which comprises paternal kin, distinguished as Those of the *adera* or father's brother, and maternal kin, distinguished as Those of the *esuma* or mothers' brother.³ Affines are called *fira* (Arusi, *boro*), and the affinal group, *firuma*. The elementary family lives by itself under the control of the father, who has the right to expect complete obedience.

The following relationship terms are recorded⁴: in the second ascending generation, grandfather is *abatiyu* (P, C) or *akakayu* (F); grandmother, *akakayu* (P, C) or *akao* (F); these terms apparently refer to both father's parents and mother's parents. In the first ascending generation, father is *abba* (P, C, F); mother, *hada* (P, C, F),

¹ This seems to refer to structures put up for *gada*-ceremonies.

² Ethiopic *halaba*, to milk; the word used suggests a borrowed form *halabtu*. (Bahrey wrote in Ethiopic, not Galla.)

³ Cf. the Nandi distinction of *kaphuanit*, "father's group," and *kāpimamet*, "mother's brother's group."

⁴ P = Paulitschke; C = Cecchi; AC = Azaïs and Chambard; F = Foot.

P. also giving an alternative term *ina* for mother. Father's brother is *wasilla* (P, C, F) and *adera* (AC); father's sister is *hadada* (P, C, AC), *adada* (F). Mother's brother is *esuma* (P, C, AC, F), with an alternative *gaya* given by P. Mother's sister is *hadada* (P, C), *adada* (F); or *esumti* (AC), the grammatical feminine of *esuma*.

In a man's own generation, brother is *obolesa* (P, C, F) or *obola* (P, AC), full brother being distinguished, according to P, as *ina bala*, full brother = son of mother, and *abba bala*, half-brother = son of father. Sister is *oboleti* (P, C, F). Father's brother's son and daughter are *ilman aderani*, or *obolesa*, *oboleti*, "brother, sister" (AC). Father's sister's son and daughter are *ilman hadada* (AC). Mother's brother's son and daughter are *ilman esuma* (AC); mother's sister's son and daughter are *durbi* (AC). Those whom a man calls *ilman aderani* and *ilman esuma* he treats as brother and sister; the behaviour pattern towards the *ilman hadada* and *durbi* is not stated, but seems to be of a more formal nature.

In the first descending generation, son is *ilma* (P, C, AC, F); daughter is *intala* (P, C, F; written *antala* by P, C); brother's son is *hadada* (P) or *ilma obolesa* (C); sister's son is *ilma oboleti* (C). In the second descending generation, son's son is *akakayu* (C), the same term that is applied to "grandfather."⁵

The whole group of affines is called *firumu*; but the only term recorded is *soda* or *sodda*, which includes wife's father (P, C), wife's mother (P, C), wife's brother (P, AC, F), wife's sister (AC), son in law (P, AC, F), and daughter in law (P, AC).

Clans

Though the word "clan" is used by a number of writers on the Galla, it is nowhere defined; e.g., when d'Abbadie uses the word, as in his "Sur les Oromo," it is clear that he means "lineage." Though such statements as that in some tribes all members are regarded as brothers and sisters might be taken to imply a clan system, there seems to be no real evidence of the existence of one.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Borelli says that pre-marital chastity in girls was considered essential in the Gibē States, though some degree of freedom was allowed after marriage. Among the eastern Galla virginity is much valued, say Azais and Chambard, and girls wear their hair with a sort of tonsure, letting it grow after marriage. Moreover, the practice of infibulation implies that indiscriminate sexual intercourse is not a regular Galla custom.

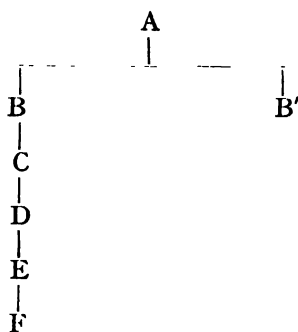
Regulation of Marriage

Marriage of near relatives, according to d'Abbadie, was more or less forbidden throughout Galla land, and the Borana held that it was wrong to marry a woman descended from an ancestor nearer than the seventh ascending generation; the more scrupulous among them, he said, not only marry outside their lineage, but outside the tribe. De Salviac records also that marriage is "more or less" forbidden between relatives, though he does not define the extent of relationship; he perhaps meant the group of those who address each other by relationship terms. De Salviac and Azais and Chambard note, in addition, that cross-cousin marriage is not allowed.⁶ Among the Shoan Galla, according to Cerulli, there must be at least five generations between the lineages of a man and woman who wish to marry, a statement which he illustrates by the following diagram and explanation⁷:

⁵ Cf. a similar usage in Masai and Nandi, *The Southern Nilo-Hamites* (Ethnographic Survey), pp. 25, 113.

⁶ Having made this statement, Azais and Chambard proceed to say that those who are called *ilman esuma* and *ilman hadada* (children of mother's brother and of father's sister) may marry, and that apart from the *ilman aderani* and *durbi* relationships other degrees of relationship are not a bar to marriage (p. 100).

⁷ *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, pp. 55, 56.



The Galla cannot marry the daughters of E, their sisters; nor can they marry the women descended from the lines D, C, or B, but only those who begin their genealogy from A (such as the descendants of B'). There are thus five generations between F and A, including either the generation of F or that of A.

This seems to be a restriction of the same type as that recorded above from d'Abbadie.

Bridewealth

Most of the sources ignore this subject, except de Salviac, who says that in rich tribes the fixed amount was 20 head of cattle, or the equivalent in days of work, though he does not say how many days are required. The suitor invites his relatives and friends to a feast on the day of the first payment, for bridewealth may be paid by instalments. The father, however, may take back a daughter, together with her children, if the husband cannot complete the payment. What happens after this is not stated; but a man who finds he cannot complete the amount may return his wife, though such an extreme course is seldom taken willingly unless the woman is barren.

Round Harar, a present of coffee beans to the girl's father formed the first engagement pledge. On marriage, the father gives his daughter as dowry a number of cows and goats so that she may have some means of subsistence if her husband becomes unable to support her.

Age of Marriage

There is some uncertainty as to the average age at which Galla men married, but it seems clear from the periods of the *gada*-grades and from Bahrey's reference to married Qondala that a man normally married towards the end of the Qondala grade, that is, about the age of 22 to 24, and before circumcision. Though Cecchi says that in the Gibē States marriage generally took place at a very early age (seven or eight years), this cannot have been a common or widespread practice among the rest of the Galla, as may be seen clearly from the customary preliminaries to marriage.

Marriage

i. *Preliminaries*.—Before marrying, a man must bring to his betrothed the *pudenda* of an enemy, as a proof of his own manhood (Cecchi), for no Galla is considered a full man till he has killed a human being. (See below, "Murder as an Institution," p. 64.) Among the Galla of Shoa,⁸ when a young man has reached the right age for marrying, his parents, having ascertained that there is no impediment of kinship, go on a pre-arranged day to the house of the girl whom he wishes to marry. Here they are received by her parents. Having made their formal request, the suitor's parents keep silence; after a few minutes, the girl's father rises, and in the name of her lineage asks for *sadetakeña*, "our eight (things)," to which the others agree. These *sadeta* are a period of eight days granted to the parents of a prospective bride so that they may enquire into the suitor's antecedents, to make sure that there is no kinship impediment, and that he is not a Watta, smith, or skin-dresser. After the eight days have elapsed, the suitor's parents come again, and if the girl's parents agree to the request for her, the suitor's parents rise to ask that "the eighty may begin," for by tradition 80 days must pass from the acceptance of the request to the

⁸ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. IV

actual wedding, and thus the day of the ceremony is decided. After "the eighty" the marriage ceremony with the *rako* follows.

ii. *Marriage Ceremonies*.—Among the Tulama in 1878 there were three different forms of marriage.⁹ The first was by capture, *amamota*, a form of marriage considered so binding that it could not be dissolved. A young man who on account of poverty or some other reason of his condition felt that he could not marry the girl he desired, would arrange with his friends to help him capture her. A band of them set off, waylaid the girl, and one of them taking her on his horse delivered her to the suitor; this man, the abductor, was looked upon as her brother and guardian, and was called *minje* or *marri*. When they arrived at the place prepared for her lodging, an old thin cow provided by the suitor's relatives was killed; and after sprinkling some of its blood on the girl's neck, the suitor gave her some blood to drink in the palm of his hand. The meat, which the bridal pair might not eat, was divided among the people present. As soon as the relatives of the girl learnt of her capture, they hastened with spear and shield to stop the marriage. If they arrived too late, they (and especially the girl's brothers) went to the husband's house, and being unable to carry away the girl (since she was already legally married), had to content themselves with shouting insults and challenging him to come out and fight. While this was taking place, the brothers and friends of the husband went to an elder, known as the *akakayu* (the retired leader of the previous ruling *gada*) and asked him to reconcile the parties: the husband would agree, by accepted convention, to pay a certain number of cows and oxen according to his means. The legality of this kind of marriage is also stressed by d'Abbadie. The second form of marriage was called *buta*, a word which in this context means "raid," for it consisted in the pretended capture of a girl, with the knowledge of her relatives. After a feigned resistance the girl was taken to her parents' house where a cow was sacrificed, as previously described. The customary number of cattle were paid by the suitor to her father. The third form, called *assena*, literally "entry," was of two kinds: (a) When the girl, without her parents' consent, ran away to her lover's house, carrying with her bunches of fresh sweet-smelling grass some of which she hung on her lover's head, laying the rest on the ground outside his house. The remainder of the ceremony was the same as in the *amamota* form. (b) When an unattractive girl was unable to get a husband, she went by night, with the help of her relatives, to the house of the man she had chosen, and having forced an entry into the enclosure, remained all the next day beside the door of the house, despite threats and insults from the owner, her brothers and friends being outside all the time. The man thus chosen must agree to marry her. For this reason, it was said that Galla enclosures were generally made high and strong enough to prevent such an entry. If the man refused to marry the girl, the elders could settle the case, though it might lead to bloodshed. No cattle were paid for the wife in this type of marriage.

The marriage ceremony among the Galla of Shoa is also described at a later period by Cerulli.¹⁰ When celebrated according to the rite of *rako*, or sacrifice of an animal, the suitor, accompanied by an elder of his tribe called *jarsa dura*, "important elder," by four men called *marri* by the Mača and *minje* by the Tulama, by his father, and by a band of companions armed with wooden spears, goes to the girl's house, driving the cattle and sheep which form the bridewealth. At the bride's homestead he performs the sacrifice, *rako*, by slaughtering an ox. Her brother leads her by the hand to a specially made hut, and smears blood of the sacrificial ox on her belly and pudenda; then he cuts the ends of her hair, keeping the locks in token of their blood relationship. This ceremony is called *karre mura* (*mura* = cut). Neither *rako* nor *karre mura* may take place unless all the bridewealth has been paid; if payment has not been completed, the marriage may take place without the *rako*, and with the performance of the *karre mura* after the birth of the first child; but a wedding without

⁹ Cecchi, II, p. 20 seq.

¹⁰ *Folk-Literature*, pp. 119-23.

a *rako* is considered incomplete. After the *rako*, the bridegroom, helped by his *marri* (*minje*), seizes the girl with assumed violence, puts her on his horse and gallops across the plain till he reaches running water, which he crosses, then re-crosses, and gallops back to her home. There he leaves her, and she enters the house, her friends placing a bar of wood before the door; they abuse the bridegroom and extol the virtues of the unmarried condition (an example of the Galla habit of saying the opposite of what they mean, for men who do not marry when they reach the appropriate age are held in great contempt). Then they hang a woman's garment on the bar. In the evening the husband and his friends demand entrance to the house of the girl's father, whose friends revile them, till the husband jumps over the garment hanging on the bar and enters the inner room in which his bride is. There is another pretended resistance, and finally the husband is led to his bride by her chief girl friend. Songs expressing sorrow at her departure are then sung, and the bride is given advice by her friends. This advice comprises admonitions (1) to clean her husband's clothes; (2) to prepare his food; (3) to serve his food; (4) not to leave off dressing her hair; and (5) to abstain from gossiping out of doors, allowing strangers to enter when her husband is away, gossiping with her sister-in-law, and perfuming herself in the house. The next morning the pair leave for the husband's house, preceded by the cattle given to the bride as dowry by her father.

In the marriage ceremonial of the eastern Galla,¹¹ the girl is escorted with much formality and the beating of drums to the door of her suitor's house. He sacrifices an ox or sheep, catches some of its blood in his hand and pours it over the breast and right foot of the girl, over his own forehead, and on the centre post of the house. This is called *rako kaka*, "the oath of the marriage sacrifice," and is the binding part of the ceremonial. When the bridewealth is paid in instalments, the *rako kaka* cannot take place till payment has been completed. In the evening of the same day, a crowd comes and sings about the purity of the bride (assumed, but not always existing), and three old men and three old women announce the assumption that she is a virgin to the crowd, which acclaims the announcement with prolonged cries and songs. In the morning the old men congratulate the girl's parents in their name and in the name of the bridegroom on having brought her up well.

Azaïs and Chambard give the following account of marriage among the eastern Galla.¹² The principal part of the ceremonial is the *rako kaka*, but details vary from tribe to tribe. Before embarking on marriage, the suitor must have acquired a small stock of money to pay for his wife, and to set up home. The negotiations for the marriage are arranged by certain old men or old women (who, not specified). The suitor gives the girl's parents a present called *owisa*, which consists of a garment of 10 cubits, *kurni*, to her father, and one of 8 cubits, *sadeti*, to her mother. Her elder brother is given a garment called *daho* after the marriage. The girl herself is given a robe and "toga" by her lover. When the suitor makes his *gumata* or gift-visit—his first visit to her mother's house—he gives the mother a second garment of 8 cubits and a shawl, *fota*. He must also provide a dowry, *gabare*, consisting usually of an ox. Azaïs and Chambard add that the ceremonies described by Cerulli for the Shoan Galla (p. 36 above) are not now practised round Harar.

The agricultural Galla round Harar practise marriage by capture, *buta*.¹³ The evening before the ceremony, the suitor goes on horseback to the girl's house, forces the door, and overcomes the resistance made by the occupants. He takes the girl on his horse, rides a certain distance and then returns to her house (cf. Cerulli's account quoted above). This is all done by agreement with the girl's parents. But even if they do not agree to the marriage, the girl becomes legally the young man's wife if he can succeed in carrying her off in the face of real opposition.

¹¹ De Salviac, chap. XII.

¹² Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 102.

¹³ Ibid.

A girl who wants to marry a man other than the bridegroom her parents have chosen for her may have recourse to the custom called *assena*, "entry."¹⁴ She goes to the house of the man of her choice and sits down by his hearth ; he may not drive her away. The elders then discuss the case ; the girl's voluntary action is automatically accepted, and the suitor of her parents' choice is compensated for what he has expended in gifts ; though if the girl refused to marry him because of something he did, he loses claim to this. After the marriage ceremony, *buta*, the husband takes his wife to a house which he has built, and after she has entered, a lamb is killed in front of the door. He marks the girl with its blood on her head, right foot, and breast ; she also smears blood on her head and breast, and then on the centre post of the house, *utuba*. This sacrifice is called *rako*. Then the rejoicings begin, and before nightfall the husband's parents give their blessing to the pair by spitting over them.

The Moslem Galla round Harar have a much more comprehensive marriage ceremonial, called *nika*, the main feature of which is the placing of a hair-net on the girl's head, this being at Harar the distinguishing feature between married and unmarried women. There are also more sacrifices than in the pagan ceremonial.¹⁵

Sometimes men exchange wives temporarily ; this does not constitute adultery, for it is a social convention. If a married woman accuses a man of having violated her, on making a statement before the council on oath, her word is accepted, and the offender has to pay five heifers to her husband.¹⁶

Polygyny

The Galla in general have only one wife ; this, according to d'Abbadie's informants, was ordained by God, and the practice of taking several wives was "taught by the dog." Children, however, are a social necessity, and the more children and grandchildren a man has, the greater his prestige in the council.¹⁷ Hence the rich have several wives, so that they may have many children and ensure the survival of their line. The first wife is always the chief wife, and her son is the eldest son for the purposes of authority and inheritance. Rich Galla also keep concubines (*sajeta*) who never live in the same hut as a wife.¹⁸

The Arusi practise polygyny to a limited extent, as a result perhaps of Moslem influence ; the number of wives varies according to a man's ability to pay for and maintain them ; some have as many as six or seven.¹⁹

Widows

The levirate (*dala* : "inheritance") is found among all the Galla tribes. When a man dies, his nearest relative, usually his brother, becomes known at once as *Abba Tinna* "little father," or *wasilla*, and has the right to his wife and the responsibility of bringing up his children. When they grow up it is his duty to give them their share of their father's goods in the presence of an assembly of elders. If the widow refuses the *dala*, as she may if she wishes, she must appoint a guardian for her children, normally her elder brother.²⁰ The term for widow is *dumasi* (Borana *warsa*) ; a widow who refuses the *dala* is known as *gorsumati*, "prostitute," indicating the traditional opinion of such women.²¹ A widow is not free to marry again unless her husband's brother refuses to have her, which is a rare occurrence.²²

Among the eastern Galla a widow lives with her husband's brother or his nearest relative if he has no brother. Galla law on the subject is that a woman is permanently

¹⁴ Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 102.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ De Salviac, chap. XII.

¹⁸ Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 103.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100 ; Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. IV.

²¹ Azaïs et Chambard, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²² d'Abbadie, "Sur les Oromo."

attached as a wife to the man who first pays bridewealth for her ; hence that man's nearest relative, as his representative, has the right to her and her children after his death. It was recorded by the Catholic Mission at Minnē that after a great famine in 1889-92 many suitors died after having paid bridewealth but without actually marrying the girls, who were none the less theirs inalienably, and thus by custom should have been taken over by the dead suitors' brothers. But in many cases none came forward to press their claims, and the parents therefore married the girls to other men, on the condition that they should be liable to pay compensation to the legal claimants if any survived and made claims.²³ This compensation was intended to take the place of the payment of redemption by which, it is said, a widow can be released from the levirate and thus able to be married by a stranger. This redemption payment is not recognized by the Galla of Shoa.²⁴

As a sign of mourning widows cover their hair with ash and let their hair and nails grow long for a year, after which the tribal elders cut them with ceremony to mark the end of the mourning period.²⁵

Divorce

De Salviac says that marriage is indissoluble, and that divorce is not possible ; in case of serious trouble between spouses the wife may take refuge with her parents, and the matter is brought before the elders, who do all they can to bring the pair together again.²⁶ Cecchi, d'Abbadie, and Azaïs and Chambard, however, all claim that divorce is possible. Cecchi says that if a man is annoyed with one of his wives—"a frequent occurrence"—he may drive her away and keep the eldest son, the wife going to her father. There is nothing to stop her from associating with another man, but the statement that if she has children by him they are counted as the children of her legal husband, suggests that this is not really divorce, but merely separation.²⁷ The account of Azaïs and Chambard is that the right of divorce, *ebissa* (which really means "blessing"), lies with the husband, who can divorce his wife by giving her parents a cow. This right is not reciprocal, though the woman may apply to the elders for divorce if her husband treats her badly ; the elders decide after hearing both sides, and if the divorce is granted the children are assigned to the husband provided he has completed the payment of bridewealth, though if he has not, they go with the wife.²⁸ It would seem, therefore, that among the pagan Galla divorce was not customary, but that it has crept into the social system of some of the Galla tribes through Moslem influence.

Birth and Naming

Galla women are said to be prolific, and most families have several children ; the birth of a child is treated as a festival, because each new-born child represents a potential worker in the fields or a herdsman.²⁹ During a woman's pregnancy her husband's relatives give her presents, *gumata*, usually jars of milk and honey-wine.³⁰

A few days after the birth of a child the father, having consulted a diviner so as to choose the most auspicious day, calls his friends and, sitting in the middle of his house, receives the child in his arms, gives it a name, and offers a libation of milk. For eight days after the birth neither parent may enter a neighbour's house or make any visits. (This rule applies also to the newly married, and to the family of a dead person.) On the eighth day the Galla "cut their children's hair in the shape of a

²³ De Salviac, p. 222.

²⁴ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. IV.

²⁵ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 105.

²⁶ De Salviac, chap. XII.

²⁷ II, p. 23.

²⁸ *Cinq années*, p. 104.

²⁹ *Ibid* Bruce says that a wife often solicited her husband to take another wife so that he might have more children (*Travels*, vol. II).

³⁰ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 129.

crown," that is, like a monk's tonsure, the bare part decreasing as the child gets older.³¹

On the birth of the first son the parents both take the child's name preceded by *abba*, "father," or *hada*, "mother"; thus, if the child is called Gobana, "[born at] full moon," the father becomes Abba Gobana, and the mother Hada Gobana. The last-born son is called *kolu*.³² The Galla are averse from using a man's own name. A servant, even a wife, does not utter the master's name, but uses instead that of his horse preceded by *abba*, "father," that is, "owner of."³³ Among the Moslem Galla of the west the kings and great men have three names, a Galla name, a horse-name, and a Moslem name: e.g., Dimsa (Galla name), Abba Dale (horse-name, = owner of the sorrel), and Isa (Moslem name). The king's personal (Galla) name was secret, and he was generally referred to by his horse-name.³⁴ Warriors in general have also battle-names taken from the names of their spears; thus if a man has a spear called Balo, the name he gives himself in war will be Abba Balo.³⁵

Abandonment of Children

Bahrey attributes to the Galla of the 16th century the custom of abandoning the children of uncircumcised fathers, adding that after being circumcised they reared the boys but continued to abandon the girls for two or three years afterwards.³⁶ Almeida says "for the first six or seven years after they marry they cast away in the open country all the sons and daughters born to them, and leave them to die of sheer neglect. If it happens that someone wants to take care of one of these outcasts from pity, and save its life, they consider him not merely as an enemy, but as an accursed and devilish person."³⁷ Recent statements about this custom are conflicting. De Salviac says that children are not abandoned.³⁸ Guidi ascribes the abandonment, mainly of the eldest child if it is a daughter, to the Borana and Arusi, as well as to some of the Sidama (Walamo, Hadya).³⁹ Cerulli says that it was the custom, now almost extinct, to abandon daughters whom the father considered superfluous. The baby was called *gata*, "thrown away," and if not adopted by another family, was given to the slave-traders. The father was allowed to abandon it at any time during the first 40 days after its birth, or on its second birthday.⁴⁰ Prins suggests that the custom may have been due to the rule of not allowing uncircumcised men, though married, to have children.⁴¹

Circumcision

Circumcision (*murū*; *dagna qabade*) seems in the 16th century to have been the normal custom of the Galla, according to various statements by Bahrey. In the light of modern records, it appears that where the *gada*-system is in force it is performed towards the end of the eight-year period of government called *luba* (see below, pp. 47, 53); this word means "circumcised." The rite is therefore not the entry to manhood, but signals the departure from the governmental grade; it is none the less important, as the name of this grade indicates. Among the Moslem Galla, as in the Gibē States, the introduction of Islam has changed the time of circumcision, and boys are circumcised in their early years according to Islamic custom.⁴² De Salviac, writing of the eastern Galla, says that when the Abba Boku or tribal ruler retires, he and the other two tribal magistrates are circumcised, that is, at the end of the *luba* period,

³¹ De Salviac, p. 229.

³² Azais et Chambard, op cit., p. 99.

³³ d'Abbadie, "Sur les Oromo."

³⁴ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. VIII.

³⁵ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 157.

³⁶ Chap. 10.

³⁷ Book IV, chap. 25.

³⁸ Chap. XII.

³⁹ CSCO., III, p. 199.

⁴⁰ *Folk-Literature*, p. 127.

⁴¹ *East African Age-Class Systems*, p. 75.

⁴² Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. VII.

unless they were circumcised halfway through it ; but he states specifically that only these three in each tribe are circumcised, this "honour" being reserved for them alone.⁴³ Though in parts of Galla land male circumcision is not now general, among the western Galla south of the Abay, especially in the Leqemti region, it is common, though more as a social than a ritual institution.^{43A}

Girls at the age of eight years and upwards undergo the operation of clitoridectomy. This is stated in certain books as if it were common throughout Galla land⁴⁴ ; but the evidence quoted is not satisfactory, and the matter requires further investigation.

The operation of infibulation, however, which occurs among the Somali and Danakil as the sequel to clitoridectomy, is said to be common among the Galla of Harar and those of Shoa,⁴⁵ though rare among the "true" (i.e., pagan) Galla.⁴⁶

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The Gada-system

The males of every Galla tribe (except where the system has broken down) are comprised within 10 groups called *gada* which are linked in pairs and run in two hemi-cycles of five *gada* each ; to the *gada* of the second hemi-cycle belong the sons of members of the first hemi-cycle. Once a person has entered a *gada* he remains in it for the rest of his life. During the first 40 years of life all males pass through a series of five eight-year periods of initiation, also called *gada*, to each of which they belong in turn for eight years only. The paired *gada* may be distinguished as *gada*-sets, and the eight-year initiation periods as *gada*-grades. Any attempt to elucidate the system must be based on the fact that these figures, $5 \times 8 = 40$, are constant throughout the Ethiopian Galla, except where the system has broken down under Moslem or Ethiopian influence.

Gada-sets

Each set has a name. Originally there were 10 different names, as appears from the statements of Bahrey (1593), d'Abbadie (1846), and de Salviac (1901), and from the fact that certain names have survived even in tribes where there are only five names for *gada*-sets, these names being kept in reserve.⁴⁷ Where there are 10 names, the first five are those of the sets of the fathers, the second those of the sets of the sons, the respective sets being permanently linked in pairs :

Bahrey (Baraytumā) :

Fathers : (1) Mēlbāh, (2) Mudanā, (3) Kilolē, (4) Bifolē, (5) Meslē.
Sons : (6) Harmufā, (7) Robālē, (8) Birmajē, (9) Mul'atā, (10) [].⁴⁸

d'Abbadie and de Salviac (Borana) :

Fathers : (1) Birmaji, (2) Malba, (3) Mudana, (4) Robale, (5) Dulo.⁴⁹
Sons : (6) Aldada, (7) Horata, (8) Bifole, (9) Sabaqa, (10) Kirole.

De Salviac (Eastern Galla) :

Fathers : (1) Badada, (2) Bultuma, (3) Mardida, (4) Orota, (5) Fadata.
Sons : (6) Wabassa, (7) Bassira, (8) Daibassa, (9) Nyukussa, (10) Daimoa.

⁴³ De Salviac, chap. X.

^{43A} Information from Father M. Borello

⁴⁴ E.g., article "Circumcision (Introductory)," in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* ; Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, I, p. 383, citing Bruce, and Bieber, "Beitrage zu einem erotischen Lexikon der Abessinier," *Anthropophytica*, 1908, V, pp. 13-22. The custom is still in force among the Western Galla. (Information from Father M. Borello)

⁴⁵ Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 104 ; Du Bourg de Bozas, p. 163 ; Paulitschke, p. 175.

⁴⁶ Paulitschke, p. 175.

⁴⁷ This expression means that one or more of the original names not currently used are kept in the memory of the elders for use if it is considered necessary for ritual or other reasons to change the name of a set ; e.g., the Gombiçu changed the name of a set to Bifolē after a famine, in order to presage abundance of rain (*bifu*, to rain).

⁴⁸ Not known to Bahrey, as he wrote while Mul'atā were in office.

⁴⁹ The Borana name for Harmufā (Bahrey).

TABLE A

	Fathers				Sons				Fathers →		
	Birmaji	Malba	Mudana	Robale	Dulo	Aldada	Horata	Bifolē	Sabaqa	Kirolē	Birmaji →
Years	Horata I	Mikile I	Dulo I	Robale I	Birmaji I	Horata II	Mikile II	Dulo II	Robale II	Birmaji II	Horata I →
1-8	Daballe										
8-16	Folle	Daballe									
16-24	Qondala	Folle	Daballe								
24-32	DL*	Qondala	Folle	Daballe							
32-40	Yuba	DL	Qondala	Folle	Daballe						
40-48	↑	Yuba	DL	Qondala	Folle	Daballe					
48-56			Yuba	DL	Qondala	Folle	Daballe				
56-64				Yuba	DL	Qondala	Folle	Daballe			
64-72					Yuba	DL	Qondala	Folle	Daballe		
72-80	40 years				Yuba	Yuba	DL	Qondala	Folle	Daballe	
80-88						↑	Yuba	DL	Qondala	Folle	Daballe
88-96								Yuba	DL	Qondala	Folle
96-104									Yuba	DL	Qondala
104-112										Yuba	DL
112-120						40 years					Yuba

*DL = Dori-Luba grade. The time-scale is the same for those in which Grade 4 is undivided.

Top line of set-names = 10-name system.

Second line of set-names = 5-name system.

In many tribes, however, there are only five *gada*-names in use (though as mentioned above, there may be others "in reserve"), and here the *gada*-sets of sons have the same names as those of the fathers. Typical series are :

Jidda : Fathers : Horata I, Mikile I, Dulo I, Robale I, Birmaji I.
Sons : Horata II, Mikile II, Dulo II, Robale II, Birmaji II.
With Bifole in reserve.

Gombiču : Fathers : Horata I, Mudana I, Dulo I, Robale I, Birmaji I.
Sons : Horata II, Mudana II, Dulo II, Robale II, Birmaji II.
With Mikile, Melba, and Bifole in reserve.

Oborra : Fathers : Melbah I, Halčisa I, Dulo I, Robale I, Birmaji I.
Sons : Melbah II, Halčisa II, Dulo II, Robale II, Birmaji II.

Irrespective of names, the two hemi-cycles have a combined length of 80 years, and sons follow their fathers through the *gada*-grades at intervals of 40 years. (See Table A.)

Under this system, each *gada*-set is in power (as d'Abbadie expresses it) for eight years and forms the tribal government. The set in power elects a leader known as Abba Boku, "father of the sceptre," or as Hayu, who is the chief of the tribe and its law-maker for the eight years of his set's period of office. These *gada*-sets correspond to the age-sets of the Nilo-Hamitic peoples, such as the *ipinuek* of the Nandi and the *il-porrorri* of the Masai.⁵⁰

According to d'Abbadie, the *gada*-set system was devised by a Galla law-giver named Maqo Bili, to whom he assigns the date 1589. It is by no means fanciful to suppose that one man introduced such a system, which can hardly have arisen spontaneously and without guidance ; but the date is too late, as the *gada*-sets first occur, in full working order, in 1522, and must have been in existence before that.⁵¹ d'Abbadie says that the five pairs of *gada* represent "natural governments" : (1) that of Man or Reason ; (2) that of running water, or Progress ; (3) that of the sheep, or Quietude ; (4) that of the lion, or Force ; (5) that of the vulture, or Rapine. He adds that it is believed that each *gada* on coming to power directs its actions according to its natural tendency, the Dulo, for example, being inclined to war since it is governed by the vulture⁵² (*dula* = "war").

Gada-grades

(1) *Normal Types*.—As already stated, a man's life up to the age of 40 is divided into five periods of eight years each known as *gada*, or grades, with which are connected a number of ceremonies.⁵³ Each grade has a name by which its members are generally referred to while they are passing through it. In some tribes, probably the majority, to judge by the available evidence, there are actually six grade-names, because the governing grade is divided into two half-grades of four years ; but this, of course, does not affect the length of the 40-year hemi-cycle ; in other cases the governing grade is not divided. These grade-names vary slightly throughout Galla land, but on the whole seem fairly constant. They are as follows :

⁵⁰ See Ethnographic Survey, E. Cent. Africa, Pt. VIII, pp. 31, 116.

⁵¹ Beckingham and Huntingford, pp. 208-10.

⁵² d'Abbadie, "Sur les Oromo." A similar system of "natural philosophy" is recorded from the Nilo-Hamitic Teso of Uganda by Wright (*Uganda Journ.*, 1942, IX, p. 76).

⁵³ A plant called *dalla*, said to live eight years and die after flowering, symbolizes to the Galla the eight-year *gada*-periods. (Azais et Chambard, p. 90) Cf. the Nandi *setrot*

		Years	System A		Variants	System B
I	..	1-8	Daballe		Dobolle I Debele	Daballe
II	..	8-16	Folle		Dobolle II Fole	Folle
III	..	16-24	Qondala		Qondala Condalla	Qondala
IV _A	..	24-28	Dori	Together called Luba	Raba	Gadoma
IV _B	..	28-32	Luba		Luba	or Daroma
V	..	32-40	Yuba ⁵⁴		Gula ⁵⁵	Buba ⁵⁶
						Luba
						Yuba ⁵⁷

The available information about the *gada*-grades is derived mainly from Cerulli : for the Jidda, Metta, and Gulale (referred to as the Jidda type), for the Gombiču (referred to as the Gombiču type), and for the Abiču and Oborra (referred to as the Abiču type), the source is *Etiopia Occidentale*, vol. I, chapter III ; all these are in Southern Shoa. For a Mača tribe not specified by name the source is *Folk-Literature*, pp. 167-81, where the material is based on texts and explanations furnished by an Abiču named Loransiyos, and appears to be a theoretical account in which a number of ceremonies are wrongly placed, as well as the arrangement of the grades themselves, which is at variance with the rest of Cerulli's own field data. The Arusi have the same system as the Gombiču type, with five *gada*-grades.

The first two grades, Daballe and Folle, are relatively unimportant, being composed of boys who can have no political or other power, and it is not till they reach Qondala that they acquire a significant status. At the end of any given Dori period in the Jidda type, a Yuba presents to the tribe the small sons of the members of his *gada*-set, and in so doing becomes known as Abba Daballe, for these boys will belong to the Daballe grade. When his set goes out of office at the end of its Yuba period, these sons are officially recognized as Daballe. In the Gombiču type, at the end of any given Luba period, the sons of the Luba become known as *raba duda*, "dumb raba," and when the *gada*-set leaves Yuba they become Daballe. Boys remain in this grade till the age of eight.⁵⁸ They spend their time going about visiting people, carrying sticks, and asking for food, beer, and milk, all designated "milk." Their heads are shaved except for curls at the back. At their eighth year they become Folle, and go about (especially on ceremonial occasions) wearing masks of monkey-skin cut from the animal's face, and carrying rods of juniper called *fororsa* ; the Gombiču in addition paint their legs and arms with white clay, and wear attached to the belt a crude phallus made of wood or clay. The Folle are allowed considerable licence, being allowed to molest women and cattle, though they are fined for injuring horses. They hold dances, and jest with the women, singing rude songs to them. The Jidda and Gombiču give the Folle the right to assault *sigaba* (an unmarried man who lives with a concubine), and they tie strips of the clothing of such to their *fororsa* rods. At an unspecified period, but perhaps early in the grade, they elect a leader (*hayu*) who plants a *podocarpus* tree.

When they reach 16, their first *buta* is held. This term (derived perhaps from *butu* : "to remove, pass over, snatch") is used to denote any festival, but more especially the ceremonies by means of which people pass from one grade or sub-grade to another ; sometimes they are simply called *buta*, and sometimes they have special names, as in the Abiču type, where the *buta* by which the boys go from Folle to Qondala is called *Erreča*. The nature of this ceremonial varies. In the Gombiču type

⁵⁴ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, p. 37.

⁵⁵ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 169.

⁵⁶ Cecchi, I, pp. 526-30. Daroma may be the second half of the grade, not an alternative name.

⁵⁷ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, p. 39.

⁵⁸ The problem of age in connection with these grades is a difficult one. Since our entire knowledge of the Galla system is based exclusively on texts and explanations, and not on actual observation, it is only possible to state an average (or perhaps one should say optimum) age which fits the theory of the 80-year cycle.

the boys go to a nearby river in the morning to fill woven milk baskets with water and their lids with river-mud. They cut bundles from a plant called *gabbisa* (*Sphaeranthus* sp.) which they carry in their right hands, and return to the hut set up for the *buta*, where an ox is sacrificed and portions of the meat called *laddā*⁵⁹ are given to them. The ox is killed (in the Jidda type) by a man who wears a mask of ox-hide and bellows like an ox; the spear he uses for slaughtering it has a shaft of *gora* wood (*Rosa silvatica*; Amharic *qaggā*). Blood from the ox is smeared on their foreheads and on the *fororsa* rods. The Abiču type of *buta*, called *erreča*, as described by Cerulli, is somewhat different. No mention is made of killing an ox, but the boys are said to go in procession to a sacred sycamore, *oda*, against which stands a supervisor belonging to a family in which the office is hereditary. The boys pass under the tree in succession, each throwing a bunch of grass into the branches: if they hesitate or overbalance in doing so, the supervisor pulls them to him, and this fault on their part is considered a bad omen which can be averted only by paying a fine to the supervisor.

After this, they become Qondala, a word meaning "strong young man," and at this point reach a stage when they become for the first time of some importance. They remain Qondala for eight years, leaving their hair uncut, and throwing it behind the head as it grows long; Bahrey calls this style *kalalā*, "liana." During the Qondala period men are allowed to marry, though they are not supposed to have children till later. For the ceremonies of this grade the information available concerns mainly the Gombiču. In the first year they choose a Hayu, and perform a ceremony called *labbi* at which a second *podocarpus* is planted. In the second year they perform the *banti* ("summit") ceremony, in which they are led by the Hayu to an open space where the girls are collected. The Hayu chooses a girl who is thereafter considered his "ritual sister"; he gives her a garment, and takes her to her father's house, after which sexual intercourse between them is forbidden. At the end of the eighth year a third *podocarpus* is planted, and the ceremony called *čaffe dagaga* is held, this being the *buta* or transition ceremony from Qondala to the next grade, Dori. The young men stay in the bush near the tribal place of assembly, *čaffe*,⁶⁰ and the Hayu sacrifices a *dagaga* (full grown ox), wearing, in the Abiču type, a mask of ox-hide. On the eighth day after this the Qondala assemble in the *čaffe* under the command of the Hayu, who curses any man present who is not of the Qondala grade. The Hayu and the Qondala then discuss the traditional laws, and in the evening two of the Qondala go to the village nearby and call out, "Come! come! the Hayu has gone out!" Then everyone assembles at the *čaffe*, and the Qondala are now Dori, the Hayu being the tribal chief for the next eight years. In the Jidda and Abiču types it appears that a new Hayu is chosen before the *čaffe dagaga* instead of at the beginning of the Qondala period.

Being now Dori, at the approximate age of 24, the men have entered upon their eight years of office as the tribal government. Immediately after the *čaffe dagaga* the people assemble, and the Hayu proclaims the laws previously discussed, saying "I will produce the law," the people calling out "Produce your son," and answering "Yes" to each law as he proclaims it. The laws proclaimed on this occasion relate to family and domestic matters. (It should be mentioned that Cecchi makes the *dagaga* among the "Galla of Shoa" the first ceremony of the Gadoma or Daroma grade, his equivalent of the Dori; and his Godamma, at which he says the Hayu sacrifices a bull, seems to be *dagaga* of the Gombiču.) In the second year the Dori are led by the Hayu to a sacred sycamore where a fourth *podocarpus* is planted. (This is Cecchi's *oda*, at which the Gadoma plant a tree.) At the end of the fourth year, the last year of the half-grade Dori, the Dori hold the "dung ceremony," *dokke busa*. A heap of cow-dung, *dokke*, is collected in front of the house of the sacrificer,

⁵⁹ *Laddā* or *ladyā* means properly the muscle near the hip, Amharic *sabrada* (Nagara Galla), but here it must be taken as *pars pro toto*.

⁶⁰ Literally "grass, grazing ground," because the assembly is held in the tribal pastureland.

spread out and levelled to make a platform, and a calf is tied to the nearest olive tree. Then come five men who are ritually clean and owe neither blood-money nor debts for their parents' funeral feasts. Each carries a vessel of milk, and as he passes the calf offers it to the animal but quickly withdraws it. They go as far as the sacrificial enclosure, and then return to the platform of dung, the last man as he goes by unfastening the calf. The milk vessels are set in a row beside the dung, and guards are stationed to keep animals away. On the next day is held the *buta* by which the Dori enter the second half-grade and become Luba. The ceremony takes place on the platform of dung. The sacrificer, his head shaved, holds a rod of *wadessa* wood (*Cordia abyssinica*) and wears a *kalača*⁶¹ round his neck. Members of the Dori advance to the platform and lay 12 sticks from a bush called *tiyo* side by side upon it. The sacrificial ox is then thrown across these sticks and killed by the sacrificer with a thrust of a spear which has a shaft of *gora* wood. The meat is then distributed, the *laaddā*⁶² going to the Folle (of the next *gada*-set but one: see Table A). The skin, cut into strips, is given to the ritual sister of the Hayu. The Dori bend down, and the five ritually clean men pour the milk they brought the day before over their shaven heads; and a piece of meat cut from the thigh of the ox is tied under the Hayu's chin. The bystanders then dance on the platform of dung.

Cecchi describes a *buta*, which he calls a "sort of agricultural festival," held in Gera, Limmu, Jimma, Guma, and Gomma every eight years.⁶³ This is the *dokke busa*. A great quantity of dung is collected at the beginning of July; and on the day of the *buta* the sacrificer, his hair well greased with butter and a staff in his hand, goes to the heap of dung preceded by his wife, his sister (ritual sister?), and an assistant. Arrived at the dung heap, he asks Waqa (God) and the *ayana* (spirits) for their blessing, and curdled milk is poured on the dung. After this a bull is slaughtered by a spear-thrust and its blood is poured on the dung. The bystanders eat the meat. Five days later a ceremony called *ulla*, "the gate," takes place, in which the presiding elder fetches some fruit of a solanum called *kidi* from near a hot spring and throws it over his threshold.

The corresponding Jidda ceremony is different, and no mention is made of a platform of dung. An ox called *hirbu* is killed, and the sacrificer smears his face with its blood. The Hayu, wearing a mask made from the face-skin of an ox, leads the Dori to a nearby river and proclaims:

Ninety are the Gabra,
 Nine are the Borana.⁶⁴
 O God of the sycamore,
 O God of the meadow,
 O God of the black sceptre,
 O God of the Jidda country,
 O God of my father,
 O God of the tribe,
 O God of the nation,
 O God, make [us] great!

From the river they return to the village, at the entrance to which a woman previously chosen as "ritual sister" (as at the *banti* ceremony by the Qondala in their second year) confronts the Hayu and sings to him: "You, Hayu, why have you wished to hold the *buta*? You have not killed one of our enemies; you have not killed a young man (or a leopard, or an Arusi)," though in fact he has done so. He replies, "Why do you wish to deny me the *buta*? You have won no trophies by your

⁶¹ A strip of iron or copper, passed from father to son, and considered the most important amulet in a family. (In Kafa the *gallačo* is a band bearing a phallus worn by warriors.)

⁶² See note, p. 45.

⁶³ II, p. 284.

⁶⁴ See above, p. 11.

beauty" (i.e., cattle given by her lovers which she has in fact acquired).⁶⁵ The meat of the sacrificial ox is then divided among the people, the Hayu getting the head, the Daballe the feet and the *laddā*. Among the Metta also the ceremony is different. The senior members of the *gada-set* are anointed by certain women (not specified) who collect and burn a species of grass and mix the ashes with butter. One of them anoints the left shoulder of the Hayu with her right hand and his right shoulder with her left hand; the rest of the seniors are similarly anointed, while those who have not yet killed a man are anointed also on the hollow of the throat. The Metta have also the formula "Ninety Gabra, but nine Borana." The Gulale hold this *buta* 20 days after the Feast of Masqal, about the end of the wet season. The Dori shave their hair, with a tonsure on top of the head.

The Dori have now become Luba, and have entered the second half-grade, which lasts for another four years; the two half-grades Dori and Luba are together called Luba. Immediately after the completion of the *buta* the Hayu and all the new Luba move towards the centre of the village, while the women run about carrying jars of milk which they throw over the men, crying, "Are you not returning to the hut?" The procession stops at the hut of the Hayu's ritual sister, where the Hayu boasts aloud of his exploits in war and hunting, the girl replying with boasts of her exploits in love. Finally she brings out a wooden stool on which the Hayu sits while the meat under his chin is cut off (p. 46). Some time during the second year the Luba go to a nearby river and spend four nights beside it in grass shelters. In the third year of the Luba the ceremony called *daga kora*, "the piled-up stones," takes place. A small heap of stone is made on the place of assembly (*čaffc*) and a secret meeting is held by the Luba in the morning. Members of other *gada* are admitted in the evening, and the Hayu, standing beside the stones, again proclaims the traditional formulæ of the laws, which deal with the protection of the family and the individual, blood-price, the protection of property, the burning of huts, stock-theft, and grazing. He fixes rates of compensation, and can revoke or modify his own laws, which otherwise remain in force till the next Luba period. The proclamation of the laws is to a great extent a re-statement of traditional law, though modifications may be made to suit special conditions.

At the end of the fourth and last year of the Luba grade the Hayu and the rest of the Luba are circumcised, as also in the Jidda type, and among Cecchi's "Galla of Shoa." The Abiču, however, have no Dori, only Luba, with an undivided period of eight years, and their circumcision takes place half-way through this in the fourth year. In some tribes, as among the Jidda, by 1928 circumcision had begun to take place during the Daballe period through the influence of Ethiopian Christianity. The Luba wear their hair in a style called *gutu*, in which several tufts are interwoven and twisted behind the head. The word *luba* means "phallus" and, by extension, "circumcised man"; hence it is applied to this grade during or at the end of which circumcision takes place. Bahrey, it should be noted, uses the term to denote (a) the ruling *gada-set*, and (b) the Hayu or Abba Boku in whom the *gada* is personified.

With the completion of the fourth year of the Luba their period of office as tribal government comes to an end, and they are succeeded by the Qondala of the next *gada-set* who become Dori. Azais and Chambard say that at the end of a Luba period there is a short interregnum (length not stated) during which there is no rule of law, and crimes go unpunished.⁶⁶ The retiring Luba enter the last grade, Yuba, in which they remain for eight years as "guardians" of the laws which were proclaimed during their period of office, and they expound them to the new Dori; they have in fact an advisory instead of an executive status. Retired Hayu are called *gadamoč* in Shoa, according to Krapf⁶⁷; Cecchi says they are classed as *akakayu*,

⁶⁵ It is to be noted that this form of negative statement is common in Galla ritual performances, and the opposite is meant in each case.

⁶⁶ *Cinq années*, p. 91.

⁶⁷ Isenberg and Krapf, p. 256; in their spelling, *gedamotsh*.

"grandfathers."⁶⁸ After eight years as Yuba (which Cecchi calls Buba) their hemicycle is finished, and their sons become Daballe, the fathers belonging henceforth to no *gada*-grade, but only to a *gada*-set. After the sons have held their first *buta* (from Folle to Qondala) the fathers may not live with them any longer, but make new homesteads for themselves; nor may the fathers any more sell or acquire cattle or land, since "the blood of the *buta* has made them dumb like children."

The general scheme of the *gada*-grades as illustrated by the Gombiču type may be summarized thus:

Period	Years	Grade	Ceremonies, etc.
I	1-8	<i>Daballe</i>	None
II	8-16	<i>Folle</i>	Choose Hayu no. 1 Plant first tree <i>First Buta : Folle to Qondala</i>
III	16-24	<i>Qondala</i>	Choose Hayu no. 2 Year 1 : <i>Labbi</i> ; plant second tree Year 2 : <i>Banth</i> Year 8 : Plant third tree <i>Second Buta (čaffe dagaga) : Qondala to Dori</i>
IV A	24-28	<i>Dori</i>	Hayu no. 2 invested. Proclamation of laws Year 1 : Proclamation of laws Year 2 : Plant fourth tree Year 4 : <i>Dokke busa</i> <i>Third Buta : Dori to Luba</i>
IV B	28-32	<i>Luba</i>	Year 1 : "Boasting ceremony" Year 2 : River ceremony Year 3 : <i>Daga kora</i> . Proclamation of laws Year 4 : Circumcision
V	32-40	<i>Yuba</i>	No executive power, advisory only

(2) *Theoretical Account of Gada of Mača Type*.—Cerulli has described⁶⁹ the *gada*-grades of a Mača type which have some resemblance to the truncated system of the Leqa Wayu. This description consists of texts and explanations supplied by his informant Loransiyos of the Shoan tribe Abiču, and as it stands it departs so widely from the other systems that some emendation is necessary for it to be understood properly, and mention must be made of it. It contains five grades, the last divided, and there is no period corresponding to the Yuba period of the types just described—a period sufficiently well attested by the evidence of Soleillet,⁷⁰ and Cecchi,⁷¹ as well as that of Cerulli himself at a later date.⁷² The grades named by Loransiyos are:

I	Years	1-8	Dobolle I
II	"	8-16	Dobolle II
III	"	16-24	Dobolle III
IV	"	24-32	Qondala
VA	"	32-36	Raba
VB	"	36-40	Gula

..... Abba Boku chosen here.

..... Circumcision here.

The last two half-grades are together called Luba. The ceremonies appropriate to these grades are given as:

⁶⁸ II, p. 131.

⁶⁹ *Folk-Literature*, pp. 167-76.

⁷⁰ *Explorations éthiopiennes*.

⁷¹ I, pp. 526-30.

⁷² *Ethiopia Occidentale*, I, pp. 31 seq.

Dobolle : None.

Qondala : Year 1 : Plant tree. Proclamation of laws relating to smiths and dressers of skins.

Year 2 : Blessing of the grass. Proclamation of laws relating to the place of assembly.

Year 3 : Blessing of the place of assembly. Proclamation of laws relating to pregnant women.

Year 4 : Dung ceremony. Proclamation of laws relating to the property of the Qondala.

Buta : Qondala to Raba.

Abba Boku invested.

Raba : Year 1 : *Dagaga* ceremony. Blessing of salt springs. Proclamation of laws relating to pregnant women.

Year 2 : *Dogama* ceremony. Proclamation of laws relating to the legislative power of the Luba.

Year 3 : *Duga banta* ceremony. Proclamation of laws (subject not stated).

Year 4 : *Bokku busa* (? *dokke busa*). Proclamation of laws relating to the family of the Luba.

Buta : Raba to Gula. Circumcision.

Gula : No ceremonies or laws proclaimed.

Year 4 : Retire.

In this scheme, there are too many grades before Qondala, and no final advisory period. To bring it into line with the other types it may be amended thus :

I	Years 1-8	Dobolle I	
II	Years 8-16	Dobolle II - Folle	
III	Years 16-24	Qondala	<i>Buta</i> : Dobolle II to Qondala Abba Boku invested
IV A	Years 24-28	Raba	<i>Buta</i> : Qondala to Raba
IV B	Years 28-32	Luba	<i>Buta</i> : Raba to Luba. Circumcision
V	Years 32-40	Gula	

The ceremonies attributed to Qondala should perhaps be assigned to Raba (the Dori of the Shoan types) and those of Raba to Luba. The statements about the laws are important, as they give a clue to the nature of the legislative acts of the ruling *gada-set*.

(3) *Truncated Types*.—In some tribes which have been strongly influenced by Islam or by Abyssinian culture the number of *gada*-grades has been reduced. We have some information about three such tribes : the Leqa Wayu (Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, II, pp. 123-31), Jimma (*ibid.*, I, pp. 87-91), and Limmu (Cecchi, II, pp. 284-7). The system of the Leqa Wayu as described by Cerulli is unworkable, since he attributes to it six *gada*-sets and four *gada*-grades, Qondala, Raba, Luba, Gula, which yield a 48-year interval. It is clear that some emendation is necessary, and the solution seems to be the relegation of one *gada-set* to "reserve," leaving five, and bringing the grades into line with the normal types by counting Raba and Luba as the two halves of a single grade together called Luba. In this way the 40-year interval, which the Leqa stress in the formula *afurtama abbakoti*, "the 40 (years) of my father," is preserved. The sets named are Robale, Mikile, Dulo, Mudana, Halčisa, Horata, with Birmaji and Melba in reserve ; to the latter must therefore be added one of the top six. The system will then be as follows, *gada*-sets being shown by numbers in the top line :

TABLE B—TABLE OF THE LEQA WAYU GRADES

Years*	Fathers					Sons				
	I ¹	II ¹	III ¹	IV ¹	V ¹	I ²	II ²	III ²	IV ²	V ²
1-8	Qondala									
8-16	Raba/Luba	Qondala								
16-24	Gula	Raba/Luba	Qondala							
24-32	↑	Gula	Raba/Luba	Qondala						
32-40			Gula	Raba/Luba	Qondala					
40-48				Gula	Raba/Luba	Qondala				
48-56					Gula	Raba/Luba	Qondala			
56-64	40 years		...	.	↑	Gula	Raba/Luba	Qondala		
64-72							Gula	Raba/Luba	Qondala	
72-80								Gula	Raba/Luba	Qondala
80-88									Gula	Raba/Luba
88-96					40 years			...	...	Gula

* Not age in years. Gada-sets denoted by roman numerals.

The grades of Daballe and Folle do not exist, and at the approximate age of 16 the youths become Qondala, and first come together when they assemble on the *čaffe*, or place of tribal assembly, where they erect shelters of branches and grass in which they live during the ceremonial periods. Members of the submerged groups—smiths, potters, skin-dressers, etc.—are excluded from all *gada*-ceremonies. The Qondala choose a leader, the Abba Boku, who proclaims the laws. The first ceremony is called *gorasuma*; at this they cut the material needed for making the milk vessels that will be used during the ritual periods. The second ceremony is the *dokke busa*, “the collection of dung,” performed as in Jimma (see below, p. 53). At the end of their eight-year period they hold a *buta* to mark the transition from Qondala to Raba. At this time the distinction between Borana and Gabaro (p. 11) is strongly emphasized, for two Abba Boku are elected, one by the Borana and one by the Gabaro, that of the Borana being the senior. At this *buta* the Borana leader sacrifices a bull, and thus becomes known as Abba Korma, “father of the bull,” while the Gabaro leader who sacrifices a cow becomes Abba Dulača, “father of the cow.” This division of the Raba grade into two ethnic groups is a divergence from the normal Galla custom. As elsewhere, the leaders wear masks made from the face-skin of the animals they have slaughtered; and thus masked they lead their men to running water which they enter, stirring up the mud as cattle do. They then pick grass and fresh leaves which are draped over head and shoulders, and return singing. They are now Raba. At the entry of the village they are met by all the people, and two elders who have completed their *gada*-grades become *jala* or “godfathers” to the two Abba Boku. These elders place a jar full of milk on the ground; the two Abba Boku shake their muzzles over the jar and upset the milk, then bellow like cattle, while the onlookers sing a song about this action, and the rest of the Raba sing the praises of their new grade. Barren women come to the Abba Boku and offer them a wooden bowl full of milk, into which the leaders put their muzzles and bless the women so that they may bear sons. The Raba then go to the drinking-place of the village cattle and the Abba Boku blesses the water. The next day the Raba go to the hut of an elder known as Abba Guči, “father of the vulture’s feathers,”⁷³ a man who has completed all the *gada*-ceremonies, and has been chosen because of his renown as a warrior. He wears a plume of vulture’s feathers, and the Raba recite to him in turn a list of their killings, accompanied by chants of a magical nature called *sarara*. While they recite, he proclaims the reckoning of the number of animals equivalent to men among the Leqa:

1 foot-soldier killed	= 1 man killed
1 horseman	= 2 men
1 elephant	= 10 horsemen
1 buffalo	= 1 man
1 lion	= 5 men
1 leopard	= 3 men
1 black leopard ⁷⁴	= 17 men

As Raba, the men and all their possessions are *kanani*,⁷⁵ that is, they have the right to claim the full blood-price of 100 cattle (the price for murder) for any injury. After an unspecified interval the Raba next hold the ceremony of the *boku*, the carved wooden sceptre which stresses the seniority of the Abba Korma. They assemble near a sacred sycamore and sing. The Abba Korma, masked as on previous occasions climbs into the tree bellowing like a bull and ties the *boku* to a branch with his *mediča*, a goat-skin amulet worn on the arm. The others pretend not to recognize him because of his mask, and sing a song beginning with the words, “Who is the *luba* who has

⁷³ A local word, to be distinguished from the ordinary Galla word for ostrich, *guči*.

⁷⁴ Or “black panther,” Galla: *kalle qērensa*; Amharic: *gessillā*.

TABLE C—TABLE OF THE JIMMA GRADES

Years *	Fathers					Sons				
	I ¹	II ¹	III ¹	IV ¹	V ¹	I ²	II ²	III ²	IV ²	V ²
1-8	Raba †									
8-16	Luba	Raba †								
16-24		Luba	Raba †							
24-32			Luba	Raba †						
32-40	† ‡			Luba	Raba †					
40-48	↑	†			Luba	Raba †				
48-56			†			Luba	Raba †			
56-64				† ‡			Luba	Raba †		
64-72					† ‡			Luba	Raba †	
72-80	40 years					†			Luba	Raba †
80-88							† ‡			Luba
88-96								† ‡	↓	↓

* Not age in years. † First *buta*. ‡ Second *buta*.

leapt into the tree ? " Descending, he proclaims the laws ; the Abba Dulača does not do this. After their *buta*, the Raba dress their hair in the style called *gutu* (p. 47), and may not drink water, only *arera* (whey). Next, they go on a hunting expedition, which replaces the raids made in former days. In the fourth year of Raba they are circumcised and become Luba. After four years as Luba, they complete the *gada*-ceremonies by the ceremony of *ginna čsa*, "lengthening the hair," which allows them to grow their hair long, and become Gula, the equivalent of Yuba in other tribes. The people bring bundles of grass for them to bless by spitting on them, while the members of the *gada*-set which is about to enter the Luba grade sing in praise of their own group and jest upon the retiring *gada*-set.

The people of Jimma have five *gada*-sets ; Dulo, Mikile, Mudana, Horata, Kilolē ; a sixth, Robalē, is in reserve, having been abolished because during two successive periods of its rule, no rain (*roba*) fell. After Menilek's conquest of Jimma between 1891 and 1900 the Abyssinians suppressed the public celebration of the *gada*-ceremonies, though they continued to be held *sub rosa*, with only two grades, Raba and Luba. Each set is thus in a grade for only two eight-year periods ; but a *buta* is held every eight years to mark the entry and exit of a set into the grades, each set holding, in addition, a *buta* 40 years after their entry into Raba to mark their departure from the hemi-cycle, this second *buta* marking the entry of their sons after the proper interval of 40 years, thus preserving the principle of *afurtama abbakoti*, "the 40 (years) of my father."

The first or principal *buta* is preceded by the *dokke busa*, "collection of dung," in which a platform of dung is made in front of the hut of the sacrificer, who cuts the throat of an ox on the platform, hangs the peritoneum from his neck, and covers his face with blood ; the horns are put on a stake. The newly constituted grade has an Abba Boku,⁷⁵ an office hereditary in one family of each *gada*-set. After the *buta* the Abba Boku "asks the laws," as the expression is, under a sacred sycamore, the formula being "Abba Jifar has decided that such and such shall be done. Is the king's word valid or not ? " to which the people answer, "Yes."⁷⁶ Before the spread of Islam in Jimma circumcision came a year after the *buta* ; now it is done in the early years of boyhood according to Islamic custom (1928).

In Limmu the grades seem to have been like those of Jimma. Cecchi gives five *gada*-sets which he calls *alanga* (Amharic for "whip," and a term denoting authority) ; he calls the sets Mikile, Dulo, Warata [Horata], Kilole, and Mudoles [Mudana].⁷⁷

The Summoning of the Abba Boku.—According to a text,⁷⁸ the man chosen to be Abba Boku (or Hayu) is summoned to office by certain members of the Raba half-grade (in Leqa ; Dori in other tribes), who are subject to certain restrictions while doing so : they may not ford rivers, spend the night in the house of a stranger, or eat any food but that which they take with them ; the Abba Boku himself eats only the produce of the land which he has cultivated.⁷⁹ The messengers stop at the door of the Abba Boku's hut, call his wife, and tell her to bring the stool. This she brings and takes away three times, after which she brings two stools, and pours water on them telling the messengers to sit. They sit down, and count the years of the *gada*-grades through which they have passed. The Abba Boku then appears, and likewise counts the years, saying "This is the day on which I shall take office." After this the messengers return. No details are given of the number of the messengers, their qualifications, or the actual rites of investiture.

⁷⁵ Cecchi describes Abba Magal I, the 13th king of Jimma (early 19th century) as "a kind of Abba Boku or Hayu" (II, p. 540).

⁷⁶ Abba Jifar II was the last independent king of Jimma.

⁷⁷ II, pp. 284-7.

⁷⁸ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 177.

⁷⁹ A common requirement among the Galla, due to notions of mystical protection.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Abba Boku and his Colleagues.—The Abba Boku, "father of the sceptre,"¹ or Hayu (the terms are synonymous) is the tribal ruler for the eight years during which his *gada*-set is in power. Though in peace time he is the most important member of the tribe, he is assisted by certain colleagues in order, said d'Abbadie, not to put too much power into the hands of one man. De Salviac describes the tribal executive as consisting of three dignitaries: the Abba Boku, chief magistrate, and the Dori and Raba, assessors and judges. It is uncertain to what extent this triple magistracy is distributed in Galla land, for while Krapf found it in Southern Shoa as far as the Hawaš River,² it does not seem to occur among the western Galla.³ Its existence among the eastern Galla is confirmed by Da Thiene, who, describing the order of precedence in which the huts of the tribal ministers were disposed, says that the Abba Boku lived in the centre of the parliament enclosure, the Dori or first minister on his right, and the Raba or second minister on his left.⁴ It may therefore be accepted that the terms Dori and Raba refer to offices as well as to grades. The Abba Boku and his two colleagues are chosen from the oldest or most distinguished families, which are known as "families of the Hayu." The principal function of the Abba Boku is to preside over the parliament or tribal assembly, to proclaim the laws, and to act when necessary as ritual expert in the *gada*-ceremonies.

The parliament ground, *tarre*⁵ or *čaffe*⁶ is marked by an enclosure in which the magistrates lived; de Salviac says their camps were 1—2 kilometres apart. In this enclosure the assembly was convened.

The transmission of legislative power to the Abba Boku, as distinct from the entry of his set into the governing grade, is marked by a sacrifice which de Salviac calls *Oda*, "sycamore," i.e., made at a sacred sycamore. The retiring Abba Boku kills an ox and sprinkles his colleagues and himself with its blood. The animal is skinned, and he puts the skin complete with the head over his own body and asks Waqa to re-clothe him with forgiveness. The new Abba Boku is summoned by messengers (p. 53 above), and to him is given the *boku* or sceptre, a rod of hard wood or iron, through which the power of the Abba Boku is passed on to him.⁷ The retiring Abba Boku and his two colleagues are then circumcised, unless they were circumcised in their fourth year of office, as among the Abiču. The new Abba Boku prays to Waqa for his favour and then climbs on to a large stone from which he jumps crying *sera bue*, "the law is fallen"; after an interval he climbs back and says *sera bale*, "the law is restored." The new magistrates are then given advice and help by their predecessors who are now in the Yuba grade.

The specific duties of the Abba Boku included acting as a judge and law-maker in peace time, and commanding the warriors in war time. As war leader he might delegate his powers to a subordinate called Abba Dula, "the father of war." As a judge he not only hears cases at the place of assembly (*tarre*), but according to Krapf spent a good deal of his time travelling throughout his tribal area for this purpose.⁸

The three magistrates are assisted by lesser officials, who among the pastoral Galla are the Moti, the Abba Sāa, and the Irresa. The Moti is described by d'Abbadie

¹ The word *abba*, "father," is much used by the Galla in titles and names, with the sense of "owner."

² Isenberg and Krapf, p. 256.

³ Cerulli, op. cit., p. 32, who queries de Salviac.

⁴ *Dizionario*, p. 315.

⁵ Literally "order, rank," with the secondary meaning of "parliament." Less important assemblies are called *yai*.

⁶ See f.n. 60, p. 45.

⁷ There is some discrepancy here in the sources, for d'Abbadie says that on leaving office the retiring Abba Boku keeps the *boku* for his son, though if poor he sold it to a member of his son's *gada*-set, the price of a *boku* among the Gudru in d'Abbadie's time being 75 to 125 francs. Above we have given de Salviac's account.

⁸ Isenberg and Krapf, p. 256.

as being mainly a war leader; the title was adopted for the king when the Galla established the Gibē monarchies. The Moti had little to do in peace time and was subject to certain restrictions: he was not allowed to work in the fields, make enclosures, or uncover his body. In war he must not fight, a restriction which included even the parrying of a blow from an enemy, for he might only command; and it was accounted shameful, moreover, if he returned from an expedition in the course of which not one enemy had been killed. The Abba Sāa, "father of the cow," collected taxes in the form of livestock for public needs, though exactly what these needs are is not specified. The Irresa is a sort of priest or ritual expert, whose function was to make public prayers, especially for rain, and it is claimed that his prayers are more effective than those of the laity. In the Gibē monarchies officials all bearing titles compounded with *abba* were multiplied. If there are several candidates for an office, there is an election. Each elector places a handful of grass on the head of the man he prefers; this grass is preserved by the successful candidate who on leaving office after his eight-year term gives it to one of his cows, and it is considered a good omen if the cow eats it. Though acceptance of office is not compulsory, Galla opinion is that it is unwise to refuse, and d'Abbadie quotes the case of a Gudru who about 1820 after election passed the office of Moti to his younger brother, who died soon afterwards. When they have retired, the Abba Boku and other dignitaries have the right to drink first and to water their cattle before other people.

If the Abba Boku dies in office, the sceptre passes to his son; and if he has no son, to his wife, who proclaims the laws. (Cf. the case quoted by Cerulli of Diso Obo Warqe, a woman who once ruled the Nonno Jebat.⁹)

The Galla Monarchies of the Gibē

In the Gibē region the Galla set up, as already described (p. 20), five monarchies, in which the head of the state was the king, Moti, the office of Abba Boku losing its political authority and becoming of purely ritual importance. The establishment of these little kingdoms, a form of organization foreign to the Galla, to whom, as we have seen, the concentration of power in the hands of one man was repugnant, is due to the influence of the Sidama, for in pre-Galla days there were kings of Hadiya (Gudela), Kambatta, Janjero, Wolamo, and elsewhere; and across the Gojeb from Gera and Jimma was the ancient kingdom of Kafa.

Of the organization of Limmu-Enarya we have two accounts, one written before Menilek's conquest in 1891, the second written in 1928. Cecchi, who was here in 1878, describes the king as an hereditary despotic ruler. The eldest son of the senior legal wife succeeded, though the eldest son of another wife might be appointed an hereditary prince if he had distinguished himself. The heir to the throne on reaching a certain age acquired the right to wear a golden bracelet. If the official heir had many brothers, there might be a war of accession after the king's death, the brothers fighting each other till one of them vanquished the rest.¹⁰ If there was no legitimate heir, Cecchi adds, one of the dignitaries of state (*soreša*) whose birth and personal merit made him acceptable to the people might be chosen as successor. Executive power in all the Gibē States was in the hands of the king, who delegated it to leading men whom he thought fittest for the various posts, which comprised: (1) the *Abba Koro*, "father of the village," the equivalent of the Abyssinian *dajazmač*, the governors of districts, who had their courts, officials and slaves; (2) under them the *Abba Ganda* (also meaning "father of the village"), the vice-governors who ruled in the absence of their overlords, exacted tribute, recruited soldiers, took turns in guarding the frontiers, administered justice in the king's name, and dealt with all matters not needing the

⁹ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 69. The *gada*-system, together with the associated political organization, is now largely a thing of the past. In only a few remote places are the ceremonies performed, and knowledge of procedure is confined to a dwindling number of elders.

¹⁰ Cf. the wars of accession in the kingdoms of western Uganda, such as Ankole, Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems*, p. 158.

king's personal attention ; (3) the *Abba Fuño*, " fathers of the cord," the village headmen, the equivalent of this Abyssinian *šum*, whose duties were to keep order, arrest criminals, impose tribute, direct forced labour for works ordered by the king, and to act as messengers between the Abba Koro and Abba Ganda. Officials without specific territorial jurisdiction were (1) the *Abba Dula*, chosen by the king or his council as war leader ; (2) the *Abba Kella*, " father of the gate," the commander of the guards at each gate in the state defences ; (3) the *Abba Mizan*, " father of the scales,"¹¹ chief of the customs and responsible for seeing that taxes and duties were collected including the customary contributions from hunters in the form of ivory and skins ; he was called " the king's right arm."¹²

By 1928, however, the character of this organization had changed. There was no king, but the Ethiopian Government in Addis Ababa nominated an Abyssinian as chief of Limmu, who in turn appointed an Abba Koro to each district, usually a Galla, with Abyssinians over the more important districts. These Abyssinian district governors, together with the notables under them, are called by the Amharic term *bālābbāt*, which means something like " lord with a genealogy " ; as Abyssinian nominees they can be dismissed, and the title is largely honorific, especially in the case of the notables, and gives no right to any fixed emolument. The functions of the *bālābbāt* are (a) to receive tribute and taxes on behalf of the King of Ethiopia or local Abyssinian feudatory (i.e., the " chief " of Limmu) ; (b) to organize labour required by the feudatory for such work as picking coffee in the state forest, and the maintenance of caravan roads, camps, and state buildings ; (c) to preserve internal law and order ; and (d) to maintain a small force of soldiers, who are paid and fed by the *bālābbāt* to whom they are attached. There are also in Limmu three grades of the honorific title *qañazmāč* : (1) persons nominated by the King of Ethiopia, and taking rank after the *fitāwrāri* (" general of the advance guard ") but before the *gerāzmač* (" general of the left wing ") in the Abyssinian series of honours ; (2) persons nominated from among the local Abyssinian governors ; and (3) persons nominated from among the local Galla notables.¹³

In Jimma the organization in 1928 was as follows. The king, whose title was *moti*, was referred to as *goyta*¹⁴ when spoken of ; his personal name was sacred, and not to be spoken by anyone. His war-name, Abba Jifar, was derived from his horse (*jifar*, " dappled ")¹⁵ ; his Moslem name was not sacred. The eldest son was heir to the throne ; as crown prince he was called *donāčo*,¹⁶ and had a district governorship. Other members of the royal family were called *goyta*, e.g., the king's brother was Ahmad Goyta. The principal sign of kingship was a golden bracelet called *warqē motiti*, " the king's gold," with which the heir was invested on his father's death. As a Moslem, the king was allowed four wives, whose titles were *gennē* (also of Kafa origin), and who were referred to by the name of the country they came from, e.g., Gennē Gumiti, " the lady from Guma " ; the chief wife was *gennē fa*, " the lady." The king's wives could be made district governors ; in 1928 the Gennē Minjiti, " the lady from Kafa," had the districts of Geta and Nada in north-east and central Jimma. In former days the kings of the Gibē States sent to each other ambassadors, *ergemtu*, who had diplomatic immunity while in office ; but latterly the king of Jimma sent but one ambassador, to Addis Ababa. He appointed the district governors, Abba Koro, and could dismiss them, and enlarge or diminish their districts at will.¹⁷ Apart from the *donāčo* and the *gennē* no members of the royal family held governorships. The king was the chief judge, and any person condemned by a Moslem judge could

¹¹ From Amharic *mizan*, " scales, balance."

¹² Cecchi, II, pp. 165-7.

¹³ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, II, chap. XII.

¹⁴ Ethiopic *goyta*.

¹⁵ Though it is to be noted that this name was borne by previous kings, notably by Abba Jifar I, fl. 1840, after whom the kingdom came to be known as Jimma Abba Jifar.

¹⁶ A word of Kafa origin, meaning " lord."

¹⁷ An ancient and common Abyssinian practice.

appeal to him. The judicial oath, through Abyssinian influence, had acquired the form "By the king's hand," in preference to the older (though still used) formula "By the king's gold" (i.e., the royal bracelet). In districts governed by the *donāčo*, the oath was "By the hand of the *donāčo*." The king paid tribute to the Ethiopian Government, but was allowed part of it for allocation to the districts; he had the right to free labour for public works. As in Galla tribal society, strangers were considered the king's guests, and he provided them with food and lodging; as a result the guest could neither choose another lodging, nor leave without his consent; nor could he do any business without permission. The king alone had the power to give official recognition of the "right to kill" which is such an important element in Galla society.¹⁸ The kingdom was divided into districts, *koro*, each under a governor, Abba Koro; the Abba Boku had no longer any executive power, and the Abba Koro need not even be members of the *gada*-set of the day. One of the districts was formed from the ancient statelet of Boša, called Garo by the Galla, which was tributary to Yeshaq of Abyssinia (1412-27), and was forcibly converted to Christianity by Sarša Dengel in 1586. This represented one of the last and most recent conquests by the Galla of a Sidama group in this region; in 1928 the surviving heir of the Boša dynasty lived in semi-banishment at Jiren.¹⁹

In Gera, when Cecchi visited it, the organization seems to have been similar to that of the Jimma of his day, except that a woman, the Gennē F'a, widow of King Abba Rago II, was on the throne as regent.

Tribal and State Defences

The custom of certain Sidama peoples such as the Kafa was to surround their country completely with an impassable defence. This was copied by the Galla when they divided the Gibē region into relatively small states, where such a method was practicable, the circumference of Guma, for example, being about 180 miles, along about half of which defence was provided by the Didessa river. The general plan was to dig a ditch where no river was available, and fortify it with a heavy wooden palisade, surrounded on the outer side by an uninhabited strip known as *moga* (a word meaning both "wilderness" and "boundary"), the defence being broken at infrequent intervals by heavily guarded gates, *kella*. An example of a tribal defence of this sort, though not on a very large scale, is provided by the Nonno Roggē, north-east of Limmu, who dug trenches on their frontier to repel an invasion by the Limmu people. Though in places where trade routes crossed Galla territory there were customs posts known as *kella*,²⁰ defences on a large scale among the Galla seem confined to the Gibē States. Limmu, says Cecchi, like all the Galla states, was surrounded by one or more palisades or dead hedges except where natural features made them unnecessary. Each track leading away from Limmu was guarded by gates in charge of armed men under an Abba Kella; a look-out was posted in a raised shelter.²¹ The *moga* or uninhabited strip was usually infested by brigands called *keto* over whom the kings had no control. These *keto* were not very numerous, but often attacked caravans; they also hunted fugitive slaves, sending the genitals of those they killed to the king, who rewarded the brigands with a slave girl and four or five head of cattle; if taken alive, slaves were handed over to the king, who put them in the stocks (p. 64 below). In Jimma in 1928 the situation was similar, all roads entering it being closed by a barrier and guarded by an Abba Kella with a small force of armed men who cultivated land nearby for growing their food. It was the duty of the Abba Kella to collect taxes from all traffic passing through and to pay a fixed sum annually to

¹⁸ See below, p. 64.

¹⁹ *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. VI.

²⁰ Azais et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 172.

²¹ Cecchi, II, p. 162. Cf. also Soleillet, *Explorations éthiopiennes*, p. 164, for a description of the *kella* of Abalti.

the king. As in other states, there was a *moga*, uninhabited except by brigands, and uncultivated.²²

Warfare

Training.—Almeida called the Galla "this plague and scourge of God,"²³ and Bahrey, asking how it was that the Galla so often defeated the Abyssinians, who were numerous and well-equipped, decided that it was because the Galla were all instructed in warfare.²⁴ Galla songs enumerate the bad qualities which a warrior should not possess: sneaking, boasting, lack of dignity, bachelorhood, and inefficiency, the latter being expressed in the curious phrase "he who has hands does not open the door with his back."²⁵ Fighting was the duty as well as the pride of those who reach the Qondala grade; and even after reaching the Yuba grade (the *melguddo* of Bahrey) men could still fight if they were fit enough. A Galla was supposed always to be alert and ready for war, and according to Bahrey certain men were "entrusted with the duty of reprimanding and punishing those who have illicit relations with women; these are called *gorsa*,²⁶ and they take this precaution, not from love of virtue, but so that they may always be alert and ready for war, for 'he who is married studies to please his wife'" (Cf. 1 Cor. VII, 33).²⁷ The Biblical paraphrase, which does not quite tally with the Galla opinion that bachelorhood is shameful, was perhaps added as a pious embellishment by the Christian historian. From an early age Galla boys are brought up as warriors, and both while herding the cattle, and during their games they learn to handle the spear. De Salviac records that a light wooden hoop is set rolling over the ground, and they practise throwing sticks through it when it faces them full circle. When grown up, they can as a result throw spears with accuracy; a good spearman can transfix a tree or a man at 50 paces, and a horseman can throw a maximum distance of about 90–100 yards, though 40–50 yards is a more usual effective distance.²⁸ Before becoming eligible to fight, the older boys used to accompany the warriors on expeditions as servants and carried their weapons.

Equipment and Weapons.—The chief weapon is the spear, *warana*, of several types,²⁹ with a maximum length of about 6 ft. 6 ins. On a campaign each man carried two smaller spears called *cho* for throwing, the larger spears being seldom thrown. At home spears are kept in the ceiling; and the blade of a spear when it is not in use may be protected by a sheath called *satto*. Guns (*qawē*) were introduced to the Galla through the agency of traders and from Abyssinia during the late 19th century; a gunbarrel is called *naki*; and gunpowder, *baruda*, was called *goriça qawē*, "medicine of the gun," when firearms were first introduced to the Galla. Shields, *gācanā*, made of buffalo, giraffe, or hippopotamus hide, are small and circular, about 18–20 inches in diameter, with a central boss. This small circular shield is common to the Hamitic peoples of north-east Africa. Bahrey records that when the Galla about 1580 confronted the skilled professional archers called Maya, who fought as mercenaries for the Abyssinians, they devised a new form of shield made of stiff ox-hide which was long enough to cover the whole body, and thus the arrows of the Maya found no place to strike.³⁰ From about the age of 14 all men carry a curved knife (*goradē*) or two-edged sword (*sefi*) from 16 to 24 inches long, with a raw-hide scabbard (*manne*).³¹ Warriors wore a leopard skin with two legs fastened across the chest; round and

²² *Ethiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. VI.

²³ Book IV, chap. 25.

²⁴ Chap. 19.

²⁵ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 101.

²⁶ "One who instructs or warns."

²⁷ Chap. 20.

²⁸ De Salviac, chap. XIV.

²⁹ See p. 71 below.

³⁰ Chap. 13. On the Maya, see note to this chapter in Beekingham and Huntingford, 1954, p. 120.

³¹ De Salviac, chap. XIV.

conical skin hats were worn by those who had killed a lion or given other evidence of great bravery ; and an ornament worn round the head consisted of a leather circlet into which were fastened zebra hairs so that they made a close fringe all round it.³² Warriors also wear crests of the feathers of the small vulture with red wings and tail called *guči* ; they are then called Abba Guči.³³ Among the Leqa, a warrior who had killed five men, five buffaloes, and five lions was allowed to wear an armlet called *maldā* (*maldaya*) ; permission to do so was granted publicly at the ceremony which marked the entry into the Raba half-grade. The chief trophy sought by the Galla was the genitals of the enemy killed in battle or of the innocent victim killed in peace time. This practice is said to have been adopted from the Galla by the Abyssinians, who certainly had it by the 17th century. (Bahrey describes how the Abyssinians after defeating the Galla about 1580 in Damot cut off the heads of the slain as trophies, though they were too many to count.³⁴) Though the Galla began their invasion of Abyssinia as foot soldiers, they soon took to riding horses, and Almeida says that they fought mainly on horseback, for which reason they had been unable to subdue the very mountainous parts of the Abyssinian kingdom.³⁵ More than two hundred years later the issue of a battle still depended on the cavalry.³⁶

Fighting.—Before a campaign a diviner (*qallu*) was consulted ; among other things the September moon was considered an ill-omened time to fight. Nevertheless, in a war-song the general desire for battle among the Galla is reflected in the adjuration to the warriors to go out and fight even if the *qallu* has divined unfavourably, for it is better to die killing : “ They will eat me, but I shall eat others of them.”³⁷ Oaths before battle were common. “ What makes the Gallas so much feared is that they go to war determined and firmly resolved to die ; the Emperor Seltan Çagued recognized this quality in them.”³⁸ Other oaths determine the way in which a man will fight, as that by which a man swore to fight only hand to hand.³⁹ Campaigns of conquest, as opposed to raids, were not long, lasting, according to de Salviac, for not more than a week or so ; and even during their invasion in the 16th century the Galla habit was to establish a base from which to make short campaigns, returning there at the end of each.⁴⁰ While on a campaign the men lived in shelters of branches and their leaders in cloth tents. Boys and servants carried their masters’ shields and weapons when they were not fighting. Women followed the troops with jars of beer and loads of dried meat, and cooked for the fighting men ; though in general they lived as far as possible on the country. The women also sang and danced before a battle, inciting the warriors to deeds of bravery ; after a battle, they sang songs of praise for victory and of lamentation for the dead. On raids, the warriors travelled light without tents and with little food, carrying only a bag of meal and a gourd of butter for eating and for anointing their bodies to relieve fatigue.⁴¹ Bruce says that they took balls of roasted and crushed coffee mixed with butter.⁴² In the Gibē States, where inter-state warfare was more or less continuous, one army might besiege another in its camp once it had crossed its own frontier ; and a declaration of war often took the form of an act of aggression like cutting the enemy’s maize crop. In some of these little wars armies of no more than 40 or 50 men a side might join battle, and it was not unusual for the prowess of a single warrior to decide the issue. Moreover, religious scruples might delay the start of a battle, as when the pagan Leqa, advancing on

³² Ibid.

³³ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 102.

³⁴ Chap. 14.

³⁵ Book IV, chap. 25.

³⁶ Cecchi, I, p. 356.

³⁷ Cerulli, op. cit., pp. 77, 78.

³⁸ Almeida, book IV, chap. 25 ; the Emperor was Susneyos (1604–32).

³⁹ Cerulli, op. cit., p. 44.

⁴⁰ De Salviac, chap. XIV ; Bahrey, chap. 9.

⁴¹ De Salviac, loc. cit.

⁴² Vol. II. (Ed. 1.)

Guma on a Thursday evening, had to wait till the Moslem army had finished the Friday prayers, which made the Leqa commander ask scornfully if he was expected to wait till they had drunk coffee also. It was also the custom to issue challenges ; thus, a pagan Galla challenged the Moslems of Guma to send 10 of their warriors against him, and he fought and defeated them single-handed.⁴³ Major wars, especially during the period of the Galla conquests in the 17th and 18th centuries, were fought by large bodies of men, the numbers running into hundreds and even thousands ; and, as already related, strategem was resorted to as well as force of numbers.⁴⁴ Of the effects of a large-scale battle, and the devastation of a district by an invading army, Cecchi drew the following picture, referring to an Abyssinian attack, but applicable also to the Galla : " It is impossible to describe the appearance of a countryside overrun by war and destroyed after a battle. The devastation is complete : villages in flames, or already burnt ; musketeers intent on chasing the unarmed ; women and children, separated from their men, taken prisoner and led into slavery. Those who cannot escape take refuge in trees but will be seen by the musketeers and soon fall wounded to the ground. Prisoners are hunted like wild beasts." ⁴⁵

The Galla have always had a tendency to group themselves in leagues or confederacies. As far back as the 16th century Bahrey says that the tribes which he calls Čele, Hoko, Liban, and Gudru formed a confederacy known as Afre, " The Four," and the Hakako, Obo, and Suba formed the Sadača, " The Three." These were for purposes of war ; in peace time they referred to themselves by their ethnic name of Mača, while if they joined the Tulama for a war, they called themselves by the collective name of Sapira, the name of the legendary father of Boran, their common ancestor.⁴⁶ In 1882 Abba Jubir, king of Guma, made war on the pagan Galla of Gaba north-west of his kingdom. Not being as successful as he had hoped, he persuaded the kings of Jimma, Enarya, and Gomma to join him in a confederacy which became known as the Arfa Nagadota, or " League of the Four Traders," to counter which the pagan Galla formed the Arfa Oromota or " League of the Four Galla." The members of the Traders' League (the Moslems) did not support each other very loyally, and after a number of reverses an invasion of Guma territory was averted only by the bravery of a single Guma warrior. This ended the Moslem league, a coalition somewhat unduly magnified in local memory, but worthy of mention in order to show how the Galla were in the habit of leaguings themselves together for moral as well as material support in their wars.⁴⁷ About 1900 Firisa, the son of Abba Fogi, the last king of Guma, started a *jihad* or holy war against the Abyssinians, for which he ordained certain alterations in the customary procedure of war. His men were forbidden to sing the usual pagan boasting songs in which they called themselves " slave of my father " or " slave of the king " ; they were not to cut off the genitals of the enemy as trophies, nor might they take prisoners in order to gain profit by their ransom ; for the holy war was not to be profaned by pagan customs.⁴⁸

The returning warriors were greeted after a victory by songs of joy ; the brave were entitled to the crest of *guči* feathers already described ; while among the pagan Galla those who had killed an enemy were forbidden to enter their houses till they had performed a ceremony called *guppē* in which a she-goat was slaughtered on the threshold. After a hunting expedition, an ox was slaughtered in a ceremony called *indiča* when an elephant had been killed ; and to show their contempt for the Moslems the pagans might slaughter a man of Guma instead of an ox.⁴⁹

⁴³ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ P. 21 below.

⁴⁵ I, p. 359.

⁴⁶ Chap. I. The numbers three, four, and seven recur throughout Galla history as mystically significant.

⁴⁷ The story is summarized in greater detail in Beckingham and Huntingford, 1954, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

⁴⁸ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 85.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Customs, Tribute, and Taxation

In the Gibe States, customs dues were levied at the gates. The dues paid at the *kella* of Jimma in 1928 were: on entry, half a Maria Theresa dollar⁵⁰ for each mule load. Goods coming from Addis Ababa with documents from the Ethiopian customs by the Abalti gate (north-east) in the dry weather, and by the Limmu gate (north) in the wet season, were exempt from this duty. A special duty on imported ivory was levied in favour of the king of Jimma. On exit, half a M.T. dollar for each load, except on goods going to Addis Ababa, according to season as above, for which instead one dollar on each mule load was paid direct to the king on leaving the traders' compound, where there were guarded customs posts. Each trader also paid three dollars to the *nagad ras* (p. 32 above) irrespective of the number of mules, and one dollar at the frontier to the Abba Kella.⁵¹

Tribute from the Galla was formerly taken by force. Thus as late as the 1830s the king of Shoa made expeditions each year in January, June, and October to take tribute from them, and widespread devastation followed refusal to pay.⁵² In 1886 Abba Jifar II of Jimma paid as tribute to Menilek slaves (including eunuchs),^{52A} ivory, bamboo internodes filled with civet, jars of honey, locally made cloth, spears, shields ornamented with silver plates, and objects of wood (including stools).⁵³ In 1928 his namesake paid 87,000 dollars as tribute to the Government at Addis Ababa, and 15,000 dollars for the king's army.⁵⁴

It has already been noted that the pastoral Galla collected taxes in the form of livestock for public needs (d'Abbadie). At a later period, Azais and Chambard record the existence of an official among the eastern Galla called Abba Burqa, "father of the spring (of water)," who collected tax on land of a *gača* or more in extent (42 hectares).⁵⁵ In Wallaga Koettlitz records that the Galla paid tax in gold dust, and that one man said it took him 17 days to wash six dollars' worth.⁵⁶ The king of Jimma in 1928 received a hut tax from each family reckoned at five dollars per hut.⁵⁷

LEGAL PROCEDURE AND SANCTIONS

Proceedings at the Parliament

When the parliament is in session the Abba Boku, as president, sits on a stool, wrapped in a toga-like garment with the *boku* hidden in its folds. Certain formalities are observed during the proceedings. The speaker stands, supporting his left hand on his spear and holding a whip in his right. The "leader of the opposition," as d'Abbadie calls him, sits in front of the president. Among the Gudru laws could be opposed, according to d'Abbadie, only by the descendants of Malole (Malol, third son of Gudru, Bahrey, chap. I), and a proposal could be held up by simply saying *qabatte* (sic), "I stop (the proposal)," after which the matter must be adjourned to another day. Often, however, the opposer could be won over by persuasion, or by bribery with pieces of salt money. When a speaker stopped, there was a long silence to allow him to review his speech and add anything he might have forgotten. The

⁵⁰ The Maria Theresa dollar was originally minted in Vienna in 1780, and has been continuously minted right up to modern times from the original dies; for a long time it was the only coin accepted in many parts of Abyssinia, and if all the details were not clear it was liable to be refused.

⁵¹ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. VI.

⁵² Krapf, *Travels*, p. 27.

^{52A} "Folla or Polla, a town within the dominions of Abba Jifar, is notorious as being the place where young male slaves are mutilated in order to qualify them for attendants in the harems of the great." Beke, *JRGS*. XIII, 271.

⁵³ Borelli, *Éthiopie Méridionale*, p. 159.

⁵⁴ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. VI.

⁵⁵ *Cinq années*, p. 70.

⁵⁶ Koettlitz, p. 50.

⁵⁷ Cerulli, loc. cit.

proposal was then discussed, and the head of each clan [? lineage] according to genealogical seniority was asked if he agreed. If all agreed, the meeting ended, and the next day the president slaughtered a bull in the *tarre*, plunged his sceptre into its blood, and held it up to the assembly saying that the proposal had now become law. Cerulli says that the president ratifies a law by striking the ground with his sceptre, saying *tume sera*, "I have struck the law."⁵⁸ Special laws, which follow a traditional pattern, are proclaimed at fixed intervals during certain *gada*-grade periods (Raba and Luba); these have already been referred to.⁵⁹

Legal Sanctions

Among the pastoral Galla major crimes and appeals are heard by the Abba Boku and the Dori. Each case is preceded by the sacrifice of a young bull, and the magistrates can refuse to authorize the sacrifice if they think the case is trivial, or if one of the parties belongs to another tribe and may thus escape from their jurisdiction. When the case has been accepted, the sacrifice is authorized, and the cost of the bull is paid by the defendant if he loses, the plaintiff eating the meat. Before the hearing begins, a jury of nine men (so d'Abbadie: de Salviac gives no number) is chosen alternately by plaintiff and defendant, the latter making the first choice. The result is that there are in effect two juries, one for each party. During the choice of jurors, each party is allowed to challenge twice without explanation; but a third challenge is an insult to the man challenged, and entails the payment of nine cows to him unless the objector can give a valid reason, such as proof of personal enmity or of near relationship to the other party. The judges sit as in parliament; in Limmu a hundred years ago the king sat to administer justice on a wooden throne covered with a skin.⁶⁰ The plaintiff stands on the right of the judges, and pleads with the sole of one foot resting against a tree; the defendant squats on the judges' left, with right leg outstretched and left leg under his body; these attitudes are required so that neither man may give way to violence. Speeches are punctuated with strokes of the whip.⁶¹ The two juries deliberate separately, but must agree on a verdict; if they fail a re-trial is held with new jurymen.

Penalties for crimes include the following: ⁶² *Theft*: If the object stolen is lost or destroyed, the thief must pay five times its value; if it is to hand, it must be restored, and the thief is bastinadoed. *Assault*: The aggressor must pay an unspecified number of livestock and must feed the victim with meat till he has recovered; if completely disabled by the assault, the victim is entitled to the aggressor's daughter in marriage so that she can look after him. D'Abbadie says that compensation is fixed by a jury according to the nature of the injury; if the assault was serious but unintentional the defendant may be exiled for one or two years, and on his return should make peace by sacrificing a sheep and washing his hands in its blood. *Adultery* may be punished by a fine of stock, or by mutilation of the offender by the injured husband, either by castration or, according to d'Abbadie, by cutting off a hand or foot; Cerulli however says that in the west a man may kill both his wife and her paramour.⁶³ *Insult and slander* entail a beating, and the sacrifice of the offender's favourite cow or ox, the judge and the plaintiff eating the meat. *Rebellion* or disobedience to the Abba Boku, or refusal to accept the sentence of the court, results in the confiscation of property. *Homicide*, according to Krapf, was compensated for by the payment of 100 head of cattle for a man, and 50 for a woman.⁶⁴ When unintentional, de Salviac says that the

⁵⁸ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 71.

⁵⁹ See pp. 45, 47, 49 above.

⁶⁰ Krapf, p. 65.

⁶¹ According to d'Abbadie, the convention of punctuation is as follows: a small stroke = comma; stronger strokes = colon or semi-colon; a heavy and decisive crack = full stop.

⁶² In the following summary, the source is de Salviac unless otherwise stated.

⁶³ *Folk-Literature*, p. 68.

⁶⁴ Isenberg and Krapf, p. 152.

penalty was exile (as described by d'Abbadie for assault) ; but d'Abbadie claims that no distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, and that a Galla who kills another Galla is put to death with his four nearest relatives, except in cases where the victim is a member of the smiths' or other despised groups, for whose killing compensation is paid. The death of a slave is compensated, according to d'Abbadie, by 30 cows. In practice, the amount of compensation may be increased if the murderer is rich. D'Abbadie adds that Maqo Bili ordained that after paying compensation for murder, a man should present himself to the court with a calf's lungs round his neck, and that the nearest relative of the victim should pierce the lungs with his spear, after which the murderer may not be pursued further. This action is expressed in the phrase *somba base*, "he has removed the lungs." Any person who kills a dignitary of the *gada* is put to death, and all the descendants of his great-grandfather are drowned with him, since the persons of the *gada* officers are inviolable (d'Abbadie). Killing a horse also entails the death of the killer ; both d'Abbadie and de Salviac agree on this penalty. Where cattle disease had reduced the numbers of cattle, de Salviac records that four or five goats or sheep were substituted for cattle, and that round Harar blood-price was assessed at 80 M.T. dollars. Miscellaneous crimes include refusal to help a man in misfortune, punished by sending an offender "to Coventry" ; taking away a man's spear or sword, since it leaves him exposed to danger from human and animal enemies, is also considered worthy of death ; incorrigible criminals are expelled from the tribe together with their wives and children.

In the Gibē States penalties were severer. Cecchi records that in Gera the poor and slaves usually lost cases. Parricide, assassination, arson, false witness, the evil eye, were all severely punished with penalties ranging from fines paid in salt money, jars of honey, cattle, or slaves, to being put in the stocks or quartered alive ; the executioners stood ready at the trial, with the implements of execution at hand. In cases of homicide, the relatives and slaves of the victim searched for the murderer and tried to kill him ; if he escaped, they avenged themselves on his sons and nephews. A hunted murderer who could not get out of the kingdom might seek asylum with a notable, or else in the hut known as the Mosque near the royal cemetery. Once the threshold of the Mosque had been touched, the murderer and his relatives were safe from revenge, and after nine days invoked the protection of the king, who heard the case and ordered arrangements to be made for the payment of compensation. A thief caught *in flagrante* had to pay twice the value of what he stole ; if he could not pay, he and his family were enslaved.

Oaths (*kaka*) in the Gibē States were sworn by "the death of the king" (or of a man's patron, or even of the man to whom he might be talking), or by the name of famous diviners. People also swore in the name of God : *waqayo beka*, God knows ! *Wagna arga*, God sees me ! *lafti beka*, the earth knows ! In Jimma they swore by the king's gold (bracelet), or by his hand. Innocence might be attested by ordeal. In the oath of the spear, the accused pointed a spear at his heart saying, "If I am guilty may this spear pierce me." In the ordeal of the *koreča*, the attester was given by the diviner, in the presence of a judge, a pill, *koreča*, and as he swallowed it he said, "May this kill me if I swear falsely." Cecchi believed that the pills were generally poisoned, so that the accused could be found guilty. Solemn oaths of renunciation, "not to do something," may be sworn with the feet resting on a wild boar's skin ; after the oath, a forked stick, made from a bush called *murtute* is thrown into the air, and a stanza is recited which invokes destruction if the swearer breaks his oath : "May the wild boar inherit my house ! O five doors, perish !"⁶⁵ In criminal cases, confessions were extorted by tortures of horrible character : burying a man in the ground up to his chest and leaving him till he confessed or died was one of the less revolting ones recorded by Cecchi.⁶⁶ Being called as a witness in a legal case was a troublesome

⁶⁵ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 145.

⁶⁶ II, pp. 272-5.

affair in the Gibē States, for the king procured his own witnesses, and silenced the others in any way he chose.⁶⁷

In addition to fines and exile, the Galla used such physical punishments as flogging, the stocks, quartering, and execution. The stocks, *gindo*, were a favourite method, especially in the Gibē kingdoms. They consisted of a heavy beam of wood with a square hole through which the foot was put and secured with an iron bar; thongs were attached to the beam so that the person confined could raise it from the ground to walk. Sometimes two or three men were confined to one beam; in any case, the result was often sores and gangrene from which the unhappy wretches died.⁶⁸ Execution was carried out among the eastern tribes by throwing the criminal from a high rock; among the western, by drowning.

Murder as an Institution

Little as human life was valued in Ethiopia, the desire of the Galla to kill seems to have horrified even the Abyssinians⁶⁹; and a man was not considered a full man till he had killed a human being—every Galla claimed “the right to kill.” Even so, the rest of the Galla themselves looked upon the Arusi as especially ferocious, for to them murder, especially at the time of the great festivals, is both an honour and a social necessity, though if an Arusi kills a fellow-tribesman it is believed that he will get leprosy; but inter-tribal murders are allowed without penalty, particularly at the end of each Luba period. Before setting out to commit a “murder for honour” the Arusi drink large quantities of blood, which produces a condition of frenzy. Since the murder is nearly always a cowardly one, they hide and kill unsuspecting wayfarers, emasculating them and taking home the genitals as a trophy. On their return the murderers enact the scene, with cries of triumph and derisive imitations of the victim’s anguish. Only after such a murder may a man wear a copper ring in his ear. When several men take part in a murder, the honour goes to him who strikes the first blow: hence there is often much quarrelling. A man who sets out before a festival to kill and returns unsuccessful is not only ridiculed, but is branded on the forehead and given a small jar of milk which he has to make into butter, as a sign that he is not a man.⁷⁰ No man could hold a position in the *gada*-government unless he had killed a man or a large animal.

Inheritance

The rules of inheritance as given by d’Abbadie and de Salviac are as follows: Among uterine brothers the eldest son is normally the heir to all his father’s property, the others getting no more than their father gives them in his lifetime. If there are sons by different mothers, each gets something: the eldest two-thirds, and the others two-thirds of what is left after each inheritance has been allocated; for example, a man leaves 54 cows and four sons; the eldest son gets 36 cows, the second 12, the third four, and the youngest two. Women cannot normally inherit, though it seems that in the middle of the 19th century in Enarya, and also in Gera (where there was a queen), women had authority over property and could inherit.⁷¹ The inheritance of other things, according to Azaïs and Chambard, is regulated as follows among the eastern Galla: a man leaves to his eldest son his spear, a jar of milk, and a heifer; this bequest is called *kolu*. The eldest son also inherits his father’s social position and most of his authority over the rest of the family. Cecchi records that in the Gibē States everything, including a man’s title, is left to the eldest son; other sons lived in separate homesteads with the goods given to them by their father on

⁶⁷ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 137.

⁶⁸ Cecchi, II, p. 162-3.

⁶⁹ Cf. Bahrey, chap. 15.

⁷⁰ Azaïs et Chambard, p. 208-9.

⁷¹ De Salviac.

marriage, or by the king as rewards for bravery in war. When a man had no sons or nephews, his property passed to the king.

Contracts

In the Gibē States a contract was binding only after a fee had been paid to a royal official, and the contracting parties had sworn in the king's name before two witnesses that they accepted the deal—the one that he was content with his purchase, the other that he had received the price.⁷²

⁷² Cecchi, II, p. 293.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES (TRADITIONAL)

CRAFTS

Housing

There are three main types of hut among the Galla :

- A { A 1, with acute-angled roof, rather convex ; no verandah.
A 2, as A 1, but with narrow verandah.
- B { B 1, with obtuse-angled roof ; no verandah.
B 2, with obtuse-angled roof and verandah.
B 3, as B 2, but more carefully constructed and finished. Short verandah.
- C { C 1, walls and roof in same plane : straight.
C 2, walls and roof in same plane : curved.

The general method of construction employed in all Galla huts is a circular wall of thin poles or withies stuck in the ground, held together by horizontal cross-withies tied to the uprights, and the whole plastered inside with mud or mud and cow-dung. The roof is thatched and supported by a centre-post. Calves and sometimes even cows and other stock sleep in a separate compartment of the hut. People sleep in the inner room, unmarried men and girls separated by a partition.

Type A

A 1. This type is found among the Bečo (Tulama ; Borelli, p. 267) and Ania (Eastern ; Paulitschke).

A 2. This is found among the Leqa (Mača ; Cipriani, fig. 146) and is distinguished from A 1 by a narrow verandah supported by posts.

Type B

B 1. This is somewhat larger than type A, and has a less steep roof. It occurs in Shoa and elsewhere in Galla land. In some cases there may be an inner concentric wall of upright poles or withies, so that between the main inner room and the exterior wall there is a circular, rather narrow enclosed space ; there is no verandah (Paulitschke).

B 2. Like B 1, but with a verandah, found among the Mača (Duchesne-Fournet, I, fig. 68) and Wallaga (Cipriani, fig. 145).

B 3. Found in Jimma (Borelli, p. 286). Average diameter 13–16 ft. ; eaves about 5 ft. from the ground ; a centre-post 25–30 ft. high (though this does not agree with Borelli's drawing, in which the hut has a centre-post of not more than 10 ft.) and an inner concentric wall. Short verandah.

Type C

C 1. This is constructed by planting in the ground a post 6 to 7 ft. high, and drawing a circle round it on the line of which are laid the lower ends of the rafters which converge on the top of the post ; the rafters form both wall and roof, and are covered with thatch. The rest of the Galla ridicule these huts, and say that the Arusi live in birds' nests not houses. (Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 212.)

C 2. A dome-shaped erection, roughly circular, made of thin poles stuck in the ground and bent over, with bamboo cross-pieces ; the average height is 10–12 ft., with an entrance about 6 ft. high. Some constructions of this type are rectangular and not more than 5 or 6 ft. high, with the doorway in one corner (Cipriani, figs. 107, 108).

In most Galla houses an object—it may be a pottery vessel, an ostrich egg, a bottle—is placed over the apex of the thatch, and a stick often projects through it.

GALLA HUT TYPES

TYPE A



A 1. BEČO

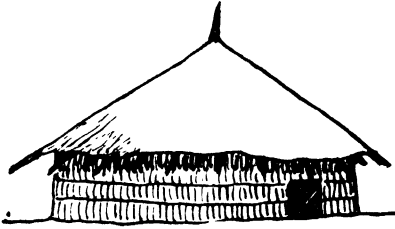


A 1. ANIA

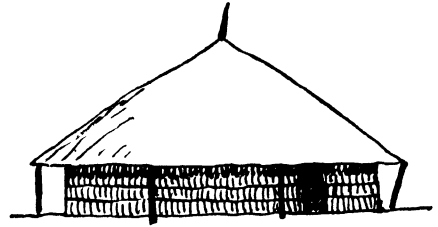


A 2. LEQA

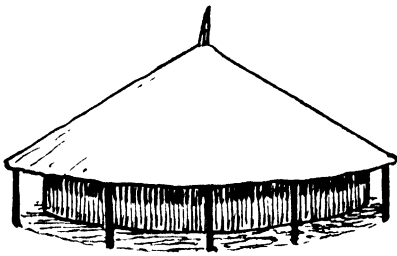
TYPE B



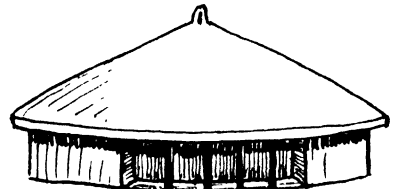
B 1. SHOA



B 2. MAČA

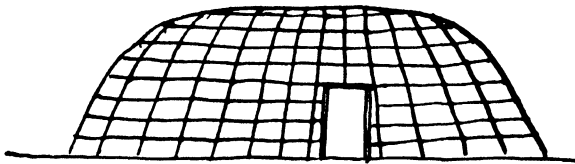


B 2. WALLAGA



B 3. JIMMA

TYPE C



C 2. FRAMEWORK OF ARUSI HUT

PLANS



0 10 20
| | |
Ft.
Scale for Plans

This "cupola" is called *gulelat* in Amharic, and the Galla word *utuba* seems to be applied to it.¹

Terms used for the house and its parts : house, *mānā* ; wall, *girigidda* ; doorway, *barri*, *kara* ; door, *balbala* ; verandah, *golgē* (enclosed), *finčo* (open) ; calves' part, *gorro* ; roof, *tara*, *banti* ; rafter, *derera*, *derersuma* ; thatch, *migira*, *gutu mānā* ("the top of the house").

Dress

Among the traditional forms of Galla dress, the most widely distributed garment worn by men is the *waya*, a toga-like robe (the Abyssinian *šammā*), generally smeared with butter ; and many Galla have acquired the Abyssinian habit of covering the lower part of the face with a fold of the *waya*. Where Abyssinian influence is strong the *waya* is made of thick Abyssinian cotton material.² Among the western Galla, the Leqa, Wallaga, and others wear a skin or cloth round the loins, leaving the upper part of the body bare.³ Among the Arusi both men and women wear a short roughly-dressed leather garment fastened over the shoulder and reaching half-way down the thigh⁴ ; women may wear two roughly-dressed skins.⁵ Men wear a leather strap as a sword-belt.⁵

Women's dress among the Leqa is a skin skirt with a belt ornamented with beads and shells⁶ ; other western Galla women wear tasselled leather skirts and a piece of coloured cotton cloth round the shoulders ; some wear a shirt or chemise, *kamis* or *wandabo*.⁷ In Wallaga they wear a leather skirt.⁸ Jimma and Ania women wear dressed skin robes reaching up to the armpits, and a short leather under-skirt⁹ ; Gombiču (Shoa) women wear a sleeved shirt and skirt.¹⁰ An important article of dress among some of the Mača women (for example, in Leqa and the Gaba country) is the *gurda*, a sash of jet and hair wound round the body, its ends hanging loose to the knees. It is considered a powerful protection against the evil eye ; and to a man of a tribe whose women wear it, those who do not—as in Guma and Jimma, where men wear the *gurda*—appear as "cows without a bull," in the Galla phrase.¹¹ Unmarried women wear a tunic with serrated sleeves and blue sashes.¹² Boys and girls wear scanty clothing, little more than a loin-cloth or a skin over the shoulders.¹³

Slaves wore upper and lower garments of leather. Chiefs under Abyssinian influence, as well as influential men, took to wearing Abyssinian dress, and often have silk umbrellas carried over them in the Abyssinian manner. In bad weather men wear caps 7–14 inches high ; and hats or woollen caps where Abyssinian influence is strong.¹⁴

Ornaments

Men wear wooden or copper pins in the hair,¹⁵ women combs of wood or horn.¹⁶ Diviners wear copper rings, bells, and other pieces of metal on strings round the head.¹⁷

¹ It resembles the *kimonjōkut* of the Nandi, Huntingford, *The Nandi of Kenya*, p. 132.

² Paulitschke ; Krapf, p. 74.

³ Cecchi, I, p. 399 ; Koettlitz, *JAI*. XXX ; Paulitschke.

⁴ Rey, *JAS*. XXIII.

⁵ Azais et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 207.

⁶ Cecchi, I, p. 399.

⁷ Paulitschke.

⁸ Koettlitz, *JAI*. XXX.

⁹ Borelli, p. 379.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 171.

¹¹ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 31.

¹² Paulitschke.

¹³ De Salviac ; Paulitschke.

¹⁴ Paulitschke.

¹⁵ Paulitschke ; Duchesne-Fournet, *Pl*. XV, 2.

¹⁶ Paulitschke.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Warriors wear on the forehead the genitals of enemies they have killed ; these may also be hung over the door and left till they drop off.¹⁸ For the most part the Galla do not wear ear-rings,¹⁹ but Arusi men wear small copper rings in their ears,²⁰ and Mača who kill elephants give gold ear-rings to their wives.²¹ Necklaces range from simple strings of beads to broad bands composed of numbers of such strings ; Arusi women wear neckbands of hippopotamus hide. Men may wear a plain gut cord round the neck.²² Armlets are much worn, and ivory and horn armlets on a man always denote recognition of bravery. The armlet called *maldā* may be worn only by those who have killed five men, five buffaloes, and five lions²³ ; that called *irbora* or *ilbora* is worn on the upper arm by men who have killed an elephant²⁴ or an enemy.²⁵ In Wallaga both men and women wear circular ivory armlets of distinctive patterns, some of those worn by men having alternating rings of white and darkened ivory ; women were seen with six armlets of ivory and 42 of brass.²⁶ Arusi women wear copper neck rings and necklaces of glass beads²⁷ ; men wear copper toe-rings and large tin rings on the thumbs.²⁸

The Galla are fond of anointing their bodies with butter. A man, however, must earn the right to this practice ; not even his first success in battle gives him the right, and in fact after this he is called *ballesa* (" blunderer ") till he succeeds in performing a second act of bravery. Hence *ballesa* are much feared because of their eagerness to acquire the coveted right to anoint their bodies.²⁹

Hair

Normally a Galla man may not let his hair grow long : to do this, says d'Abbadie, is the privilege of officials of the *gada*, pilgrims to the Abba Muda, and those who have killed an enemy or large beast. On this custom in the 16th century Bahrey says : " If they kill a man, an elephant, a lion, a rhinoceros, or a buffalo, they shave the heads, leaving a patch of hair on top. But those who have killed neither man nor animal do not shave themselves. . . . In the time of the government of Mul'atā (1586-94) they ate the buffalo and said, ' Since we eat it, it is like an ox, and we ought not to shave our heads when we kill it.' One party said an outrageous thing when they declared, ' Let us not shave our heads when we kill the inhabitants of Shoa and Amhara, for they are but oxen which speak, and cannot fight '." ³⁰ He also says, " Those who have not killed men or large animals do not shave themselves, and in consequence they are tormented with lice. That is why they are so eager to kill us." ³¹ It is evident that a change has taken place during the intervening centuries. Except for certain modes of hair-dressing peculiar to various *gada*-grades (pp. 43-53 above), a man normally lets his hair grow to a certain length and then shaves it off.

A common style of feminine hair-dressing, especially among the Arusi and eastern Galla, is a sort of bob, with a central parting, the hair (done in thin plaits) hanging so that the ears are covered, and the ends slightly turned up. In many parts (Wallaga,³² Mača,³³ Arusi³⁴) younger women wear the hair in a mop-like form,

¹⁸ Paulitschke ; and cf. *Etiopia Occidentale*, plate opp. I, p. 201.

¹⁹ Paulitschke.

²⁰ Azais et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 207.

²¹ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 105.

²² Paulitschke.

²³ Cerulli, op. cit., p. 30.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 67.

²⁵ Tutschek, *Dictionary*, p. 20.

²⁶ Paulitschke ; Vannutelli and Citerini.

²⁷ Azais et Chambard, loc. cit.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 105.

³⁰ Chap. 20.

³¹ Chap. 15.

³² Koettlitz, *JAI*. XXX.

³³ Duchesne-Fournet, I, p. 175.

³⁴ Paulitschke.

WOMEN'S HAIR-DRESSING STYLES FROM THE GIBĒ STATES
(After Cecchi and Borelli)



JIMMA



JIMMA



JIMMA



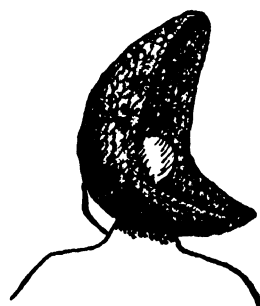
JIMMA



JIMMA



LIMMU (Cecchi)



LIMMU (Cecchi)

stiffened, in Wallaga, with wax and honey, and sometimes plastered with red clay. In the Gibē region fantastic forms of hair-dressing are recorded by Borelli³⁵ and Cecchi³⁶ (see figs. opposite). These hat-like effects are the actual hair trained and dressed to shape.

Iron-working

Iron,³⁷ *sibila*, is smelted in furnaces (*bada* or *ibida guda*, "large fire") made of beaten clay which last for only one operation. They are shaped like slightly conical tubs about 6 ft. 6 ins. high, and are open at the top, with one or two apertures at the base. Bellows, *bufa*, consist of a bag of goat- or buck-skin with an opening at the top to which are attached two sticks for working them. The air-pipe consists of one or more clay tubes. All iron objects are made by the smiths, *tumtu*. For hammers, pieces of basaltic stone are used, with flat slabs of basalt as anvils, *maraja*. Large hammers of European pattern are also used,³⁸ and it is probable that this type is the one for which the Amharic word *madošā* is used, the stone hammer being *burusa*. Tongs are *qabdu*, "the holder."

Iron objects include: (1) spears, mainly with narrow elongated leaf-shaped blades and long—sometimes very long—sockets, the total length of a large spear being 6-7 ft.; (2) swords; (3) hoes with sockets; (4) iron-shod digging sticks or earth-chisels, with a circular holed stone weight on the shaft; (5) two-pronged hoes; (6) sickles, *hamtu*, *mačidi*, with a curved serrated edge; (7) axes, *qoto*, with the blade inserted into the end of the handle; (8) knives of various kinds: *hadu*, razor-like *billā*, for meat; *čupē*, for hunting; *gajera*, matchet; *sentī*, small; (9) tweezers, *karaba*, and nail-picks.³⁹

Objects of Wood

These include: (1) hoes with wooden blades inserted in the rounded head of the haft; (2) stools, *barčuma*, flat and round, or concave and rectangular, mostly with short legs; (3) concave head-rests with one leg, sometimes ornamented with beads; (4) platters, *wočiti*; (5) three-pronged agricultural forks; (6) wooden spades; (7) tables, due to Abyssinian influence; (8) mortars, *moiyē*; (9) honey-barrels, *gagura*; (10) ploughs, *gindo*,* *marasa*.* Bows, *futassi*, are used by some Galla; but they are in general not noted as bowmen. The principal tool used in woodworking is a small axe.⁴⁰

Honey-barrels

These are cylindrical objects made of bark, bamboo, or reeds, and hung in trees, the favourite being the *kiltu* and *abru*, both species of fig.⁴¹ Long strips of the material, bamboo being much used, are tied together with binding, and the outside is covered with straw; the ends are stopped with clay, leaving two small openings for the bees to come and go. The interior is divided longitudinally by a piece of wood pierced with holes.⁴² Honey is much prized by the Galla, and the Arusi, who say "With us honey is as common as dirt," have special domed huts, constructed like their huts of type C 1 (above, p. 67) but smaller.⁴³ Among the Mača, the barrels are hung under low flat-thatched shelters close to the dwelling huts.⁴⁴

³⁵ Pp. 282-3.

³⁶ II, pp. 154-5.

³⁷ Cecchi, II, pp. 287-8.

³⁸ Paulitschke, Pl. XXV.

³⁹ Paulitschke.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

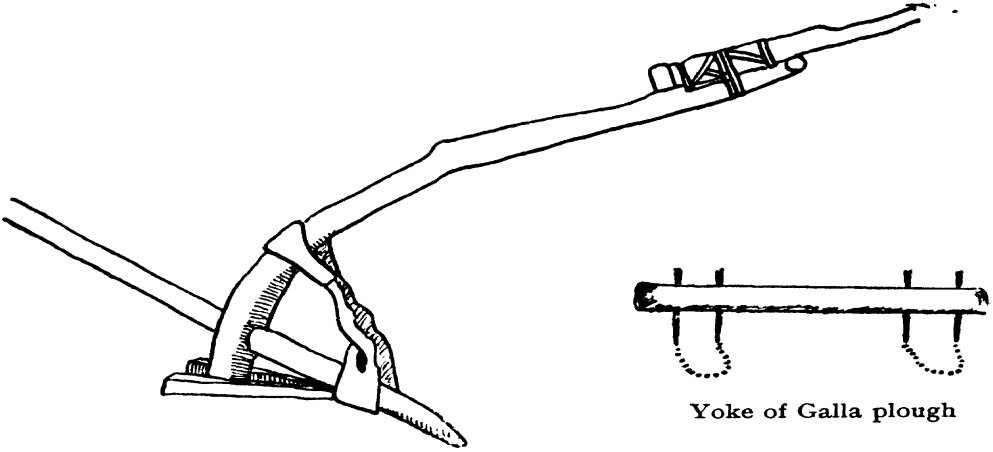
⁴¹ Borelli, p. 277.

⁴² Cecchi, II, pp. 281-2.

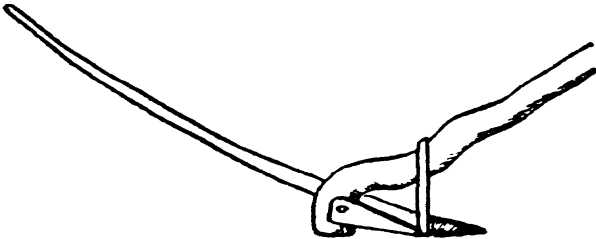
⁴³ De Salviac; Cipriani, fig. 106.

⁴⁴ Cipriani, fig. 154.

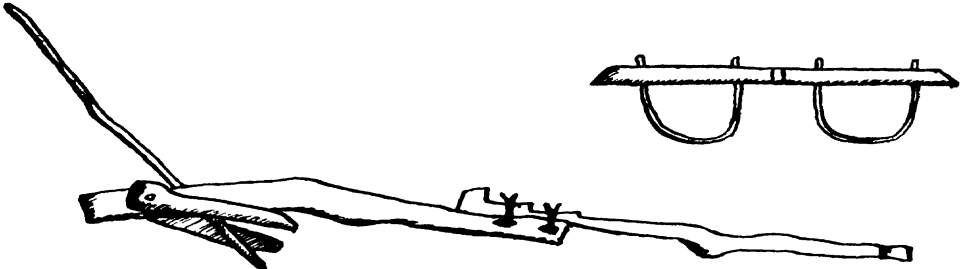
THE GALLA AND OTHER NORTH-EAST AFRICAN PLOUGHS



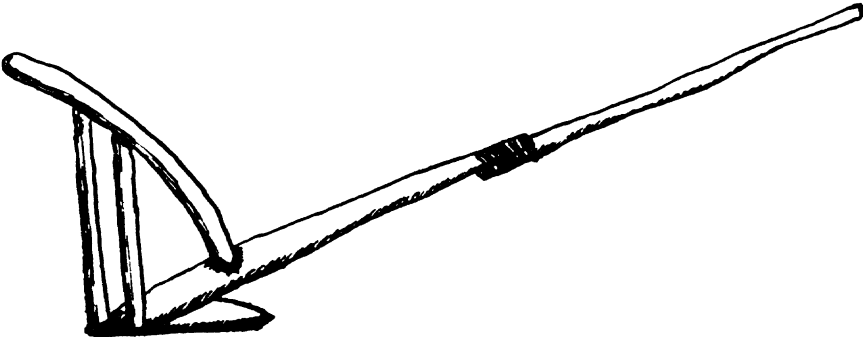
GALLA : Type 1 (De Salviac)



ABYSSINIAN (from 15th century MS.) (Leser)



SOMALI plough and yoke from Tug Wajale area



GALLA : Type 2 (De Salviac)

Ploughs

The Galla have two types of plough : (1) In which the share point and handle are in one piece set through a hole near the base of the beam, with an earthboard on each side of the beam. This plough is similar to an Abyssinian example from a 15th century MS., and (though the angle formed by the beam and the handle is different) the Somali plough used round Tug Wajale between Hargeisa and Jigjiga.⁴⁵ (2) In which the beam rises from a body, the handle springing from the beam well above the body, and supported by two independent upright posts.⁴⁶ In both ploughs the share is merely the pointed end of the wooden bar. The oxen are yoked in pairs with a bar of wood, *kambari*, across their necks held in place by "skeys" or pegs of wood which hang down each side of the neck and are fastened by a thong or "strop."⁴⁷

The Galla, according to Almeida early in the 17th century and Ludolf later in the same century, did not cultivate the soil at all, though by Bruce's time they used the plough. While it is uncertain how much information Almeida and Ludolf had concerning the eastern Galla, it is probable that none of the Galla adopted the plough till after their invasion of Abyssinia. This is suggested not only by the shape of the plough, but by the use of the Amharic words *gindo* and *marasa* to describe it.

Other Utensils

Miscellaneous household objects include the following : (1) Of *horn* : mugs ; spoons ; and complete horns used for holding honey-wine. (2) Of *pottery* : basins ; dishes ; water-jars, some ending in sharp points for storing water, the point being stuck in the ground ; and vessels with spouts for coffee. (3) Of *leather* : gourd-shaped vessels for milk. (4) Conical milk vessels made of closely woven fibre, lined inside with cow-dung and blood, and cleaned by fumigation. (5) Gourds in which butter is made by shaking. (6) Torches made of wax and fat.

Fire is made with firesticks : a hard stick may be twirled on a soft board, or two wooden discs are rubbed together. Matches, *kibiriti*, however, are commonly used.

Gold-working

Gold, *warqē*, has been worked in Wallaga "from time immemorial."⁴⁸ Alluvial gold occurs in Wallaga, Leqa, and Sibü. The Galla use a wooden pan about 2 ft. long and 15-18 ins. wide for panning the gold. They have a rough balance with pebbles and seeds as weights fitted into a small basket. Gold dust is kept in quills ; these and gold rings passed as currency in Wallaga 60 years ago, when the Galla paid tax in gold-dust ; one man is reported to have said that it took him 17 days to wash six dollars' worth of gold.⁴⁹

Goldsmiths' work was learnt in the Gibē region from the Arabs, and the smiths make ornaments—chains, bracelets, etc.—in gold and silver filigree work, the silver, *biri*, being imported.⁵⁰

Weaving

Weavers, *woya doftu* or *šammani*,* among the Galla use looms, *arbi*, set up under trees ; they used to make a good unbleached cloth, of coarse texture, which Paulitschke said was dying out in his day.⁵¹

⁴⁵ De Salviac : Abyssinian plough, Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, 1931. Plate XV ; Somali, personal observation.

⁴⁶ De Salviac.

⁴⁷ Paulitschke ; Tutschek, *Dictionary*, p. 62.

⁴⁸ De Salviac, p. 118.

⁴⁹ Koettlitz, *JAI*. XXX.

⁵⁰ Cecchi, II, p. 289. On the excellence of the work of the Gibē craftsmen, see Beke, "On the countries south of Abyssinia."

⁵¹ Paulitschke, and Plate XXV.

Musical Instruments

The Galla have a five-stringed bowl-lyre, *kerar*,¹ and the one-stringed fiddle, *masanqo*,* used by the Abyssinians. They also have a pipe, and drums for dancing, *nagarit** and *kabaro*.* A hollowed-out tree-trunk, *bideru*, is hung in a tree and used for signalling messages.²

Trees and Plants used for Medicines, etc.

The following uses of certain trees and plants are recorded :

Boroddo, *Salix* sp., used for tooth-sticks ; these may be given to a girl only by her brother or fiancé (Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 107).

Damakse, *Ocimum lamiifolium*, used for headaches (Piovano).

Ebiča, *Vernonia amygdalina* ; its sap is used as a purgative (Piovano).

Emboai, various *Solanaceæ*, used for curing skins (Piovano).

Gabbisa, *Sphæranthus* sp., used for curing coughs (Piovano).

Hankuku, *Solanum indicum*, used as a vermifuge (Piovano).

Heṭo or Kosso,* *Hagenia abyssinica*, the tree which yields the best-known vermifuge.

Hidda refa, *Rhoicissus erythroides*, used in cases of hydrophobia (Piovano).

Ija rafu, seeds of *Brassica nigra* and *B. integrifolia*, used for the stomach-ache (Piovano).

Jimma, a plant used to cure sore eyes (Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 117).

Solē : twigs of this are used for rubbing the gums till they bleed to cure toothache (Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 64).

Tabbagiddi, *Dicrocephala latifolia* and *D. chrysanthemifolia*, used with kosso (Piovano).

Tamija, *Brucea antidysenterica*, put on wounds (Piovano).

Ulmae, *Clausena abyssinica*, used in the ritual washing of a woman after child-birth.

RITUAL AND BELIEFS

Religion

Waqā and the Spirits. The Galla acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being whom they call Waqā (nominative *Waqni*, vocative *ya Waq*), round whom are grouped a number of spiritual powers which according to Cecchi are said to limit his omnipotence.³ These spirits include Borentiča, the tutelary spirit of the Galla, of whom little seems to be known, though the name suggests that it may be the spirit of Boran, the reputed ancestor of one section of the Galla people ; Saytan, the evil spirit ; and a large number of beings called *ayana*. Waqā is the Creator and lord of the earth ; the Arusi are said to believe that he once came to earth and talked with mankind.⁴ He is frequently invoked in prayers, as well as in ordinary conversation⁵ ; among the western Galla the Christian God is invoked under this name, with prayers of pagan origin.^{6A} A common formula of prayer among the Arusi is " O God (*ya Waq*), you have given me a good day, give me a good night ; you have given me a good night,

¹ De Salviac.

² Paulitschke.

³ II, p. 185.

⁴ Azais et Chambard, *Cinq années*, p. 107.

⁵ De Salviac, chapter V.

^{6A} Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. IV.

give me a good day." ⁶ At the same time, it is said that the Arusi fear Waqa but little, reserving their fear for the evil spirits. Of these there are several kinds: (1) Saytan (*Šaytan*), who is always hungry and thirsty, on account of which after a sacrifice some pieces of meat are thrown down for it. ^{6A} To the Arusi, Saytan is a water-spirit appeased by the sacrifice of a goat ⁷; (2) Ibissa *Šayto*, a fire-spirit, which may be appeased by the sacrifice of a black goat. ⁸ (3) Karandala, to which dun-coloured oxen (*bule*) are sacrificed. ⁹ Other spirits are called *ayana*, of which d'Abbadie says there are 44, which is "an almost sacred number in Ethiopia"; Cecchi gives the same number for the Gibe States, where the belief persisted in spite of Islam. ¹⁰ These *ayana*, also called *awulia*, ¹¹ are guardian spirits. ¹² Evil spirits are symbolized by harmful snakes called *jini*, and offerings of appeasement are made to them. ¹³ The Arusi called evil spirits *saroč*, ¹⁴ of which there are said to be 88, divided into two bands of 44 each; all are equally bad and inflict misfortunes on people. They may be appeased by smoking, singing, dancing, or by the sacrifice of a red hen. ¹⁵ Spirits of mountains and springs are called *qollo*, and sacrifices are made to them. ¹⁶ Cecchi describes other spirits called *Dāče* and *Qollo*, which he says correspond to the Abyssinian *ganien* (Amharic *gannan* or *gannānā*, "rich abundant"), and live in a sort of terrestrial paradise, often entering human bodies. The Shoan Galla believe that some *ayana* move from animals into men at birth, retaining the qualities of the animal they came from, and transferring them to the person whose body they enter. ¹⁷ The *qollo* have the form of cocks, with four horns on the forehead; they live near cliffs, and the man upon whom they look will die in a short time. ¹⁸ The *Dāče* are also believed to bring rickets to children. ¹⁹ Many trees are believed to be the abode of spirits, and are hung with votive offerings in the shape of strips of skin, strings of rags, bunches of hair, etc.; sycamores in particular are venerated. It would appear that the *Dāče* and *Qollo* were originally tree-spirits, for at the beginning of a feast animal blood is poured over the roots of the local sacred tree, with an invocation in the words "O Waq, O *Dāče*, O *Qollo*, accept this food, and take from me all sickness and ill-luck. *Ayana* of my father and mother, be propitious to me." ²⁰ Offerings may be made to the largest of the three hearth-stones in a hut; this is always placed in the same position, and is believed to be the abode of a domestic spirit. ²¹

Though the Galla call Waqa *gurača*, "black," when the sky is overcast, and *dima*, "red," when he shines through his eye the sun and looks on people, this is not a form of dualism, or black and red gods in opposition, but merely an expression of fact. ^{21A}

Among the Galla, a common and frequent method of propitiating malevolent spirits is to fast, for by so doing it is felt that the spirit is at least not offended. ²²

⁶ Azais et Chambard, p. 210.

^{6A} Cecchi, II, p. 314.

⁷ Azais et Chambard, p. 210.

⁸ Ibid. A. and C. write it *Ibissa Cheito*.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Cecchi, II, p. 185.

¹¹ De Salviac.

¹² Cecchi; Azais et Chambard.

¹³ Azais et Chambard, p. 108.

¹⁴ From Amharic *zar*, pl. *zaroč*, nature-spirits; there is an Abyssinian proverb; "In a Galla house there are always *zar*"; in the house of the advocate there are always lawsuits." (Baeteman, *Dictionnaire*, col. 856.)

¹⁵ Rey, *JAS.* XXIII.

¹⁶ d'Abbadie.

¹⁷ Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. IV.

¹⁸ Cecchi, II, p. 314.

¹⁹ Da Thiene, *Dizionario*, s.v. *Dāče*.

²⁰ Cecchi, II, p. 315.

²¹ d'Abbadie.

^{21A} Cerulli, in *OM.* 1925. V., p. 556.

²² Beke, "Christianity among the Gallas," p. 6 of offprint.

Oglie and Atete. There are two subordinate deities, Oglie or Oglia²³ and Atete, male and female respectively. Of Oglie little seems to be known. Krapf records that cows and sheep were sacrificed to Oglie in January and April²⁴ (June and July²⁵), and he thought that Oglie may have been a fertility god. He gives September as the time for the annual sacrifice to Atete. Most of the Galla seem to have paid special reverence to Atete, and her cult still survived among the Shoan Galla in 1928.²⁶ She is the goddess of fertility, and is also called *ayo*, *ayole*, "mother, little mother," and in prayers she is invoked as *ya ayo umtu*, "O mater creatrix." The Christian Galla have equated her with the Virgin Mary, calling her *Mārām* (from *Māryām*)²⁷ and, according to a myth related by Beke, she created the world, giving to man a spear and shield, and to woman a needle and other household tools; her son was Balawald,* "festival of the Son."²⁸ She also appears as a water-spirit, living in rivers.²⁹ Friday is sacred to her, and a festival called Atete is held in her honour every year. Though men take part in this, certain rites are performed by women only. The festival begins with a preparatory ceremonial called *galma*, for which those participating assemble in a specially constructed enclosure. The oldest man present, known as Abba Galma, sacrifices a he-goat, while the assembly invokes Waqa and Atete. More animals are then killed and the meat is eaten. The *galma* lasts for four (and occasionally eight) days, those taking part living in rough shelters of branches.³⁰ Among the western Galla, after a four-day *galma*, during which the consumption of *daguja* (*Eleusine tocussa*) either as bread or made into beer is forbidden, the Abba Galma sits down before two large leather bags, one filled with honey-wine, the other with beer, on which is placed a rod of *abbasuda* (black cummin). The women meet in secret and sing songs asking Atete for fertility; no men may be present. When the four days of the *galma* are finished, the Abba Galma stands and asks for a blessing; he spits into the two leather bags, and hands the *abbasuda* to the head of the family or tribe celebrating the festival; in a tribal festival, the head is one of the elders of the Yuba grade; in a family festival, the head of the family if he is *luba*, or an elder if he is not. The *abbasuda* is kept till the next festival hung from the ceiling of the man to whom it is given. This festival is tolerated by the Moslem Galla.³¹

Among the eastern Galla, those round Harar no longer celebrate the Atete festival, but it was still held by the Ania in the 1920s.³² During the four-day preliminary *galma* Atete is invoked under the name of *ayo*, "mother," and even *ya Māryām*, "O Mary," and is asked to make the people fertile, the formula of invocation being "Atete! Ayo! who regulates the reproduction of men and animals." After the *galma* the women go out and pick sacred plants which they lay beside a tree sacred to Atete. They then dance and again call upon Atete. Finally they go to the hut of a prolific woman, burn certain plants called *galma burē*, and perform certain acts which are not divulged to men. De Salviac says that round Harar the Atete festival was celebrated by each family in its own home and used to last for ten days, during which nobody might go from home, and no hospitality was given. An ox was sacrificed during the period.³³

The Atete was one of the two chief annual festivals. The other was called Atara; it lasted for three days and was held in the home with the same restrictions on move-

²³ Written Oglie by most authorities, Oglia by Rey.

²⁴ Isenberg and Krapf, p. 186.

²⁵ Krapf, p. 81.

²⁶ This does not mean that it is extinct even now.

²⁷ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 127.

²⁸ Beke, op. cit., p. 3 of offprint.

²⁹ De Salviac, chap. IX.

³⁰ Azais et Chambard, p. 116.

³¹ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 127-36.

³² Azais et Chambard, p. 117.

³³ De Salviac, chap. VI.

ment as during the Atete.³⁴ A he-goat was sacrificed at the Atara ; but the function of this festival is not clear.

The Galma. This term, besides denoting the ritual preliminary to the Atete festival, was also used to describe the ceremony at which prayers were offered for the cessation of a national or tribal calamity, such as a famine. Ceremonies of this sort are now seldom held. Lesser *galma* to avert local evils often take place, e.g., when a man has a dream presaging some local trouble.³⁵

Ritual Experts. Though various writers on the Galla refer to "priests," the term ritual expert seems more suitable, for the people so designated have more in common with the ritual experts and diviners of the Nilotes and Nilo-Hamites. The two principal kinds of ritual expert are the *ogesa* and the *irresa* (*irresa*). The *ogesa* is a diviner who takes omens from the entrails of newly killed animals, the peritoneum being particularly important in this respect (see p. 78 below). They are consulted especially before warriors go to war or on a raid.³⁶ Among the eastern Galla two types of divination are recorded : *fala*, in which omens are taken from the disposition of stones in a certain place, and from the examination of cow-dung ; and *fata*, from observing the pattern made by the dregs of coffee or "kat" when thrown over a peg.³⁷ Other auguries are taken from birds : e.g., if the *melki*, a sparrow, sings on the left, it is a bad sign, if on the right, a good sign.³⁸ The *irresa* are applied to when people wish to pray for rain or for success in war.³⁹ Those who cast out devils are sometimes called *galliça*, which properly means "witch."

Prayer. The Galla pray on many occasions ; the position for prayer is standing upright. Prayers to Waqa and the spirits are often recited each day for periods of a week or longer, by groups of people at night under the sacred tree of the locality.⁴⁰ People also pray individually to Waqa in the morning and evening, for protection against their enemies, for their cattle and crops, for their families, and as acts demonstrating their trust in providence. Before eating and drinking, a little food or a few drops of drink are thrown on the ground as an offering to the spirits in general and Saytan in particular. When crossing fords, a handful of grass is thrown into the water with an invocation to Atete asking her to preserve the traveller from the snares of the water-spirits which try to drown those who cross the river. At the foot of sacred trees, at cross-roads, and on mountain passes travellers deposit twigs as an offering to the spirits of the place, and little mounds of twigs can be seen in many places beside the track. Stones may be laid down if no grass is available. At home, if frightened for no visible cause, women pull a few straws from the thatch as an offering to the spirit responsible : the wants of the spirits, says de Salviac, are very modest. In the same way, grass or twigs are laid on graves as offerings to the spirits of the dead.⁴¹ In each Galla hut there is a piece of wood, carefully concealed, the disturbance of which is believed to indicate misfortune.⁴²

Tree and Plant Rituals. In June 1898 de Salviac recorded the ritual gathering of sacred plants by Arusi women near Fugug (Minnē). For several evenings the people assembled for prayer under a large isolated sycamore ; then one morning at dawn there was a procession of women, each crowned with leaves and carrying a long stick

³⁴ De Salviac, chap. VI.

³⁵ Ibid ; Azais et Chambard, p. 116.

³⁶ De Salviac, chap. IX ; Azais et Chambard, p. 118.

³⁷ Azais et Chambard, p. 118.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 211.

³⁹ Azais et Chambard.

⁴⁰ De Salviac, chap. VI.

⁴¹ De Salviac, chap. X.

⁴² De Salviac, chap. IX.

and a bundle of sacred plants. The object of this seems to have been to avert all evils, especially those which enter men by way of the eyes, ears, mouth, hands, and feet.⁴³

Miscellaneous Beliefs and Practices. The Galla do not do the following :

Eat the meat of the *gadamsa*, greater kudu, because it is believed to have been created on the same day as mankind ;

Bring up themselves a child born on the same day of the week as the father ;

Kill snakes called *buti*, which they call *akakayu*, grandmother, and *ilmo*, son ;

Boil milk, as by so doing the cows may be injured ;

Cross a ford without first throwing a handful of grass into the water (see above, p. 77) ;

Point at people with the index finger, but with the middle finger ;

Point with the finger at the sky, as to do so is considered an insult to Waqa.

After building a hut, they kill a hen, and sprinkle some of its blood on the ground.⁴⁴

Reverence for Nature. The Galla reverence " the larger aspect of nature," and express this feeling in their attitude towards mountains, rivers, springs, forests, and certain individual trees, near all of which they like if possible to have their dwellings. Groves of trees, and individual trees, especially sycamores, near huts and villages are indeed sacred ; both provide sites where the numerous ritual performances can take place, and the sycamore, as already noted, is hung with votive offerings.⁴⁵ People also pray at springs of water, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits.⁴⁶ Certain large stones, in particular those on which spears are sharpened, are oiled with perfumed butter and hung with votive offerings.⁴⁷

Sanbata. The Christian Sabbath, *sanbat* in Amharic and Ethiopic, has become personified and transformed into a minor deity among the Galla ; and d'Abbadie says that Christmas (*gannā**) and Easter (*fasikā**) have likewise been personified. Sunday and the day preceding it, called Qedami (Amharic, *qedamē* = " the day before ") are therefore greatly respected, the former being called *Sanbata guda* and the latter *Sanbata linno*, " the great and little Sanbata." ⁴⁸ How this came about is thus explained by Beke : " The numerous beggars [of Abyssinia] in asking for alms, do so in the name of the saint whose festival it may happen to be—e.g., ' for Michael's sake,' ' for George's sake.' If it should not be a saint's day, they have ' the mother of God,' or ' the Saviour of the world,' as their Mediator. Should it, however, be the Sabbath, or its eve, then the cry is ' for *Sanbat* (the Sabbath)'s sake,' ' for Kedamie's sake.' Now, when alms are given in the name of any saint, the receiver's thanks are returned by his imploring that saint's blessing on the donor—' may Michael, may George, reward you ' ; but when in the name of the Sabbath, it follows, as a matter of course with these ignorant people, that the Sabbath should be invoked—' may *Sanbat* reward you.' The want of an article in the Amharic cloaks the absurdity of so doing, and facilitates the further personification among the Gallas." ⁴⁹

The Peritoneum. The peritoneum of cattle has several times been mentioned as playing an important and frequent part in Galla rituals. This is because the Galla claim that they once had a sacred book (though it is not known what language or alphabet it is supposed to have been written in). This book was eaten by a cow, and stuck in her peritoneum ; hence, owing to the ritual status of the cow, the great

⁴³ De Salviac, chap. VI.

⁴⁴ Azaïs et Chambard, p. 118.

⁴⁵ Cecchi, II, p. 30.

⁴⁶ Azaïs et Chambard.

⁴⁷ De Salviac, chap. IX ; Azaïs et Chambard, p. 210.

⁴⁸ Krapf, p. 82.

⁴⁹ " Christianity among the Gallas," p. 5 of offprint.

importance and ritual value of the peritoneum.⁵⁰ This is the generally accepted version, though there is another, in which the book is eaten by a sheep.⁵¹

*The Cult of the Šebat.** A parasitic growth, called *ya zāf šebat* * "parasite of the *zāf* tree," or *taqatella*,* in Amharic, which is found on acacias and sycamores, is held to be sacred. "It is grafted to the tree just as the spirit is grafted to the body," according to a Galla statement. The growth is picked without any special ceremony and carried about as a charm. That from an acacia called *hallo* is especially revered.⁵²

Tribal Oaths. What de Salviac calls a tribal oath, presumably one in which two tribes are concerned, is sworn over a sheep's head. The head is anointed with butter, and those concerned place their hands on it and swear. Such an oath is binding.⁵³

Heaven and Hell. Hell is said to be called *ibida agaba*, "fire of punishment" ⁵⁴; purgatory is *golfa*, "suffering," while heaven is "possession by Waqa," though "this dogma is by no means clear."⁵⁵ In fact, the infiltration of such a dogma into Galla paganism is almost certainly due to Christian influence.

Sacrifices. The general term for "sacrifice" in its fullest sense, apart from special sacrifices appropriate to the *gada*-ceremonials, is *wadaja*, a word meaning "companion," because it is the basic religious act which unites all Galla in one religion to praise Waqa; and prayers spoken at *wadaja* have the form of litanies with set words. *Wadaja* are held on various occasions and on various scales, being performed as needed by families, tribal sections, tribes, or tribal groups. Domestic or family sacrifices are directed by heads of families; public ceremonials by the *dori*, or magistrates of the *luba*.⁵⁶ The officiant at *wadaja*, especially at domestic ceremonies, is called *rabsa*. There are also persons called *qallu* (a word also meaning "witch") who sacrifice on behalf of people, and wear a copper finger-ring, carry a whip, and sometimes have a head covering like that of a lion-killer.⁵⁷ These are the *luba* referred to by Krapf,⁵⁸ who says that they let their hair grow long, carry a bell, and wear a copper band on the forehead when sacrificing to Waqa. They also divine and foretell the future, receiving payment (called extortionate by de Salviac) in cattle, butter, and coffee beans.⁵⁹ They do not form a class, though there are a few family groups called Qallu Abba Muda.

In a blood sacrifice, the animal is killed by a spear-thrust, and after it has been killed, the blood is allowed to soak into the ground, because it "rejoices the hearts of the ancestors," according to a Galla saying. People also catch the blood in their hands and smear it on their foreheads, leaving it till it flakes off. Pieces of the hide, ligaments, and the peritoneum are also cut off and rolled into amulets. A piece of meat is put on a rock as an offering to Waqa, and it is said that a vulture comes to take it to him; the Arusi say that this bird appears only at times of sacrifice.⁶⁰

At a family *wadaja*, held in a village by each family in turn, the *rabsa* has two assistants, the *katabe* and *bule*, who stand one on each side of him (Azaïs and Chambard), or the father may act as first assistant and the mother as second assistant (de Salviac). Relatives, friends, and neighbours collect at the homestead, and only the young are excluded. Refreshments in the form of coffee, beer, honey-wine,

⁵⁰ Azaïs et Chambard, p. 115.

⁵¹ Lefebvre, *Voyage*, I, p. xv.

⁵² Azaïs et Chambard, p. 117.

⁵³ De Salviac, chap. V.

⁵⁴ Ibid.; Azaïs et Chambard, p. 109.

⁵⁵ Azaïs et Chambard, p. 109.

⁵⁶ De Salviac, chap. VI; Azaïs et Chambard, loc cit.

⁵⁷ De Salviac, loc. cit.

⁵⁸ Krapf, p. 77.

⁵⁹ De Salviac, loc cit.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

porridge or toasted maize are provided. The *rabsa* stands in front of the cooking pots and beer jars and asks Waqa for his blessing, forgiveness, and protection, and for prosperity. The mother draws food from the pots in wooden vessels called *gebe*, hands them to the father, who gives them to the *rabsa* to bless and distribute among the company. The father cuts the porridge or other solid food in the form of a cross; he eats first, and the others follow. Drops of drink are thrown on the floor, and some food is put for Waqa in the form of a cross. At the end of the ceremony the children are brought to be blessed, and the *rabsa*, the father, and the mother eject streams of saliva over their heads.⁶¹ At a later date Azaïs and Chambard describe a simpler form of *wadaja*. The *rabsa*, having invoked Waqa, turns to the family coffee-pot, holds out his arms, and, ejecting a fine stream of saliva, blesses all present, who repeat his words. The mother pours out coffee and passes cups of it to the father, who hands them to the *rabsa* to bless and give to the company.⁶² At large *wadaja* on a tribal scale, the ceremony takes place in the open air. Animals are sacrificed, and praying, eating, and drinking are combined in one act of worship; the least deviation from the traditional ritual nullifies the effect. Intemperance and bad conduct are not allowed at *wadaja*.⁶³

Another form of sacrifice is called *buta*; this is distinct from the *buta* which mark the passage from one *gada*-grade to another, and has a more definite character of worship. An example of a *buta* which took place on 12th November, 1878, is given by Cecchi.⁶⁴ In front of each house was set up a kind of trophy formed of two young trees stripped of their branches and bark and planted in the ground about a yard apart. On the morning of the 12th the heads of families sacrificed an ox, cow, or bull in the centre of the village. After staining the door-posts with the blood, they marked their faces with a line across the forehead and another down the nose. Those who had reached the *luba* grade had the tip of the right thumb adorned with the tip of the animal's tongue like a ring, and wore the skin of its leg round their arms; heads of families had the genitalia put on the right arm, the man who placed them spitting on their hands for luck. All wore round their necks a long strip of fatty cartilage and pieces of fat on their heads, which dripped down the chest and back. In front of the hut of the chief, Abba Roggē, at nightfall, songs and dances took place, accompanied by a drum. At a certain stage Abba Roggē, who directed the singing, began clapping his hands with increasing speed, the rest doing likewise and dancing faster and faster; at a signal from him, the noise rose to a loud shout and stopped. Later it began again. The ceremony was ended by the men sitting in a circle, each with a woman beside him, round a great bank of yellow flowers, on top of which the chief poured beer and milk, and prayed to Waqa. Then coffee cooked with butter was eaten, beer was drunk, and everybody returned home.

Under the name of *kimismadal* Azaïs and Chambard describe⁶⁵ another form of sacrifice. This word they derive from Somali *kimis*, *kibis*, "unleavened bread," or from Ethiopic *hebest*, "eucharistic bread"; and *madal*, which they suggest is a corruption of Ethiopic *madhānē 'ālam*, "saviour of the world." In spite of the name, they were told by Galla elders that it is held to be one of the oldest religious institutions of the Galla, and was practised long before contact with the Abyssinian Christians. The object of the *kimismadal* is to expel evil spirits and save mankind; the first to benefit by it are said to be the children. When a child falls ill, a *kimismadal* is held. Three loaves are required, and these are made the night before. In the morning the elders assemble at the house where the ceremony is to be held. The sacrificer is called *bule*, and beside him stands the *rabsa*, on this occasion called *hortun*. The family stand round the baskets in which is placed the sacrificial bread. After blessing the

⁶¹ De Salviac, chap. VI.

⁶² Azaïs et Chambard, p. 110.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ II, p. 141.

⁶⁵ Azaïs et Chambard, p. 112.

bread the *bule* cuts one loaf into three pieces, approaches the sick child, and puts a small piece of bread into its mouth ; if it is too small to eat, its mother takes the bread. The *bule* then puts one piece of bread on the threshold, the second by the hearth, and the third near the child's head. The snake containing the evil spirit responsible for the illness will then eat the bread when it enters the hut ; if the first piece does not kill it, the second or third should. By this means the child is not only cured of its illness but is rendered immune to any further attacks of the same sort. The *bule* then cuts the second loaf into eight pieces ; he eats one, the *rabsa* another, the father the third, and the mother the remaining five pieces. The people of the village then approach and are given the third loaf which is cut into very small fragments and distributed, the girls of good character getting theirs first, then the men, and finally the elders. This ceremony is not confined to curing sick children. It may be performed at seed time, at harvest, and during plagues of locusts and other public calamities. It is also performed beside the dying.

Islam. In the eastern Galla country, at the point where the Nole, Jarso, Babile, and Ala territories meet, the city of Harar became the capital of Ahmad Grañ in the 16th century. Under his successor Nur ibn Mujahid, in the middle of the century, it was surrounded with a wall and became the chief centre of Islam in north-east Africa. The Galla living in the area were thus early Islamized, and here Islam retained its hold. The province of Bali, in which Harar lay,⁶⁶ was one of the more vigorous of the early Moslem trading states that formed the so-called Empire of Zayla, and the region was a seed-bed of Islamic culture which could not but affect those Galla who came in close contact with Moslems. Moreover, even before the emergence of Harar as a religious centre there grew up round the tomb of Sheikh Husain, some 60 miles north of Magalo near the Webi Shabelle, a religious and cultural centre in an area which was not only on the edge of Moslem Somaliland but traversed by trade routes from the coast to the interior of Abyssinia.⁶⁷ Harar itself is a city of mixed peoples, including Somali and Galla elements. In 1854 Burton estimated its population at about 8000 ; then, as to-day, it had its own language, spoken only within its walls. In Burton's time, though it was the headquarters of Islam in this part of Africa, it had no establishments for learning, no endowments for students, no learning, and books were rare. It spread Islam through preaching and propaganda : it " inundates the surrounding districts with poor scholars and crazy *widads* (preachers) " ⁶⁸ Islam was taught through the medium of the Harari language.

In the north, the invading Galla may have come up against a Moslem element among a people of Afar type (p. 19 below), which would account for the adoption of Islam here in preference to Christianity, although the Islamic sphere may not have extended far into the highlands. Nevertheless, both the Yeju and Wallo have long been Moslem, the latter according to Krapf being somewhat fanatical. The Raya, the most northerly of the Galla, seem to have been converted not more than a century ago.⁶⁹

In the west, Islam disappeared from among the Galla in the 17th century, and was not re-established till early in the 19th.⁷⁰ In 1878 Cecchi found that there were in Limmu some sheikhs, as ministers of spiritual authority, and many *fokera* and *qalliça* who were Koranic instructors ; these, with the novices, formed the nucleus of the Islamic priesthood. They met daily at the king's house to recite the customary prayers with the king and his court. There were no mosques, and the building so called was no more than a hut in the king's enclosure. Women were not veiled.⁷¹ In 1928

⁶⁶ Harar seems to have been first in Dawaro, and later in Bali.

⁶⁷ Burton, *First Footsteps*, pp. 304-44 ; Cerulli, *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, pp. 1 seq.

⁶⁸ Burton, p. 323. In 1938 the population was about 1,500 (*Giada*, p. 442)

⁶⁹ Trimmingham, pp. 194-8.

⁷⁰ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 22, puts the date at 1855-70 ; but I think it must have begun earlier, though even by 1878 it was not fully developed.

⁷¹ Cecchi, II, pp. 167-70.

Limmu was entirely Moslem, all being Shaf'ites without distinction of fraternity, though their main connections were with the Sammaniyya from North Africa. The Limmu Moslems were devoted to Sheikh Husain (see below, p. 85). The only Christians were Abyssinian soldiers and an occasional local convert who gave up Islam for political reasons, like the Fitāwrāri Abba Bagibo (Gabre Sellasē).⁷² In Jimma, the re-establishment of Islam came about not through propaganda but by order of the king, who became a Moslem and made his subjects follow his example, though agents who helped in the conversion were the Moslem traders living in the kingdom. Moslem customs are observed, and animals are killed by cutting the throat with a knife, and not, as in the pagan way, by a spear-thrust. The use of honey-wine and Galla beer has not been given up, but other intoxicants are forbidden; the use of "kat" was not great in Jimma. Elementary Koranic schools were established, and schools of Islamic law held in the headquarters of the fraternities, the chief of which are the Tijaniyya (from Algeria) and Qadiriyya (from Somalia). All the Jimma Moslems are Shaf'ites. Pilgrimages are made to both the Abba Muda in Arusi and the tomb of Sheikh Husain in the same area.⁷³ (See below, pp. 83, 85.)

Sacred Places. There are several sacred places in various parts of Galla land, among which are the following:

(1) On Mount Zuqualla, 30 miles south of Addis Ababa, on the edge of the Jidda country, there are two sacred places. On the north side of the mountain the Abyssinians have a church of Abba Gabre Manfas Qeddus, abbreviated to Abbo, a saint revered by both the Christian Abyssinians and the pagan Galla. This church is reached through a narrow passage in the rock. On the south-east side of the mountain in the forest are some sacred stones which the Galla anoint with butter, and on the summit is a crater lake into which they throw iron.⁷⁴ The effect of this place, revered by the Abyssinians, on the invading Galla, with their reverence for mountains and running water, was such that they created a tutelary deity here with the name of Abbo, at the hot springs of Finfini; the cult became intensified with the adoption of Christianity and honoured with pagan rituals.⁷⁵

(2) The Metta and Gulale of Shoa make annual pilgrimages to a big sycamore on the slopes of Mount Bokkaha in Gombiçu territory south-east of Addis Ababa. Here are also the ruins of the ancient castle of the kings of Shoa.⁷⁶

(3) Between Gambo and the Laga Gurača (black river) on the west of the Arusi country in a clearing in a bamboo thicket there is a standing stone about 7 ft. high smeared with butter; here people used to come to pray to the spirits and sacrifice oxen, which were eaten at night.⁷⁷

(4) In the Leqa Naqamte country the hill Tulu Čatto Galan near Tulu Korma is a place of pilgrimage. Here lived a famous diviner named Abba Beko or Jijo Galata, to whom were given oxen and sheep which he sacrificed, though he himself ate only grain which he had grown.⁷⁸

(5) In Gomma, two hills called Sinka and Bemba or Kella Egdu Biya, "the gate of the watching of the land," were once inhabited by prophets with whom lived big snakes, to the descendants of which latter the Galla when they are ill offer beer and goats' blood.⁷⁹

(6) In Gera, Mount Ijersa is venerated by the Galla because they say that God will sit there at the last judgment.⁸⁰

⁷² Cerulli, *Ethiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. XII.

⁷³ Cerulli, *Ethiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. VIII. The whole subject of Islam among the Galla is ably dealt with by Trimmingham in his *Islam in Ethiopia*, pp. 193-208.

⁷⁴ Borelli, *Éthiopie Méridionale*, p. 209-10.

⁷⁵ Cerulli, op. cit., I, chap. IV.

⁷⁶ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, op. 186.

⁷⁷ Azaïs et Chambard, op. cit., p. 210.

⁷⁸ Cerulli, op. cit., p. 189.

⁷⁹ Cecchi, II, p. 242.

⁸⁰ des Avanchers, map in *Bull. Soc. Géog.*, 1866.

The Abba Muda. The Abba Muda, "father of anointing," who lives near Wolabo on the western edge of the Arusi country, is supposed to be the eldest son of Orma or Oromo, the ancestor of the Galla, and to possess superhuman qualities. He is the centre of Galla religious life, and the rallying point of the nation, though he has no civil or executive authority. In him are personified and centralized the law and traditions of the Galla, and Waqa is said to speak through him. In former days, every third generation in each family was bound by tribal custom to make a pilgrimage to the Abba Muda; after the Abyssinian conquest of southern Abyssinia, however, the pilgrimage was forbidden owing to its political and nationalistic influence.⁸¹

The first account of the Abba Muda is that of d'Abbadie.⁸² According to this, pilgrimages to Walal (Wolabo) begin in June, and the pilgrims return the following year. Pilgrims are called *jila*; once they have started they never again cut their hair or nails, the hair of the head sometimes reaching to the seat on which they sit. While he is away on pilgrimage, the wife of the *jila* puts no butter on her head, and eats no bread but that which she has baked herself in the embers. On their return, pilgrims do no work but herd cattle; they receive small gifts from the people, and it is believed that their presence in the tribe has a mystical influence for good. This account probably relates to the period 1840-50.

The eastern Galla arrangements for the pilgrimage are described by de Salviac.⁸³ All those qualified to go are called *leimo*, "men of honour or probity," a term explained by the Galla as meaning "those who have been accused of no crime, who have committed no offence against father or mother, who are not adulterers or murderers, and who have broken no treaty," though it is probable, adds de Salviac, that in fact many pilgrims did not conform to this standard. No *tumtu* (smith), *wayto* (hunter), or foreigner (Moslem or Abyssinian) living among the Galla might go on the pilgrimage. The eastern Galla set out in the dry season, between November and March; those of the west left home in June, for to them it was a journey of five to ten months. No women were allowed to go. The men formed themselves into groups for the journey, camping whenever possible at traditional camping sites. They had to be continent and might not cut their nails or hair; their women at home had also to observe continence, put no butter on their heads, and eat no bread except that which they had themselves cooked in the embers. There was a truce to inter-tribal hostilities, and the pilgrims were able to pass safely through territories where perhaps they had been fighting a short time before; they might even be helped on their journey by their former enemies. On their wrists and neck the pilgrims wore trophies of war (human), which marked them for the occasion as *nama waqa*, men of God. The Galla of Harar went to a place called Mormoro, but the rest went to the homestead of the Abba Muda at Wolabo at the foot of Mount Walal.⁸⁴ On their arrival, the pilgrims were questioned by the Abba Muda on the law and customs of the Galla, after which the important ceremony took place. At this, the Abba Muda anointed the head of each pilgrim with butter which melted and ran over shoulders and clothing, expressing the blessing of the Abba Muda. In de Salviac's day the Abba Muda was a decrepit old man who bewailed the forbidding of the pilgrimages. To the Abyssinians, however, they were not so much religious acts as opportunities for stirring up Galla patriotism and forming plans of rebellion, for men of all the Galla tribes met at Wolabo. De Salviac gives the following specimen of blessing spoken by the Abba Muda to an individual pilgrim: "Prosper, O son of Orma, return home to your family and Abba Boku. May the milk of your herds flow in abundance. May the whole village drink of your superfluity (of milk). May you be loaded with goods. May your favourite cow's

⁸¹ De Salviac, chap. VII.

⁸² "Sur les Oromo."

⁸³ De Salviac, loc. cit.

⁸⁴ The GS.GS. 1 million map NB 37 marks the site of the Abba Muda's home as Irba Moda (i.e., Abba Muda) about 20 miles west of the Ganale Dorya, and 45 miles south-east of Dalle, in the high country of the Jamjama.

udder be full of milk, from which none drinks but the father of the family, from which none drinks but the mother of the family, from which none drinks but he who has received Unction. It is the wish of my heart that you should prosper. May Waqa be with you. May he accept your sacrifices and your *wadaja*."

Cecchi, referring to the period round about 1878, describes the Abba Muda as a diviner who lives in a cave with some large snakes, and is at the same time the chief of a pastoral tribe. He and his followers wear skins, grow their hair long, and anoint it with butter; instead of a spear, each of them carries a staff tipped with an antelope horn. At certain times the Galla (of the Gibē region) make pilgrimages to the Abba Muda, who lives at Ualabri (thus, for Wolabo), "situated, it is said, south-east of Cambat beside the river Omo." The pilgrimages are made partly to do honour to the Abba Muda, and partly so that those who make them can be anointed, which will qualify them to exercise "the sacred office" in their own tribes. Only those who have never killed, robbed, or enslaved anyone may go on this pilgrimage. Before going they must marry and be circumcised. They have the right to have their houses built, and to claim a tribute of cattle. The day they set out, former pilgrims, *jilla* (*jila*) and *akakayu*⁸⁵ accompany them for a short distance, and leave them with blessings. They travel armed only with staves, cut their hair close, and dress in female clothes. They take with them a bull to sacrifice on arrival, and as a sign of peace a sheep is driven in front of them. Wherever they go, the women bring them food; they must sleep in the open under trees. While they are away their wives may eat only bread cooked in the embers, and may not go outside their compounds, the threshold timber of which is hung up as a sign of closure. On arriving at the Abba Muda's homestead, their coming having been announced in advance, they are led to the Abba Muda, and the leader of the party offers food to the snake which guards the entrance to his cave. They are given food, and prayers are uttered for the prosperity of Galla land. The Abba Muda then anoints them, gives them myrrh as a sign of his blessing, and asks them not to shave their heads, but to let their hair grow long over their bodies; to live according to the laws of *alanga*,⁸⁶ i.e., to judge justly; not to allow an absolute ruler among them; not to allow forced labour; and not to fight each other but to drive from their lands the Sidama (Abyssinians). On their return the *jilla* are received with joy and tell of the marvels of the Abba Muda and his cave, exaggerating the dangers and wonders of the journey.⁸⁷

The Shoan Galla also go on pilgrimages to the Abba Muda at Wolabo, though Cerulli noted that by 1928 these had become rare.⁸⁸ Those of the Gulale who wish for the status of *jila* go to the Abba Muda, at whose homestead, under a sacred sycamore tree, they perform an "obscene rite" and after being anointed by the Abba Muda receive the status of *jila*. On his return home the *jila* is considered a sacred person; he does not shave or cut his hair which, falling to the shoulders, is called *guduru*, "sheath of a maize cob." His horse is also considered sacred. According to an old Gombiću, the pilgrimage customs among the Shoan Galla were as follows: He who wishes to be a *jila* shaves his head, leaving a tuft on top, like the common way of shaving the hair of children. The period of absence is about three months. Women are not allowed to go on the pilgrimage, and the pilgrim must abstain from sexual intercourse for 15 days before starting, and throughout the journey. During her husband's absence, a woman must not put on the fire any cooking vessel of iron. On arrival at the Abba Muda's homestead, the pilgrims must undergo three tests: (1) they must pass beside a lion, (2) they must pass over ground infested with termites, (3) they must pass through a place where there are snakes. Having succeeded in passing the snake test, they go before the Abba Muda according to the order of descent of their tribes, and are anointed by him on the head. When they reach their homes,

⁸⁵ Members of the Yuba grade, retired *gada* officials.

⁸⁶ "Whip," which symbolizes the rule of law.

⁸⁷ II, pp. 30-32.

⁸⁸ *Ethiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. IV.

nobody may go out to meet them, and they wait beside the sacred sycamore ; then, at night, after sacrificing a beast, they enter their houses. Thereafter they have the title of *jila* ; and as a final act they plant a sycamore, a tree in which good spirits like to live. No man may touch the cattle of a *jila*, not even during wars ; and the herdsmen of a *jila* may not carry spears when herding.

In Jimma, Cerulli reported in 1928, two young men from each of the six Jimma tribes in the kingdom go on pilgrimage to the Abba Muda at Wolabo, starting after the *buta* in the dry season. (It is not clear whether the first or second *buta* is meant.) Before leaving Jimma, they sleep for 15 days under the sacred sycamore tree, and having once started on their journey they must not look back, for to do so is held to break the pilgrimage. During the journey they must not touch a woman, nor even eat grain that has been touched by a woman ; so they themselves prepare beforehand the food that they will need. They let their hair grow long. When they reach the Abba Muda, they present him with calves which they have brought with them, and he anoints each man, after which they are called *jila*. On returning home, they again pass 15 days and nights under the sacred sycamore.⁸⁹

To these may be added an account communicated to Guidi by an Abyssinian, Alaḳā Abba Sahel, who had spent a long time among the Galla⁹⁰ : " The Galla have a custom called *jilā*, which is found among the Galan, the Genbiču, the Abeču, and almost all the Galla tribes. When they become *jilā*, this is their rule : They go to the Abba Muda of the Borana, because it is he who confers upon them the grade of *jilā*. They put off the knee-length loin-cloth (*geldem*) and put on an apron (*šerret*) which reaches to the feet, like women. They do not take a large staff, nor do they gird themselves with a sword, except that they carry a *waranto* (small knife for cutting thorns from the feet, etc.) and a small knife (*billawa*). Each man carries a stick. They travel in bands of one hundred or two hundred, making their camp in the forest. From the day when they leave home until their return they do not sleep in a hut ; and until they return their wives sleep on the ground, not on beds. During the journey they do not cross two rivers, whether they be large or small, in one day, but wait and camp in the forest. Where the road is infested with brigands, these do them no harm, but only show them honour. When they reach the Abba Muda, they are honourably received, and are questioned about their laws. He gives them myrrh (*barkē*) and a plant called *abayo*. Then according to their seniority by *gada* he anoints the head of every man, each in his proper order ; and on account of this Abba Muda signifies " father of anointing." When they return home, this is their conduct : They let their hair grow long, anointing it with butter and not shaving their heads ; they do not carry spears, but only sticks ; they do not go to war to kill men. They neither plough nor dig ; they do not raid the cattle of other men ; they do not tell lies ; and they do not go to the council when it deals with evil matters (i.e., war), but only when it deals with peaceful matters. The myrrh which the Abba Muda gave them they put away in their huts ; with it they take wives, and give it as dowry to the fathers of girls to whom they wish to be betrothed."

Moslems in Jimma go on pilgrimage to the tomb of Sheikh Husain near the Webi Shabelle. This pilgrimage is closely associated in their minds with the pilgrimage to the Abba Muda, and the comparative nearness of the pagan and Moslem holy places has in a sense equated the two pilgrimages, so that those who go to the Abba Muda are willingly confused with those who go to Sheikh Husain, and vice versa. An old man in Jimma said : " Our people go on pilgrimage to Bali : the Galla, the pagans, say they go to the Abba Muda ; the Moslems, to Sheikh Husain." ⁹¹

Snakes. Snakes, *bofa*, are sacred, according to Krapf, and are given milk when they come into people's huts.⁹² It is not certain whether this applies to all snakes,

⁸⁹ *Etiopia Occidentale*, I, chap. VIII.

⁹⁰ *MSOS*, X, 177-80.

⁹¹ *Etiopia Occidentale*, chap. VIII.

⁹² P. 78.

or only to specific kinds, e.g., those called *buti* (p. 78 above), a red snake called *ilmo*, "son,"⁹³ and an emerald green snake called *bora*, said to be the abode of an inoffensive water-spirit. The appearance of one of these snakes in a hut is a good sign, and milk is given to it. The Abba Muda and "noble-born" *qallu* have snakes as familiars.⁹⁴

Masqal. The Christian Abyssinian festival of Masqal represents both the Invention of the Cross (10 Magābit, March), and the Exaltation of the Cross (17 Maskaram, September). The Galla have adopted the latter, which Borelli says was held 15 days after the Abyssinian festival. According to a Galla tradition, this festival (said to be kept also by the Kafa, Mao, and Janjero) is a survival of the cult taught to the Galla by Moti Warqē, "the king of the gold," who conquered the Galla and Sidama countries before the time of Grañ.⁹⁵ Although Masqal is celebrated with festivities, and serves as a date in the Galla calendar, the pagan Galla do not realize its true significance. Borelli noted that the festivities were limited to dances and merry-making, with bonfires all over the country from the Gibē to Entotto near Addis Ababa.⁹⁶ In the western Galla countries, Cerulli says it is celebrated with bonfires, salutes of guns, and a tourney between warriors armed with spear and shield; male oxen are crowned with flowers, and the boys go from house to house singing a song the refrain of which is *ya babo darar*, "blossom, little flower."⁹⁷

Death and Burial

When a person is dying his mouth is filled with curdled milk or butter, even at the risk of choking him, for the milk and butter symbolize wealth and honour; and in this way he will take them with him to the next world.⁹⁸ On the announcement of a death the relatives and friends hasten to the dead person's homestead and lament, beating their hands together, scratching their cheeks, and singing songs in praise of the dead man:

<i>Ya humnako !</i>	O my virtue !
<i>Ya ayanako !</i>	O my guardian spirit !
<i>Ya gammačuko !</i>	O my delight !
<i>Ya sañiko !</i>	O my seed ! ⁹⁹

The body is wrapped in a *waya* (toga), and when it is taken up the women make a show of resistance to its removal.¹⁰⁰ A grave is dug, with a lateral gallery or niche,¹⁰¹ and the body is carried to it on a litter of bamboo. According to Cecchi, the body is laid with the face to the east; according to Borelli, it is laid on the left side with the left arm turned up to the head, and the right arm outstretched; de Salviac says it is put in a crouching position in the niche at the side of the pit, adding that this is closed with branches so that the body is not covered with earth when the grave is filled in. Honey, beer, bread, a milk basket (*wenso*), cloth, and wax are put in the grave.¹⁰² A thin cow is killed; the meat is eaten by the poor, and some of the blood is poured on the dead man's face.¹⁰³ De Salviac says that an ox or sheep is killed by the grave, and the meat distributed to poor people and strangers, the relatives and friends not eating any of it, though they eat the meat of animals killed at anniversary sacrifices. When the grave is filled in, a mound of stones is raised over it. Posts are set up on which are hung the man's weapons and trophies, and sometimes the skull and horns of an ox as well. Bamboos, according to Cecchi, are also set up to indicate

⁹³ On p. 78 above, the *buti* is also called *ilmo* (Azaïs et Chambard).

⁹⁴ De Salviac, chap. IX.

⁹⁵ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 38.

⁹⁶ *Éthiopie Méridionale*, p. 129.

⁹⁷ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 145.

⁹⁸ De Salviac, chap. XII. See also on the *Kimismadal*, p. 80 above.

⁹⁹ Cecchi, II, pp. 417-20; Borelli, p. 328.

¹⁰⁰ Borelli, p. 328.

¹⁰¹ Cecchi; de Salviac, chap. XII.

¹⁰² Borelli; de Salviac.

¹⁰³ Cecchi.

the number of the man's cows, of the spears he had captured, and of the enemies he had killed. Beside the grave of a rich man is also hung a drinking horn or bottle. In the Gibē States, if not elsewhere, a close bamboo fence may be erected round the grave and its attendant posts. The widow shaves her head; the relatives fast for 24 hours from the hour of the man's death, and mourn ^{103A} for eight days afterwards, doing no work, their neighbours helping them with food and in essential domestic work.

The normal Galla grave mound is a simple cairn of stones, ranging in height from a few feet to as much as 10 ft.; and in diameter up to 30 ft. Such mounds occur in many places throughout Galla land and in northern Somaliland, where they are attributed by the Somali to the Galla. More elaborate memorials are set up at the graves of chiefs and important people, in some places of a more lasting nature than the bamboos of the Gibē States; and the cairn may be surrounded with a circle or other arrangement of stones.¹⁰⁴

Rainmaking

To bring rain a ceremony called *raya* is held in the dry season, at which women and children go in procession in search of a certain grass from which they make wreaths. Before starting they eat, as part of the ritual, a barley pudding. Songs invoking rain are then sung, of which the following is an example:

<i>Kusurru Gibē!</i>	Grass of the Gibē!
<i>Hursa Mandiyo!</i>	Storm of Mandiyo!
<i>Essa si dibē!</i>	Where are you hidden?
<i>Robi rob!</i>	Rain! Rain!

(*Kusurru* is a grass used for thatching; *Mandiyo* is the diminutive of Abba Mando, a noted rainmaker; *dibē*, "hidden," may be intended as a play upon *dibesa*, "rain-storm.")¹⁰⁵ Rainmakers are called *čamsitu*, from *čamsa*, "dry weather"; in fact, however, although the bringing of rain is one of their activities, they are much more noted for sending the rain away of malicious intent, to effect which they are said to burn aromatic grasses. When the chiefs consider that a drought is due to the action of *čamsitu*, they have them arrested and buried to the waist in the ground, leaving them there till the rain falls. On the banks of big rivers like the Gibē and Didessa, the *čamsitu* are called upon to prevent the rivers from flooding.¹⁰⁶

Witchcraft

Little is recorded about witchcraft beyond the fact that it exists among the Galla, and that certain people are recognized as witches (*qallu*, *qalliča*, fem. *qalliti*). These words are derived from *qallu*, to kill; but it is uncertain whether this is because the *qallu* kill people, or because the word *qallu* referred originally to diviners who examined the entrails of slaughtered animals, and was later transferred to witches. Another kind of witch is the *lonqay*, who works spells by writing.¹⁰⁷ A person with the evil eye is called *buda* or *murtu*.

^{103A} Cecchi.

¹⁰⁴ On Galla graves, see Burton, *First Footsteps*, p. 181; Azaïs et Chambard, op. cit.; A. E. Jensen, *Im Lande des Gada*; G. Chiomio, "Da Hurro Uolabo al Uabi," *Stud. Ethiop.* 1945; Huntingford, "The Hagiolithic Cultures of East Africa," *Eastern Anthropologist*, III, pp. 119 seq.

¹⁰⁵ Cerulli, *Folk-Literature*, p. 139.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁰⁷ Hodson and Walker, *Grammar of the Galla or Oromo Language*, p. 242.

THE CONDITION OF THE GALLA IN THE 20th CENTURY

When they first arrived in Abyssinia in the 16th century the Galla were pagan pastoralists. Since that time they have in many places become agricultural, especially in the Harar region, in Shoa, and in the Gibē States. Many of them, though not all, have been converted to Christianity or Islam; the former, through the influence of the Abyssinian church, through contact with Abyssinians, and as a result of the various Abyssinian conquests; the latter, through the foothold gained by the Moslem traders of the Middle Ages under the so-called "Empire of Zayla." After the war between the Abyssinians and Grañ in the 16th century, however, both Christianity and Islam disappeared from some of the more remote Galla areas. Islam was eventually re-established through the agency of Moslem traders, and Christianity partly through the influence of the Abyssinian church and partly by the efforts of European missionaries. After the total failure of the Jesuits in the 17th century (and their valiant efforts did not touch the Galla), no European missionary work was attempted till Cardinal Massaja began his work in 1847; at about the same time Isenberg and Krapf were trying to spread European Christianity in Shoa, though not with much success. A French Catholic mission has been established for many years at Harar—such notable men as Jarosseau and de Salviac belonged to this; and eventually two other missions, the Swedish and the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, were established in and around Harar. From the ethnographical point of view, a distinction should be made between Galla converted by European missionaries and those Christianized through the influence of Abyssinian Monophysite Christianity.

Though the Galla have acquired a great influence in Abyssinian political life, they are not liked by the Abyssinians, and this feeling is reciprocated. In the north, the ferocious Wallo and Yeju—the latter being the group from which came the puppet kings at Gondar in the 18th century—were placated by Menilek, whose grandson Lij Iyasu was the son of a Wallo, Ras Mika'el, whom the present *negus* defeated in 1916. As late as 1930 a rising of the Raya had to be suppressed; and the Emperor made his eldest son Governor of this province, which does not produce much revenue and is regarded as an area for the maintenance of a strong army. This resulted in a hard time for the *gabar*, the "free cultivators," and the Galla peasants of Wallo suffered a good deal from the exactions of the army. In this area there has always been much hostility to the Amhara. In the south-west, conditions during this century, after the Abyssinian conquest, have been better.¹ The Galla here are industrious, they have been disciplined by a monarchical organization, trade has flourished, and Moslem organization has been more effective here than in the north; here the Abyssinians therefore took account of the native institutions (pp. 56-7 above). Steps were taken in the 'thirties of this century to abolish the slave trade (of which the Gibē kingdoms were a stronghold), and, as is understood, the Italians suppressed it altogether a few years later. In Limmu a colony of Abyssinian soldiers was established by Menilek, and the Galla inhabitants were made into *gabar*, each family being obliged to support a soldier; this colony was ruled by a *dajazmāč* appointed from Addis Ababa independently of the Governor of Limmu. Wallaga largely escaped Moslem influence, and the people are either pagan or Christian according to their proximity to the Amhara. In the south of Gojam, the Galla who had crossed the Abay were recognized by Takla Hāymānot, the *negus* of Gojam, in the 'eighties of the last century; he built them a church, and many were converted to Christianity.

In the east there has long been a strong Moslem element covering most of the region, and in the province of Harar slavery and the *gabar* system were also in force.

¹ For the Galla, that is; parts of the Sidama country, especially Kafa, have suffered a good deal.

But the rule of Christian Abyssinia was on the whole not bad, and some degree of prosperity was attained, even though petty officialdom batted on it. The Arusi, so far as is known, are still mainly pagan, and they are also still primitive as compared with the other Galla, in spite of having been under an Abyssinian administration which obliged them to work hard to support its troops, and in doing so caused a good deal of hardship. This administration was reformed in 1932, but it is not possible to say how far the reforms were successful. The Arusi are mainly pastoral ; but from the example of the colonies of Abyssinian soldiers they are turning more and more to agriculture.

Sources : Margery Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, pp. 302-14 ; Trimingham; Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale* ; Rey, *Unconquered Abyssinia*.

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ABBREVIATIONS :

- CSCO. = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium: Scriptores Aethiopici, series altera.*
 GJ. = *Geographical Journal.*
 JAI. = *Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*
 JAS. = *Journal of the African Society.*
 JRGS. = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*
 OM. = *Oriente Moderno.*
 RASO. = *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales.*
 RRAL. = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.* (Classe di scienze, morali, storiche e filologiche.)
 RSE. = *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici.*
 RSO. = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali.*
 ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.*

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3. MAPS OF GALLA LAND

17th Century

There are three copies of the map drawn by Almeida to illustrate his *History*: (1) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 9861, reproduced by Beccari (*RASO.*, I and V); (2) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5027; and (3) School of Oriental and African Studies MS. 11966, reproduced by Beckingham and Huntingford. None of these is dated, but they were made before 1646. They are the earliest maps which show the distribution of the Galla. Ludolf's map (1683), based on that of Telles (1660), itself compiled

from Almeida, shows the Galla a little farther west than Almeida put them, i.e., up to the unidentifiable river known to the Portuguese as Maleg, a tributary of the Didessa.¹

18th Century

Maps of this century, such as those of Le Grand (by d'Anville) and Bruce are of little ethnological importance.

19th Century

Beke's map in *JRGS.*, XIV (1844) is the first modern map of any importance in relation to the Galla. It shows the Galla tribes for 30–60 miles south of the Abay, and the northern Galla (Tulama, Wallo, Yeju, and Raya groups). His earlier sketch (in *JRGS.*, XIII) shows the tribes down as far as the Gojeb with a remarkable amount of accuracy, considering the circumstances of its compilation. A sketch by Léon des Avanchers (*Bull. Soc. Géogr. de Paris*, 1866), scale approximately 1 inch to 15 miles, gives some topographical details of the kingdom of Gera. Later in the century, Cecchi's maps show much of Galla land, including the Gibe States before the Abyssinian conquest (reproduced in Beckingham and Huntingford), on a scale of 1 million. In 1894 the Italian General Staff published a map entitled *Carta Dimostrativa dell' Etiopia* (scale 1 million) compiled by Major E. de Chaurand from a large number of existing maps, including that of Paulitschke. This shows a good many Galla tribes.

20th Century

The *Guida dell' Africa Orientale Italiana* (1938) has a useful set of detailed maps on the scale of 1 million. The British maps of Ethiopia (Geographical Section, General Staff series) are on three scales :

- (1) 1/2 million. (Abyssinia ; Sudan.)
- (2) 1/1 million. (NB 37, NC 37, NC 38, ND 37.)
- (3) 1/500,000. (NB 36/3, 37/1, 37/2, 37/3, 37/4, 37/5 ; NC 36/6, 37/1, 37/2, 37/4, 37/5, 37/6, 38/4 ; ND 37/5).

These have a metre grid, and cover the whole of Galla land.² Among ethnological maps may be mentioned : (1) Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, which contains the first and in fact only attempt at a tribal map of the Galla. (2) Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*, which contains maps illustrating ethnology, distribution of religions, and geology. These are useful, but so far as the Galla are concerned give mainly the larger tribal groupings. This applies to the majority of ethnological maps of Ethiopia, e.g., those in Zoli's *Cronache Etiopiche* and Trimmingham's *Islam in Ethiopia*, to mention two of the more recent books on the country, though the latter marks more Galla tribes than most.

ADDENDUM.

Paulitschke, P.

1888 *Harar*. Leipzig.

[Contains some material on the Galla, especially in chapters 6 and 10.]

¹ Beckingham and Huntingford, Appendices II and IV.

² On the accuracy of these maps, see Beckingham and Huntingford, p. 224.

NOTE TO MAP 5. THE GALLA OF ETHIOPIA.

There has been some considerable infiltration of Arusi into the country between the lakes and the western boundary of the Arusi as shown on this map. The village of Negelle, six miles east of Lake Šala, for instance, is described in 1938 as an Arusi village. (*Guida*, p. 557.)

THE KINGDOMS OF KAFA AND JANJERO

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MAP of Kafa and Janjero	at end

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography of Cerulli has been followed for both Kafa and Janjero. ċ = ch ; š = sh ; k and q are the Amharic *kaf* and *qaf* ; ʔ is an “emphatic” consonant. (Cerulli.)

THE KINGDOM OF KAFA

INTRODUCTION

The ancient kingdom of Kafa in south-west Ethiopia was overthrown by the Ethiopians in 1897, and a radical change was thereby brought about in its organization and customs. Never easy of access to foreigners, it was however visited by Antonio Cecchi, who published his account of it in 1885. A few years after the Ethiopian Conquest it was visited, in 1905, by Friedrich Bieber, who visited it again in 1909, and published a detailed account in 1920-23.¹ In 1928 Enrico Cerulli recorded in the country what he could collect about its former state, and published his account in 1932. We thus possess material from which a reasonably accurate picture can be drawn. The three books referred to contain nearly all the material that is of any value; for although the Bibliography runs to 48 entries, most of what was written before Bieber (except Cecchi's account) is superseded by his book; Cerulli supplies the later material. (Of the total number of entries in the Bibliography, 20 relate to Cecchi, Bieber, and Cerulli.) These three have therefore been heavily drawn upon, and I here acknowledge my debt to them. So far as I know, there exists no work in English dealing with the Kafa in any sort of detail.

NOMENCLATURE

The country is called Kafa; the people are *Kafičō*, fem. *Kafičē*; the adjectival forms are *kafē*, *kafinō*, as in *kafinō tālō*, "the Kafa king." The common spelling Kaffa may be due to the gemination of f in the Amharic spelling of the name. The Kafa are called Gomarō by the Manjō and Gimira.

Names of the submerged classes are:

Manjō: call themselves Addō or Addoyč.² (Also written Manġo, Mangio, Mančo, Mantscho); hunters.

Mannō: leatherworkers, whose women, Mannē, are potters.

Qemmō: blacksmiths.

¹ On his first visit Bieber was accompanied by Baron Alphons von Mylius. Both were Austrian. Mylius died in 1916; Bieber lived to see only his first volume published.

² Cf. *ado* the Galla word for "potters," who form a submerged class.

DIVISIONS OF THE PEOPLE

The Kafa are divided into four sub-tribes, *yarō* :

Gongičō, fem. Gongičē, the Gongga people.

Gurabō, fem. Gurabē.

Hinnarō, fem. Hinnarē (or Ennarō, fem. Ennarē).

Tejiwō, fem. Tejiwē.

In addition to these, there are two foreign groups, Nagadō, fem. Nagadē, the Moslem traders ; and Amarō, fem. Amarē, the Christian Kafa (who practise Monophysite Christianity).

Living in the country, but with the status of submerged classes, are several groups of people who are not of Kafa stock. They include the Manjō, fem. Manjē, the hunters, who have certain special duties in the Kafa State (see p. 136) ; the Mannō, or leatherworkers, whose women, Mannē, make pottery ; and the blacksmiths, Qemmō, fem. Qemmē. (This is an ethnic feminine, and does not mean that their women are also smiths.)³

LANGUAGE

The Kafa language may be classed with the Gongga group of Sidama languages, which includes Boša, Šeka (Moča), and Mao. A feature of the language is its use of the suffixes -ō and -ē to indicate masculine and feminine. The Manjō have a language of their own, distinct from Kafa, with traces of a pre-Kafa speech of Sidama affinities.⁴

HISTORY

The Kafa ascribe their origin to the settlement in their country of a people called Minjō, who came according to one tradition from holes in the ground, and according to another from the sea-coast. The Minjō appear in history as the royal clan, and the line of kings goes back at least 19 generations from 1890. Bieber has estimated the dates backward from 1775 at 35 years to a reign, an unduly high figure ; the dates after 1775 are more reasonable, and the later ones fairly well established. Bieber's king list and his dates are as follows⁵ :

1390 " The Minjō king "	1742 Gali Gaočo
1425 Girra	1775 Šagi Šeročo
1460 " The Addio king "	1795 Beši Ginočo
1495 " The Šadda king "	1798 Hotti Ginočo
1530 Madi Gafo	1821 Gaha Neročo
1565 " The Bonga king "	1845 Gawi Neročo
1605 Giba Nečočo	1854 Kaye Šeročo or Kamo
1640 Gali Gafočo	1870 Gali Šeročo
1675 Gali Ginočo	1890 Gaki Šeročo, the last king, deposed in 1897.
1710 Gaki Gaočo	

³ Bieber, I, pp. 121, 122 ; Cerulli, 1951 ; and 1932, I.

⁴ See in particular Cerulli, 1951, for Kafa, and for Manjō, pp. 11-21.

⁵ Bieber, II, pp. 494-533 and elsewhere. The question of the dates of these kings is discussed in Beckingham and Huntingford, pp. lvii-lviii.

In the reign of Sarga Dengel, king of Ethiopia (1563–95), Christianity was introduced into Kafa, though the Ethiopians were not able to subdue the kingdom. Galla attempts in the 16th century and later were also unsuccessful, though the Kafa came to hate them with a bitter hatred. About 1675 (by Bieber's dating) king Gali Ginočo began to extend his kingdom, and the small Gimira States of Šē, Benešo, and Masongo were brought under his rule; these were some of the original inhabitants of the Kafa country who were forced out by the Minjō. Towards the end of the 18th century Šagi Šeročo further enlarged the kingdom so that it extended to the Omo in the south-east, and nearly to the junction of the Omo and Dinča in the south. Among the states which at this time became tributary to the Kafa king was the composite State of Walamo, which included Konta, Kullo, Kuča, Tambaro, and Gamo, some of these being beyond the Omo. In 1841 King Gaha Neročo accused the Šodē Rašo, of the Mattō clan, of conspiring against the throne, and put him to death. His son Gawi Neročo persecuted the Christians. Of the great king Kaye Šeročo or Kamo opinions differ. He was a strong adherent of the Doččo cult (p. 132) and by Bieber's time had come to be regarded as a Christian as well, and friendly to the Christians; Cecchi, however, calls him a scourge of the Christians. The last king, Gaki Šeročo, came to the throne in 1890 and, after resisting the combined attacks of Walda Giyorgis, Ras Damissē, and Abba Jifar II, the last king of Jimma (who gave help to Menilek), he was taken prisoner on 11 Sept., 1897, and sent first to Ankobar and then to Addis Ababa. Kafa was given to Walda Giyorgis, who ruled it as feudatory till 1914. After the Conquest, Bonga, the capital, was deserted and all traces of the ancient town above ground disappeared; but the site was re-occupied after the Italian occupation.⁶

DEMOGRAPHY

No population figures are available, but it is said that the Kafa were much reduced in numbers after the Ethiopian Conquest. In 1938 Bonga, the capital, had a population of 3,000, of which about 200 were Kafa.⁷

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Kafa is a country of mountains and valleys, with stretches of forest and many rivers. The altitude ranges from about 4,900 to 9,000 feet. The rainfall is high, some rain occurring at most times of the year; this and the fertility of the soil allow three harvests a year of some crops. On the north the kingdom was bounded by the river Gojeb, called Godafo by the Kafa, which separated it from the Gibē States of Gera and Jimma. On the south it reached nearly to the central course of the Omo. The eastern neighbours of Kafa are the Konta and Kullo; on the south are the Čara (between Kafa and the Omo), and the Gimira peoples Nao, Kaba, Šē, and Benešo; on the west are the Masongo, beyond whom are the Mao or Anfillo.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

LIVESTOCK

The Kafa keep cattle (*mīmō*), sheep (*melaš*, *bagē*), goats (*emmišō*), horses (*maččō*), donkeys (*kurō*), mules (*bičirō*), dogs (*kunānō*), fowls (*bakkō*), and civet cats (*yērō*). They have no pigs. Terms for cattle include *mīmō*, bull; *mīmē*, cow; *qidērē*, heifer; *mamō*, bull-calf; *mamē*, heifer-calf; colours are expressed by an adjective of colour

⁶ Cecchi, II, chap. iv; Bieber, II, p. 494 seq.; Cerulli, 1932, chap. xx, xxi. A more detailed summary will be found in Beckingham and Huntingford, pp. liv–lx.

⁷ *Guida*, p. 536.

preceding the cattle-term : *naččē mīmō*, white bull ; *čellē mamē*, brown calf. According to Bieber, herds of 30 to 100 head were common, and some amounted to as many as 1,000 head. Goats also were kept in large numbers. Terms for horses, which the Kafa used extensively for riding, are : *maččō*, stallion ; *maččē*, mare ; *šangiyō*, gelding. Colours are expressed as in cattle-names.

Cattle are watered twice a day, as also are horses and mules. By day the cattle are herded by boys or young men ; in the hill pastures the herd-boys put up grass huts to shelter the goats.⁸ At night, full-grown stock are kept in enclosures, *maggō*, within the homestead fence ; calves and small stock sleep in huts. Stables for horses and mules are included in the dwelling-house ; donkeys are left in the open, but in wet weather are given shelter under the verandah or in the ante-rooms. Cows are milked twice a day, in the morning and evening. Both men and women milk, and milk vessels consist of gourds which are fumigated with olive-wood. When a cow withholds her milk one of the milkers blows into the vagina to bring the milk down. Calves are weaned by means of a band carrying sharp bits of wood fastened round the nose : when the calf tries to suck, the points stick into the cow and she kicks the calf away.⁹ At the time of the Italian occupation there were few cattle and goats in the country, but plenty of sheep and fowls.¹⁰

The Kafa use honey-barrels, *gendō*, made of wooden slats tied together, with circular end-pieces. These are hung in trees.¹¹

Civet

An important industry, especially in the past, was the keeping of civet cats, *yērō*¹² (*viverra civetta*), the anal secretion of which is used as a basis for perfumes. A great number of peasants kept these animals as a secondary occupation to agriculture and cattle-breeding. The animals were caught in the forests in fall-traps (Bieber) or nets made of *ensat*-fibre (Cecchi), and domesticated ; the best trappers were the Manjō. Cecchi says the cats were kept in large huts in strong cages raised above the ground : the cages were narrow and rectangular so that the cats could not turn round. According to Bieber, the cats were kept in the owners' houses, in cages about 3 ft. long and 18 ins. wide and high, made of bamboo ; fires were kept burning in the civet rooms, for the warmer the cats the more civet they produce. They were fed on millet, meal, milk, butter, meat, and thin maize porridge. The substance was extracted from the animal's posterior with a wooden spoon greased with butter ; it was taken from male cats only, as that from females is said to have a foul smell. The civet was packed in ox-horns and sold in the markets. In Cecchi's time it was sold at the price of one to three bars of salt currency¹³ (= about 0.75 to 2.25 *lire* of 1885) per *mokit* which is the weight of a dollar, i.e. 27 gr. First quality civet is reddish and compact, inferior civet is white and sticky.¹⁴

AGRICULTURE

The Kafa grow a variety of cereal and other crops, as well as coffee and cotton. The crops include the following :

⁸ In East Africa goats, though subject to very few diseases, quickly sicken if they get wet.

⁹ Bieber, I, pp. 337-49.

¹⁰ *Guda*, p. 538.

¹¹ Bieber, I, pp. 351-2.

¹² Cecchi gives *uango* for " civet cat." Cerulli, however, has *wongo*, meaning " jackal."

¹³ These bars were similar in type to those used throughout Ethiopia (where they are called *amolē*), and larger than those used in the Kafa coffee trade.

¹⁴ Cecchi, II, chap. IV ; Bieber, I, p. 350.

(1) Grain Crops

Crop		Kafa Name	Planted	Harvested
Barley ..	<i>Hordeum hexastichum</i>	šēqō	June	Oct.-Nov.
Eleusine ..	<i>Eleusine coracana</i> or <i>E. tocussa</i>	dauččo	June-July	Nov.-Dec.
Maize.. ..	<i>Zea mays</i>	bārō	(1) May-June (2) June-July (3) October	Sept.-Oct. Oct.-Dec. April-May
Millet.. ..	<i>Andropogon sorghum</i>	šangō	(1) April (2) May-July	August Sept.-Nov.
Tef	<i>Eragrostis tef</i>	gasō	(1) January (2) April-May (3) July-Aug.	March June-July Sept.-Oct.
Wheat ..	<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	tebbō	July	November

(2) Legumes

Beans ..	<i>Vigna</i> sp.	atō ; gobbō	July	October
Lentils ..	<i>Ervum lens</i>	mısırō	June	September
Peas	<i>Pisum sativum</i>	aterō ; gıši šātō	July-Aug	Sept-Oct.

(3) Other Crops

Arum.. ..	<i>Colocasia antiquorum</i>	qīdō	April-May	Oct-Nov.
Black cummin	<i>Nigella sativa</i>	āafō	May-June	November
Cabbage ..	<i>Brassica</i> sp.	šanō ; ambrangō	July	Perennial
Cardamom ..	<i>Cardamomum korarima</i>	otiyō	April ; May ; June	Jan. ; Feb. ; March
Flax	<i>Linum usitatissimum</i>	muttō	July	Oct-Nov.
Garlic ..	—	neččē tukışō	May	October
" Nug " ..	<i>Guizotia oleifera</i>	gidečō	May-June	Nov.-Dec.
Onions ..	—	tukışō	May	October
" Potatoes " ..	<i>Coleus tuberosus</i>	ājō	May	July (?)
" Potatoes " ..	<i>Solanum tuberosum</i>	doqō	April-May	Oct-Nov.
Tobacco ..	—	koppō, tumbaō	June-July	October

They grow also poppies, *barteffō* ; tomatoes, *batin jānō* ; pepper, *berberō* ; sugar, *diqō* ; bananas, *mušō* ; and citrus fruits, *turungō*. Special crops are *ensat*, coffee and cotton.

Ensat (*kočō*, *ensete edulis*, formerly *musa ensete*) is grown round the houses, and is one of the staple foods of the country.¹⁵

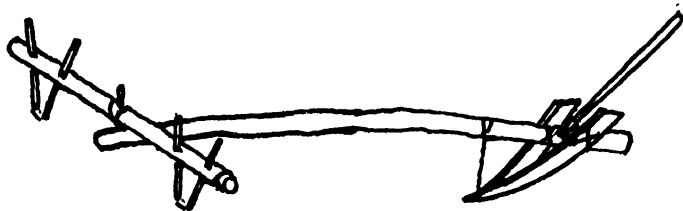
¹⁵ Bieber, I, pp. 365-75.

Coffee, *bunō*, is probably indigenous to Kafa, and has been in the past one of its most important products. It grows naturally in the forests, and is also cultivated; in Cecchi's time there were few huts not surrounded with coffee bushes. The Kafa not only drink coffee, but they eat the beans fried in butter and salted. Coffee is cultivated (1) by transplantation of young trees from the forest into open ground, in holes 12–16 ins. deep and dug at a slight angle; (2) from seed, being planted out after one or two years in well-worked and manured land. Cecchi says that though the coffee was weeded, the work was carelessly done, and whole plantations were ruined through weed growth. Trees grow to a height of 10–16 ft. They begin to bear two years after being transplanted from the forest, and after three to four years when grown from seed. The crop is generally reaped in September, October, and November, when the cherries are dark red. Skins are laid on the ground under the trees, and the cherries are shaken on to them; men, women, and children then collect the cherries in skin bags and baskets, singing as they work. The cherries are then spread out on the threshing floor and discoloured, dried, or green cherries removed. After drying here for about a month they are stored in granaries. Before the Ethiopian Conquest, coffee for the market was generally sold as soon as it was dry; that for the kings and nobles was kept for two or three years to improve the flavour.¹⁶

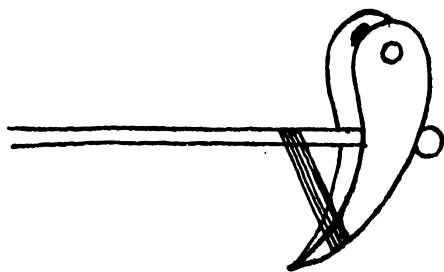
Cotton, *huttō* (Amharic *teṭ*), is sown from April or May till June, and according to Bieber is picked a year later. After four years the plants cease to bear and are pulled up. Men pick the crop, walking along the rows and putting the bolls into leather bags slung from the shoulder.¹⁷

Crops grown at the time of the Italian occupation included coffee, wheat, maize, tef, barley, and *ensat* (the latter still the staple food).¹⁸

FIG. 1. PLOUGHS



(a) Kafa plough and yoke.
(Bieber)



(b) Ancient Egyptian plough (New Kingdom).
(Leser)

¹⁶ Cecchi, II, chap. iv; Bieber, I, pp. 376–8.

¹⁷ Bieber, I, pp. 379–81.

¹⁸ Guida, p. 538.

Of uncultivated products, rubber, *yemō* (*landolphia florida*), was collected in the forests and sold to the Ethiopians. Since the Ethiopian conquest the trade seems to have been in the hands of the Ethiopian feudatory.¹⁹

Tools used in agriculture comprise narrow wooden hoes, *makačō*, cut from forked branches; axes, *wolišō*, *dečō*, with a small blade inserted into the thick end of the handle; mattocks, *qoffiō*, with socketed blades; light hoes, *wollō* (literally "leaf") for weeding; sickles, *magadō*, with curved blades set in wooden handles; threshing sticks 6 to 9 ft. long; knives and scrapers for preparing *ensat*. The land is prepared for planting with a plough, *gindō* or *marasō*, drawn by two oxen.²⁰ This plough resembles an ancient Egyptian New Kingdom type of plough.²¹

According to Cecchi the land was manured by pasturing sheep and cattle on it. Crops are stored in circular granaries, *kolō*, made of bamboo, with thatched roofs, and raised from the ground on a platform.²²

LAND TENURE

The Kafa, under the rule of their own kings, had no freehold possession of land, for all land was the property of the king, and was thus known as *tātī šowō*, "king's land." People occupied land as the king's tenants, and could be turned out at his pleasure. Cecchi says that the land, if well cultivated, could produce large harvests, but owing to the uncertainty of tenure, the Kafa took little trouble.²³ The king's councillors, *mikirečō*, however, were able to arrange for a more secure form of tenure for themselves. Nevertheless, by custom a man usually inherited his father's title to tenancy of the land.²⁴

FOOD

The crops listed above provide the Kafa with their food, to which may be added ginger; salt, *kihō*; butter or ghee, *qefō*; and the *nug* plant furnishes edible oil. Of animal food they eat beef, goat, sheep, and fowl.²⁵ The eating of raw meat produces much tapeworm, which the Kafa treat with *košō* (Amharic *kosso*, *Hagenia anthelmintica*).²⁶

They drink millet beer, *dočō* (Amharic *talla*), made by the women; honey-wine (*bitō*, Amharic *taj*), made also by the women; milk (*ejjō*); and coffee (*bunō*).²⁷

The meat of the horse, donkey, mule, wild pig, baboon, and hippopotamus is considered unclean; the Christians and Moslems add antelopes and guinea-fowl to the list. Doves are not eaten because of their connection with the king's spirit (p. 120).²⁸

The use of certain foods is restricted. Women may not eat fowls, in former days under pain of being enslaved,²⁹ though men may eat them. Men, according to Cecchi, were forbidden to eat cabbage, though Bieber says that it is the priests of the *eqqō* or spirits, and members of the Minjō, Mattō, Hiniwahō, Borō, Duggō, Gallō, Ukkō, Argeppō, Maččō, Kullō, Kallišō, Yoyō, and Hiyō clans are not allowed to eat cabbage³⁰; and that the wives of priests must abstain from cabbage the days before and after a religious festival. The priests of the *eqqō* are also forbidden to eat

¹⁹ Bieber, I, pp. 387-9.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 353-62.

²¹ Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, 1931, Plate XI.

²² Bieber, I, p. 184.

²³ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

²⁴ Bieber, II, p. 204.

²⁵ Bieber, I, pp. 243-6.

²⁶ Bieber, II, p. 457.

²⁷ Bieber, I, p. 253.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 246-7.

²⁹ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

³⁰ Cerulli, 1951, pp. 3, 4.

beef. Christians do not eat butter on fast-days. The Manjō have no food restrictions.³¹

Men smoke tobacco in water-pipes, *botō*. Bhang (Indian hemp) is not used, but the Moslems have introduced the use of "Kat" *čatō* (*celastrus edulis*).^{31A}

CALENDAR

The pagan Kafa divide the year into 12 months, *agenō*, though Bieber gives only 11 names, and the correspondence with other systems is not indicated :

Duččō	Šakidō
Šāčči decčō	Qāridō
Miččitō	Šuddō
Dādida	Miššidō
Šiččō	Šičō
Manjō	[]

The Christian months have names taken from the Ethiopian calendar :

Mašqarēmō = Maskaram (Sept.)	Magābitō = Magābit
Tekemtō = Teqemt	Miyātiā = Miyāzyā
Hadārō = Hedar	Ginbotō = Genbot
Takšāšō = Tāhsās	Šenē = Sannē
Terō = Ter	Hamlē = Hamlē
Yekātītō = Yakātit	Nahašō = Nahasē

The Moslem months are :

Fatīr = Shawal	Akel molid = Rabii al thanii
Fatīrīn = Thil kada	Jimad el awel = Jamad al awal
Haraffā = Thil haji	Jimad al aher = Jamad al thanii
Ašurā = Muharam	Eričeb = Rajab
Safēr = Safr	Šāabān = Shaaban
Awel molid = Rabii al awal	Rematwan = Ramadhan

The days of the week are :

Šanō = Monday	Arbō = Friday
Makšenō = Tuesday	Bušā šambeṭō = Saturday (literally
Orobō = Wednesday	" Sunday's child ")
Amus aretō = Thursday	Šambeṭō = Sunday. ³²

HUNTING

The Kafa hunt elephant, lion, leopard, buffalo, and other animals and birds. Elephants were killed for the ivory, which was an important article of trade. Leopards are caught in large traps, *gomō*. Civet cats are taken in cylindrical fall-traps erected over a hole in the ground. The Manjō are the chief hunters in the country ; but even among the true Kafa, prowess in hunting was much esteemed, as among the Galla, and was rewarded with the privilege of wearing certain ornaments, such as an arm-ring of rhinoceros horn by one who had killed a buffalo, and a necklace of silver and beads by a lion-killer.³³

FISHING

The Manjō fish in the Gojeb (Godafo), Tinsha, Guma, Bittino, and Merro rivers. The true Kafa do not fish.³⁴

³¹ Bieber, I, pp. 246-7.

^{31A} Ibid., p. 258.

³² Bieber, II, 484-5.

³³ Bieber, I, pp. 329-36.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 336.

SLAVERY

In Cecchi's day the slave trade flourished strongly in Kafa, and Father des Avanchers estimated that at least 7,000 slaves were sent out of Kafa every year. Most of the slaves sold in the Kafa markets (principally Bonga and Tiffa) came from the Šānqellā (Negro) tribes, the Gimira, and the Konta. Slave raids often led to savage wars. By custom the king and nobles of Kafa had a large number of slaves who could be sold by their masters or even exchanged for other goods. Most of the slaves sold in the markets were sent to Gallabat (Metemma) on the Sudan-Ethiopian frontier; others were taken through Ethiopia to the Red Sea coast.³⁵ Even after Cecchi's time, slaves (*gunnō*, fem. *gonnē*, or *guččō*, fem. *guččē*) formed an appreciable part of Kafa society till slavery was abolished by the Italians, though even after the Ethiopian Conquest the export of slaves began to decrease. People of both sexes could be enslaved through capture in war, destitution, punishment or debt; the majority were prisoners of war. In Kafa itself slavery took the form of house-service; and it seems that unless incurred as punishment for crime, it was not necessarily permanent, e.g., a debtor could be enslaved for a specific time.

Household slaves lived in the compounds of their masters, partly in separate huts, and partly in the main living house. Young female slaves and servants ate and slept with their mistresses except when their master was sleeping there.³⁶

In addition to slaves, the Kafa employed both men and women as servants to work in the house and to act as guards and watchmen. These people lived in the family compound, and were paid for their service with money, clothing, and a weekly feast.³⁷

TRADE

In Cecchi's time Kafa was the richest country in south-western Ethiopia. It was in direct contact with the kingdoms of Kullo, Konta, and Walamo, and had trade connections with the Somali coast, Zeyla, Massawa, Suakin, and Gallabat. Its chief exports were coffee, cardamom, civet, and ivory—apart, that is, from slaves. The biggest market was held at Tiffa, 20 miles south of Bonga, the capital, where business took place on four days a week; on the other three days markets were held at Kaya, eight to ten miles west of Tiffa, and elsewhere. Most of the coffee brought to Tiffa was unhusked, and was packed in skin bags, *mullettō*, holding 10 to 15 kg.; the average price was three or four small bars of salt (*yammō*), equivalent to 1.35–1.60 Italian *lire* of that day. Ivory was sold unweighed; according to Cecchi's estimate, about 8,000 kg. was sold annually.³⁸

Bieber's account divides the traditional markets of Kafa into *ogē gabiyō*, "big markets," and *giši gabiyō*, "small markets," the former held every four days, the latter twice a week. Big markets were held at Goba (Goba province), Buddo (Wota), Gulušo (Canno), Dimbirra (Buta), Diṭif (Geša), Degga (Gimbo), and Tiffa (Deča). Small markets included Bonga, Dagera (Gawato), Missito (Buta), Šaša (Šaša), Madrašti (at Oda in Kafa), Gubbido (Čarra), Dio (Addio), Šadda (Kafa), and Yaya (Geša). The trading centre of Bonga was divided into nine ethnic "quarters" called Abšāli mandirō,³⁹ Amāri mandirō, Jimma mandirō, Gera mandirō, Gudru mandirō, Guma mandirō, Limmu mandirō, Muslim mandirō, and Tigri mandirō.⁴⁰ This centre was abandoned after 1897 (see above, p. 105).

³⁵ Cecchi, II, chap. iv.

³⁶ Bieber, II, pp. 37–43

³⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

³⁸ Cecchi, II, chap. iv.

³⁹ *mandirō* is from Galla *mandara*, Amharic *mandar*, "village."

⁴⁰ The names show where the traders came from: Limmu = Enarya; Muslim = traders from Harar; Tigri = traders from Tigre.

Trade goods sold at Andarača in 1905 by the merchant Husain Ali included cotton cloth, calico, red cloth (the Amharic *lamd*), silk, muslin, *matabo* (the blue cords worn by Christians in Ethiopia), yarn, thread, European perfumery, beads, needles, clasp-knives, cups, glasses, glass bottles, mirrors, matches, felt, hats from Europe, soap in square cakes, locks and hinges, bars of tin and copper, Gras rifles and cartridges, and Belgian revolvers. Exports from Kafa in 1905 included gold in rings, coffee, ivory, cattle, hides, honey, wax, rubber, woven cloaks, cotton, cardamoms, civet, and slaves (estimated still at 8,000 a year).⁴¹

Under the later kings, only two markets were open to foreign traders, those at Bonga and Kaya. The latter was reserved for Moslem traders, *naggadō*, who however managed to extend their field and established a trading centre at Tonkolla about 10 miles farther east, where beside Andarača a Moslem quarter came into existence. The Bonga market was reserved for Christian traders, *amara*, who had their own quarter.⁴² Strangers might not go beyond the market places without permission from the king.⁴³

As currency, the Kafa used bars of salt, *yammō* (the *amolē* of the Ethiopians), and the Maria Theresa dollars current in Ethiopia; in 1905 a dollar was worth four to five bars of salt.⁴⁴

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT

Roads, *boččō*, were made throughout the country by the king, and their upkeep was the responsibility of an official called *adē rāšō*. These roads were merely tracks about 12 ft. wide cleared of grass and bushes. Rivers were crossed by fords, *kimō*, by wooden bridges, *ya'ō*, supported on posts, and by suspension bridges, *kofō*, made of wood and liana. Apart from human portage, horses provided the only means of transport; mules seem not to have been used for this purpose before 1897. The Kafa are skilful riders, and none but peasants, poor people, and slaves used to travel on foot. They use a bridle, *haṭō*, with a rather harsh form of curb, and a saddle, *korō*, with a high front and back of wood, held in place by double girths, a crupper, and a pectoral strap. Stirrups are broad and triangular in shape. In war, a feather collar, *sagē*, was put on the horse's neck.⁴⁵

INHERITANCE

Real property in land, or rather the title to a tenancy under the king, and the ownership of houses, etc., was indivisible, and inherited entire by the eldest son, who also inherited all his father's wives. Brothers of a dead man inherited nothing, except among the Moslem Kafa, who made the deceased's youngest brother his heir. The land title, which belonged to the king, usually passed unchallenged to the heir without a demand for the relinquishment of the tenancy, although the king could at any time evict the tenant if he was displeased with him. The personal possessions of women (who could not "own" land or houses) went to their children; husbands did not inherit from their wives.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Bieber, I, pp. 425-52.

⁴² To be distinguished from the Amaro clan.

⁴³ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

⁴⁴ Bieber, I, pp. 462, 464.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 469-91.

⁴⁶ Bieber, II, p. 243.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship

With the exception of the terms for "father," "mother," "child," "sibling," "cousin," "brother's son," "father-in-law," "husband," and "wife," relationship terms are descriptive phrases based on these words. The terms recorded by Bieber are :

In the second ascending generation father's father is *nihi nihō* ; father's mother, *nihi indē* (contracted to *nihōndi*, Cerulli) ; mother's father, *indē nihō* ; and mother's mother, *indē indē* (contracted to *indindē*, Cerulli).

In the first ascending generation, father is *niho* ; mother, *indē* ; father's brother, *nihi mānō* (*nihešō*, Cerulli) ; father's sister, *nihi mānē* ; mother's brother, *tā indē mānō* (*iyō*, Cerulli) ; mother's sister, *nihi mānē*.

In a man's own generation, brother is *mānō* ; sister, *mānē* ; cousin, *yēbenō*, fem. *yēbenē* (apparently both paternal and maternal cousins, cross and parallel).

In the first descending generation, son is *bušō* ; daughter, *bušē* ; son's wife, *buši maččē* ; daughter's husband, *bušē gēnō* ; brother's son, *hiyō* or *māni bušō* ; brother's daughter, *māni bušē* ; sister's son, *mānē bušō* ; sister's daughter, *mānē bušē*.

In the second descending generation, son's son is *buši bušō* ; son's daughter, *buši bušē* ; daughter's son, *bušē bušō* ; daughter's daughter, *bušē bušē*.

Terms for affines are : husband's father, *geni nihō* ; husband's mother, *geni indē* ; wife's father, *maččē nihō* ; wife's mother, *maččē indē* ; brother-in-law, *nassō* ; sister-in-law, *nassē*. Husband is *genō*, wife *genē* or *maččē*.¹

It will be noticed that these terms show the Kafa method of gender distinction by means of the suffixes -ō, fem. -ē.

Descent is patrilineal.²

Clans

The four *yarō* or sub-tribes (p. 104) of the Kafa are divided into a number of clans, *tibbō*, which are groups claiming descent from a common male ancestor.³ These clans are not, it seems, totemic, and they are not localized, but each of the more important clans has a centre in a province where it has the privilege of providing an officer of state ; such centres are not always in provinces where the clan has a numerical superiority. According to Cerulli, the clans are divided into two categories : (1) those which had prescriptive rights to certain offices ; (2) those which had no such rights. In the first category, the Minjō was the royal clan, and the other clans provided the provincial governors and court officials ; in this category were the clans Yirgō, Hiyō, Amarō, Argeppō, Meččō, Dingeratō, Yačinō, Kalličō, Kullō, Mattō, and Akō (Ukkō).⁴ The king has belonged to the Minjō clan from time immemorial ; the first king of Kafa is in fact known only as "the Minjō king." The government of Kafa has thus been preserved not only within the true Kafa groups, but confined to certain clans. The members of these privileged clans constituted a nobility, and the rest of the Kafa were regarded as commoners.

¹ Bieber, II, p. 26.

² Ibid., p. 226.

³ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

The total number of clans is uncertain. Bieber gives a list of 37, while Cerulli's list contains only 25 names. The following list is based on Bieber's,⁵ with Cerulli's forms⁶ in parentheses, and ends with 11 not given by Bieber :

Akō (Ukkō)	Dijenō	Hinī Barō	Minjō (Minjō)
Amārō	Dikāssō	Hiyō (Hiyō)	Šitē Argeppō
Borō (Borō)	Dingēratō	Inōčenō	Ušēšō
Bōšō	Dissō	Kališō (Kalličō)	Wončeō
Būbē Argeppō	Ebbō (Ebbō)	Kaṭō	Taddō
(Argeppō)	Ēmmičō	Koijō (Koyjō)	Yoyō (Yoyō)
Buggō (Duggō)	Gekkō	Kūjejō	
Būšašō (Hinnarē	Gongičō	Mačō (Mačō)	
Būšašō)	Gōtō	Mattō	
Dāutarō	Gurabō	Mejō (Mēčō)	
Dentū	Hendātō	Mešō	

Clans named by Cerulli but not by Bieber are : Gallō, Hinnakarō, Hinnimačō, Hinnimaō, Hinnučō, Hinniwahō, Kullō, Ošō, Turā (said to be cannibals), Yačinō,⁷ and Yirgō or Yiriggō.

The trading groups have four clans. To the Amarō (Christians) belongs the clan Amharō ; to the Nagadō (Moslems) belong the clans Abjedō, Abdūllāhid, and Jibrīl. The clans of the Manjō, and of the Šē, Benešo, Kaba, Šako, and Naō do not belong to the Kafa clan system.⁸

Pre-marital sex-life

Girls were not supposed to have intercourse before marriage ; if a man had an affair with a girl, he was not compelled to marry her.⁹

Marriage, sagō

Marriage among the pagan Kafa may be polygynous or monogynous ; Mono-physite Christians often have two or three wives, but Catholics only one. Boys usually marry at the age of 18 to 20 years, girls at the age of 12 to 15. In addition to wives men may have recognized concubines, *nameččē*, who are free women, as well as (in the past) slave concubines known as *šādeččē*.¹⁰

When a man decides to marry, he goes with one of his neighbours to the father of the girl he has chosen. This neighbour tells one of the father's friends that his daughter is sought in marriage, and when the father says, " Be it so," the suitor goes to the girl's home, and his father gives a public guarantee that the bridewealth shall be paid. The betrothal is announced and the suitor gives the girl's father a present, traditionally two slaves, a cow, and four spears : two of the spears are for the girl's father and two for her brothers. Marriage between relatives (presumably those who call each other by relationship terms) is forbidden.¹¹

Bridewealth

This appears to have consisted of a number of cows (300 to 500 among the richest Kafa) paid to the girl's mother, and a bullock to her father. Poor men used to pay 20 bars of salt (*yammō*) instead of cattle, and a cloak instead of a bullock. The bride brought with her as dowry a number of slaves and cattle ; poor parents gave no dowry.¹²

The Family

The family consisted of the husband, *genō*, his wives, *genē* or *maččē*, and their children, *bušō*, fem. *bušē*, together with the father's concubines, and slaves of both

⁵ Bieber, II, pp. 53-5.

⁶ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

⁷ Bieber gives Yacino as a district of Wota.

⁸ Bieber, II, pp. 53-5.

⁹ Ibid., p. 231.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 8.

¹² Ibid., p. 11.

sexes. The "great wife," *qabī genē*, is the wife first married. The wives, their daughters, and small children live in separate rooms in the house, into which strangers are not admitted. A man might beat his wife, or in the past sell her into slavery; the wives of nobles were not beaten.¹³ The father was responsible for the upbringing of his children, and it was he who rewarded and punished them. Both parents taught the children, each teaching the duties appropriate to their sex. The father had complete control over his children; he could make them work for him, and even sell them into slavery.¹⁴

Widows, worasē

The wives of a pagan Kafa were inherited on his death by his eldest son, i.e., the eldest son of the "great wife," who might have intercourse with all of them except his own mother, who nevertheless was regarded as his wife. Among the Moslems, widows go to the dead man's brother; and among the Christians also a widow lives with her husband's brother.¹⁵

Adultery

In Cecchi's time a man, if proved guilty of adultery, was put to death, and the woman was imprisoned.¹⁶ Bieber says that a man might be put in chains for a year.¹⁷

Names

Names, *sigō*, of pagan Kafa are such as Gallō, Giččō ("treasure"), Kamō, Malekō, Otō, Šagitō, Turačō, Wāganō. Christian Kafa bear either Amharic names like Giyorgis (George), Mika'el, or Mārakō ("angel"); or names formed like them in Kafa terminology, e.g., Marī bušō, Mary's son (Amharic *ya Māryām lejj*); Yerbušō, God's son [Ge'ez *Wald Egzi'abehēr*], Yerkišō, God's hand (Ge'ez *Ed Egzi'abehēr*); in these names the pagan Yerō is used for the Christian God. Names given to converts of the Catholic Mission are biblical, e.g., Markōš, Matteōš. Moslems generally have a name of Arabic origin like Ahmad, Jaffar, Muhamad, Osmar. Those who belong to the Ethiopian church generally have two names, a Kafa name (e.g., Malekō), and an Amharic name (e.g., Gabra Māryām). Women's names among the pagan Kafa are such as Berillē, Dišērē, Kanitē, Mārakō Qenē ("bed angel"), Mārečē, Tässē. Christian women, like men, have names formed in the Amharic manner like Yerbušē, God's daughter; Yerkišē, God's hand.¹⁸

Circumcision, dogorō

Boys are circumcised at the age of two months. The operation is performed by specialists who receive a bar of salt as payment. According to Cecchi, circumcision was so important that those who died uncircumcised were not buried but wrapped in a skin and placed in a tree.¹⁹ Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy at the age of 5 to 12 months; women perform the operation and receive a bar of salt for doing it. Infibulation is not practised.²⁰ The Manjō are not circumcised.²¹

The Kafa have no age-sets or *gada*-system like that of the Galla.

Mutilation

The Kafa used to mutilate the bodies of those killed in war in the same way as the Galla and Ethiopians. They used also to castrate boys to provide eunuchs (*murečō*) as guards for the king's house and wives, and for the daughters of the

¹³ Bieber, II, p. 21.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

¹⁷ Bieber, II, p. 251.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 45-7.

¹⁹ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

²⁰ Bieber, I, pp. 261-2.

²¹ Bieber, II, p. 385.

nobles.²² Cutting off a hand or other part of the body was a punishment for certain crimes.²³

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Frontiers and frontier defences

The kingdom was surrounded, where there were no natural defences, by deep and wide ditches defended by tree-trunk palisades and crossed at intervals by narrow bridges.²⁴ The northern frontier was formed by the Gojeb river, called Godafo by the Kafa. Bieber gives the dimensions of the ditches as 6 metres in width and 3 metres in depth; he describes the gates, *kellō*, as consisting of circular fenced enclosures entered by drop-gates. Customs dues were collected at these gates.²⁵ Outside the line of defences was a strip of unoccupied land like the *moga* of the Galla states. At points where Galla attacks were expected, the gates were additionally defended by a high rampart and several lines of entrenchment, a form of defence much admired by the neighbours of the Kafa. The gates were manned by Manjō under a Kafa commander. At various places along the line of defence large drums, *gonō*, made of dug-out tree-trunks, were hung outside the villages to give the alarm in case of an attack.²⁶

The king : his title

Kafa was ruled till 1897 by a king whose title was *tātō*, and specifically *Kafinō tātō*, "the Kafa king" (not "king of Kafa"). He was also referred to as *adī*, "majesty." The crown was hereditary in the Bušašō family of the Minjō clan. On his accession the king chose a throne-name by which he was known rather than by his personal name. The people of Kafa feared the king's glance, and when he went out every one tried to hide or threw themselves on the ground when he passed so that their faces were concealed.²⁷

The king : his political functions

These comprised: (1) The control of relations with other countries, sending embassies, making alliances, and declaring war. (2) Keeping account of the privileges of office belonging to the various clans. (3) Presiding over the highest court of law which sat at the foot of Bonga hill; the king had the power of life and death over his subjects, and could condemn to immediate death or slavery. (4) The control of peoples subdued by war (p. 124 below). (5) The regulation of the submerged classes in Kafa, especially the Manjō, who had a king of their own called *Manjī tātō* (p. 136 below). (6) The control of strangers, i.e., traders, living in the kingdom.²⁸

The king : his actions

When he gave audience the king sat with his councillors in a sort of pavilion, behind a curtain from which he could see without being seen, so that his person was not profaned by the eyes of his subjects (to whom also his glance was dangerous). A suppliant asking a favour of the king lay prostrate on the ground with both arms stretched forward.²⁹ It was forbidden to all to approach the king at his residence wearing ornate clothing, and by ancient custom people wore not even cotton cloth, but only old clothes made of *ensat*-fibre. Though latterly cotton cloth was permitted, the rule of wearing old garments remained³⁰; in Cecchi's time even the king's councillors had to remove their fine clothing and put on a dirty robe of *ensat*-fibre or an ox-hide before going into the king's presence.³¹ The king might not be touched. He was not allowed to touch his food with his own hands, and when eating kept

²² Bieber, I, pp. 262-3.

²³ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Bieber, I, pp. 223-7.

²⁶ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

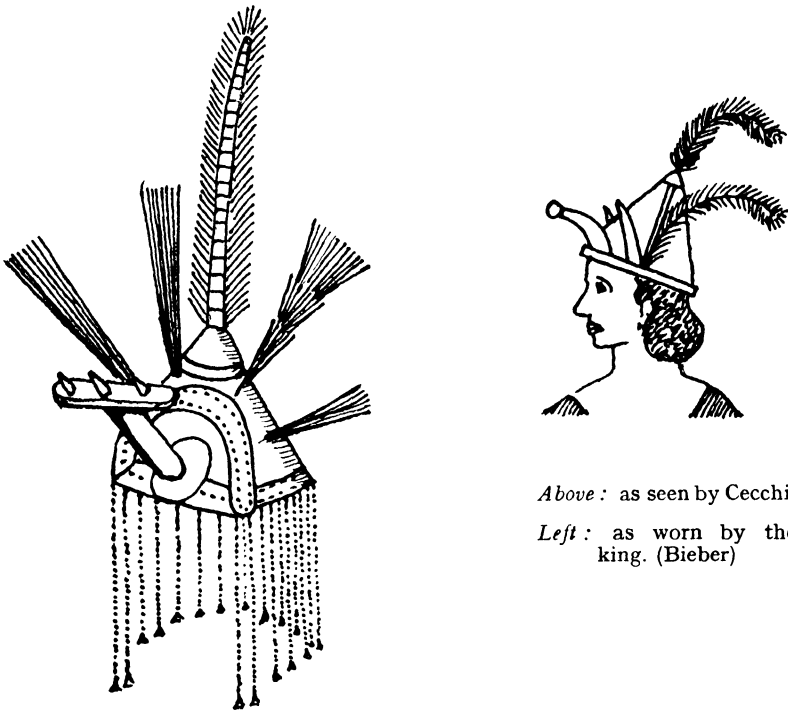
²⁹ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

³⁰ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

³¹ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

hands and arms concealed in his cloak ; it was said, in fact, that he might use his hands only in war. It was thus the duty of his chamberlains to feed him and to see that he had no need to use his hands.³² When the king ate, the table which carried his food was supported on the shoulders of a slave who had to stand motionless for several hours. Another slave, of a higher grade, stood near the king with a buffalo horn full of honey-wine.³³ It was the duty of the king's mother, as long as she was alive, and the officials in charge of the king's food to attend him when he ate. One official, the *attalečō*, fed him, and another, the *tofečō*, gave him drink.³⁴ The slaves who served his food were called *madē naō*, "slaves of the table," and their supervisor was the *madē naō guččō*.³⁵ The king observed certain fast-days (eventually adjusted to the fasts of the Ethiopian church) which included an annual fast of nine days, which Cerulli suggests really meant the avoidance of certain prescribed foods during that period.³⁶

FIG 2. THE KING'S CROWN



Above : as seen by Cecchi.

Left : as worn by the king. (Bieber)

The king : his dress and crown

Cecchi describes the king as wearing a black robe ornamented with little stars and discs of silver ; the back of the robe was long enough to trail on the ground, and was held up by a boy. Round his neck he wore a crudely made gold chain ; when appearing in public he carried in his left hand a shield with silver bands, and in his right hand two spears.³⁷ On his head he wore a conical goat-skin cap richly ornamented with plates of gold and silver and three white feathers ; in front was a semicircular plate of gold and silver carrying three phalli, the central one pointing

³² Bieber, II, p. 133 ; Cerulli, 1951, p. 4.

³³ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

³⁴ Bieber, II, p. 133.

³⁵ Cerulli, 1951, p. 4.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

³⁷ This statement is at variance with what has been recorded in the preceding paragraph.

forwards.³⁸ This was the crown, *tātē ukō*; it differs considerably from that of Gaki Seročo the last king, as described by Bieber, whose account of the king's dress is also different. Bieber says that the king had the right to wear green clothing, a colour no other person might wear, and that the daily dress of the king consisted of shorts, waistband, and a large white cloak, *argūbō*, with a green border, or a green cloak. Gold might be worn only by the king, the sub-kings of the *yarō*, and those to whom the king granted the privilege.³⁹ The crown, *tātē ukō*, seen by Bieber, was 33½ in. high and consisted of a conical head-piece to which was attached in front a triple phallus of gold; the head-piece was ornamented with gold and silver plates, and a row of silver chains hung down from the sides and back. From the apex of the head-piece an ostrich feather was held upright by a highly ornamented narrow holder. This crown was sacred, *kedūšō*.⁴⁰

The king : his regalia, tātittinē giččō

These comprised, besides the crown, the following : (1) *wāyāč attāmitō*, ear-rings of gold, with 22 chains of small silver bells, each 9½ ins. long and ending with a small gold plate; these chains hung over the king's chest; (2) *ačē kečō*, a golden armlet worn on the right forearm; (3) *ačē attāmitō*, a golden ring worn on a finger of the right hand; (4) *ačē saččō*, a golden neck-chain; (5) *eddimō*, a green cloth cloak reaching to the feet and ornamented with gold and silver; (6) *ačē gumbō*, a silver staff about 4¾ ft. long, with gold wire wound round it; (7) *ačē quččō* or *šikō*, a short sword ornamented with gold; (8) *šangō* (not *šefō* as Bieber calls it), two two-bladed spears, carried by the king on ceremonial occasions; no one else might possess such spears; (9) *ačē gačō*, two golden shields ornamented with 12 gold plates, which were hung on each side of the throne; (10) *tāten dībabō*, the king's parasol, made of bamboo and green cloth, with a bamboo handle 6 ft. long terminating in a little golden ball; this parasol was held over the king when he went in procession. (11) *nagaritō*, a drum, beaten when the king began to eat, when he went in procession, when he proclaimed a law, and when he summoned the army to war.⁴¹

The king : his palaces—tātēnō korrō, māšerō, or qetō

The chief residence was at Bonga, opposite the sacred hill Bonge dabbo where the king sacrificed to the Sky-god.⁴² In Cecchi's time it consisted of several circular and rectangular houses built of timber and bamboo, and surrounded by a large enclosure which no sick or deformed person might enter. The king's dwelling-house had two gates, one large, which was opened on ceremonial occasions; and one small, used every day by the king and his family, and also by the councillors, servants, and priests, the latter being considered as part of the family and allowed to come and go at all hours.⁴³

Those who came to the palace seeking audience of the king were not introduced, but stood near the gate and called attention to themselves by coughing; they saluted the king by beating the breast, lying prostrate, and saying "*Soaoc agabe*."⁴⁴

Bieber describes the palace in more detail, from the ruins which were still visible in 1905. It was surrounded by a stockade about 10 ft. high which enclosed an area of about 200 paces square, with a great double door, *šaqqō*. The buildings consisted

³⁸ Cecchi, II, chap. lv. The description by Cecchi does not quite tally with his own illustration.

³⁹ Bieber, II, p. 118.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 66-73. This crown was given in 1897 by Menilek to a Swiss engineer named Ilg, who had received a mining concession in Western Ethiopia; in 1928 it was still in the possession of Ilg's family at Zurich (Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx).

⁴¹ Bieber, II, pp. 73-5.

⁴² Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

⁴³ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

of the king's dwelling house, *kotemō*; the eating-hall, *miše qetō*; the kitchen, *iṭe qetō*; sleeping rooms and offices; and the throne-room, *hērabō*, in the form of a large reception-house (p. 128 below). There was also a sanctuary of the *eqqō* or spirits.⁴⁵ None but Kafa, priests, the Manjō guards, and persons sent by allied kings were allowed into the enclosure at Bonga, and no strangers were admitted into the enclosure at Andarača where the king had another palace, and performed the ritual of Doččō.⁴⁶

The king : his death and burial

When the king fell ill, nobody was allowed near him; the fact was concealed, and court routine went on to all appearances unchanged, for it was not considered good for the people to hear of his illness. When death approached the king, the councillors put all the male members of his family in chains, and began to elect a successor. When the king was actually dead, they concealed the fact, and during the next eight days made their final choice of a successor (see next para.).⁴⁷ The death was then announced and everyone fasted for 24 hours. The body was then washed, anointed with butter, and dressed in royal clothes (Cecchi says a cloth); the royal armlet was removed, but a ring was put on one of his fingers. The body was then laid on a wooden frame or bier (Cecchi says, put in a coffin made from a hollowed tree-trunk) and placed in the throne-room. Thence it was taken to the royal burial ground on Šoša hill about two miles east of Šadda⁴⁸ (Cerulli says Mount Sido E.N.E. of Andarača). The funeral procession was led by seven priests who sacrificed oxen to purify the road along which the body was to travel; at the end of the procession walked the new king and seven more priests who offered sacrifices in expiation of the late king's sins⁴⁹; the new king was dressed as a peasant and was accompanied by warriors and a large crowd. The grave was a shaft 20 ft. deep, and the body was lowered into it on the bier. At the grave each priest sacrificed an ox—the expiatory sacrifice which Cecchi put earlier in the proceedings; and before the shaft was filled in, 14 more oxen were slaughtered (Cecchi says one); their hearts were buried with the king, and his face was sprinkled with their blood; their flesh was eaten by the vultures and the Manjō. Cecchi adds that a slave was sacrificed to accompany his master in the next world. A long bamboo tube was fastened so as to reach the bottom of the shaft and through it honey-wine was poured. (Cecchi says that cups of coffee, and jars of honey-wine and beer were buried at the bottom of the shaft). When the shaft had been filled in, a hut was built over it, with a low mound inside through which protruded the top of the bamboo tube, and jars of honey-wine were put on it. For a year slaves and servants came to bring food and honey-wine and to lament at the grave.⁵⁰

The king : his successor

Before his death the king designated one of his sons as successor, and eight days after his death the councillors announced their choice, which might fall on the king's nominee, or on one of his other sons.⁵¹ The man chosen was then released from his chains and received the oath of fidelity from the people.⁵² The factors that influenced the councillors' choice were the probability of a long life, full growth, and freedom from bodily defects.⁵³ Then followed ceremonial mourning, and a formal recognition of the new king. Cecchi says that this took place at Hada, the

⁴⁵ Bieber, II, pp. 119–25.

⁴⁶ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx. On *eqqō* and *doččō* see p. 132 below.

⁴⁷ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

⁴⁸ Bieber, II, pp. 143–52.

⁴⁹ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

⁵⁰ Bieber, II, pp. 143–52. The accounts of Bieber and Cecchi agree substantially.

⁵¹ Bieber, II, pp. 90–2.

⁵² Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

⁵³ Bieber, II, pp. 90–2.

most thickly populated and oldest province of the kingdom (though neither Bieber nor Cerulli mention this name), where the provincial governor invested the king with bracelets and a ring, saying to him, "Tell me your name," to which the king, pushing back the governor with his foot, answered with his throne-name, adding the words "I am your lord, and as such you must honour me." Thus he was confirmed in his inheritance of the kingdom and possessions of his father.⁵⁴ According to Bieber, this ceremony took place at the palace of Bonga or Andarača. The royal drum was placed in the courtyard, and in the throne-room one of the councillors said to the king, "Your father has ascended! Take the kingdom and be good to the land!" The senior elder of the Hini Barō clan then went before the king and gave him a throne-name, and the senior councillor announced to the people their new king's throne-name: "Hear, O people! Your king has ascended! Gaki Šeročo is now your king!"⁵⁵

The king: his crowning, uki tahetō

This took place at the hill of Šadda, where the Minjō first settled, after the formal recognition. The senior elder of the Hini Barō clan put on his arm the golden armlet; an elder of the Amarō clan put the crown on his head; and the sub-kings of the yarō swore allegiance to him.⁵⁶

The king as god

The king was said to embody the *eqqō*, the spirits of Kafa religion (p. 132 below), and according to a text, "Doččō is the greatest of the *eqqō* at Andarača, and Doččō is Atioččō, the king-god, the greatest of all the *eqqō*. His chief sanctuary is the king's enclosure [at Andarača]. Once a year is held the festival of the king's *eqqō*, that is, Doččō."⁵⁷ This identification with the *eqqō* is connected with the traditional belief that the ancestors of the royal clan Minjō were super-human. As a god, therefore, the king was immortal, and though his body might die, his spirit—the *eqqō* within him—on its death entered a bird, said to be a hen turtle-dove, *uggē*, in which it remained till the new king was chosen, when it entered his body: "the Kafa king does not die, he ascends" (Kafa text). For this reason, the Kafa do not eat doves. This belief persisted till at least the time of Kamo (1854–70), who though he was said to have been a Christian, was nevertheless a king-god.⁵⁸

The king: his wives and children

The king might have nine wives (possibly more), including his father's widows. His mother, as chief official wife, had the title *abēt*; his own wives, and the rest of the inherited widows were called *tātēnō maččē*, "royal wives." The women married by the king were the daughters of neighbouring kings, such as those of Malo, Kuča, Kullo, Gera, and Guma; he might also marry women of the Argeppō and Duggō clans. Each wife had her own house and servants' quarters in the palace. On Mondays and Fridays, according to a Kafa text, the king remained in the throne-room, to which nobody was admitted; and on those nights he did not sleep with any of his wives.⁵⁹

His sons had the title *tātēnō bušō*, "royal sons"; his daughters were called *čibetē*, a term corresponding to the Amharic *wayzaro*. There was no distinction of rank between the sons, and they took no part in the state administration. They

⁵⁴ Cecchi, II, chap. iv.

⁵⁵ Bieber, II, pp. 90–2.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 92–5.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 398.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 397–406.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 126.

had also the title *don* prefixed to their names, e.g., don Mičito; this word is an abbreviation of *donō*, "lord," found also in Sidamo, Walamo, and Janjero, and is not derived from the Portuguese "don."⁶⁰ The king's brothers also had the title *don*. During their father's life-time, his sons lived in the palace; but after his death, and immediately after the new king received his throne-name, they were removed from the palace and not allowed to enter it again. For the rest of their lives they were placed under the care and supervision of the councillors. The king's daughters were given in marriage to men of the Argeppō clan, and to the kings of Kullo, Malo, Kuča, Gera, Guma, and Jimma.⁶¹

The king : his mother (abēt)

The king's mother on his father's death became her son's chief wife in name and status, though he had no intercourse with her. Like the rest of the royal widows, she had no formal share in the government, but usually had great personal influence, and had to attend the king when he ate.⁶²

Court officials

There were four chamberlains or "throne-guards," *gabirečō*, who were the sons of nobles. Their titles were: *attalečō*, supervisor of the king's food and drink; *šikečō*, chief carver; *tofečō*, cup-bearer; the fourth was steward of the king's estates. Other officials were the *iṭe rāšō*, the king's chief cook; *arčē rāšō*, the king's builder, one of the seven councillors; *bāšetō*, the king's butcher⁶³; *godē bušō*, page of the gate, an office not open to the Hinnimaō clan; *godenō gudō*, "noble of the gate," an office not open to the Amarō clan; and another official connected with the gate, *godenō kečō*, who must not be of the Ukkō clan.⁶⁴ Three of the seven councillors, the *adē rāšō*, *gujē rāšō*, and *katāmi rāšō*, had also duties at court. The *adē rāšō* was commander of the horse guards; the *gujē rāšō* was controller of the king's slaves; and the *katāmi rāšō* was commander of the guard of the royal enclosure. These had other administrative duties, but on account of their close connection with the king there was a strong rivalry between them; and during the last years of Kafa independence the *katāmi rāšō* seems to have acquired greater powers than his colleagues, and his successor retained this after the Ethiopian Conquest. Two other officials were the *gepečō*, master of ceremonies; and the *gumbečō*, the king's private treasurer.⁶⁵

Prescriptive rights to certain court offices were held by the following clans:

- Adē rāšō : Akō (Bieber), Ukkō (Cerulli).
- Gujē rāšō : Amarō (Bieber); Kalličō (Cerulli).
- Katāmi rāšō : Hiyō (Bieber, Cerulli).
- Awā rāšō : Argeppō (Cecchi, Bieber); Yačinō (Cerulli).
- Bondē rāšō : Argeppō (Cecchi, Bieber).
- Arčē rāšō : Mačō (Cecchi, Bieber, Cerulli).
- Sodē rāšō : Mattō (Cecchi).
- Attalečō : Argeppō (Cerulli).
- Gepečō : Argeppō (Cerulli).
- Gumbečō : Mečō (Cerulli).

Service and forced labour

The king had the right to demand labour from any clan for any purpose, with the exception of the warrior clan Ukkō, the members of which, together with their

⁶⁰ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

⁶¹ Bieber, II, p. 127.

⁶² Ibid., p. 66.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 130.

⁶⁴ Cerulli, 1951, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

servants and slaves, were exempt from all compulsory service but fighting. So-called "servile" clans (*guneččō*), like the Ebbō and Yoyō, had on the other hand to perform any kind of work except fighting.⁶⁶ The peasants had to cultivate the king's land under the direction of the provincial governors, and these duties were under the general supervision of the *gujē rāšō*.⁶⁷

Administration

The sub-kings.—The four *yarō* or sub-tribes were ruled by vassal sub-kings, *dūbbičō*, commonly known as *tātō*:

(1) The sub-king of Gongga was called *Gōnggīcī tātō*. His residence was in the province of Buta, and he had the right to wear a golden bracelet on his right wrist, to possess a royal drum, and to ride through the great door, *šagqō*, at the king's palace, before which he laid down his parasol and gold and silver ornaments. The title passed from father to son, and the sub-king's household was regulated like that of the Kafa king.

(2) The Gurabō sub-king was called *Gurābī tātō*. His residence was in the province of Čarra, and his ornaments and privileges were the same as those of the Gongga sub-king.

(3) The Hinnarō sub-king was called *Hinnarī tātō*. His residence was in the province of Gawato. His ornaments and privileges were the same as those of the Gongga and Gurabō sub-kings, except that he had in addition the privilege of sitting beside the Kafa king on his throne at Bonga and Andarača.

(4) The Tejiwō sub-king was called *Tejwī tātō*. His residence was in Gimbo. His ornaments and privileges were the same as those of the Gongga and Gurabo sub-kings.

Five other groups had sub-kings. The Manjō sub-king, *Manjī tātō*, lived in Andarača; he was allowed to wear gold ornaments, and had the right to ride through the king's great door. He represented the Manjō in the king's council. The sub-king of the Ebbō clan, *Ebbī tātō*, lived in Gawato; the sub-king of the Dingēratō clan, *Dingērātēnī tātō*, in Gamičō; the sub-king of the Naō, *Nāi tātō*, in Goba; and the sub-king of the Šē, *Šēwī tātō*, in Wota. All four had the right to ride through the king's great door. The *Nāi tātō* and *Šēwī tātō* represented their people in the king's council.⁶⁸

The four sub-kings of the *yarō* seem to have derived their semi-royal status from their position as hereditary titulars of the four major territorial divisions of the kingdom, though they seem to have had little more than advisory functions. The Manjō, Nao, and Šē sub-kings retained their status in recognition of the autonomy of their groups before the Minjō dynasty occupied Kafa; the reason for the distinction of the Ebbō and Dingēratō clans is obscure.

Administration of the kingdom

The administration of the state was in the hands of the Kafa king, assisted by a council of seven *mikirečō* ("councillors"). The country was divided into provinces, *šowō* or *šawō*, under provincial governors, *worābī šowō*, commonly *worābī* for short (an ancient Hamitic title), and districts under a *rāšō*, with a deputy, *gudō*.

Provinces

The "Bonga king" is said to have divided the kingdom into 12 *irāšitinō* or *worābī šowō*, "lands of a *worābī*," or provinces, called Kafa, Geša, Gimbo, Gawato, Čarra, Addio, Šaša, Bito, Deča, Buta, Wota, and Goba. Three of these were later split

⁶⁶ Cerulli, 1951, p. 3, quoting Borello.

⁶⁷ Bieber, II, pp. 216–17.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 97–101.

into a number of new *šowō*, apparently by Kaye Šeročo (1854–70) ; by this arrangement, Kafa was divided into Kafa, Čatta, Gamičo, and Tallo ; Deča was divided into Deča, Tekia, and Oka ; and Wota into Wota and Čanno ; making a total of 18, the number in existence at the time of the Ethiopian Conquest.⁶⁹

The provincial governors wore silver neck-chains, *dirō*, and carried staffs, *gumbō* ; in Cecchi's time they wore the red cloth tunic called *lamd* in Amharic, or a leopard skin, both ornamented with silver, and on the head a red band bearing a phallic symbol.⁷⁰ They had the privilege of going in procession with horns blowing when they went abroad on state business, but they were not allowed to have drums.⁷¹ They were responsible to the king for law and order in their provinces, and for the collection of taxes for the king. Certain clans had prescriptive rights of providing provincial governors : thus, the governor of Gimbo came from the Yirgō clan ; of Addio and Geša, from the Kullō clan ; of Kafa, from the Mattō clan⁷² ; of Goba, from the Hiyō clan ; of Wota, from the Hiniwahō clan ; and of Čarra, from the Ukkō clan.⁷³

Districts

The provinces were divided into districts, *rāšē šowō* ("lands of a *rāšō*"), each ruled, under the provincial governor, by a *rāšō*, assisted by a deputy, *gudō*. The district chiefs took their titles from the names of their districts, or from the names of ancestors who had once ruled them. The *rāšō* were paid a regular salary, *gatiyo*, either in money or in kind, from the king's treasury. As emblems of office they carried 5-ft. staffs, *gumbō*, and wore silver neck-chains, *dirō*.⁷⁴

Councillors

There were seven great councillors of state, *mikirečō*, who formed the king's council, and occupied certain offices in the kingdom and in the court which have already been mentioned. The titles of these councillors were :

Cecchi : ⁷⁵			Bieber : ⁷⁶		Cerulli : ⁷⁷	
1. "Gusci-Rascia"	..	..	Gujē rāšō	..	Guččē rāšō	
2. "Catama-Rascia"	..	..	Katāmi rāšō	..	Katāmi rāšō	
3. "Adel-Rascia"	..	..	Adē rāšō	..	Adiē rāšō	
4. "Arbash-Rascia"	..	..	Awā rāšō			
5. "Bonda-Rascia"	..	..	Bondē rāšō			
6. "Arse-Rascia"	..	..	Arčē rāšō			
7. "Sciode-Rascia"	..	..	Šodē rāšō			

Cecchi says that in his time there were only six councillors in office, for the seventh, the "Sciode-Rascia" of the Mattō clan, had been put to death with all his family. Though these councillors were important officials, and had a say in the choice of the king, they were liable to be executed for betraying affairs of state, the crime of which the "Sciode-Rascia" had been accused. Cecchi says, moreover, that the office of senior councillor, the *Gujē rāšō*, was hereditary ; but it is not clear whether

⁶⁹ Bieber, II, pp. 157–70. Cerulli gives only 12 Kafa, Gimbo, Čata, Talla, "Gnobba," Buta, Bitto, Gawatta, Geša, Addio, Čanno, and Wota, and he calls the governors *rāšō* (1932, I, chap. xx).

⁷⁰ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

⁷¹ Bieber, II, p. 183.

⁷² Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

⁷³ Cerulli, 1951, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Bieber, II, 157–70, 182.

⁷⁵ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

⁷⁶ Bieber, II, pp. 59, 170–9.

⁷⁷ Cerulli, 1932, chap. xx.

the remainder were hereditary in a family, or confined to certain clans (p. 121). Bieber divides the seven councillors into three groups: (1) the Gujē, Katāmi, Adē, and Awā rāšō, chosen by the council itself; (2) the Arčē and Šodē rāšō, nominated by the king; and (3) the Bondē rāšō, of whose appointment nothing is said.

The duties carried out by these councillors, in addition to their functions as members of the king's council, were: (1) the *Gujē rāšō* was controller of the king's slaves, and by tradition the senior councillor; (2) the *Katāmi rāšō*, latterly the senior councillor *de facto*, and the equivalent of prime minister, was also commander of the king's guard; (3) the *Adē rāšō* was commander of the horse guards, a duty which perhaps included the control of the troop of cavalry which guarded the frontier under a leader called *gudō*⁷⁸; he was also superintendent of the roads of the kingdom; (4) the *Awā rāšō* was the chief justice; (5) the *Bondē rāšō* was the king's adviser and steward; (6) the *Arčē rāšō* or as he appears to have been called sometimes, *Sōhōtē rāšō*, was the king's builder and superintendent of all the king's buildings; (7) the *Šodē rāšō* was superintendent of the king's household. Lesser councillors were the *Nagā rāšō*, superintendent of trade; the *Erbā rāšō*, controller of communications (i.e., of messengers between the king and the provincial governors); *Ganē rāšō*, the state treasurer; and *Ilē rāšō*, the king's chief cook. These, together with the provincial governors and the priests of the *eqqō* cult, were all classed as nobles.⁷⁹

Control of conquered peoples

When the king conquered a people outside his borders he might either appoint a local chief to rule them in his name, with the payment of a yearly tribute; or he might declare them slaves of the crown. In the latter case, the people continued to live in their own country, but were ruled by a Kafa chief, and had to supply men and women as slaves for service in Kafa or for sale outside Kafa. The Naō provide an example of this type of treatment. A few years before the arrival of Cardinal Massaja in Kafa, king Kaye Šeročo (Kamo) having conquered them, declared them "slaves of the king," and at regular intervals so many people were taken from them as slaves that the expression *tātē Naō*, "the king's Naō," came to mean "king's slaves," and the name *naō* became a common word for "slave."⁸⁰

Taxation and revenue

The king's revenue was derived from tribute paid by the provincial governors, fines, and customs dues paid at the gates of the kingdom in the form of slaves, cattle, ivory, cloaks, and gold in rings.⁸¹ The tribute paid by the provincial governors was raised in the form of a land-tax paid in cattle by the occupiers. The tribute exacted from dependent states, such as those brought into the kingdom in the 18th and 19th centuries, was paid in cattle, slaves, gold, ivory, cloaks, and trade goods.⁸²

Kafa under Ethiopian rule

After the conquest by Menilek in 1897 Kafa became a feudal state ruled by a succession of Ethiopian governors, *dajač* (Amharic *dajazmač*). In 1928 the headquarters of the *dajač* were at Šaradda, though his predecessors had often been stationed at Andarača. The native Kafa chiefs were reduced to a position of dependence on the *dajač*, somewhat resembling that of the Galla in Limmu, only the Ethiopians regard the Sidama as inferior to the Galla and therefore pay them less respect. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian method of governing subject peoples left the framework

⁷⁸ Bieber, II, p. 290.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 59–60, 170–9.

⁸⁰ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

⁸¹ Bieber, II, p. 179.

⁸² Ibid., p. 196.

of the ancient kingdom more or less intact, although the kingship was abolished ; and the Katāmi rāšō, in virtue of his position before the Conquest, was soon recognized as the chief native notable on whom the administration largely depended. The office of Katāmi rāšō has remained in the Hiyō clan ; his seat is at Andarača, and the provincial chiefs communicate with the *dajač* through him. The provinces, which have remained for the most part as they were before the Conquest, continue to be supervised by the *worābi*, now called *rāšō*, who are nominated by the *dajač*, usually after proposal by the Katāmi rāšō.

Alongside the Ethiopian feudatory (the *dajač*) and the Kafa notables (the *rāšō*), there is a hierarchy of soldiers of the *warwar* or "spear throwers," one of the army units settled by Menilek in Kafa at the time of the Conquest, and scattered throughout the country. These *warwar* are controlled by chiefs of their own, and the Kafa peasants (in 1928) were compelled to work for them. The *warwar*, having become closely tied to their new country, have a strong incentive in maintaining Ethiopian rule.

An important element in the condition of the Kafa is the possession by the Ethiopian feudatory rulers of part of the former Kafa crown lands, which were ceded by Menelik to the feudatory soon after the Conquest as hereditary property free from all feudal disabilities. Their importance lies in the fact that Kafa living on these lands cannot be forced to work for the *warwar* or anyone but their own "master"; and as the oppression of the *warwar* system increased, the Kafa came to regard working on these lands as being in the nature of a refuge from the bonds of forced labour for the *warwar*. By 1928 they had become centres where the Kafa were collected in large villages.⁸³ These villages *dukkō*, were under headmen, *dukkē nihō*, "father of the village"; and several villages were grouped under a senior headman called *tātē kišō*, "the king's hand," who was responsible to the *rāšō*.⁸⁴

Legal procedure and sanctions

According to a Kafa saying, "the king is the law." He was the supreme legal authority. Sitting in council with the seven *mikircēō*, or councillors of state, he could make new laws, and gave judgment on appeals made to him through the Awā rāšō, or chief justice. The principle of self-help was not recognized in Kafa, and action was taken in all cases of delicts by a "judge," *gabirecēō* (originally, it seems, the title of a court official, "one who sat on a seat"), a title applied to all who presided at the hearing of cases. In practice, there were four grades of judge: (1) the head of a family, or the senior elder of a clan; (2) the deputy, *gudō*, of the district *rāšō*; (3) the *rāšō* or district chief; (4) the *worābi* or provincial governor. Certain days were set apart for the public hearing of cases.⁸⁵ According to Cecchi, the bribing of judges was a recognized element in law; a proportion of what they received in bribes went to the king, and formed a distinct source of revenue.⁸⁶

Oaths, *bačō*, were sworn in the king's name, and a declaration made *tātēn ogī*, "by the king's greatness," was binding.⁸⁷

Before taking a case of theft before a judge, it was the custom to consult a detective, who drank a mixture containing an intoxicant like "kat" (*čatō*), or *datūra stramonium*, and under its influence indicated the thief at the site of the robbery.⁸⁸

Before 1897, offences were dealt with by compensation or punishment. Compensation was paid in slaves, cattle, or money. Punishments consisted of chaining, in which both hands, or a hand and a foot were chained together; flogging; slavery;

⁸³ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xxii.

⁸⁴ *Guida*, p. 538.

⁸⁵ Bieber, II, pp. 225, 260-5.

⁸⁶ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

⁸⁷ Bieber, II, p. 266.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

mutilation (loss of a hand, finger, or toe); torture; and execution by beheading, hanging, and exposure, or, in the case of women, being pegged down on the ground.

Rebellion and treason (*hukkō*) included the wearing of gold ornaments without the king's permission, and the breach of certain taboos like the eating of fowls by women,⁸⁹ and of cabbages by men of the Minjō clan, since these were believed to affect the whole people. The punishment for *hukkō* was execution by hanging. Witchcraft and lycanthropy were also punished by death and the criminals' families enslaved. Robbery, *kayitō*, was punished by hanging, and a woman might be pegged out. Theft, *gayō*, in which there was no violence, was punished with 40 or 50 strokes of the whip, and the restitution of the value of the goods stolen. Cowardice in war, *satō*, was punished by a period of working in the king's kitchen as a menial, by which the offender was held up to ridicule. Incest of any degree was considered shameful, but was not punished.⁹⁰

Lycanthropy was dealt with in a special way. Those accused of being *gorō* (the Amharic *budā*), of turning themselves into hyenas at night, were taken, bound, to the hut of a priest of Doččō, who by means of appropriate rites declared whether the accused was guilty or not. Those found guilty were sent before the king's council and sentenced to slavery. The only evidence accepted in such cases was that of the priest. By an ancient law each village was held responsible for hyenas that entered them at night, and any ill-disposed person could report the presence of a hyena in a village to the king's council. This led to much injustice, and according to old Kafa men the law was often set in motion; it was also said that the justice of the king, and especially of the last king Gaki Šeročo, was summary and cruel, that executions were frequent, and that any breach of ceremonial concerning the king was punished with death.⁹¹

*Sanctuaries*⁹²

Market places were counted as sanctuaries while a market was actually in progress, and all quarrels were forbidden there, blood vengeance might not be pursued, and no man might be arrested for offences committed outside the market. Disputes arising within the market were dealt with by the market controller, *gabī tānō*.⁹³

Outlawry, yokō

Once or twice a year it was the custom for the king to make a proclamation from Andarača outlawing all wrongdoers, and ordering the provincial governors to expel all *gorō* (were-hyenas), robbers, and traitors.⁹⁴

War organization

The Kafa king had no standing army; but he, his councillors, and each of the provincial governors and district chiefs kept a small number of armed retainers, *nahō* (*naō*) or *wottadarō*, who in peace-time worked in their employers' households and in war-time formed the nucleus of an army. These retainers were distinct from the frontier patrols and garrisons of the gates which were permanently on duty.

In war-time all Kafa except the Manjō, the Mannō, the Ebbō and Yoyō clans, and slaves, were liable to be called upon for service. The summons to arms, when the king gave the order, was the responsibility of the provincial governors, who

⁸⁹ For a possible explanation of this prohibition, see the story told by Cecchi (summarized in Beckingham and Huntingford, pp. lvi, lvii) in which the eating of a chicken presaged the downfall of the predecessor of the "Minjō king."

⁹⁰ Bieber, II, pp. 248-59.

⁹¹ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx. Cerulli and Bieber differ on the penalty for lycanthropy.

⁹² Amharic *gadām*; the Kafa term was possibly *godemmo*, on which see Cerulli, 1951, p. 439.

⁹³ Bieber, II, p. 265.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 278-9.

were also the military commanders of their areas. The provincial muster, *woddašō* (i.e., *woddē ašō*, "many people") was divided into infantry, *bateččō*, and cavalry, *maččēčō*.

When at war all warriors, including the leaders, wore cloaks of scarlet cloth, or skins of lion or "black leopard," which hung from the left shoulder, leaving the right arm free. On the forehead, and sometimes attached to the shield, was carried the *qallačō*, a metal phallus. The king went to war wearing the crown and carrying two double-bladed spears (of ritual import), and accompanied by the rest of the regalia.

Weapons consisted of spears, *ginō*; daggers, *quččō*, and Snyder rifles, *nafitō*, first used in the reign of Galli Šeročo (1870-90), and said to number 300 in 1897. The shield, *gačō*, was circular, about 2 ft. in diameter, of the normal Hamitic type, and was carried on the left arm, while a spare spear was held in the left hand.

On the march, the troops were formed in column, headed by half the provincial units with their commanders in front; behind them came the king and his entourage; and lastly the rest of the provincial units. In battle order, the units were deployed in line, the king and his attendants being stationed behind the centre.

The pudenda of dead enemies were cut off as trophies after a victory and worn on the forehead at the victory festival; afterwards they were buried under the hearth-stones of those who took them. All weapons captured in war became the property of the king. Of cattle taken as spoil, half went to the king, and half to the warriors. One-tenth of the prisoners of war were taken by the king, and the remainder were distributed among the warriors as slaves.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Bieber, II, pp. 290-303.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

Houses are normally set in the middle of rectangular patches of cultivation, within a fence, *mašerō*, which is entered through a drop-gate, *gumbē kellō*; the whole plot is enclosed by a hedge. There are five principal types of house (Fig. 3) :

1. *Qetō* or *qodō*, a small circular hut.
2. *Kotēmō*, a large circular house.
3. *Šakerō*, a "long house."
4. *Šakerō qatō*, a "half house" (= "half *šakerō*").
5. *Herabō*, reception house.

In all but the first type, a pole fixed to the king-post projects well above the roof. Walls are made of bamboo canes put close together and held by horizontal withies, with a plaster of mud; the walls of smaller huts and parts of the larger structures are made of interlaced wattling. The thatch is of millet stalks or grass with leaves of *ensat* under it. Doors, both external and internal, are hung on hinges, and open inwards.

The small huts (1) are occupied by servants, slaves (when they existed), and small stock. The large circular house (2) of the nobles has a central living room containing a clay fire-trough instead of the usual Kafa hearth of three cooking-stones enclosed in a ring of stones. Between the room and the outer wall are several smaller rooms, including a sleeping room, women's rooms, store-room, and stable for horses; outside the front door is an open verandah. The same type of house occupied by a peasant has a normal fireplace and no verandah. The long house (3) is oblong with circular ends, the interior divided into large rooms. The houses of nobles are a little more complex than those of peasants, but both contain a living room, men's room, sleeping room, women's room, and cooking place. There are two or three king-posts, those at each end carrying a pole projecting through the thatch. The half house (4) is half the length of a long house, with one end hipped and the other gabled; this type is used by peasants in the hills. The reception house or great house (5) of a noble is roughly circular, with two king-posts, a large central room containing a fire-trough and surrounded by a number of smaller rooms as in types 2 and 3. Windows when they occur are merely rectangular sections where the bamboo wattling is left unplastered.¹

Furniture and utensils

The furniture of a house comprises the following: (a) Beds, *qenō*, either raised platforms edged with bamboo, or four-legged frames; dressed skins are used as coverings, and sometimes people sleep on mats of palm-fibre. Pillows, *qoyō*, are made of palm-leaf, and wooden head-rests, of a familiar Egyptian shape, are also used.² Stools, *gabirō*, are made of wood; Bieber illustrates a rectangular shape with four curved legs.³ Bags, *kešō*, are made of *ensat* bast or palm-fibre.⁴ For grinding corn a smooth flat stone, *taqindē*, "mother stone," and a round rubbing stone, *manō*, with a

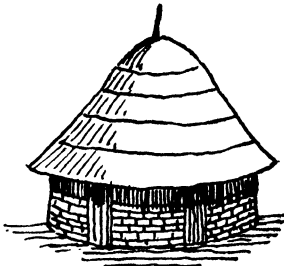
¹ Bieber, I, pp. 175-227.

² Ibid., pp. 227-31.

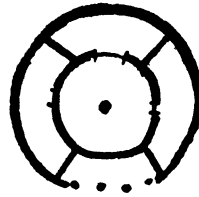
³ Ibid., p. 232.

⁴ Ibid., p. 233.

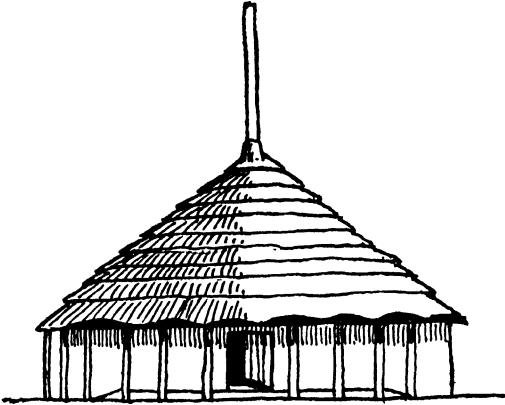
FIG. 3. KAFA HOUSE TYPES



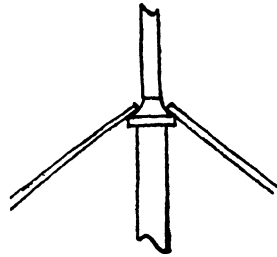
(a) Type 1: QETŌ



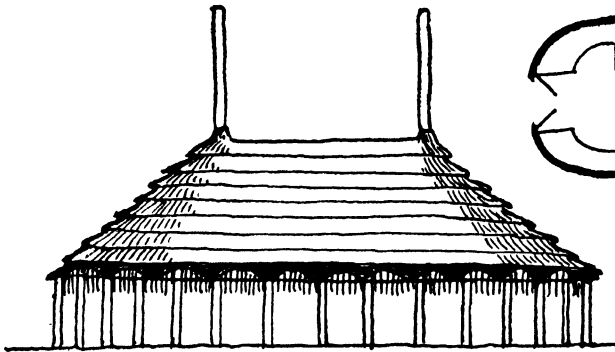
(b) Plan of Qetō



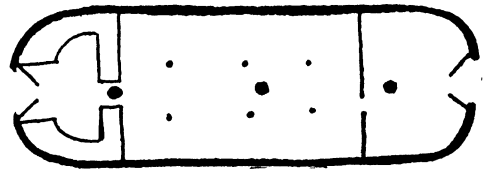
(c) Type 2: KOTĒMŌ



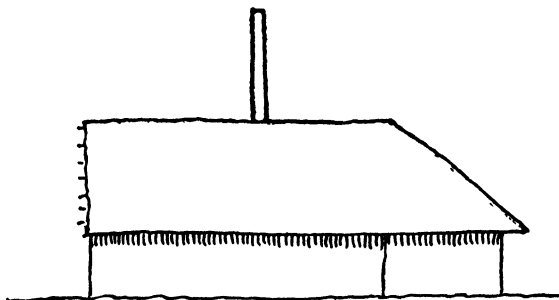
(d) Detail of roof construction



(e) Type 3: ŠAKERŌ



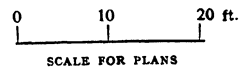
(f) Plan of Šakerō



(g) Type 4: ŠAKERŌ QATŌ



(h) Plan of Šakerō Qatō



SCALE FOR PLANS

flat base, are used. Mortars, *modō*, are made of wood.⁵ (b) Utensils include earthenware pots, drinking horns, bamboo internodes for drinking, and gourds (often richly ornamented with beads). Milk, fat, beer, honey, and honey-wine are kept in pottery vessels; the poor use internodes of bamboo 3–4 ft. long for holding liquids.⁶

The settlement pattern and types of house described by Bieber still existed in 1938, and the old Kafa desire to keep out strangers persisted.⁷

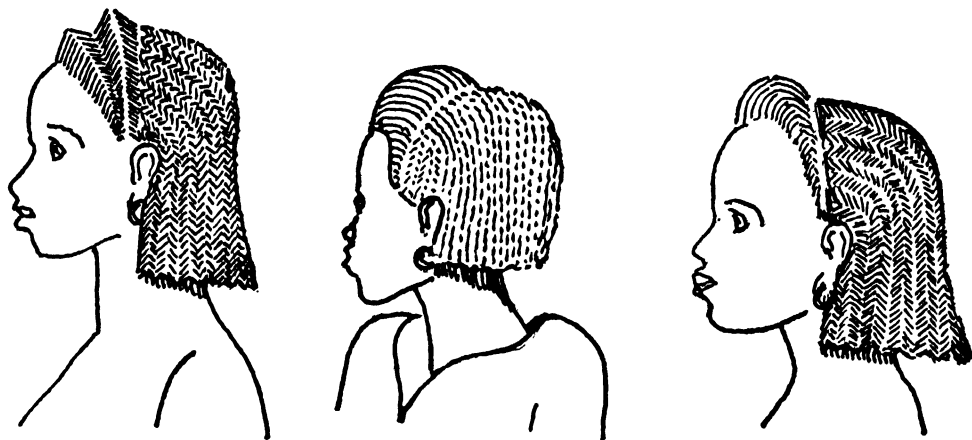
Dress

The traditional dress of men and women was shorts, *šanāfilō*, made of coloured cotton cloth ornamented with linear patterns; belts, *šayō*, of leather or *ensat*-fibre; small girls wore front aprons of *ensat*-fibre, *mančō*, or beads, *tekō*. Men sometimes wore leather shirts, *sorō*, and cotton loin-cloths, *martō*. Both sexes wore cloaks, *garannō* and *koredđō*; capes of *ensat*-fibre, *šio*; and grass rain-cloaks, *mekkō*. Both sexes also wore caps of skin or bladder, *hukkō*; and pointed leather caps, *bayō*.⁸

Hair-dressing

Men: Grown men did little to their hair beyond periodically shaving the head. Some wore beads, *išanō*, in the hair. Boys sometimes had the head shaved leaving a tuft on top. *Women*: Small girls sometimes had a tuft like boys. Girls of marriageable age had their hair done in a style which Bieber compares with the Amhara *šurrubba* style. Women either let their hair grow naturally, or dressed it in various ways. (Fig. 4.⁹)

FIG. 4. FEMALE HAIR-STYLES. (Bieber)



Ornaments

The traditional ornaments of men were ear-rings, *attāmitō*; women wore silver ear-rings, *adaftō*; on the forehead, warriors, to whom the distinction was granted for bravery in war, had a cloth frontlet, *kojō*, like the *gadārsā* of the Amhara; chiefs and important warriors wore an ostrich-feather, *balō*. Wives of warriors wore a frontlet, *wogerō*, with triangular plates of silver hanging over the forehead. Warriors often wore a brass phallus, *gallačō*, on the forehead; the privilege of carrying a triple brass phallus on the shield was granted by the king to warriors distinguished

⁵ Bieber, I, p. 235.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 237–40.

⁷ *Guda*, p. 538.

⁸ Bieber, I, pp. 275–98.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 272–5.

in war or hunting. Both sexes wore necklaces of beads or silver. Women wore a fringe made of strings of beads, *horrō*, hanging over the chest. Men wore armrings, *keččō*, of ivory, rhinoceros horn, and the sole of elephants' feet, the last (called *ado* in Amharic) having serrated edges. Men and women wore brass armlets; women wore finger-rings, *attāmitō*, and anklets, *daččē*.¹⁰

Iron-working

Blacksmiths, *qemmō*, belonged to a submerged class, and worked mostly at their own forges, or occasionally at the house of important customers. Their tools consisted of bellows, *monafō*, made of a single leather bag with a clay mouth-piece; hammers, *madōšō*, made of wood for fine work; a tinning or soldering iron, *manjiyō*; tongs; files, *wotō*; and frames made of hard wood for drawing wire. A smooth flat stone was used as an anvil. Metals worked were iron, *turō*, either smelted by the smiths themselves or imported from Jimma in chisel-shaped pigs; gold, *ačō*, found alluvially in Kafa, and also imported from Enarya (Limmu); silver, *birawō*, obtained by melting down M.T. dollars; copper, *gošō*, bought in bars from the Ethiopians; tin, *qorqorō*, also bought from the Ethiopians; bronze, *šumbeqō*, or *šumboqō*, made by the Kafa smiths from copper and tin.¹¹

Wood-working

Of wood are made circular boxes, stools, combs, head-rests, bedsteads, mortars, ploughs, hoes, tool handles, etc. Women make pillows, clothing, mats, baskets, and bags from *ensat*, palm, and other fibres. Twisted cord is made from *ensat*-fibre.¹²

Textiles

Cotton is spun by women with a wooden spindle, *wofitō*, with a horn spindle-whorl.¹³ Cloth, from which clothes are made, is woven on a movable loom, *māhenō*, set up in the courtyard of the homestead under a thatched roof. It is constructed like the Abyssinian loom (Amharic *arb*).¹⁴ Weaving is done by men, who are called *šammanō* (Amharic *šammanē*); certain of the Manjō also practise weaving.

Leather; Pottery

The leather-workers, *mannō*, form a submerged class. They prepare skins, and make a variety of leather objects which include masks for ritual purposes, sleeping skins, shields, and saddles.¹⁵ Pottery is made by the women of the leather-workers class, *mannē*; the word for "potter" is *gaječčō*.¹⁶

Gold-working

The goldsmiths, under an *ačē rāšō*, "superintendent of the gold," worked for the king, and no one else might work the metal or use it without the king's permission.¹⁷

Musical instruments

The Kafa have a six-stringed bowl-lyre, *dimbō*, like the *kerār* of the Ethiopians. This and a drum made of a hollowed log, *gonō*, are used by wandering minstrels and dancers, *šatō*, who go about entertaining people. The Kafa have also horns, *šammetō*,

¹⁰ Bieber, I, pp. 299-319.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 410-15.

¹² Ibid., pp. 403-9. This heading includes various products of *vegetable* or *igin*.

¹³ Bieber, I, p. 409.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 419-25.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 415-17.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 418.

¹⁷ Cerulli, 1951, p. 393.

used by provincial governors on public occasions. Children play on a pipe, made from a bush called *šāborō*.¹⁸

RITUAL AND BELIEFS

*Religion of the pagan Kafa*¹⁹

The supreme deity of the Kafa was called Yerō or Yarō. He was the Sky-God, and after contact with the Christians of Ethiopia in the 16th century he became identified with the Christian God; thereafter his importance gradually diminished, giving way to a spirit-cult. When Cerulli visited Kafa, there were no priests of Yerō, for heads of families sacrificed to him on hill-tops and river-banks; and as the equivalent of the Christian God he had only a limited appeal to the strongly pagan minds of the Kafa. Nevertheless, the king and the nobles remained faithful to Yerō, and till the end of Kafa independence the king sacrificed to him on Bonge dabbo near Bonga.

There existed once the cult of a fertility goddess akin to the Galla Atete, who seems to have become identified with the Virgin Mary; her name, however, has not survived, and her festival, *astar'yō Māryām*, "the epiphany of Mary," consists of a series of fertility rites performed only by women, who after collecting certain plants go in procession to a river into which they throw the plants to the accompaniment of ritual songs.

The dominant religious practices of the Kafa centre round the *eqqō*, the elemental spirits which live in trees, bushes, and running water. It is believed by the Kafa that certain persons can cause *eqqō* by means of ritual performances to leave their usual abodes and take up temporary residence in their own bodies. Such *eqqō* then speak through the mouths of their human hosts, in answer to prayers, and in making general prophetic utterances. There has thus come into existence a large body of priests who are devoted to the cult of the *eqqō*. Bieber calls the priests *eqō*, and the spirits *heqō*.²⁰ The original priests are said to have been natives of Janjero.²¹

There are different categories of priests, each with its own procedure for effecting the incarnation of *eqqō*. The rites usually take place in a special hut, in the presence of the priest's wife only, according to Bieber. By various methods—beating of drums, singing, and dancing—the devotee reaches a frenzy of excitement and falls to the ground uttering loud cries. Those standing outside then know that an *eqqō* has come, and put their questions to it. Each word and movement of the priest is directed by the *eqqō*, and his words, being often obscure and difficult, are interpreted to the people by another priest. When the ritual is ended, the *eqqō* returns to its normal home; for this reason, the headquarters of the cult of each *eqqō* are close to its normal home, so that the transmigration is easy.

The hut in which the rites are performed is called *barē qetō*, "house of rituals," a term applied also to Christian churches ever since the introduction of Christianity by Sarsa Dengel. This use of the term led, among other things, to the identification of the *eqqō* previously honoured at Baha with St. George, to whom the church founded there was dedicated, and who thus became regarded as "eqqō Giyorgis."

The priesthood of the *eqqō* is formed from those who show signs of the manifestation of excitement and of being able to contain an *eqqō*; and through such people cults of new *eqqō* can be introduced.

One of the *eqqō*, called Doččō, obtained special importance in Kafa. The first manifestations of this spirit occurred in the eastern province of Addio, and the frequency and significance of its manifestations quickly drew attention. Certain priests then "persuaded" Doččō to leave the Addio mountains and enter their

¹⁸ Bieber, II, pp. 328–32, 338.

¹⁹ Mainly from Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xxiv.

²⁰ Bieber, II, p. 344 seq.

²¹ Ibid., p. 390.

bodies; their influence, in consequence, was greatly increased, to the detriment of other *eqqō* cults, and even of the Yerō cult. Something of the feelings aroused among the rival priests is shown in a song recorded by Cerulli:

All these *eqqō* has Doččō broken.
 Dakke Šipenaō has left Kafa.
 In Kafa Doččō has become king.
 Yerō is set to build Doččō's enclosure:
 Of gold and silver now it is made.
 His Majesty Dakke has crossed the frontier,
 For Doččō is now the king of the land.

Šipenaō, the legendary Christian hero figures here as an *eqqō* fighting alongside Yerō against the usurper and suffering defeat.²²

Taboos

All Kafa, pagan, Christian, and Moslem, are subject to certain taboos. The king and the priests of the *eqqō* were not to be touched: the king drew his inviolability from his possession of the sacred crown, the priests derived their sanctity from the *eqqō* that came to them. Certain trees, forests, stretches of grassland, rivers, mountain tops, and roads were considered sacred because of the spirits which lived there.²³

Rainmaking

The Kafa are said to have no rainmakers.²⁴

Monophysite Christianity

The Christians of Kafa are divided into two groups, those who practise Ethiopian Monophysite Christianity, and those who have been converted by the Catholic Mission since 1855. Monophysite Christianity was introduced into Kafa by Sarsa Dengel, king of Ethiopia and his ally, the pagan Sepenhi, governor of Enarya, who in Kafa legend has become the Christian hero Šipenaō who brought from Jerusalem the altar stone of the church of St. George at Baha. According to Bahrey's reckoning, some time between 1586 and 1595, Sarsa Dengel "sent for the peoples of Enarya, Boša, and Gomar, and said, 'Become Christians!' And they became Christians."²⁵ This forced conversion of Enarya led to the introduction of Christianity to Kafa. But during the succeeding centuries it more or less disappeared as Ethiopian influence grew weaker, and little but distorted fragments incorporated into Kafa paganism survived, so that in recent years the Ethiopian church has had to develop these elements and thereby revive the full influence of Christianity.²⁶ Cecchi noted that except for a small number of true believers converted by Cardinal Massaja the Kafa were merely nominal Christians.²⁷ The ancient church of St. George at Baha, for some two centuries degraded into a "male house of ritual of George," has returned to use as the Christian church of St. George with a much stronger Christian element in its ritual.²⁸ The outward signs of Christianity were (1) the repetition of the Ethiopian formula "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost who are One God"; (2) the observance of certain fasts by abstaining from meat and milk and eating only *ensat* bread, with water to drink; (3) circumcision; (4) the solemnization in churches of the greater festivals.²⁹

²² Cecchi (II, chap. IV) has a short account of the cult of the *eqqō*, which he calls *deoc*; and Bieber devotes pp. 378-419 of his second volume to the subject.

²³ Bieber, II, pp. 354-5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

²⁵ Bahrey, *History of the Galla*, chap. 16.

²⁶ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xxiv.

²⁷ Cecchi, II, chap. IV.

²⁸ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xxiv.

²⁹ Cecchi, II, chap. IV.

Churches are circular buildings very similar to those of Ethiopia, surrounded by groves of *kosso* trees, cypress, sycamore, and acacia, among which are buried members of the family of the founder of the church. The ancient church of St. George on the summit of Mount Baha south-west of Andarača is surrounded by a stockade. To the doors and gate-posts are fastened ex-voto offerings made by pilgrims in the shape of silver coins, crosses, and trophies of war and the chase—tails of elephant, buffalo, and giraffe; and the doors are anointed with butter by the worshippers. The altar-stone is said to be that brought by Šipenaō from Jerusalem and bears an inscription in Ge'ez, very imperfectly recorded, which seems to say that altars were erected to St. George, Our Lady Mary, and God (*amlāk*), by someone called Dengel (possibly referring to Sarsa Dengel, or in the time of Dengel.³⁰ The church itself has been rebuilt many times.³¹

Christian Missions

The Capuchin Mission began to work in Kafa in 1855 under Father Cesare di Castelfranco, who died in 1861, and Father Guglielmo di Piona, better known as Cardinal Massaja. Other notable figures of the Mission were Fathers Felicissimo Coccino di Cortemilla, Léon des Avanchers, and André Jarosseau, later known for his work among the Galla. The Capuchins were driven out at the turn of the century, and missionary work ceased till the Consolata Fathers (Turin) took up the work again in 1916. The Consolata Fathers began their work, owing to the difficult circumstances of the time, in the guise of traders, and one of their achievements in the secular sphere was the introduction of tea-planting in Kafa. By 1940 the number of Catholic Kafa was put at about 6,000.³²

Islam

Islam is said to have been introduced into Kafa by traders in the reign of Wodi Gafo (16th century, by Bieber's dating), whence it is called in Kafa *nagadē gībinō*, "religion of the traders." A statement by a Moslem Kafa named Taha summarizes the position of Islam in the country: "The ancestors of Taha came from Mecca to Kafa by way of Harar; they were all sheikhs and traders. They settled in Kafa but did not follow the religion of the *eqqō*; they were not ill-treated, and the Kafa king was their friend. They have a mosque at Tonkolla, and others at Gaha in Čarra, at Magga, at Bonga, and at Goppa in Buta."³³ But though numbers of Kafa have become Christians, either Monophysite or Catholic, few but traders are Moslems.

Death and burial

Death is usually attributed to sickness, though sometimes to witchcraft. After death the body is stripped, washed, and wrapped in one of the dead person's cloaks. Cecchi adds that people fast for 24 hours after a death. On the death of a Christian or an important noble, a messenger is sent with the news to the nearest Christian priest, together with a jar of cooked food, some *ensat* bread, a flask of honey-wine or beer, and two wax candles. The body is laid on a bedstead in the dwelling-house, and after a period of mourning (Bieber says seven days for nobles and five days for others), it is buried in a grave dug either near the homestead or away in the bush; Christians are buried near churches. The normal grave is a shaft 9 ft. deep with a recess at the bottom in which the body is placed. After the grave has been filled in, the mourners dance round it tearing their bodies (Cecchi). Later, a hedge is planted, and sometimes a small hut is erected over the grave (the *maqāber bēt* of the Ethiopians). Stones

³⁰ Cecchi, II, p. 484.

³¹ Indicated in the photographs in Bieber (II, plate XVIIIa) and Cerulli (1932, I, p. 200), which show slight differences due to rebuilding. Bieber's account of Monophysite Christianity is in vol. II, pp. 419-34.

³² Bieber, II, pp. 434-49; and information from Father Borello.

³³ Bieber, II, pp. 430-4.

bearing trophies are set up beside the graves of warriors. After the death of a Christian, five absolutions are said by the priest, the first at the grave side, and the rest at subsequent commemoration services; these absolutions are called *kēyō* (Amharic *fetat*).³⁴ For a year after the burial relatives used to wear old dirty clothes, left their hair uncut and their feet unwashed, and drank no beer or honey-wine. The death of a woman causes little disturbance, for according to Cecchi women were considered as little better than slaves.³⁵ The bodies of new-born children are not buried, but put in tree-tops in the forest.³⁶ The bodies of members of the king's family were clothed in rich garments and placed in a specially built hut where the mourners assembled. The king began the ceremonial mourning by groaning, and the rest groaned in chorus to the accompaniment of a drum; buffoons pranced about to raise their spirits.³⁷ The body was then buried. Burial was undertaken as a rule by the Manjō.³⁸

Festivals

Days of rest were Sunday, *Šambetō*; New Year's day, held on the first day of Maskaram; and the Feast of the Cross. The last is a pagan new fire festival which has been Christianized. Once a year heads of families hold a festival, *barō*, at which they entertain their friends; Christians generally hold this on the days of St. Mary or St. George. The king made this yearly festival the occasion of a big entertainment to which were invited the seven councillors, the provincial governors, and other important people.³⁹

The feast of *Mašqarō* (*Masqal*) is celebrated as the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on the 17th, 18th, and 19th days of Masqaremo (September) under the name *aito mascaro* (as Cecchi writes it, but Cerulli has *mašqarē barō*, "festival of Masqal"). Cecchi describes it thus. On the first day the principal chiefs were given a banquet, and private people entertained their friends. On the second day a procession was made to plant a piece of green wood on the spot where a bonfire would be lit next day. On the third day, the actual Festival of the Cross, a long procession, accompanied by drums and singers imitating the cries of wild animals, left the king's house. In front were carried three standards or banners. The first, called "*gopash*,"⁴⁰ was red and blue; the second, "*gosgeri*," was white; the poles to which these were fastened had each a golden cross on a ball on the top. The third standard was the king's; it was white and the pole was surmounted only by a ball. The procession consisted of soldiers, peasants, and others; each man wore a *šamma* with a girdle, and a skin over the shoulders, and carried a long staff. The words *ya barō Mašqarō*, "O feast of Masqal," were sung repeatedly. The king came at the end of the procession under the golden umbrella. Having reached the site of the bonfire, the king and the chiefs went round it three times, after which each placed on it a lighted torch which had been carried by their slaves. The king then sat a little way from the fire, and the people danced round it singing slowly and monotonously *ya barō Mašqarō*. When the singing and dancing were finished, the most distinguished warriors presented themselves fully armed to the king and recited to him their deeds of valour, throwing at his feet their trophies (*phalli*), for which he gave them horses, cattle, slaves, and cloth. During the day the minstrels sang of the traditions of the past, and of the feats of arms of the king, who in reality took no part in battles, for his traditional place was at the rear of his troops; though Cecchi adds cynically "except when he intervened in the quarrels of his jealous wives."⁴¹

³⁴ Bieber, II, pp. 30-3.

³⁵ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

³⁶ Bieber, II, p. 33.

³⁷ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

³⁸ Cerulli, 1932, I, chap. xx.

³⁹ Bieber, II, pp. 313-28.

⁴⁰ Cerulli, 1951, p. 446 s.v. *geppeččō* defines it differently.

⁴¹ Cecchi, II, chap. lv.

THE MANJŌ

The Manjō had their own king, *Manji tāto*, the Manjō king, who had jurisdiction over them, and possessed the right to receive tribute. He was chosen by the Kafa king from the Manjō clan called Dallo. Like the Kafa king, the *Manji tāto* had his *rāšō* in charge of the districts where the Manjō lived; their authority extended over the Manjō only. Recorded names of clans are: Bedo, Dallo, Dido, Gono, Manaččo, Oddo, Seččo, Sokko, Yatto. The Dido had the right to provide the bodyguard of the *Manji tāto*.

The Manjō are hunters and live mainly by hunting monkeys, which they take in traps. They eat these animals, and from their skins make little conical caps which are typical of the Manjō. They wear shirts made of ox- or sheep-skin, and short capes of monkey-skin. They are skilful tree climbers, and first rate hunters and beaters; in the old days they were employed as beaters when the Kafa king and great nobles hunted, receiving as payment the flesh of the animals killed, for they eat any animal.

The main functions of the Manjō as far as the Kafa were concerned were to guard the royal enclosures and gates of the country (under Kafa commanders), to fetch wood and water for the Kafa king, and to bury the Kafa dead. In their guard duties they are said to have shown great faithfulness. They also acted as messengers for the *worābi* and *rāšō*. Though as members of a despised submerged class they could not hold any political office, they were the most faithful adherents to their overlords, whether the king or the governors; and even in 1928 they were firmly attached to the Katāmi *rāšō*. Though *gineččō*, "servile," they were liable to no forced labour, nor any duties except those already described. Some of the Manjō are weavers, but they claim to be distinct from the Mannō, or leather-workers, and though they themselves work leather, they say that they are of nobler stock than the Mannō.¹

¹ Cerulli, 19 2, I, chaps. xx, xxvi. See also Bieber, II, pp. 61, 62.

THE KINGDOM OF JANJERO

INTRODUCTION

The little kingdom of Janjero, independent till 1894 when it was conquered by Menilek, was isolated both culturally and linguistically from the rest of the Sidama peoples. The only European known to have been received by one of its kings is the Jesuit Father Antonio Fernandez, who went there in 1613. Few of the European explorers in the 19th century actually entered the kingdom, and Cecchi wrote his account from material supplied by slaves from Janjero living in Gera. The first of our three main sources, the account of Fernandez' journey written down by Almeida is therefore a document of both historical and ethnographical value. Cecchi and Cerulli provide more detail ; but the latest, Cerulli, wrote 34 years after the kingdom had been overthrown by the Ethiopian Conquest. Till that event, the people of Janjero had preserved a number of " customs so barbarous and strange that there cannot be any more so."¹

NOMENCLATURE

The people call themselves Yammā or Yem. The name by which they are better known is the Galla form of the Amharic *zenjaro*, " baboon " (Hadya, *janjor* ; Kafa, *yangaro* ; Almeida's forms are *Gingiro*, *Ginziero* ; the Italian spelling is *Giangero*).

LANGUAGE

The Janjero language, which belongs to the Sidama group, is isolated morphologically and phonetically from the other Sidama languages, and forms a division on its own. It has, moreover, a " royal language " and a " language of respect." The " royal language " seems to have consisted of a special vocabulary for parts of the body, weapons, and verbs of action referring to the king. Thus, " eye " in common Janjero is *afā*, but *kemā* in the royal language ; " eat " is *mā* in common speech, *bos* in the royal language ; and " spear," *ēbō* in common speech, is *me'a* in the royal language. The " language of respect " used special words to describe the ordinary actions of notables : " eat " is *mā* in ordinary speech, but *tā* in the language of respect. Improper use of the royal language was punished by death.²

HISTORY

The kingdom is first mentioned, under the name *Zenjaro*, in a victory song of Yeshaq (1412-27), as paying tribute in horses to the king of Ethiopia.³ The first kings of Janjero belonged to a dynasty called Halmam Gama, which was ejected by a clan named Mwa which claimed to be of Abyssinian origin and to have entered from the north. Till the Ethiopian Conquest the kingdom was isolated, and had little to do with its neighbours. The last king, Abba Bagibo, was conquered by Walda Giyorgis in 1894 and fled to Guragē, eventually making an act of submission to Menilek at Addis Ababa. His son Abba Čabsa became a Christian, taking the name Gabra Madhen, and received the office of *bālābbāt* under the Ethiopian feudatory, who in 1928 (the time of Cerulli's journey) was Mangaša Wube, afterwards Ethiopian

¹ Almeida, Book VII, chap. 16 ; Beckingham and Huntingford, pp. xxxvi-xli, 157.

² Cerulli, 1938, pp. 1-98 ; special languages, pp. 61-64.

³ Guidi, 1889, song 2, line 42.

Minister in Rome.⁴ The practice of human sacrifice was forbidden by the Ethiopians, and Monophysite Christianity was introduced, but its penetration was only superficial, and the older cult retained much of its power ; paganism is still strong in many places.⁵

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND DEMOGRAPHY

Janjero lies between the Gibē Jimma river on the west and the Omo on the east ; the Gibē is difficult to cross, and Almeida describes how Fernandez was ferried across on an inflated cowhide.⁶ The country consists of hill features with valleys rich in vegetation ; in the east are mountains rising to over 10,000 ft. according to the map. (Mount Bor Ama 10,000 ft. ; Mount Azulu, 9,500 ft. ; and Mount Toba, 8,900 ft.)⁷ The population seems always to have been small, but there are no figures available. The name of the old capital is uncertain ; but the modern government headquarters are at Fofa.

PHYSICAL AND MORAL CHARACTERS

According to learned Abyssinians, says Cecchi, the people of Janjero were the most ancient people of south-west Ethiopia. They certainly had singular customs, and differed physically from their neighbours, being of a bronze colour, not tall, and with thick crisp hair which does not grow like that of the Galla.⁸ Fernandez described them as " Cafres " (the Portuguese term for pagan Negroes) in colouring, though not in features, and added that they were heathens much given to sorcery.⁹

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

AGRICULTURE

They seem to have had few livestock, and to have been mainly agricultural. In the higher parts they grow barley, *inčirō*, *kusā* ; sorghum, *zanā* ; eleusine tocussa, *zokorō* ; in the lower regions, coffee, *bunā* ; flax, *mororō* ; cotton, *tidō* ; *ensat* ; and various *leguminosae*. Coffee grows so abundantly that they use the stems for building huts. Cecchi was told that maize was introduced at one time, but that a certain king forbade its cultivation because the cobs were better covered than he was, and the " beards " were like human hair.¹⁰

FOOD

The staple food of the Janjero was *ensat* ; for meat, they ate oxen only, according to Beke, not sheep, goat, fowl, or other animals. The king alone took *kosso* to get rid of tapeworm ; other people had to use a certain grass for this purpose.¹¹ Cerulli however says that while they did not eat eggs, unlike all their neighbours they ate the wild boar.¹²

CALENDAR

The Janjero appear to have a solar calendar, with 12 months, the names of which are Wagezo, Yešuš, Amnebo, Tonebo, Abzogar, Tum, Wis, Ham, Okebo, Tulu, Yemnebo, and Galebo. It is not recorded how these months correspond with those

⁴ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. ii.

⁵ Guida, p. 521.

⁶ Book VII, chap. 15.

⁷ GSGS, NB.371, Soddu sheet.

⁸ Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

⁹ Almeida, Book VII, chap. 16.

¹⁰ Beke, 1843, p. 262 ; Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

¹¹ Beke, 1843, p. 263.

¹² Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. iii.

of the Ethiopian or other calendars. *Amnebo* means “(month) of his majesty” (*amnō*); *tonebo* means “(month) of the lowlands” (*tona*, “lowlands”); *yemnebo* means “(month) of the Yamma or Janjero”; *galebo* means “(month) of the Galla.” If the last interpretation is correct, the name must have been formed since the arrival of the Galla in the 16th century.

They have a seven-day week, with names borrowed from the Galla, except for Monday and Tuesday, which are Janjero:

Monday :	Qajelā		
Tuesday :	Qarsā		
Wednesday :	Arbi	(Soddo Galla :	arbi)
Thursday :	Kamisa	(“ “	kamsi)
Friday :	Jimata	(“ “	jimata)
Saturday :	Tinno	(“ “	sanbata tinno)
Sunday :	Gudda	(“ “	sanbata guda). ¹³

SLAVERY

Slavery existed in Janjero from an early period, and Fernandez (who was given a slave by the king) speaks of a trade in foreign cloth, for which the king paid the traders with slaves.¹⁴ The king had the right to take persons of either sex from their homes to be sold as slaves or to work for him. He was given boys who were made eunuchs and served in his house. Young girls were also sent to him as servants, and if any of them were sent home after having slept with him, all their sons (even those by marriage subsequent to their stay at court) were counted as the king's sons, and had to be brought to the royal compound.¹⁵

CROSSING RIVERS

Almeida describes how Fernandez crossed the Gibē, first by a log laid across the gorge through which the river flowed, and later on an inflated cow-hide, to which were fastened two long poles, one on each side, this float was guided in front by a swimmer, and pushed from behind by two others.¹⁶

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribal divisions

There exist clans, of which little is known, except that the royal clan was called Mwa, and that certain other clans had the privilege of providing officers of state, though what these were has not been recorded. After the expulsion of the Halmam Gama there were in the kingdom nine clans of which the names recorded are : Abgou, Gamilo, Gawu, Habkam, Korbo, Mwa, Sumara, Woso, and Yessu.¹⁷

Submerged classes

As elsewhere in Ethiopia, the blacksmiths, leather-workers, and potters are despised, and confined to separate classes. The smiths, called Yirfo, act as circumcisors. The leather-workers, hunters, and potters belonged to a class called Fuga,

¹³ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. 111; Cerulli, 1938, pp. 82, 83.

¹⁴ Almeida, Book VII, chap. 16.

¹⁵ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. 11.

¹⁶ Almeida, Book VII, chap. 15.

¹⁷ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. 11.

a name occurring as that of a submerged class in Guragē. In Janjero the Fuga buried the dead. Since the Janjero cultivated cotton, they did not despise weavers.¹⁸

Marriage

No marriage restrictions or regulations are recorded, and there seem to have been no special marriage ceremonies. On the day of marriage a procession of the bridegroom's relatives fetched the bride from her father's house to the marriage hut, where the bridegroom awaited her.¹⁹ The king might have up to eight wives, great chiefs two, and other people only one.²⁰

Widows

The levirate is not practised, and after two years of mourning a widow may be married again.²¹

Circumcision and bodily mutilations

It was first recorded by Beke that all male Janjero except the king and his sons had both nipples excised and one testicle extracted, in order that they might be disqualified from reigning. Beke was told that the submerged classes were exempt from this mutilation because they were despised, and since nobody would submit to their rule, there was no fear of their aiming at the throne.²² Cecchi also heard of this practice.²³ Cerulli records that circumcision and excision of the left testicle and the nipples were carried out at the same time, the operation being performed by men of the Yirfo class. Only the Mwa clan were exempt. Women were not circumcised, and infibulation was not practised.²⁴

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The king

The king, *tātō*, or in the royal language *amnō*,²⁵ belonged to the Mwa clan. The emblem of the kingship was a golden bracelet. According to Almeida and Cecchi the king was a "magician"; when Fernandez arrived in Janjero in 1613 he had to wait for eight days before the king could see him, "because he was busy with magical practices."²⁶ On reaching the court, Fernandez found the king "as his custom is, on a platform or look-out 25 palms high [18 ft.], reached from behind. The nobility were all standing below at the foot, and he was on the top alone, sitting on a carpet, wearing a white Indian *bofeta* [cotton cloth]. He was as black as jet though his features were not those of a Caffre. He had big eyes, a pointed nose, and thin lips." The king appeared in public once a week to hear complaints, administer justice, and perform sacrifices. The rest of the time he remained in his "palace," which consisted of several huts so that he could go from one to another without being seen by the sun, for it was said that "his country cannot be illumined by two stars at the same time."²⁷ This notion was known also to Fernandez, who said "if he happens not to have gone out of his house before sunrise, he does not go out at all . . . for they say that two suns cannot endure each other in the world."²⁸

¹⁸ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. ii.

¹⁹ Ibid., chap. iii.

²⁰ Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Beke, 1843, p. 262.

²³ Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

²⁴ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. iii.

²⁵ This was the title of the kings of Hadya also since at least the middle of the 14th century.

²⁶ Almeida, Book VII, chap. 15.

²⁷ Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

²⁸ Almeida, Book VII, chap. 16; Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. ii.

The king : his house

Each king on his accession had a new house built. It was circular, "twenty-five or 30 palms [18-22 ft.] in diameter, the walls of posts or pebbles and mud, the ceilings and gutters of logs split and roughly shaped, the ends resting on a pole as a support which has a kind of cart-wheel to the edge of which they are joined while their other ends rest on the wall [cf. fig. 3(d), p. 129]. . . . Before felling [the centre post], at the foot they cut off the head of a man, the first they find belonging to a certain family in the kingdom, which is exempt from other tributes [i.e., of providing slaves]. . . . When the house has been built, the king enters with much festivity, but before he goes in they kill one of that same family if the house has only one door, and two if it has two doors. With the blood of these victims they daub the threshold and side posts of the doors."²⁹

The king : his death

When the king died, his body was wrapped in rich cloths and put in the hide of a newly killed cow. Seven days afterwards "they bring a maggot which they say came from his nostrils, wrap it in a piece of silk and make the new king kill it, squeezing its head between his teeth." The body was then buried in the royal burial place ("a copse or thicket") in a pit, the body lying there uncovered except for the blood of the cattle sacrificed over it; afterwards, till the next king died, a cow was killed there every day; the sacrificers ate the meat.³⁰ Cerulli was told that before depositing the king's body in the grave a man was killed and his body put in first, the king's body lying upon it; the grave was then filled in.³¹

The king : his succession

Of this we have no less than five accounts, none however from actual eye-witnesses, and only one (Fernandez') obtained in Janjero. According to Fernandez, after the king's body had been wrapped in a cow-hide, his sons went into the bush and hid; the electors, who "are very great sorcerers," decide which son is to succeed, and "the birds gather above the place where he has hidden and reveal him, in particular a bird of prey like an eagle which they call *ybër*, which rises up and then descends uttering loud cries. Then . . . they find him surrounded by lions, tigers [sic], snakes and leopards. . . . The one chosen . . . fights as hard as he can against being taken." Finally he was caught and led home; on the way a family which had the prescriptive right to do so attacked the party, seized the new king and enthroned him, themselves gaining "the most honourable offices of the court and kingdom." After the dead king's burial all his favourites were sent to join him in the next world.³²

Cecchi's version is that all the dead king's male relatives were put in separate huts in an uninhabited place near the Gibē river, and he to whose hut some lions went, or on which a swarm of bees settled, was made king; the coronation took place in an "ancient temple," and was accompanied by human sacrifice.³³ Harris gives a similar account, but says that the successor was indicated by a vulture.³⁴ Krapf was told by a Guragē priest that a vulture or bee indicated the chosen man.³⁵

Cerulli was told in 1928 that the clan heads chose that son of the king whom they thought was best fitted to succeed and took him into the bush, to a place where

²⁹ Almeida, Book VII, chap. 16.

³⁰ Ibid. (Quotations from Almeida.) For the burial in skin and the maggot, cf. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, pp. 53, 54.

³¹ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. II.

³² Almeida, Book VII, chap. 16.

³³ Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

³⁴ *Highlands of Aethiopia*, III, p. 57.

³⁵ *Travels, etc.* p. 68.

a leopard was "lord of the land." If the leopard approached and cowered before him, he was considered to be the accepted king; if the leopard did not approve of him, it killed him. The man thus approved by the leopard was led to a place called Diza where, after bathing in a sacred spring, he was invested with the royal bracelet and conducted with ceremony to the capital.³⁶

It is not now possible to say which of these different versions is the correct one; there may have been some change in the course of 300 years, but the 19th century accounts suggest that there has been in fact little change in the basic principle of choice and approval by an animal or bird. Cerulli's version, however, is evidently that which held the field in 1928. There is some uncertainty as to what bird was really meant by the word *ybêr*; the only word at all resembling it is the Amharic *yebra*, "wild goose"; but it can hardly have been that, for Paez says it could lift a kid in its talons.³⁷

Court officials

The chief official was the *anger hêrašô*, "commander of the royal enclosure," who was in charge of the king's guard. In the course of time this official acquired great power, and latterly it is said that the kings were little more than prisoners of the *anger hêrašô*, on account of their divine character, their numerous ritual duties, and the restrictions and taboos which regulated their actions. Other officials were also called *hêrašô*. At a lower level, the heads of the clans had certain powers, which included the choice of the king's successors, and it is possible that they took the place of the district chiefs of other tribes.³⁸

Oaths

The legal oath among the Janjero was "by the king's hand," just as in the neighbouring state of Jimma men swore "by the hand of Abba Jifar."³⁹

War

Of warfare all that is recorded is the statement by Fernandez that if a man survived after being wounded in war, his relatives killed him, lest it should be said that he died at the hands of the enemy. This, says Almeida, is what baboons ("gingirô") do to their own kind when wounded.⁴⁰

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing and defences

The whole kingdom, and also each homestead, was surrounded by several ditches and palisades; the defences of the kingdom were carefully guarded, for the inhabitants lived in continual fear of raids by their neighbours.⁴¹ Houses were surrounded by *ensat* plantations. The word for "house" is *ke'ā*.

³⁶ 1933, II, chap. ii.

³⁷ Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford, p. 159, where this point is discussed. Bruce in his abstract of Almeida calls it *liber*, from a misprint in the English version of Telles. Paez is not an independent authority, but got his information from Fernandez.

³⁸ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. ii.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Book VII, chap. 16. The origin of this story about the wounded baboons has not been traced.

⁴¹ Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

Dress

Free men and slaves alike wore cloth garments, for the Janjero disliked wearing skins.⁴²

Weaving

As among the Galla, says Cecchi, certain of the Janjero wove fine *šamma*, the toga-like robes of the Ethiopians, which were sold in neighbouring countries; but he gives no further details.⁴³

RITUAL AND BELIEFS

Religion

Cecchi's account of Janjero religion is as follows: They worship two pillars of bronze, which they say are the remains of an ancient church or temple, which every year is washed with human blood. The chief idol here is a statue which they say fell from the sky during a storm; human and animal sacrifices are offered to it at the national festivals. It stands in a hut in a sacred grove where there are live tame lions which lick the hands and feet of the king when he visits the place. The Janjero also worship the crocodiles in the Gibē river, on the bank of which once a year the king presided at the sacrifice of a bull the flesh of which was thrown to them. If the king fell ill, they sacrificed human beings to the crocodiles, so that by placating them the king's health should be restored. At the same time, the Janjero celebrated certain Christian festivals, such as Astar'yo Māryām and Masqal.⁴⁴

According to Cerulli's account, the Supreme Being is called Ha'o; he manifests himself in the crocodiles of the Gibē, whence the sacrifices on the bank of the river. Human sacrifice was, in fact, the chief feature of Janjero religious ritual, though now it has been forbidden by the Ethiopian Government. Every month several men were sacrificed to Ha'o, and the following details were given to Cerulli: The Gamilo clan had the privilege of allotting to each clan in turn the duty of providing human victims, the only clans exempt from this duty being the royal clan Mwa, and the Gamilo itself. Certain clans, among them the Woso and Habkam, were believed to have particular ritual value for sacrifices. The sacrifices made to Ha'o for the "safety and health of the king" were believed to preserve not only his health but his magical powers as well. Boys were preferred for sacrifice; women were exempt in all clans. Strangers were also liable to be sacrificed, but as extras, for only Janjero victims could preserve the king's safety. The victim was taken to Mount Bor Ama. The king first approached and struck him lightly in the chest with a spear, making a superficial wound. The head of the Gamilo then struck him with a spear in the abdomen, and when he fell to the ground all the warriors present plunged their spears in the wound to get "the blessing of the blood." Victims belonging to the clans Sumara and Gawu had the privilege of being struck in the neck instead of the abdomen. It was considered a very bad omen if the cries of the victim could be heard, so whenever he opened his mouth to cry out, all present shouted in chorus the meaningless words *faš fauti*. After the sacrifice the victim's body was hung on a post at one of the gates of the country, or in a tree nearby, preferably a *podocarpus*.⁴⁵ Cecchi's account of sacrificial procedure differs slightly from Cerulli's. He says that the victims had their heads wrapped in a cloth before being speared; and that if a victim died without uttering a cry, another was killed, for it was believed that a silent death was not acceptable to the god. He also says that every tenth stranger who entered the country was sacrificed.⁴⁶

⁴² Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. iii.

⁴⁶ Cecchi, II, chap. xlvii.

The Janjero reverence a meteorite which in falling is said to have detached a great rock from Mount Bor Ama, which rolled towards the country of the Garo (Bošā), once enemies of the Janjero.⁴⁷

Ritual uncleanness

Menstruating women were unclean for nine days. After intercourse people were unclean for two days, and during this time lived in shelters put up in the *ensat* plantations round their houses.⁴⁸

Death

On the death of a man his relatives cut down his *ensat* plantations ; in the case of rich men their huts were destroyed as well. The dead man's goods were distributed among members of the submerged classes, and his personal belongings were destroyed. The Fuga buried the body, covering it with the person's clothing. If a man had killed any one in his lifetime, his head was anointed with butter.⁴⁹

People suffering from leprosy and ringworm were dealt with drastically, according to Fernandez. When a new king began his reign, all such people were sought for and sent to a "hospital" on the other side of the Gibē, by which was meant that they were taken across the river and their heads cut off, so that others should not be infected by them.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Cerulli, 1933, II, chap. iii.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Almeida, Book VII, chap. 16.

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 JRGS. = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.
 OM. = *Oriente Moderno*.

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¹ This, according to Cerulli, is a name for the Gabba derived from "King" Ilu, whose war-name was Abba Bora. (*RSO.* X, p. 602.)

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