JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

VOL. XIII. NO. I.

JANUARY, 1914

NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Political and Industrial Conditions, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education, and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. On none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions at which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

THE GALLA OF THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE¹

PART I.

Introductory.

THE Galla are a pastoral people belonging to the Hamitic race, and occupying, though not continuously, a considerable area of North-Eastern Africa. The Arabs and Abyssinians call them "Galla," but their own name for themselves is Orma, meaning "free men." Krapf says that "Galla" is equivalent to "*ingressi* or immigrants," but the verb *gala* means "to go home," nor is it easy to see why either Arabs or Abyssinians should apply to them a name thus derived. It seems a little more probable (though I hardly like to put forward the suggestion) that a corruption of "*Agum ingala*," the Galla word for "good-bye," came into use as a nickname.

¹ This paper was read before a Meeting of the Society on 12th December, 1913, and accompanied by lantern illustrations.

One reason against this is that *ingala* takes the accent on the antepenultimate.

In Abyssinia, a considerable body of people, known as the Wolo Galla, are found in the mountains north of Shoa, near the head-waters of the Abai. To the south of Shoa, the pagan Galla appear to have extended at one time from the confines of Enarea to the neighbourhood of Harar; and, outside Abyssinia, the Borana range over a large tract of country east of Lake Rudolf. South of them, and separated from them by the Somali, who now come with their cattle to the Tana during the dry season, are the Kofira and Barareta Galla. Up to 1874, these last grazed their flocks and herds over the whole country between the Tana and the Juba, but since 1878, they have been almost entirely confined to the left bank of the Tana. The exception are Godana Jara's people in the Sultanate of Witu, who seem to have recovered themselves, since the cessation of the Somali raids, and attained a fairly flourishing condition.

In the early decades of the last century, the Galla were the terror of East Africa. In 1849, Krapf found that they were in the habit of waylaying travellers near Voi—now a station on the Uganda Railway—and had even carried on their depredations still further to the south-west. They were subsequently forced back north-eastward by the Masai; and, a few years later, the Somali, pressing upon them from the opposite direction, confined them to the region beyond the Tana. At present, they have no settlements south of the Sabaki—in fact, Kurawa, their nearest village, is two or three days' march to the north of that river. A few years ago, they had another not far from the little Swahili coast town of Mambrui—the site is still known as Kwa Wagalla—which was probably abandoned because the neighbourhood was found to be infected with the tsetse-fly (*gandi*). But they still come there from time to time with cattle for sale.

The Abyssinian Galla are mentioned as early as the 17th century by Tellez (who says they entered the country in 1537) and Ludolf. About a hundred years later, Bruce, who travelled in Abyssinia from 1768 to 1773, saw them, and

embodied in his *Travels* a considerable amount of information concerning them. Krapf, who made their acquaintance and studied their language between 1838 and 1842, formed a high opinion of their character and capacity, and believed that they were destined to play the same part in the development of Africa as the Teutonic races have done in that of Europe. When expelled from Abyssinia in 1842, his first thought was to seek out the Galla south of the Equator and found a mission among them. This plan was never carried out, and he only once, it seems, came into actual contact with these people—at the great market of “Emberria” in Giryama, to which they used to come with cattle and ivory. He made an unsuccessful attempt to reach their settlements on the Sabaki from the coast town of Takaungu, which had been destroyed by them about 100 years previously. It had, however, quite recovered itself by Krapf’s time, and the people were on very friendly terms with the Galla. An annual interchange of presents took place, on which occasion the Galla chief, Malaumaro, visited Takaungu and was received in state by the Arab governor.

In 1861, the United Methodist Free Church Mission, which now has its headquarters at Mazera’s, began work at Mombasa. A few years later, Charles New and Thomas Wakefield reached the Tana and came into touch with both Galla and Wapokomo. Both were friendly, but the latter proved more responsive to the efforts of the missionaries. The station founded by them at Golbanti still exists, but is now in charge of a native agent. Much valuable information about the Galla is to be found in New’s *Life in East Africa* and in the biography of Wakefield, published by his widow in 1904. Wakefield seems to have left behind a considerable number of unpublished MSS. Some of them have unfortunately been destroyed, but it is to be hoped that those still in existence may yet see light, as well as those of the late Robert Moss Ormerod.

My own acquaintance with the Galla, such as it is, was formed at the following points:—

(1) Kulesa, on the Tana, a day’s journey (by motor-launch) above Ngao. Behind the Pokomo village on the

river-bank, with its strip of cultivated ground, stretches a grassy plain, on the further side of which are several Galla villages. One of these—I believe it is called Bilisa—I visited, in September, 1912, in company with the late Sister Christine, of the Neukirchen Mission.

(2) Golbanti, above mentioned, a short distance down stream from my headquarters at Ngao, which, also, was frequently visited by Galla.

(3) In December, 1912, I spent three days at Witu, where, as already stated, Godana Jara, the Government chief of the Galla, has his headquarters.

(4) In April, 1913, I visited Kurawa, from Mambrui, at the invitation and under the guidance of Abarea Worede, the Government headman, of whose kindness and hospitality I cannot speak too highly. I also had a good deal of conversation with Abarea, and, occasionally, with other Galla, when they came to Mambrui.

Physique, Dress, &c.

The Galla I have seen varied considerably in physical type. Paulitschke¹ says of those found in the Harar region that there is a "marked somatic difference" between them and the Somali. But, in Equatorial Africa at any rate, there are many Galla who to a casual view strongly resemble the Somali type in stature and general appearance. They varied a good deal in colour—some of these tall, slender individuals being of a light copper colour, while others were of a very dark shade of brown. Abarea, the headman of Kurawa, mentioned above, was of short stature, though well made and muscular; he was very dark, but had features of a markedly Semitic type—the large, aquiline nose, somewhat drooping at the tip, was especially noticeable.

A man named Abaloni was a great contrast to him in every respect. The hair, as a rule, of the Galla is curly, not woolly—I am not certain that it was so in every case, as with

¹ *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somal, Galla und Harari* (1886), p. 3.

A TYPICAL GALLA: TAKEN AT THE GOVERNMENT REST-HOUSE, MAMBRUI.

[To face p. 124]

one or two people, whom I was unable to examine at sufficiently close quarters, but whose hair *looked* woolly, it was impossible to decide. The women at Kurawa were not remarkable for good looks, but the young girls were slight and graceful, with very pleasing faces. The older women tend to become thin rather than stout—in fact, a fat Galla, of either sex, is a contradiction in terms. A young wife of Godana Jara's, at Witu, was strikingly handsome, and it is well known that Galla women have always been valued as slaves, on account of their beauty. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain photographs of the best feminine types; in fact, I did not get one successful negative of a Galla woman. Those at Kulesa, who were very fair specimens, would certainly not have consented to pose, even had my camera been available at the moment.

Both boys and girls have the whole head shaved at the Godeya festival (see below); the latter, when the hair begins to grow, have a small tonsure shaved on the back of the head, which remains till their marriage: the head is then shaved once more, and the hair, when it comes again, allowed to grow as it likes. Probably it is frequently shaved off for the sake of cleanliness—I never saw a woman with hair longer than three or four inches, and do not think they plait it into little tails like the Wasanye women—certainly this was not done at Kurawa. Young men wear theirs fairly long, and pay a good deal of attention to it, though the only toilet appliance they seem to use is the "men's comb" (*fila*), a single wooden prong, worn in the hair when not in use; the women's *fila* has four or more prongs. Some of these combs are quite neatly carved, but I have never seen any Galla ones so good as those made by the Wapokomo.

The dress of the men is a piece of cotton cloth reaching from the waist to the knees—either unbleached calico, or a fabric known as *burao*, originally, I believe, obtained from the Somali coast, near Port Durnford, though what is usually stocked by the traders is inferior, machine-made stuff from India. It has a kind of large tartan pattern, in dark reds and purples, with a narrow yellow stripe—which, in the genuine, hand-woven *burao* has a very good effect. Over

this they wear, as a rule, a length of unbleached calico draped according to individual taste. Two breadths are sewn together to make this, and the seam is usually worked over in some bright-coloured thread or wool. Besides performing this task, the recipient of a new cloth sets to work to ravel out the thread at the ends and knot it, very neatly and skilfully, into a fringe.

Women have a leather garment recalling the *umbodiya* (skin petticoat) of the Zulu women, and a skin cloak to throw over their shoulders if more covering is needed, though blankets and calico are now also worn. The skirt is held up by a leather belt (*hamfala*). Another kind of belt, called *saka*, ornamented with little brass bells (*bilbil*), cowries, &c., is worn at dances.

Men wear on the upper arm an ivory armlet called *habor*, which is always inherited by the owner's eldest son—and, if he dies without a son, placed on his grave. Formerly, too, warriors wore small plaits of hair called *gutū* (an illustration is given in the *Life of Thomas Wakefield*), each of which represented a slain enemy—or at any rate a lion, rhinoceros, or other fierce and dangerous animal.

Women wear numerous brass and iron armlets, and necklets of beads, brass wire, &c. A favourite form of neck ornament is a kind of pendant, covered with short lengths of fine iron chain. These, I believe, they obtain from the Giryama or Kamba; there are no smiths among them, though the Borana Galla, further north, have a distinct caste of smiths called *Tumtu*. Unlike the Masai, the Kikuyu and many other tribes, they wear small and innocuous earrings, and I do not recollect seeing these ornaments on men.

Both men and women wear hide sandals (*koban*) when needed to protect the feet against the heat of the ground, or thorns, &c.

The weapons of the Galla are a spear (*woran*), a sheath-knife worn in a belt (*bilo*), and a small round shield (*wonte*). They do not use the bow, nor do they hunt much, depending on the Wasanye for their supply of game. But their pastoral life renders them familiar with the ways of wild animals, and Abarea, who had been on shooting expeditions with a

WASANYE WOMEN AT KISIWA CHA MAYONDA.

[To face p. 126.]

former District Commissioner, appeared to be a clever tracker and a keen sportsman.

Habitations, Mode of Life, &c.

There appears to be a great difference between the huts of the Abyssinian Galla (as described and figured by Paulitschke and others) and those of the people I am describing. The former have the round wall and conical roof favoured by the Kikuyu, Nyanja, Ronga, and many other Bantu tribes, while the huts of the Equatorial Galla are of a much more elementary character and resemble the rude shelters of the Wasanye. They are made by driving pliable wands into the ground and bending them over so as to form a series of intersecting arches, which are then lashed together and thatched with coarse grass, or the fronds of a kind of fan-palm known (in Swahili) as *marara*. The hut is hemispherical or slightly oval in shape; the door is, as a rule, high enough to allow one to enter in a stooping position, and has a threshold sometimes a foot or so in height; it is closed by a kind of curtain (*soyen*) made of soft, fine grass. Huts of a somewhat superior construction are of a true beehive shape, and made, like those of the Wapokomo, by tying the wattles together at the apex. These last have the thatch neatly finished off in three concentric ridges. The huts, as a rule, are very small. Having slept in two, I have been enabled to inspect their internal arrangements at close quarters. The first contained, apparently, nothing whatever, except a heap of dried herbage, and, I think, some palm-leaves half hidden under it. I was about to have this swept out to make a clear space for my camp-chair, when I was told that this could not be, as it was the absent owner's bed. Further examination revealed a cowhide as the foundation of the couch—the sheets and blankets, so to speak, consisted of an aromatic herb called *hantiro*. The other hut was more than half-filled by a bedstead—a small platform of sticks resting against the sides, and on supports about 18 inches high: on this my cork mattress was spread and the mosquito net suspended from the roof above it. This platform is called *dink*.

A hut belonging to Abarea's mother, which was not used as a sleeping apartment, was about 8 feet in diameter each way, and accommodated at least six people, who sat on small wooden stools (*barchum*) or on skins spread on the ground—we had been invited in to take refuge from a shower. In the intervals of conversation, refreshments were handed round, consisting of sour milk (*kusan*): it is somewhat stiffer than the Zulu *amasi*, and tastes considerably more acid when mixed with sugar. This hut contained, among others, the following articles of household use:—

About a dozen *sororo*—covered, basket-work milk-vessels of different sizes—plain, or ornamented with cowries and brass wire.

Buchum: gourds used as water-jars, &c.

Gir: a small, covered barrel, cut out of a solid block of wood, to hold butter, &c. (The lid is called *gadada*.)

Gorf: the wooden vessel used for milking. The milk is afterwards poured into the *sororo*.

Dadu: a kind of saddle-bag, plaited of string, in two colours, used for packing things on ox-back while travelling.

Kori: a wooden bucket for holding maize, rice, &c.

Buda: a cow's horn, used as a jar for honey.

Hareto: a broom made of *miyaa* (fronds of the *Hyphæne thebaica*).

Shunulo: a kind of wooden cage about a foot high and a little less in diameter, in which incense (Swahili *ubani*) is burnt, or *karchacha*, to fumigate the house. *Karchacha* are small sticks of scented wood, of which there were several stuck into the thatch.

Dujumme: a stick for beating up the sour milk already referred to.

Ntalle: cowhide used as a seat.

Barchuma: wooden stools, cut out of a single block.

Barke: a wooden pillow, or rather neck-rest, of the well-known Egyptian pattern.

Wødes: a bundle of sticks, which will be referred to later on, in connection with the *Jara* ceremony. They have some religious significance, which Abarea tried to express in Swahili by saying, "*ni kama moskiti*—they are like a

ONE OF THE TWO BAOBABS—AT KURAWAD.

[To face p. 129.]

mosque!" As they are essentially a masculine attribute, I conjecture that he had given them into his mother's charge for safety.

The huts of a Galla village are built in a line, facing east, so that every doorway fronts the rising sun. In front of the huts are the cattle-folds (*mwona*) with two entrances—one due east and the other due west. New says there is always a tree in the centre of the cattle-fold: this, I think, was not the case at Kurawa, but Abarea and his people had only recently moved thither, from a station two or three miles away, where the water was running short. Strictly speaking, the place whence they were in process of removal (Abarea's mother and sister and some others of the family with a number of the cattle, were still on the old site) is Kurawa; the ridge to which they migrated is called Yaka Laman—"the two baobabs," and had been occupied long before, when it is quite likely that the two trees which give it its name, stood within the cattle-kraals. These enclosures (as I saw at Bilisa) are usually surrounded with a fence of stout stakes; they are nowhere roofed in, but there is a small covered pen, raised on a high platform, in which small lambs or kids are placed while the flock is driven out for the day. The kraals at Kurawa were rather "scratch" constructions, enclosed with heaps of thorny bushes, hastily thrown together; but Abarea had built himself a new "byre" of which he was extremely proud—a roofed shed with a semi-circular pen for the calves on one side. His prospective father-in-law, Jema, had a similar, though less well-constructed building for his goats, which, apparently, served as the family sitting-room when the goats were out at pasture. A kind of aloe, called in Galla *hargessa*, by the Swahili *ndocha*, is planted at the kraal-entrance for luck. I did not see any, but Abarea said they had not been put in yet, as the removal was so recent.

The cows are not let out in the morning till after sunrise; the evening milking takes place after sunset; indeed, after dark. At dark, fires are lighted at the gateways of all the folds, and others within the enclosures, in order to drive away the mosquitoes by the smoke. People gather round these fires after the evening meal, and sit there, talking, till

a late hour; some even sleep there. One man, who was anxious that I should call upon his wife, came to fetch me between 8 and 9 p.m., and conducted me through a labyrinth of fences into the interior of the *mwona*, where she was seated on a cow-hide, and I took my place beside her. So far from women being debarred from contact with the cattle (as among Bantu tribes) they milk the cows and sometimes help in the herding, and make butter, as well as manufacturing and cleaning the milk-vessels.

The cleaning is done with hot wood-ashes, and the result is to impart to the milk kept in the *sororo* a smell and taste as of inferior kippered herrings.

I believe there are a good many tabus connected with milking which I have been unable to discover, and that, as Mr. Hollis says, "there is without doubt more cattle-magic in East Africa than meets the eye." At Bilisa (near Kulesa) I saw a neat hut appropriated to the young man who looked after the dairy, and who was evidently expected to live by himself while fulfilling this duty; but I could get no further explanations, nor did I see a similar hut at Kurawa. The person who milks is never supposed to drink of the milk he or she has drawn unless it has first been handed to some other person present, who first takes a sip. Some say "milking is women's work, but it may, on occasion, be done by men."

Cattle are marked with the brand (*guza*) of the clan to which their owners belong. Goats and sheep are marked by an incision in the ear, and this is also done to cattle by two clans.

About the centre of the line of huts is an open space where the cattle required for food are slaughtered. On one side is a stage, where the strips of meat not wanted for immediate cooking are hung up to dry in the sun; the skins are pegged out on the ground close by, and the bones thrown out at the back of the huts. Consequently vultures (*alati*) are always to be seen perched on the nearest convenient trees, and huge adjutant storks patrol the outskirts of the place. The hyenas, too, would doubtless contribute their share to the scavenging, were it not for the dogs, who, as soon as one lifts up his voice, give tongue to an extent that suppresses him altogether.

Abarea told me that the village contained thirty dogs—they were larger than the usual native mongrel, and supposed to be very fierce; my porters were mortally afraid of them, but I fancy the most terrible thing about them was their voices.

Of the Galla it might be said, as it was of the ancient Germans, "major pars eorum vectus in lacte, caseo, carne." Unlike the Zulus, they drink milk fresh, as well as eating it in the form of *kusan* or *ititu*: the latter being curds or "thick milk" just turned—the former the same, kept for a day or two and beaten up into a stiff paste with a stick. Butter—chiefly used as an unguent and for cooking—is made by shaking the cream in a gourd.

Fowls are kept, but I am not sure if they are eaten: they are tabu to the Abyssinian Galla. Eggs are never eaten. Abarea, on being offered some of a cold pudding made by my cook for the journey to Kurawa, asked if it contained eggs, and on hearing that it did, remarked that he thought as much, as he could smell them, and no Galla ever touched them in any form. The same rule applies to fish, but is no longer strictly observed by everyone. Rice or maize when required are bought in the towns, or from the Giriyama and Pokomo. An intoxicating beverage (*dadi*) is made from honey, or sometimes from the fruit of the *Borassus* palm: the former is the more common. The Galla are reputed to be heavy drinkers when they get the chance.

Origin and Migrations.

Abarea informed me that the "place of origin" of the Galla was Tulu, on the Lower Tana, between Ngao and Kulesa—it seems to have been on or near the site of the present Marfano. Krapf says that one of the two Galla chiefs in his time lived at "Tullu on the Ozi"—which, as he only knew it by hearsay, is near enough to be identical with the above. But he also speaks of Tulu on the Sabaki. The expression used by Abarea, "it is their great town" (*mji*), perhaps throws some light on these discrepancies, as we find Paulitschke speaking of one or more Tulus in the region about Harar, which he takes to be their centre of distribution.

Tulu means "hill" (it is usually heard as *tulich* with the suffixed article, which misled me on the point, at first), and is probably applied to their headquarters, wherever they may be. There is scarcely anything that can be called a hill on the right bank of the Tana below Kulesa, but I think the river-bank rises slightly at Marfano, and they would naturally take advantage of this. (But even if not, the name Tulu had probably by that time acquired a conventional significance.) The word also occurs in an old liturgical chant in a way tending to confirm this supposition.

The Galla call the north "left hand" (*bita*) and the south "right hand" (*mida*), which may imply that they migrated into the country from the north or north-west, or may simply refer to the traditional situation of their huts, facing the sunrise. (Unfortunately, the words for "north" and "south" are not given in Viterbo's *Vocabolario della lingua Oromonica*,¹ so that it is impossible to decide whether this expression is common to all sections of the Galla nation. Two points, however, may tend to support the view that it is not:—the word for "west" is *barabita*—"time (quarter, direction?) of the left hand"; and, while the word for "left" is *bita* as above, that for "right" is different—viz., *mirga*.)

According to the annals of Abyssinia, the Galla invaded that country in 1537, coming from the south or south-east. Paulitschke thinks that their starting-point was somewhere to the south of the Gulf of Aden, and that they were still living there in the 13th century of our era, since when they have been gradually displaced by the southward push of the Somali. This is in accordance with the traditions of those Galla who still live in the Harar district. The southward current was no doubt subsequently deflected by collision with the Zulus and their allied tribes ("die Kaffernvölker"), then on trek somewhere about the centre of the continent, and thrown back on Abyssinia. Those whom, for convenience sake we may call the Equatorial Galla, may have remained behind, between the Juba and the Taita Hills, in the course of this migration. Krapf came to the conclusion, in which he seems

¹ Published in Vol. III. of Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle Frontiere del Caffa*, Rome (Loescher), 1887.

to have been right, that they are far more "primitive" (to put it briefly) than the Abyssinian Galla, though he may have been mistaken in accounting for this fact by the supposition that their original home was in the south.

The Abyssinian Galla differ so greatly from those who form the subject of our paper, that it would be beside its purpose to consider them in detail. To begin with, they are an agricultural people, which at once alters the whole aspect of their culture, and—apart from the fact that some have adopted Islam and others have been more or less compulsorily "converted" to Christianity—they have been perceptibly influenced by their Abyssinian surroundings.

Hardly any data seem available for fixing the time when the Galla settled in the equatorial region. Of the few pedigrees I was able to collect, none goes back beyond the informant's great-grandfather, except Godana Jara's and another of which I am somewhat doubtful. Godana gave his descent as follows: Jara (his father), son of Bagura, son of Uto, son of Dida, son of Kolbo, son of Dayu, son of Nine, son of Okole. As Dayu means "beginning," there may be some mistake about the last two names; but there is nothing inherently improbable in a man being named Dayu, though I have never heard of one.

There is no clue, however, to where, if at all, Okole lived; and, unfortunately, I did not see enough of Godana to go fully into the question. No doubt the ritual chants used at the installation of the chiefs and on other solemn occasions might throw some light on this point; but I have not yet found anyone able or willing to explain them completely. One informant says they are full of obsolete expressions (and perhaps some which were never understood by people in general): "these are secret words of the old times." One line, I am told, means "I have gone to the Sabaki to fetch the *luza*" (this term will be explained in the next section)—"I have gone to Tulu to fetch the *luza*."

As the chant was, no doubt, brought up to date when necessary, it would not be safe to infer that the original Tulu was to be looked for on the Sabaki.

The *luza*, which appears to be the chief, if not the only

means of measuring time, corresponds with the period (eight years), during which the chiefs hold office. My informant (as far as I can make out, for his statements were perplexing in the extreme and sometimes contradictory), said that the present *luza*, now in its third year, is either the eighth or tenth from the first, which he called *Indalana*. He seemed to regard this as the first *luza* instituted at all, and said nothing of their recurring in cycles of eight, as I fancy is really the case. On this hinges the question whether the following legend is to be assigned to a period of relative antiquity—say three or four centuries ago—or whether any real event which it commemorates must be sought for within the last eighty years.

In the old times "before the Galla had any chiefs" (the connection between the chiefs and the *luza* will be apparent later), they used to graze their cattle in the *bada*, the undulating, scrub-covered steppe which extends for many miles west of the Tana valley. In the dry season, when there is no water to be found there, they used to feed their cattle on the *obe* (a huge, succulent tuber of which elephants are very fond) and also to hollow them out and store water in them. (Water is thus stored in hollow baobabs, in the Witu district, as I believe it is in some parts of the Sudan; but I do not know if it is possible to use the *obe* in this way.) On one occasion, when camped at a place called Garsegana, and distressed for want of water, they saw a wild pigeon flying up, holding in its beak some blades of grass, which it dropped at their feet. Noticing that the bird came from the east, they followed that direction, and, when nearly exhausted, found water and green grass in the Kurawa plain (the Chafa), near Godanabiu, a place known to this day. They found people living there, whom they drove out, but concerning these I could get no information, save that they were called Lemad.

It is not in itself impossible that the Galla should have occupied this particular area at so recent a date as between 1835 and 1840, especially as we have no information as to the length of their previous sojourn in the steppe. There

A YOUNG GALLA OF THE UTA CLAN.

[To face p. 132.]

were certainly Galla in the hinterland of Lamu (not very far to the north) when Captain Owen was there in 1824.¹ Moreover, they have a song :

Biskaya gandi jibá
Anji dole dovi galte—

which may mean that they were driven by the tsetse-fly (*gandi*) from Biskaya,² a place some distance to the N.E. of Kismayu; though there is no clue as to when this happened.

Inutile, perhaps, d'approfondir la chose : but if, as above indicated, there was a southward movement in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was probably a reflex one. If, however, it was the *Indalana* of a previous cycle who, led by the pigeon, discovered the Kurawa plain, they may either have formed part of the original migration from north-east to south-west—or they may have been on their way northward somewhere about 1500.

The word *chafa*, applied above to the Kurawa plain, means, in Galla, low-lying ground which is under water during the rains, or when the Tana is flooded, and during the rest of the year, when the *bada* is burnt up, affords excellent pasturage. The *chafa*, *par excellence*, is that of Kurawa; hence the word was erroneously taken to be a proper name by some of the earlier explorers, and still occasionally appears on maps. Paulitschke even enters the "Tschafo" in a list of "Southern Galla" tribes—which, however, it is only fair to say, does not pretend to be more than tentative.

It may be added that the names Borana (Bworana), Kofira and Barareta are somewhat puzzling. They are independent of the clans (all the clans being found in all three of them), also of the twofold division into Irdid and Barietuma. The Borana still occupy a more or less definite local area; it is not so clear whether the other two did. At present the Galla at Mkonumbi are all Kofira: at Witu, some are Kofira

¹ "Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar, in H.M. Ships *Leven* and *Barraconta*," 2 vols. 1833.

² An old Somali of Barawa, Bwana Amiu bin Ahmad, spoke of Biskaya as a sort of centre or starting-point of the Somali tribes. I have heard nothing about it from European sources.

(Godana belongs to this section), and some Barareta. I believe the Galla S. and W. of the Tana are all Barareta.¹

Tribal Organisation.

The Galla tribe is divided into two exogamous sections (*gōs*): the Irdid (or Arusi) and the Barietum,² each of them including a number of clans (*balbal*, literally "doors").³ A man belonging to any of the Irdid clans must marry into one of the Barietum clans, and *vice versa*, so that, *a fortiori*, marriage within one's own clan is forbidden. The *balbal* are further divided into "right-hand" and "left-hand" clans, but I have been unable, so far, to arrive at what is implied in this distinction, beyond the fact that there is a special tie between members of each group: *e.g.* Ilani and Manjitu

¹ Kofira, Borana and "Bararetta or Wajole" are enumerated by Paulitschke in the tentative list of tribes referred to above. See *Ethnographie Nordostafrikas, Die materielle Kultur der Danakil, Galla und Somali*, pp. 66 *et seq.*

² New, *Life in East Africa*, p. 274:

"They are divided into two tribes or classes, the Baretuma and the Harusi" (Arusi, but they are quite as often called Irdid), "and the men of each tribe have to select their wives from the other. . . . The marriage of their own tribespeople is considered highly improper, the relationship being too near. Herein the Galla appear to advantage when compared with most other East Africans, who often marry over and over again into the same family." But there is nothing to prevent Galla "marrying over and over again into the same family" so long as they—being Barietum—stick to an Irdid clan and *vice versa*, and avoid certain of their mother's near relations. On the other hand, marriage within their own clan and with their mother's near relations is also barred by the Giriama and other "Nyika" tribes, by the Wa-Pokomo and the Wasanye. In the case of the last-named, the following table illustrates the principle.

* The children of Jilo (son of Hegud and Guyato) cannot marry the children of Gwiyo, son of Turi, or of Gwiyo's brothers or sisters, "because Jilo's mother came from that house." But this does not apply to the children and grandchildren of Ashako or the other brothers and sisters of Hegud, who, of course, are not related by blood to Gwiyo or Turi.

Barietum (sometimes with a final *a*) seems to be the standard pronunciation of the Galla themselves.

³ *Mudyango* (=Swahili *mlango*) is used in the same sense by the Wapokomo.

(see below) are bound to stand by each other in case of one being attacked, or an individual member of it being injured. One clan of each section is designated as "central," and these have somewhat special functions, as will be shown presently. The list of clans—after collating the results of several different inquiries—is as follows. It is probably far from complete, as the number of subdivisions in the Ilani and Karar suggests that some, at least of the other clans, may be similarly subdivided.

	<i>Irdid.</i>	<i>Barietum.</i>
Left-hand	Ilani Lango.	Kojega
	" Nyurtu	Súnkena
	" Gulu	Wámaji
	" Jalantu	Abole
	" Hirabo	Hajej Mónole
	" Nyarguva	" Argalo
	" Hoko	" Kore
	" Daradela	" Fila
	" Kuliftu	" Chūt (?) ²
	" Chalo (?) ¹	" Falole
	" Barde	Gardyed
	Manjitu (Machitto?)	Kareyu
Central	Meta	Itu
Right-hand	Karar Mamboy	Digalu
	" Sabal	Gamad
	" Agude	Wayu
	" Boneyu	Guji
	" Kutagura	[Bedi (Badi ?)]
	" Meyole	[Bolazu]
	" Akāri	[Ababia]
	Uta	
	Denu	
	Bujaj	
	Mandoyu	

The names in brackets were obtained from the Wasanye,

¹ Chalo was given me by Godama Jara, but disputed by Abarea, who said it was simply equivalent to *fulani bin fulani*, "So-and-so, son of So-and-So."

² Fila and Chūt (a curious name which I have been unable to verify), were given me by Abarea only.

and as I was unable to verify them by inquiry from a Galla, I do not know whether they should be entered as right- or left-hand clans. The Wasanye have adopted Galla clan-names, probably in consequence of the system by which every Galla clan has a Sanye one dependent on it; but they do not seem to know anything about the distinction of right and left hand, or to have preserved quite accurately that between Irdid and Barietum; at any rate they gave me Sunkena as an Irdid clan, though otherwise their arrangement of the two divisions does not conflict with that given above. Their own clan-names—for it seems impossible that they could have borrowed more than the nomenclature from the Galla—might perhaps be recovered from the Wasanye and Waboni of Witu.

There is a kind of liturgical prayer—apparently very old—which is chanted by the members of the *gada* at the *Jara* ceremony. It introduces the names of the clans, invoking the blessing of Heaven (*Wak*) on each in succession. It is to be noted that the Ilani and Karar (usually called Kara Dulo from their ancestor) are each treated as a unit; Hajej, too, is mentioned without any subdivisions. Mandoyu is omitted—if, indeed, my copy is complete. (I checked it two or three times, but it struck me that no one, except the original informant, was very willing to repeat the words.) Neither does the chant contain the three names which I have enclosed in brackets. If I have the whole of it, this may indicate that these three and the Mandoyu are recent offshoots from some of the other clans.

It is perhaps significant that at least three of the clans (Karar, Kareyu, Hajej), take their names from plants or trees—a point to which we shall have to return later on. With these exceptions, I do not know whether the clan-names have any meaning.

Some of them observe certain prohibitions or tabus, but it seems doubtful if any of these can be brought into connection with totemism. Thus, the Hajej never eat the liver (*tiru*) of an animal. Other tabus were mentioned to me by the Wasanye, but I have not been able to ascertain whether these extend to the Galla. The most interesting is that of

OLD MUSANYE, WITH HIS GRANDCHILDREN, AT KONJORA.

[To face p. 138.]

the Kareyu tree, which is never cut down by any one belonging to the clan of that name. The Galla pronounce the name Kareyû; but most of those I asked denied all knowledge of the tree.¹ This, if true, might be an indication of totemism: tree-totems, I believe, are not unknown in other parts of the world.

The Galla system of descent is patrilineal—I have come across no indication (such as may be found among the Wagiryama) that the matrilineal system formerly prevailed, and the terms of relationship are far less numerous and complex than in the neighbouring Bantu tribes.

There is a certain tabu on relations by marriage: a man must not mention the name of his mother-in-law (actual or prospective) or of any woman who happens to have the same name. He does not appear to be prohibited from speaking to her, so long as he does not address her by name. He may not drink milk from a cup she has used, but this does not apply to *dadi*, because, as Abarea said—*dadi* is *kitu cha hesani sana*—"a thing of great kindness," which I fail to understand, unless it be that it is not, like milk, a necessary of life, but a luxury, given out of courtesy, which may be withheld without churlishness and is not subject to ordinary rules. He may eat food of her cooking; but, if any is left over, she must not eat it herself, but give it to some one else. He "fears" the rest of the family—his father-in-law, any other wives he may have, and all their children—but many speak to them, if he does so gently and respectfully. He may even address his mother-in-law's co-wife by name, but must speak quietly and gently—not shout at her from a distance.

I am assured that so long as a man marries into the half of the clan to which he does not belong, he may choose his wife from any of the clans belonging to that half. Yet there are certain facts which may perhaps point to such restrictions having formerly been in force. There is a special relation between Ilani and Kojega, between Karar and

¹ One man said that the Kareyu clan do not cut down the tree, but as this was stated in answer to a question, I hesitate to accept it in the absence of other corroboration.

Kareyu, between Manjitu and Hajej—and perhaps between other clans also, which is expressed by saying that “Ilani (*e.g.*) is the brother-in-law of Kojega” (*I. shemeji ya K.*, in Swahili). This may mean that at one time neither of these clans could seek wives outside the other; but my genealogical material is, unfortunately, too limited in amount to prove or disprove this theory. So far as it goes, it seems to show that there is no such rule at the present day. But it is remarkable that both the father and grandfather of Abarea, who belongs to the Karar clan, married women of the Kareyu, and that his first cousin, the eldest son of his father’s younger brother, has done the same. As Abarea’s father was also an eldest son, it may be that it was only the eldest of the family who was expected to take his wife from the “related” clan. But in that case, Abarea seems to have set aside the rule, as his betrothed wife belongs to the Sunkena clan.

The two “central” clans, Meta and Gardyed, “stand in the middle”:—I have not been able to make out whether this expression is wholly metaphorical, or whether, on some occasions, as at the *Jara* ceremony, the clans are drawn up in the order indicated. The expression used by Abarea was, that these two clans were *galich*, which he explained to mean that some of their members have to be present at weddings, or other important transactions, as witnesses, and—if I understood him rightly—to impart a legal sanction to the proceedings. Probably these *galich* are the functionaries called “*kalidscha*” by Krapf—a point which will be discussed presently. The name “Galitia Gallas” has got into the maps, a little north of Malindi—probably through some confusion. No wedding, &c., is valid unless *two* “*galich*” are present, one Meta and one Gardyed. They also act as umpires in time of war, and, says, Abarea, “are like Sheikhs (*kama mashekh*).” This expression might perhaps justify their being called “priests,” as is done by Paulitschke with regard to the Northern Galla. (He writes the word *kaliča*.) But it is somewhat doubtful whether priests, properly so called, or even medicine-men, exist among the Southern Galla, save in a very limited sense.

Every Galla boy undergoes the ceremony called *Moga* (or *Mogasa*)¹ as soon after birth as the father can afford the expense. Without it, he can never be a freeman of the tribe, but I was never able to learn what disabilities its omission would entail, beyond the fact that in that case a man would have no cattle slaughtered at his funeral. It seems to be tantamount to a formal recognition by the tribe. I have not been able to ascertain whether the rite is practised for girls as well as boys: it certainly is so among the Wasanye, where, too, its significance comes out more clearly—the child is carried round to all the houses within reach and shown to the inmates, who then return and feast with the parents; it must not be taken out of the house before this is done. The Galla ceremony, as detailed to me, consists merely of a feast, followed by a dance; one or two goats are killed and, for an eldest son, eight large gourds (*kayama*) of *dadi* provided by the father, who, at the beginning of the dance, announces that his child is now a *Mogasa*. For subsequent children, two *kayama* are considered sufficient.

A second festival, called *Godeya* (the word means the tonsure of the girls, already mentioned), is held when a boy or girl reaches puberty, and is very expensive, requiring 30 *kayama* of *dadi*, three bullocks, and a sack of rice. Somewhat later, but apparently at no fixed period, the parents of the young person who has celebrated the *Godeya* arrange, if they can afford it, the *Nyat* festival. This, so my informant said, was merely an affair of conviviality and an opportunity for the host to display his wealth; but the details given look as though it might be an initiation into a higher degree, akin to the Lesser Ngadzi of the Wapokomo. Eighty gourds of *dadi* are brewed, and the animal slaughtered must be a castrated ox (*sanga*): it is not tied up and killed in the ordinary way, but chased by a number of men, caught, thrown down,

¹ According to Paulitschke, the Northern Galla use the word *Mogasa* for the "adoption" of a child in the sense in which that word is generally understood in Europe. Both Burton and Krapf seem to have misunderstood the term, yet in such a way as to show that its real significance was akin to that given in the text. The former says it is equivalent to the Somali *Aban*, or "Protector" (of strangers)—the latter renders it "favourite of a chief," in a context which suggests initiation into a tribe to escape being plundered.

and stabbed with knives. The meat is eaten by the men and youths only; the intestines are given to the women, who eat them afterwards, by themselves.

The next ceremony is the *Jara*, at which married men are admitted to the degree of *Gada*, equivalent to the *Giryama Kambi* and the *Pokomo Greater Ngadzi*, at which, also, the new chiefs (*hayu*) are installed, and the new *Luza* "takes over the country," as is done by the *Giryama Enyetsi*. I had considerable difficulty in getting at the exact meaning of the term *luza* and do not now feel very confident that I have succeeded; but, as nearly as I can make out, it comprises all the men born within a period of about eight years, so that there would be four *luza* to a generation, instead of two, as with the *Wapokomo*. I could hear very little about circumcision ceremonies among the *Galla*; I think they exist, but are quite independent of the *luza*. According to one informant the *luzas* recur in cycles of seven; another said that there were eight, but without mention of their recurring, and repeated attempts to get the names enumerated landed us in hopeless confusion.

Krapf speaks of "sorcerers called *Luba*," which may be some confusion with the above institution; for the members of the *Gada* are reputed to possess magical powers. Bruce also says "the king of the Western Galla is styled *lubo*," and on D'Anville's map of Africa (1749) there is a note as to "*nations des Gallas sous un chef électif appelé Lubo*." I should be inclined to connect both these statements with the same mistake. New is nearer the mark when he says (p. 273), "The country is governed by a chief, sub-chief and their *lubu* (party) of *toibs* or councillors." *Toib* really means "seven": its significance here will be discussed in connection with the details of the *Jara* ceremony, and the subject of the *hayu* or chief, which must be reserved for separate treatment, as well as marriage and burial customs, religious beliefs and folklore.

A. WERNER.

(To be continued.)