LIT

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THE SIDAAMA

EDITED BY SOPHIA THUBAUVILLE
AND ANBESSA TEFERRA

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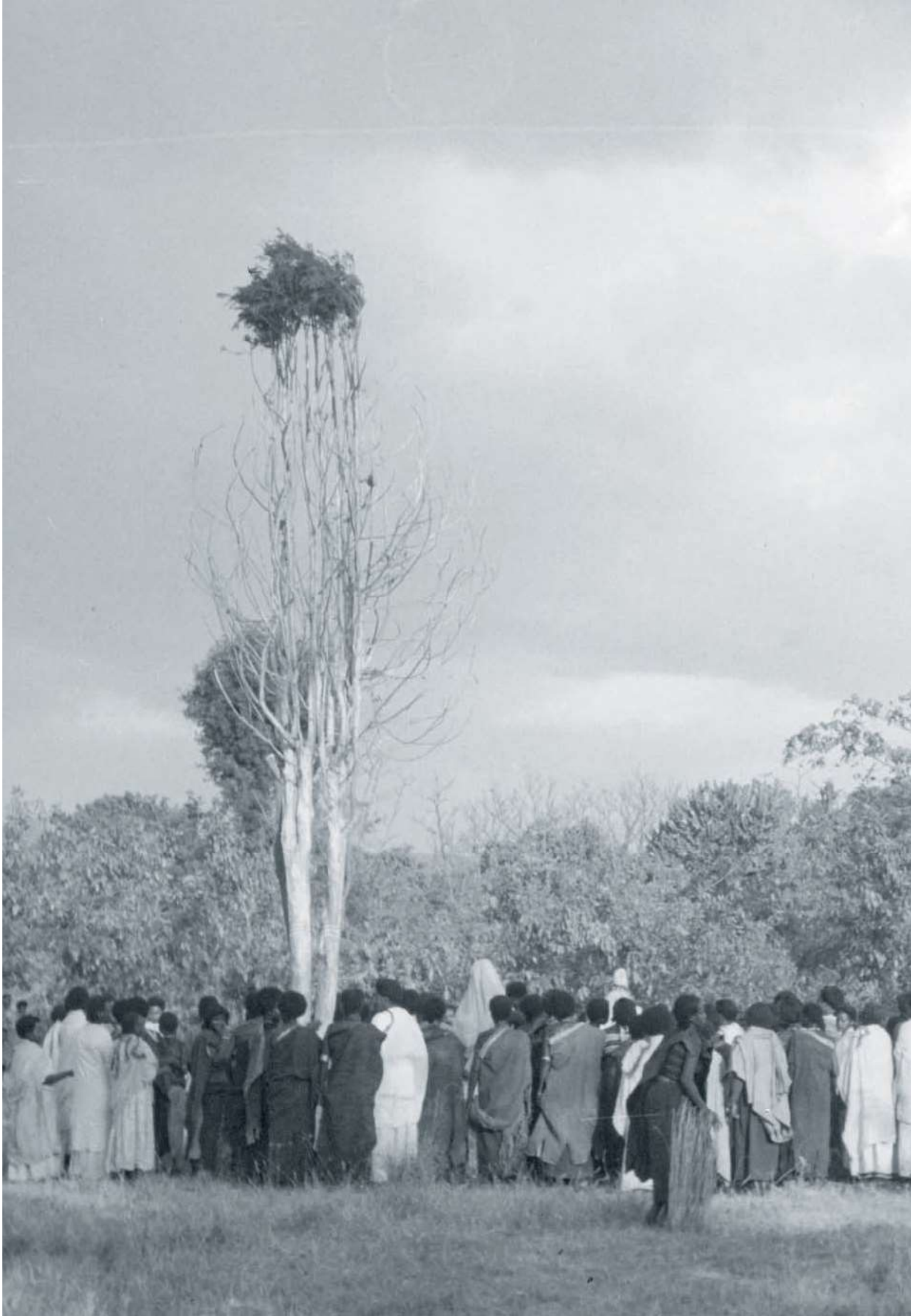
SOUTHERN ETHIOPIAN STUDIES
AT THE FROBENIUS INSTITUTE



Adolf Ellegard Jensen,
Elisabeth Pauli, Helmut Straube

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Southern Ethiopian Studies at the Frobenius Institute

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Sophia Thubauville

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With a preface by Zerihun Doda

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Cover image: Death ceremony in Manche. Group of women with *doore* tree and *midaancho* puppet

Sidaama Orthography by Anbessa Teferra

Editorial Notes by Anbessa Teferra

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Table of contents

The Sidaama

by Adolf Ellegard Jensen

Appendix

Acknowledgements

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Frankfurt am Main and Tel Aviv, August 2022

Sophia Thubauville and Anbessa Teferra

Sidaama orthography

by Anbessa Teferra

Before 1992, Sidaama was written in Ethiopic-based script and was mostly used by missionaries for liturgical purposes. In 1979 the National Literacy Campaign was launched in Ethiopia, and Sidaama was selected as one of fifteen languages to be used for the purpose. During that time an Ethiopic-based script was used to prepare educational books in Sidaama. In the summer of 1992, Latin script was adopted for the language.

In order to present the current orthography of Sidaama, it is important to introduce the consonantal and vocalic graphemes (letters) of the language.

Consonant graphemes

There are twenty-four native consonant graphemes of Sidaama: **'**, **b**, **c**, **ch**, **d**, **dh**, **f**, **g**, **h**, **j**, **k**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **ny**, **ph**, **q**, **r**, **s**, **sh**, **t**, **w**, **x**, and **y**. The orthography has also incorporated five additional graphemes **– p**, **ts**, **v**, **z**, **zh –** that are found only in loanwords. Thus, there are a total of twenty-nine consonant graphemes. Of these, twenty-two are single letters; the remaining seven are digraphs or double letters.

The sound value of most of the single consonants or digraphs is similar to English. Hence in the table below graphemes that are different are given a phonetic value accompanied by examples from the language.

Sidaama consonant graphemes

Grapheme	**Phonetic Value**	**Example**	
'	glottal sound	*la'a*	'to see'
c	ejective **ch**	*cufa*	'to close'
dh	implosive **d**	*dhoogga*	'big'
ny	palatal nasal **n**	*ganynya*	'mare'
ph	ejective **p**	*lophpha*	'to grow'
q	ejective **k**	*qoola*	'wing'
ts	ejective **s**	*tsooma*	'to fast'

x	ejective **t**	*xuma*	‘good’
zh	affricate **z**	*televizhine*	‘televison’

Consonant length (gemination) is contrastive in Sidaama, as in *ada* ‘paternal aunt’ versus *adda* ‘truth’. All Sidaama consonants can be geminated (doubled) and this is indicated by doubling the corresponding consonant grapheme.

Vowel graphemes

Sidaama has a ten-vowel system with five short and five long counterparts.

Short vowels	**i**	**e**	**a**	**u**	**o**
Long vowels	**ii**	**ee**	**aa**	**uu**	**oo**

Vowel length is also contrastive in Sidaama, for example, *kisa* ‘to touch’ versus *kiisa* ‘to compensate’. Vowel length is indicated by doubling the vowel letter.

Based on single consonants and short vowels, the script of Sidaama consists of thirty-four graphemes known as *fidalla* letters’ (the singular form is *fidale* from Amharic *fidäl* ‘letter’), of which twenty-seven are single letters and seven are digraphs or double letters. Lexical items and personal and place names in this book are transliterated based on the above orthography of Sidaama.

Editorial notes

by Anbessa Teferra

The editing of this volume was a labour-intensive and time-consuming process as the manuscript was read carefully and then each entry in the glossary and name index was subjected to a strict verification process. This was done to ensure quality and reduce inaccuracies and ambiguities as much as possible. In this regard, two references played an important role: Gasparini's *Sidamo-English Dictionary* (1983) was indispensable for checking the glossary, while *Yäsidaama bəḥer Tarikənna Bahəl* (2003 E.C./2011) was crucial in the correct categorization of clans, sub-clans and groups within sub-clans. The latter reference was also helpful with regard to the traditional names of Sidaama months, and both were supplemented by the native linguistic competence of the co-editor, Anbessa.

Below are a few illustrative examples of the challenges we faced in editing Jensen, Pauli and Straube's manuscript.

(1) Several of the entries were transliterated inaccurately. One of the errors was the use of deviant forms, such as *bakola* instead of *baaqula* 'pumpkin', *aite* instead of *hayxe* 'barley', *lekimtsa* instead of *liqi'mi assa* 'devour/swallow', etc. A common error was length misrepresentation, whereby short vowels were used instead of long ones and single consonants instead of geminates. To cite just a few examples, *abo* instead of *aabbo* 'honorable person', *ana* instead of *anna* 'father', *baba* instead of *baabba* 'respected woman', etc. Correcting the glossary and providing correct definitions was not difficult with the expertise of Anbessa. However, the most challenging part was the name index, which contains personal names and place names. Whenever necessary, recognisable Sidaama names were amended, as in Badhdhaaso instead of Badaso. However, several names of Sidaama origin were written in a way that deviated significantly from the accepted way, making them very difficult to recognise. In addition, there were also sizable number of names whose origin could not be traced (e.g. Tyrol) and whose correct representation could not be ascertained.

(2) Sometimes the definitions in the glossary were very general. For instance, entries such as Afadda, Mito, Notare, etc. were simply defined as 'main clan'. These kinds of characterizations are unhelpful for the reader since they do not

provide even a basic definition. Hence, they were amended with the help of the references mentioned above.

(3) In the original manuscript there were transliterations based on German spelling. In order to reduce misunderstandings, German transliterations that deviated were replaced by the standard spelling that Sidaama has used since 1993. These are dj for j (Arudji instead of Aruji), ua for wa (as in Chaua subclan, instead of Chawa), uo for wo (as in *uomereera* as opposed to *womereera*), ao for awo (Awoja), c for k (as in Cutale instead of Kutale, or Oncolesa instead of Onkoleessa) tsh for c (as in *tshamure* for *caamure*), etc.

(4) Sometimes Jensen and his colleagues provided the opposite definition. For instance, in the glossary, Gadira is defined as "son and successor of Gadawo", while Gadawo was in fact the son of Gadira. This could have emanated from incorrect information provided by the research assistants (informants) and should not reflect poorly on the anthropologists who conducted the research almost 70 years ago. Nonetheless, amendments have been made wherever necessary.

Preface

by Zerihun Doda[1]

In this preface, I want to first situate Adolf Ellegard Jensen, Elisabeth Pauli and Helmut Straube's account of the Sidaama of southwestern Ethiopia, written in the early 1960s and here translated from the original German, in the broader context of Ethiopian ethnohistory and historiography. My review offers an overview of the current state of the Sidaama and focuses on the ethnographic worth of Jensen et al's work and its contribution to the ethnography and historiography of Ethiopia in general and the Sidaama in particular. I also comment on the methodological, theoretical lens employed by the authors. Finally, I show the strengths and weaknesses of the work.

Ethiopia is a country with resplendent paleoanthropological, historical, ecological and natural resources (Henze 2000; Munro-Hay 2002; R. Pankhurst 2000). It is an ethnically and linguistically diverse country (Sobrevila 2008). Systematic ethnographic studies of Ethiopia date back to the 1920s; various studies were made earlier but lacked theoretical and methodological rigour (Mekonnen 1990; A. Pankhurst 2002). The 1950s heralded a new era of ethnographic work in Ethiopia, in which studies were carried out on a greater geographical scale and covering more cultures. However, contemporary critics of Ethiopian ethnography and historiography claim most of these earlier studies suffer from a bias towards historically, politically and demographically dominant ethnic groups (Bahru 1990). The peoples of southwest Ethiopia were either ignored or given

[1] Dr Zerihun Doda, a former faculty member at Hawaasa University, Ethiopia, is currently a Senior Researcher and Assistant Professor at the Ethiopian Civil Service University, where he is also currently Director of Research and Publications Office. Overall, he has 25 years' experience of teaching and conducting sociological, social anthropological and inter-disciplinary research as a faculty member and as a consultant carrying out research and training for academia and NGOs. His research experience and interests include ethnographic, survey and ethnohistorical research; studies of identity, livelihoods, and the nature–culture nexus; social policy, development, the social impacts of development projects; disadvantaged social groups and local communities; environment, society and climate change. Dr Zerihun has published in, and served as a professional reviewer for, various reputable journals, including BMC Public health; SAGE Open Journals; Taylor & Francis COGENT Environmental Sciences and COGENT Social Sciences. He currently serves as a Managing Editor of the African Journal of Development Studies, published by the Ethiopian Civil Service University.

token attention; and the few existing studies often misrepresent the group being studied or suffer from a lack of comprehensive material.

In recent decades, there has been a considerable paradigm shift in terms of accommodating the heretofore ignored peoples and cultures of Ethiopia (Bahru 1990). Yet, although the gaps and misrepresentations of the peoples of southwestern Ethiopia are now being rectified, there still remains a need for rigorous, comprehensive and systematic ethnographic work, as challenging as it may be given the difficulties of untangling the complex socio-cultural, linguistic and ethnogenetic relationships among the numerous groups in southwest Ethiopia, for whom classification of ethno-linguistic groups has produced contested models (Theil 2014).

The existing anthropological and related studies of East Africa and Ethiopia in general focus on broad-scoped surveys of socio-cultural institutions and identities (Abbink 2011, 2016). Some of the existing studies take a broadly social-anthropological approach from functional, diffusionist and evolutionary angles (e.g. Cerulli 1956). The Sidaama have received some level of ethnographic coverage from some Western ethnographers, such as John Hamer, who has written extensively on the Sidaama since the 1960s (see, for example, Hamer 1970, 1972, 1976). And, in recent decades, a few home-grown individuals from the ethnic group itself have begun contributing to the ethnohistory, ethnography and commentary on the contemporary conditions of the Sidaama (see Seyoum 1998; Betana 1990; Markos et al. 2012; Ambaye 2012).

The Sidaama

The Sidaama inhabit what is now designated the Sidaama Regional State, the tenth Regional State in Ethiopia, formed on 23 November 2019 following a zone-wide referendum. It was part of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR) until then. The Sidaama are a Cushitic people of southwest Ethiopia (Braukämper 1978; Hamer 2007), with an estimated population size of 7-8 million (Wikipedia Contributors 2021). They speak the Sidaama language, which is a language of the Cushitic branch of the Afroasiatic language family (Wikipedia Contributors 2021). The capital city of the region is Hawaasa, located about 275 km south of Addis Ababa, the national capital. Sidaama has a total land area of about 7,200 km^2, characterized by a variety of topographic, climatic and agro-ecological features. The Great East African Rift Valley divides the land in two: the western lowlands and eastern highlands.

Oral tradition and the available historical sources suggest that the Sidaama's ancient Cushitic ancestors were part of the great population movements from North Africa towards the south of the continent in the 1st century AD (Braukämper 2012; Munro-Hay 2002). It is now generally agreed that northeast Africa

and the south Arabian Peninsula were hotspots of Afroasiatic peoples, including the proto-Cushites of Ethiopia. The present-day Sidaama are composed of fourteen main clans that trace their origins to two founding ancestors: Bushshee and Maaldeya. The ancestors moved as far as the southernmost part of today's Ethiopia, to a place called Daawa; their descendants moved to the present area in the sixteenth century (Braukämper 1978; Betana 1990). Oral tradition holds that it was during the earliest southward ancestral migrations that the proto-Sidaama branched out, forming today's five major ethnic groups: the Sidaama proper, Alaba, Tambaaro, Qeweena and Maraqo (Zerihun 2011, 2015).

The traditional socio-political organization of the Sidaama is clan-based and patriarchal; each clan is further structured into smaller sub-clans and patrilocally organized villages. A form of gerontocratic structure, based on a generational class system, has been a key aspect of the polity and social organization (Hamer 1970; Wollasa 2009). All matters of community importance are discussed in a form of indigenous parliamentary assembly called the *songo* (presiding council of elders). The *moti* (king) oversees the secular politico-defence system; the *woma* (spiritual leader) administers religious and cultural affairs. The socio-political system contains aspects of traditional democratic and egalitarian values (Aadland 2002). This system has been challenged since the 1890s (Seyoum 1998), when Sidaama was incorporated into the Ethiopian nation state in the reign of Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913) (Donham & James 1986). The traditional social-political organization has generally weakened despite a resurgence since the 1990s.

While Protestant Christianity has been the dominant religion in Sidaama since the 1950s and 1960s, ancestral religion continues to play a very important role in the entire socio-cultural landscape of the people today. The Sidaama's ancestral religion, conception of cosmos and moral-social world are governed by the idea of *hallale* ('the rule of truth'), belief in and fear of *Magano* ('Supreme Being') and other lesser spirits, and belief in, and the placation of, *annu-akako ayana* (spirits of ancestors) (Zerihun 2015; Wollasa 2014). Sidaama theology further states that, in the beginning, *Magano* lived with humans, but departed to the sky due to the sins committed by them. Hence, now people cannot relate to him directly and must use the mediation of ancestral spirits. There are parallels with Christianity and Islam in a range of areas such as accounts of creation, the nature of God, humans' relationship to the creator, the existence of a monotheistic supreme being, mediatorial roles and needs, etc. (Braukämper 2012). There is a complex hierarchical ladder in the religious and socio-moral order of things, at the top of which is the ultimate power, *Magano*. This is a strict authority structure that governs the order of things in religious, social, political and all other human–human and human–nature relationships. The spirit entities are often masculine. However, there are also feminine spirits that are extolled in certain spirit possession cults, for example, during childbirth (Markos et al. 2012).

The Sidaama economy is primarily based on subsistence agriculture, which combines crop production and animal husbandry. It belongs to what has been labelled the Ensete Culture Complex, which is a major economic cluster among the peoples of southwest Ethiopia (Zerihun 2007; Westphal 1975). Ensete (*Ensete ventricosum*), sometimes called the 'Abyssinian banana', is a staple tuber crop that has defined the livelihood, ecological and socio-cultural landscape of ethnic groups in southwest Ethiopia. The Sidaama also cultivate varieties of cereals, fruits, condiments, cash crops, etc. Coffee is the most notable cash crop grown in Sidaama and is a major contributor to national coffee exports. Agroforestry is also notable. However, in recent decades the increasingly significant shift towards economically lucrative cash and woody trees such as eucalyptus (*Eucalypetus camaldulensis*) and khat (*Khatha edulis*) has taken a toll on traditional agroforestry and native woody trees (Zerihun 2015).

A critical review of the present ethnography

The ethnographic work entitled *The Sidaama* by Adolf Ellegard Jensen, Elisabeth Pauli and Helmut Straube is based on their fieldwork in Sidaama in the 1950s. The book was never published and was originally written in German. The lead author, Adolf Ellegard Jensen (1899-1965), was one of the most important German ethnologists of the first half of the twentieth century; his main research interests were myth, ritual and cult and he furthered Leo Frobenius's theory of Cultural Morphology (Epple & Thubauville 2012; Thubauville 2020; Thubauville & Alemu 2018). Teams led by Jensen undertook fieldwork among the Sidaama and the Gedeo in the 1930s and 1950s (Getachew 2018).

The ethnographic work has been compiled in an interesting structure, enriched with numerous photos. The main topics of the book cover, among others, ethnogenesis, socio-political organization, economic life, the caste system, material culture, the origin myths of various entities including the creator, good and bad spirit beings, human beings, animals, plants, cattle and cultivated crops. The book is organized into two major sections dealing with what the authors considered as the Sidaama in general and the 'Haadiichcho'. In both sections, the material is organized along the lines of myths of origins, clan classification, founding ancestors, socio-cultural institutions (mainly the institutions of socio-political offices), religious concepts, beliefs and practices relating to medicine, the curriculum vitae (including the rites of passage from birth to death) and the material culture.

The decades – 1950s and 1960s – in which the authors were active was an era in which Western ethnologists and ethnohistorians set the agenda in the ethnography of the peoples of the third world. The spirit of the times was imbued with the then fashionable scholastic thinking and ideologies. The authors oriented themselves implicitly in the prevailing ethnographic and ethnological arguments re-

garding the cultures and peoples of the third world in general: the evolutionary, structural-functionalist and diffusionist views. The then dominant theoretical and methodological lenses in ethnohistory and anthropology overshadow the spirit of the writing. Readers would do well to consider this when they encounter some statements that are inappropriate or imbued with racial and Eurocentric tones. Yet, the specific ethnological paradigms that guided their academic expeditions and writing aside (we will return to the book's weaknesses below), this work is of paramount ethnohistorical importance and makes very interesting reading today.

From the early twentieth century, the Frobenius Institute of Germany played a very important role in documenting the histories, languages, and cultures of the peoples of Ethiopia in general and southern Ethiopia in particular. This work on the Sidaama was part of this ethnological tradition, which resulted in exceptional documenting of the histories and cultures of the Ethiopian peoples. The authors set forth in a very lucid manner the minutiae of the history and culture of Sidaama. They open our eyes to the Ethiopia of the mid-twentieth century and the Sidaama of the time with invaluable details of the ethnographic, socio-political, religious and economic landscape. Their work is entertaining, informative and educational, and the authors take time to describe each dimension of the Sidaama culture in quite wonderful depth.

The book depicts the Sidaama's dynamics and intricate socio-political landscape, religious lives, livelihoods, intra- and inter-ethnic relations, the rules of social stratification and the dynamics of political offices as well as the syncretic mixes of the socio-political institutions that were emerging and crystallizing as the Sidaama were made part of the broader Ethiopian Imperial nation state. The intricacies of social life, socio-cultural complexes and the patron–client relations existing within the various groups in Sidaama as well as between the Sidaama and the central government of Ethiopia and so on are also lucidly revealed in this important ethnographic work.

The book also supplies us with important historical lessons about the institutions of slavery, societal attitudes to occupational categories and the emerging influence of Western cultural and materialist forces. The tug of war between the conservative and change-supporting forces within Sidaama society at the time is clearly visible in the book. Here we see the seeds of modern ways of living being sown in many areas, including in costume, cuisine, politics, public administration, religion, but also a vocal group fighting to maintain the indigenous values and ways of living. It is a tussle that continues to this day. Important lessons on interethnic relations in the areas of material and non-material exchanges, political relations, and war and peace relations between the Sidaama and the neighbouring ethnic groups, including the Gedeo, the Wolaitta, the Guji and Arsi-Oromo are also included.

Origin myths for many of the societal values, institutions and material cultures are presented in a very entertaining and educational approach. We learn, for exam-

ple, how and why for example, various food crops, such as barley, maize, ensete and millet, and tamed animals, such as cattle, ruminants and so on came to be. We also learn about the origins of the class and caste systems, gender relations, and the origins of important social institutions of socio-political and religious leadership.

However, while the ethnographic work is of sound methodological, theoretical, substantive, historical and anthropological cogency, it nonetheless suffers from many errors of omission, commission and historical and cultural misrepresentation. Many of these errors are of course quite understandable, given the spirit of the era in which the work was undertaken. The fieldwork was undertaken and the book compiled in a time when it was quite normal for Western anthropologists to approach the histories and cultures of the third world in a paternalistic, ethnocentric and Eurocentric manner. It was also a time in Ethiopian society when the now outright derogatory social and cultural categories and narratives were normally accepted. All the errors and ethnographic misrepresentation in the work of the 1950s and 1960s era should be seen in the context of the ethos of the time, and the book read with an awareness of its shortcomings.

Among the range ethnographic errors found in the book are derogatory misnomers (e.g. Djandjero instead of Yem), wrong ethnonyms (e.g. Sidamo instead of Sidaama) and erroneous nomenclature (e.g. *uolawitsho* instead of *wolawichcho*). There are also historical and cultural errors. Some of the statements appear not to be founded in the facts on the ground. Among the inaccuracies are claims of belligerent relations with the Gurage, when the latter do not in fact share a border with the Sidaama; the peoples of Ethiopia being 'already under unified rule at that time, until Mohammed Grań destroyed that empire'; and that the festival called *fichchee* in Sidaama is 'probably taken over from the Amhara, namely from their *masqala* festival'. Some of the authors' statements, such as comments on people displacing each other, should be handled with extreme caution, as they are of an incendiary nature in the current context. In some places, the authors appear to commit substantive mistakes, such as, presenting issues as objectively factual rather than matters of belief or report. For example, they state that 'The Sidaama are either descended from the personalities who came down from heaven or from Bushshee and his four sons or are derived from Maaldeya'. The authors also fail to include actual quotations and narratives from the informants and, therefore, fail to give their research partners an active voice. Another area of ethnographic misrepresentation is the authors' use of the wrong ethnonyms and nomenclatures, including the name of the people being discussed. The writers were unsure whether it was correct to use the term 'Sidaama' or 'Sidamo', and in some places wrongly argued that the correct nomenclature was 'Sidamo'. In this, they were confusing the correct ethnonym, 'Sidaama', with the name given to the amalgamation of administrative regions in southern Ethiopia instituted during the reign of Haile Selassie I (1930-1974), 'Sidamo'. The other dominant problem is a failure to use the correct

Sidaama terms for some elements of both the material and non-material culture. In many instances the authors use Amharic terms to represent Sidaama realities, ignoring the proper Sidaama terms. The names of places, animals and plants in particular are treated in this way. In this translation we have decided to use the currently common spelling of Sidaama words, place names and ethnonyms, and to replace derogatory ethnonyms out of consideration for today's readership.

Some of the statements in the book appear to be unprofessional, and smack of ethnocentrism. When describing the social stratification and caste system among the Sidaama, for example, some of the expressions in the book lack objective description, simply seeming to echo the reports of the informants, which often validate the hubris of intra-ethnic rivalries and pride and pit one social group against another. That being the case, the manuscript reflects what were at the time (and often are today) popular beliefs. The manuscript correctly presents the social stratification of the Sidaama into the *wolawichcho* and the other historically marginalized social groups commonly associated with the supposedly lower class of potters, blacksmiths, slaves, etc.

The use of a diffusionist perspective, which has been associated with the creation, origin and expansion of some forms of material and non-material cultural elements among the Sidaama, is also problematic. The authors appear to use a diffusionist explanation for the origins of some forms of cultural beliefs and practices among the Sidaama. While it is quite historically and ethnologically correct to use such approaches for explaining the origins of some aspects of Sidaama material and non-material culture (for example the origin and use of some crops such as coffee, maize, eucalyptus trees, etc.), other aspects may not necessarily be explained by diffusion. One could equally argue for a non-diffusionist interpretation. There is thus a tendency in the book to assign some of the cultural elements to other, supposedly dominant, ethnic groups such as the Amhara and the Oromo. A case in point is the institution of the '*gada*'. The equivalent of the Oromo '*gada*' is '*luwa*' among the Sidaama. The Sidaama use the *luwa* institution for the socio-political values and roles of the male rites of passage and leadership positions. While the authors may be justified in claiming this, as the various Cushitic groups share cultural traditions due, calling the Sidaama's politico-social rites of passage *gada* rather than *luwa* is erroneous.

The presentation of the Sidaama and historically marginalized Sidaama group the Haadiichcho in separate ethnographies, as if they are two separate entities, may also be inappropriate. Although the Haadiichcho and other such groups among the Sidaama experienced marginalization in the past and continue to have issues today (as is the case in all other parts of Ethiopia), it does not seem appropriate to amplify the difference to the extent of allotting the Sidaama and Haadiichcho separate sections. As the authors depict in the book, all the major present-day clans in Sidaama trace their ancestry to one of the two founding ancestors: Bushshee and Maaldeya. The present-day Sidaama are a more unified entity as far as the

Haadiichcho are concerned, and the latter do not overly alienate themselves from their Sidaama identity, although there may be some historical grievances. The book does not do justice to the unity of Sidaama in this sense.

The other issue that I consider to be a weakness in the book is that it lacks strong comparative ethnographic discussion. Although there are some useful statements offering some comparison, there are insufficient references and discussions situating the Sidaama ethnography in the wider Ethiopian and East African ethnographic and historiographic context. There is also a lack of explicit methodological and theoretical orientations in the book, so much so that, in some instances, it seems as if one is reading a journalistic travel report.

For all its shortcomings, Jensen et al's work on the Sidaama constitutes a very important contribution to the history and anthropology of Ethiopia, cogently presenting in a vivid, captivating and detailed manner the multifarious dimensions of the Sidaama culture. The book's translation into English is a major achievement, and will no doubt become essential reading on the ethnography of Ethiopia, its southwestern cultures and the Sidaama.

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Editor's preface

by Sophia Thubauville

The Frobenius expedition to Sidaama

This ethnography on the Sidaama of southern Ethiopia is the first publication of the outcome of a research trip made by members of the Frobenius Institute to Sidaama in 1954/55. It presents the manuscripts written following the trip by the ethnographers Adolf Ellegard Jensen,[2] Elisabeth Pauli,[3] and Helmut Straube.[4]

[2] Adolf Ellegard Jensen (1899-1965) studied mathematics, natural sciences and philosophy in Kiel and Bonn. He became an assistant to the German anthropologist Leo Frobenius at the Institute for Cultural Morphology in 1923. Before the First World War, he participated in many of the Frobenius Institute's expeditions to South Africa, Libya, southern Ethiopia and Ceram (Indonesia). After Frobenius's death in 1938, Jensen was supposed to succeed him as the director of both the Institute and the Anthropological Museum in Frankfurt. However, his appointment was blocked because he refused to collaborate with the Nazi regime and was married to a Jewish woman. After the war ended, he became the director of the Anthropological Museum and finally took up a full professorship at the Institute for Social Anthropology and the directorship of the Frobenius Institute. For his research trips to Ethiopia and his important contributions to the Ethiopian Studies see Thubauville (2020).

[3] Elisabeth Pauli (1906-1984) joined the Frobenius Institute in1933 as a painter. During the Second World War, she undertook literature research in preparation for the post-war expeditions to Ethiopia. She played a central role in each of these and wrote, among other things, the unpublished expedition reports, from which we learn a lot about the expedition circumstances and methods of the anthropologists. In 1952 Elisabeth Pauli married A.E. Jensen after a previous joint expedition to Ethiopia.

[4] Helmut Straube (1923-1984) served in the military in the Second World War and, after being released from captivity, he studied at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main. After attending classes in different fields and departments, he finally enrolled in anthropology, geography and history. Being a student of Leo Frobenius and Adolf Ellegard Jensen, he felt drawn to the cultural morphology that was taught at the Frobenius Institute. In 1952, Straube received his PhD in anthropology under the supervision of Jensen, with a thesis on African religion. From 1952 to 1965, he held several positions at the Frobenius Institute. In 1967, he habilitated at the University of Cologne with a study on Nilotic people. Between 1973 and 1974 he went back into the field in southern Ethiopia, and his analysis of divine kingdoms and research on awarding leading offices by 'feasts of merit' are pioneering studies. In 1968, he took up a professorship at the University of Munich and he held the chair at the Institute of Anthropology and African Studies until his death in 1984.

Jensen had already led two Frobenius Institute research expeditions to southern Ethiopia, in 1934/35 and 1950-52. Both expeditions travelled through the Sidaama area, but the researchers spent little time in the field and no systematic ethnographic study could be conducted. During both expeditions, Jensen enthused about the beauty of Sidaama's landscape, especially the park landscape with its sycamore trees and giant cedars (Jensen 1936:85, 266). But it was not just the beauty of the green landscape that drew him and his team back to Sidaama for a longer stay in 1954/55. As with his previous research in southern Ethiopia, Jensen's aim was to determine which ethnic groups and which cultural characteristics belonged to the 'old-established' peasant peoples, the 'Altvölker' (Jensen 1959) as he called them, and which belonged to the more recently settled Oromo peoples (Jensen 1936:88, 276). He lacked precise data on the Sidaama, whom he believed to be one of the old-established peasant peoples. The little data he had been able to collect himself while passing through the Sidaama area in 1934/35 can be found in the ethnography, *Im Lande des Gada* (Jensen 1936). As preliminary work for a more detailed study of the Sidaama, Jensen's colleague, Agnes Schulz, made a study of the existing literature on the Sidaama during the Second World War (Schulz 1942).

The expedition that led to the ethnography presented here spanned the years 1954-56, although the researchers were only in Sidaama in 1954/55. Five researchers from the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt took part in the expedition to southern Ethiopia: the director, Adolf Ellegard Jensen, Elisabeth Pauli; the ethnologists Helmut Straube and Eike Haberland; and the geographer Wolfgang Kuls. The expedition followed shortly after a previous Ethiopia expedition in 1950-52.[5] That expedition ran somewhat further south: the researchers split up and stayed for several weeks and months alone or in smaller groups investigating sites around the lakes of the southern Ethiopian Rift Valley.

The researchers arrived in Beera, near Yirga Alem one week before Christmas in 1954. There, they set up their first camp in the Sidaama region,[6] and were received as guests of *balambarras* Alemayehu, who provided them with two huts and had a third for their staff. While Jensen and Pauli worked together from Camp Beera until 10 February 1955, Straube researched the Darra area two hours to the south by car. Jensen and Straube then interrupted their research in February for an audience with Haile Selassie in Addis Ababa. During this time, Pauli remained alone in Camp Beera until Jensen and Straube returned from Addis Ababa. In Beera, Jensen and Pauli were advised to visit *balambarras* Wena, in Shabbadino, to the north. *Balambarras* Wena was considered to be very well versed in local history and culture, and when they visited him for several days, they found he could actually count 42 generations back to the first man in the Sidaama re-

[5] The outcomes were published in the ethnography *Altvölker Süd-Äthiopiens* (Jensen 1959).

[6] See letter to the Frobenius Institute AEJ-40-016.

gion.[7] On 15 March, Jensen, Pauli and Straube finally broke camp in Sidaama and continued their expedition (see travel route, image 1).

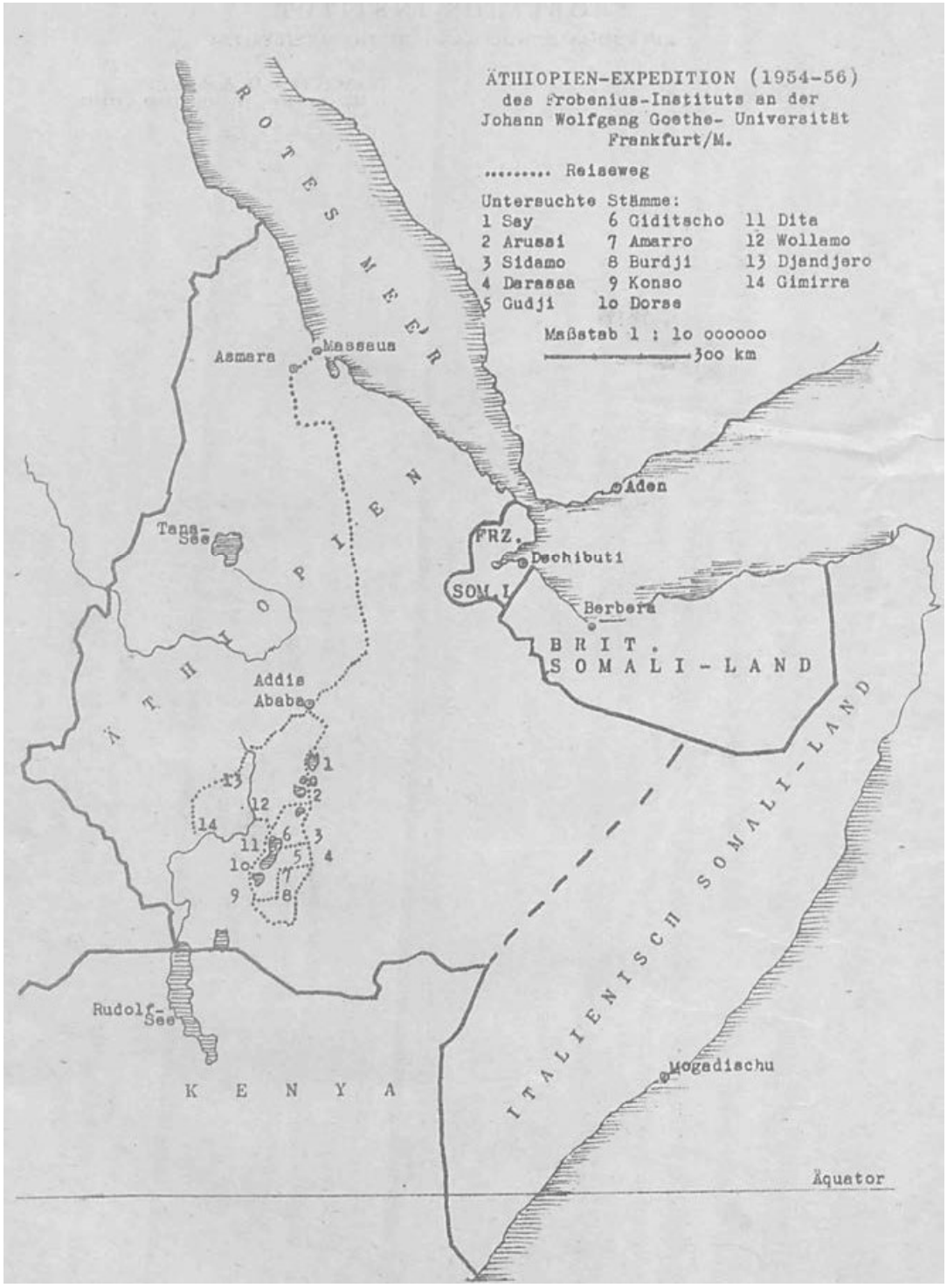

Image 1: Travel route of the Frobenius expedition 1954-56[8]

[7] See unpublished report of the expedition EH-60-01.

[8] This map contains the designations for ethnic groups used by social anthropologists in the 1950s. The spelling is no longer common today, and some of the terms are pejorative and no longer used.

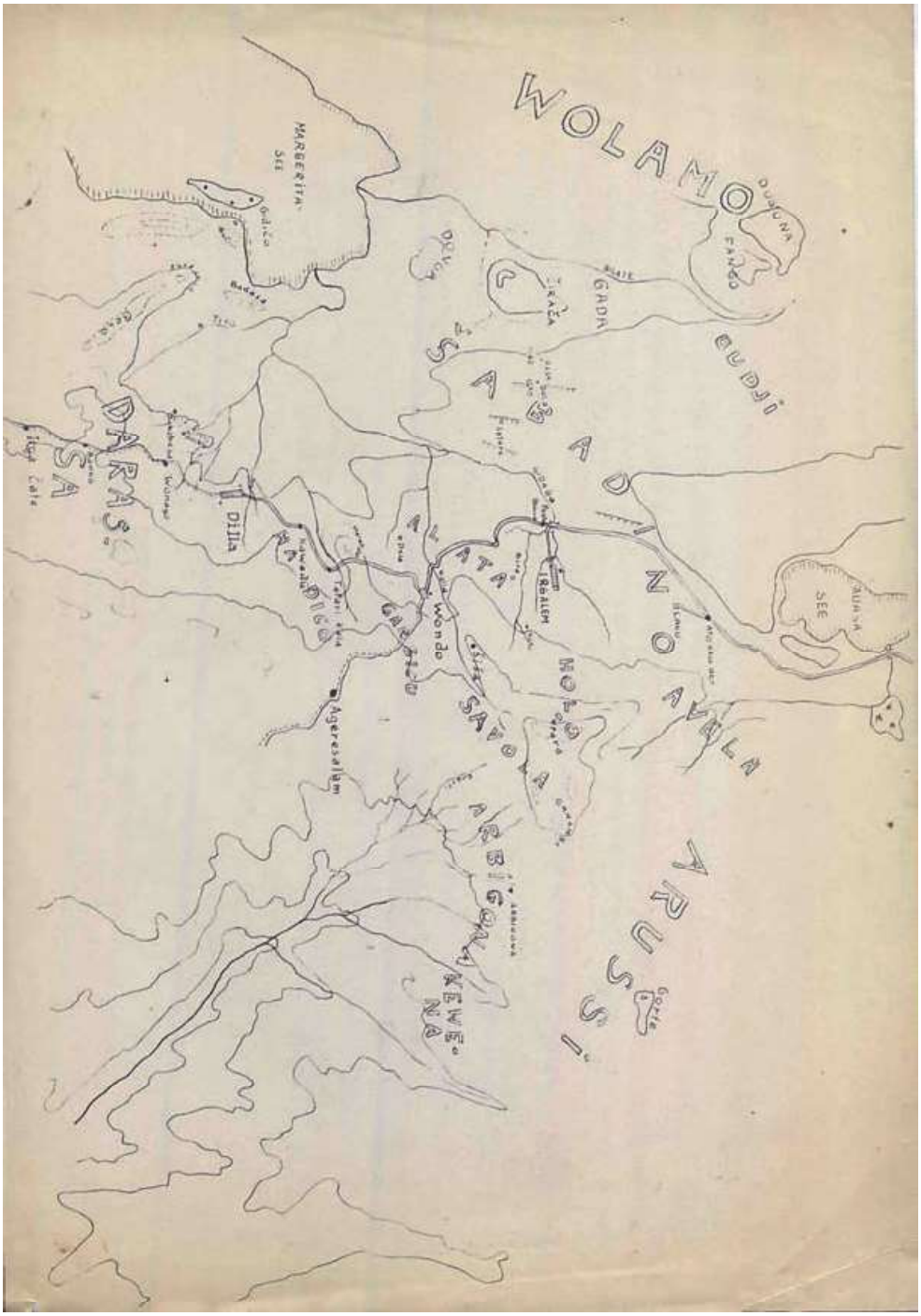

Image 2: Hand-drawn map of the Sidaama area and its neighbouring ethnic groups[9]

The possibilities for the Frobenius team's research and observations were determined in part by the fortuitous timing of their expedition. They arrived at a time when the circumcision ceremony of a new age group was taking place. Moreover, they reached Sidaama just when the ensete pulp was being processed for the

[9] This map contains the designations for ethnic groups used by social anthropologists in the 1950s. The spelling is no longer common today, and some of the terms are pejorative and no longer used.

whole year and were able to observe the whole process. During the eleven days that Pauli spent alone at Camp Beera in February 1956, an important funeral service also took place, which she was able to document on film and in photographs (see Thubauville 2017).

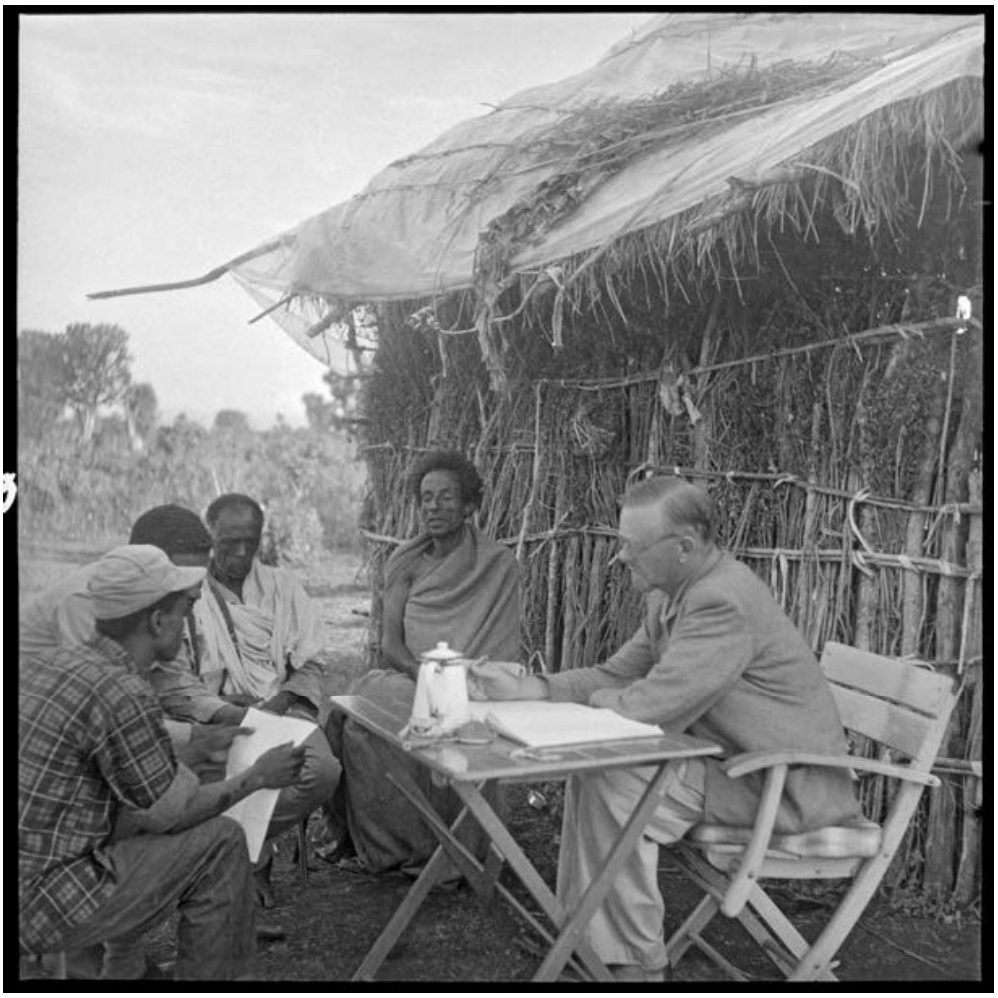

Image 3: In camp Beera with Gadissa und Aggaro

However, the determining factor for the results of the research was of course the informants with whom the researchers worked on site.

Jensen names the informers he and Pauli met in Beera and Shabbadiino right at the beginning of his short introduction (see page 41). Their most important informant in Beera was Aggaro Domme, whom they nicknamed Inca because of his distinctive features.

Balambarras Alemayehu, the chief of the Alatta province, was their host and another important informant for the researchers.

The main informant of the researchers in Shabbadiino was *balambarras* Wena, who was a sub-chief of the province; he is the informant most frequently mentioned by name in the following ethnography.

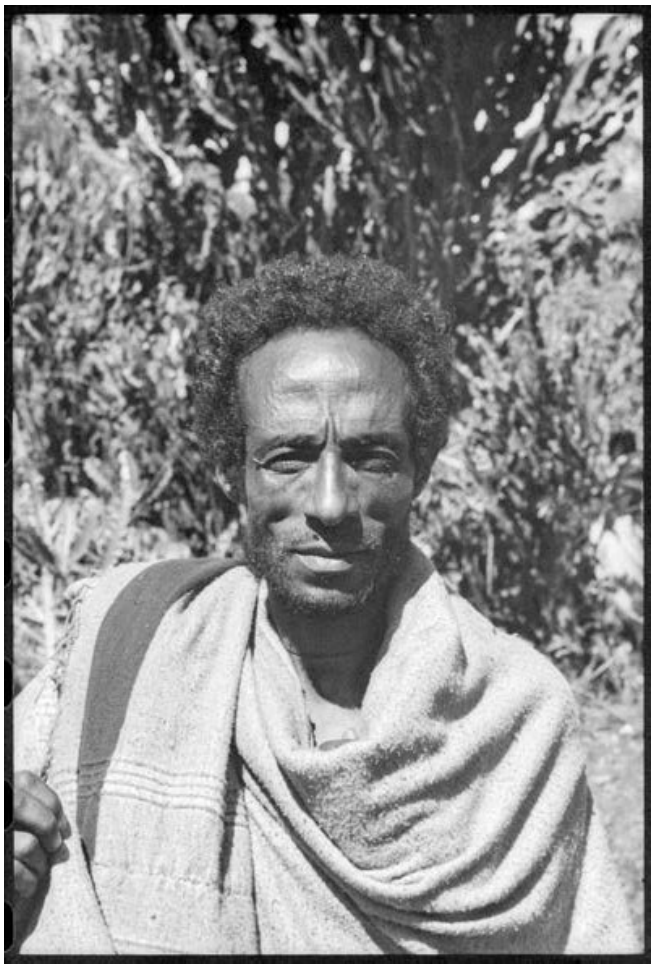

Image 4: Aggaro Domme, main informant in Beera

Further informants mentioned by name were Gadissa Sufa, Russa Daalachcha and Ribbe Tule.

Unfortunately, there is hardly any information about Straube and his informants in the Darra area. His reports were not included in the expedition report, which was mainly written by Pauli, there are no letters to the Frobenius Institute from him and he hardly mentions the names of informants and translators in his manuscript. A single picture of him at a table surrounded by two Ethiopian men is the only evidence of his camp and his working conditions.

The above-mentioned key informants of Jensen and Pauli are typical of the way members of the Frobenius expeditions worked and thought back in the 1950s: these informers were 'wise old men' (Dinslage and Thubauville 2017). Most of the informants held ritual or political offices, very few were ordinary people, and no female informants at all are mentioned. These old men were seen by Jensen as carriers of an older knowledge, and therefore not as individuals but as representatives of their culture (Bustorf 2017:147). This might also explain – but not justify – why their individual names are only rarely mentioned in the ethnography below and are not acknowledged appropriately, by today's standards, as partners

Image 5: Balambarras Alemayehu

in knowledge production. Another reason that may lie behind this shortcoming is that the expeditions followed a very tight research programme that aimed to document a then unknown land. Thus, the researchers did not stay for a long time in one place, and this inevitably led to somewhat superficial relations with informants.

In addition to informants, translators played a central role in the on-site data collection. The anthropologists had a very basic command of Amharic and worked mostly with translators who could translate into English or French for them. Because of the linguistic diversity in southern Ethiopia, they often needed two translators: one to translate from the local languages into Amharic, and one to translate from Amharic into English or French. The names of the translators the researchers worked with in Sidaama are known, and the contact with them seemed to go beyond the work, as there are many pictures of the translators with their wives and children.

The researchers worked with two translators, Shaffik and Kebede, seen above, and a local policeman, Leenjishsho, who served as an intermediate translator. Leenjishsho helped with translations from Sidaama into Amharic or vice versa, at least temporarily, maybe even regularly. In addition to helping with transla-

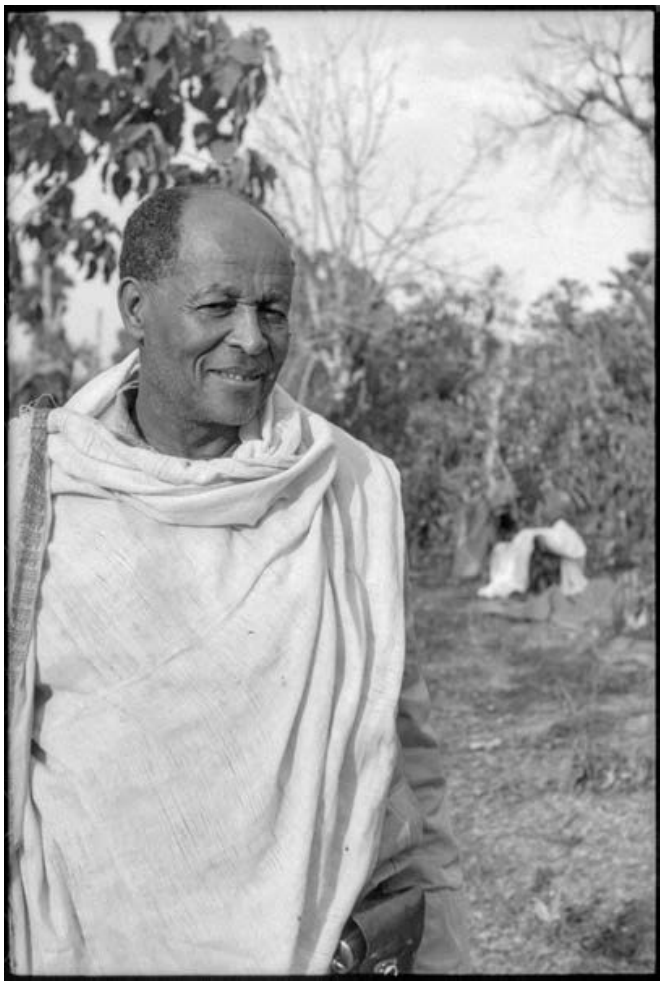

Image 6: Balambarras Wena

tions, he also provided the anthropologists with informants, prompting Jensen to write that Leenjishsho was bringing them the "old people" they wanted.[10]

Sidaama in the collections of the Frobenius Institute

The expeditions to the Sidaama region left their mark in the archives of the Frobenius Institute: scientific legacies – mainly generated by Jensen – include Jensen's field diaries and notebooks, travel reports, letters from, within and to the field, scripts for lectures, and hand-drawn maps from Sidaama. As the Frobenius Institute has always placed great emphasis on visual documentation[11] and the collection of material culture, 1,169 photographs and sketches, several film reels[12] and 22 ethnographic objects, like everyday objects, jewellery and clothing from

[10] See unpublished letter from the field to the Frobenius Institute AEJ-40-016.

[11] For more information on the visual documentation of southern Ethiopia by members of the Frobenius Institute, see Thubauville (2018, 2019).

[12] For a detailed description of the published and unpublished films on southern Ethiopia, see Thubauville 2017.

Image 7: Straube in Camp Tafari-Keella

the expeditions to Sidaama can be found in the Institute's various archives. A further 33 ethnographic objects from Sidaama that were collected by the Frobenius expedition can be found today in the Weltkulturenmuseum in Frankfurt.[13]

Between 2014 and 2017 the Indexing and Digitizing of the Archival Material on Ethiopian Studies of the Frobenius Institute project, financed by the German Research Foundation, indexed and sustainably archived all written documents, selected materials and audio and video material from the Frobenius Institute's expeditions to Ethiopia, with the aim of facilitating public access to them through an open-access database.[14]

[13] At the time of the expedition, the World Culture Museum and the Frobenius Institute were joined by a personal union.

[14] See https://www.frobenius-institut.de/sammlungen/datenbanken/aethiopien-datenbank.

Image 8: Shaffik, main translator

Several attempts to publish

The following ethnography consists of manuscripts by Jensen, Pauli and Straube. While the part written by Jensen refers to the political, social and religious life of the Sidaama in the Alatta and Shabbadiino areas,[15] Pauli's work focuses on the Sidaama's material culture and economy, especially the cultivation and processing of ensete.[16] Straube did research in the Darra district, and his manuscript is therefore a comprehensive description of the economic, social, and religious life of the Darra area, which is juxtaposed with the descriptions of the Alatta and Shabbadiino districts presented by Jensen and Pauli.[17] The three manuscripts were written independently of each other and are published unabridged one after the other in

[15] The original manuscript of Jensen can be found in the archives of the Frobenius Institute under call number EH 65.

[16] The original manuscripts of Pauli can be found in the archives of the Frobenius Institute under call numbers EH 74 (Economy) and EH 72 (Material Culture).

[17] The original manuscript of Straube can be found in the archives of the Frobenius Institute under call number EH 118.

Image 9: Kebede, translator

this volume, which leads to some repetition, especially in the parts by Jensen and Straube.

The reasons why the ethnography did not go into print after the expedition are not entirely clear, although we know Jensen had severe health problems after his return from Ethiopia and was very busy as director of the Frobenius Institute, the University Institute for Ethnology and the Ethnological Museum in Frankfurt. He died in 1965, just when he could have retired.

Archival material from the Frobenius Institute, however, suggests that, even after Jensen's death, several colleagues regretted that the ethnography had not been published and wanted to make an effort to correct the omission. Ulrich Braukämper, who had been employed at the Frobenius Institute since 1969 and had also conducted research in southern Ethiopia, wrote to Pauli in 1974 that he felt it was a great pity that the Sidaama ethnography was still unpublished, as he wanted to refer to it in his own book on the Hadiya. He suggested that Straube should publish the manuscripts.[18] Pauli followed Braukämper's advice and sent

[18] Unpublished letter EH 78-001.

Image 10: Leenjishsho, policeman of the expedition

Jensen's part of the unpublished manuscript to Straube, who thanked her, but regretted that he has too much work to do in his institute in Munich to take on the publication.[19] From correspondence between Straube and Pauli in 1974, it is also clear that at that time, Jensen's part of the manuscript was not completely typewritten, and that Pauli probably had Jensen's handwritten notes typed up.[20] The question of publication then seems to have disappeared again for five years due to Straube's overload.

Then, in 1979, Stanislaw Stanley, another researcher of Ethiopian Studies approached Haberland, Jensen's successor at the Frobenius Institute, asked for the manuscript, and offered to publish it. Haberland thought this a good idea and asked Pauli for her opinion.[21] Straube then made contact with Stanley and met with him and Pauli in Munich in February 1981.[22] They seem to have discussed the publication of a Sidaama book with parts by Jensen, Straube and Stanley. How-

19 Unpublished letter EH 78-002.
20 Unpublished letter EH 78-003.
21 Unpublished letters EH 77-002.
22 Unpublished letter SST-0030-44.

Image 11: Shelf with ethnographic objects in the Ethnographic Collection of the Frobenius Institute

ever, in March 1981 Straube wrote to Stanley to tell him that he was finding it difficult to bring together a manuscript by three authors. Straube and Stanley also had different ideas about the structure of the publication: Straube, for example, suggested removing two of Stanley's chapters and publishing them elsewhere.[23] The two continued to exchange correspondence until mid-1982 but failed to reach agreement. In 1984 both Pauli and Straube died, and so this second attempt to publish the manuscript also foundered.

Notes on the editorial process

While many of the research results from the Frobenius expeditions to Ethiopia in the 1930s and 1950s were published, others – like the results from Sidaama – remained unfinished in the archives of the Frobenius Institute. Among the published research are numerous scientific articles and four major ethnographies: *Im Lande des Gada* (1936), *Altvölker Süd-Äthiopiens* (1959), *Westkuschitische Völker Süd-Äthiopiens* (1963) and *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens* (1963). Four more ethnographies were planned and prepared but were not published, for reasons we can only speculate on today. The four unpublished manuscripts comprised ethnographies of the

[23] Unpublished letter EH 374-002.

Gedeo, Sidaama and Konso written by Jensen and his team following expeditions to Ethiopia in the 1930s and 1950s, and an ethnography of the Wolaitta drafted by Haberland following his research trips in 1954/56, 1967, 1970/71 and 1972/74. These ethnographies – all written in German – have so far only been accessible via the archives of the Frobenius Institute. To make them available to a wider circle, they are now being translated into English and published in a series on Southern Ethiopian Studies at the Frobenius Institute. The first book in the series was *The Gedeo* (2020). The ethnography presented here is the second publication in this series.

In editing this volume, I have left the chapters and general outline of the manuscripts as the authors intended in the originals. Jensen arranged the chapters of his manuscript in the way in which he believed the Sidaama – due to their preferences – would have done it themselves. Thus, he begins with the ancestry and family trees of the rulers of the time and continues with descriptions of the clans. As an ethnographer, he was very sympathetic to the Sidaama, who were very concerned with their ancestry and had a great interest in and knowledge of geneaologies. After he left the Sidaama in 1955 and continued his research in Ethiopia, Jensen often raved about the Sidaama to groups with less pronounced knowledge and interest in enumerating family trees.

The three manuscript parts by Jensen, Pauli and Straube were written independently of each other, and this resulted in some contradictions and repetitions. Jensen's part was probably the first to be finished but, as we saw above, remained in handwritten form until the 1970s, when Straube planned to publish the book. Straube therefore knew Jensen's part, but it is not known, however, whether he knew it before he wrote his own part. Pauli's part was probably the last to be produced, in the 1970s. In her manuscript, she refers several times to sketches of the material culture of the Sidaama that she had made herself as a professional painter. These sketches would have added a lot of value to the material culture section, but unfortunately could not be found.

Several changes had to be made in editing the unpublished manuscript. First of all, the language was changed from German into English. Some repetitions were omitted, cumbersome sentences were simplified, and some obsolete expressions reformulated. Nevertheless, I have stayed as close as possible to the text and have not changed, for example, the researchers' frequent use of subjective expressions. Due to the limited changes to the text, the ethnography is also a historical document showing how German anthropologists of the first half of the twentieth century worked, thought and wrote. Since the manuscript was in an uncorrected raw form, spellings had to be standardized (see editorial notes). Some of the terms used for the various ethnic groups at that time, are today considered derogatory and no longer used. They have been replaced by the terms commonly used today. Value has been added to the manuscript by providing translations of local terms in brackets, including some of the photos taken by the researchers, and adding a

glossary and index of names. The subtitles of the pictures are the original ones given by the researchers, corrected and/or amended by me if needed.

I have not changed outdated or inappropriate theoretical terms, such as 'caste,' which were used by Jensen and his successor, Haberland, to describe the social stratification in many southern Ethiopian societies. Nor have I added references to more current debates on such topics. In addition, adding references to more current research among the Sidaama would have been beyond the scope of this project. Even though much research has been done in Sidaama since the Frobenius expeditions by international (Bender 1976; Brøgger 1986; Egeland 2016; Gasparini 1983; Hamer 1987, 2007; Hudson 1969, 1976; Kawachi 2007; Lonfernini 1971; Maccani 1989; Smeds 1955; Stanley 1970; Tolo 1998; Vecchiato 1985; Wedekind 1990; Yri 2004) and Ethiopian (Ambaye 2012, 2019; Anbessa 2012, 2016; Anbessa and Tafesse 2019; Almaw 2005; Betana 1991; Girum 2013; Seyoum 2004, 2007, 2015; Wolassa 2016; Zerihun 2019) researchers, I will have to leave it up to others to compare their findings.[24]

A gap in the report of Ethiopian history

Finally, one might ask, why we are publishing Jensen, Pauli and Straube's ethnographic account of the Sidaama now, several decades after their death and 65 years after their research took place. Well, the ethnographic accounts of the Frobenius Institute members from the mid-1950s offer the first extensive ethnographic descriptions of the Sidaama, even though, lasting barely three months, their visit to Sidaama seems rather short by today's standards. Since the Frobenius expedition to the area, many other researchers have studied the Sidaama, with more and more Ethiopians among them in the last decades, especially since the expansion in the number of universities in Ethiopia from the turn of the millennium. Many of the places where Frobenius Institute researchers did their fieldwork now have their own universities, including Sidaama, which has a thriving university in Hawaasa. Today, most studies in the Sidaama area are conducted by Ethiopian researchers, for whom historical data stored abroad, such as that presented here, should be made available in English. This translation and publication of Jensen, Pauli and Straube's ethnographic account of the Sidaama can therefore be considered a small contribution toward returning to the peoples of southern Ethiopia elements of their identity and history that are not part of public accounts of Ethiopian history (Abbink 2017:172-173).

[24] Ambaye (2017) has already briefly reviewed the Sidaama manuscripts. He visited the Frobenius Institute in July/August 2016 and, the manuscripts were orally translated to him from German into English.

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by Adolf Ellegard Jensen

Introduction

The Sidamo call themselves Sidaama and claim to have had no other name in earlier times. It is therefore probable that their name is connected with the name 'Sidama' (Schulz 1942), which is widespread in southern Ethiopia and has different meanings.[25]

Yirga Alem, the capital of the southern Ethiopian province of Sidama-Borana, and at the same time the main town of the Sidaama region, is connected to Addis Ababa by a road that was already in operation in 1934.[26] The road, which today runs further south, has a turn-off at Wondo to Hagere Selam and beyond to Negelle (Borana). There are many smaller junctions in Sidaama land that can be travelled by car, as the roads that cross the country can be used as car tracks without difficulty, especially because of their considerable width, which we noticed as a peculiar feature of Sidaama culture as early as 1934. Most of these paths are bordered on both sides by *euphorbia candelabrum* fences, which also serve as a general boundary for the fields.

Sidaama land is immensely densely populated, although apparently not as densely populated as Gedeo land. In the areas of Sidaama land we have visited, one farmhouse follows another, each surrounded by ensete (*Ensete ventricosum*, colloquially also called 'false banana') plants. These densely populated complexes are only separated by very extensive areas of cattle pasture, the so-called *caffa*.

Ensete is by far the most important crop and forms the basis of the diet in most of the Sidaama country. The lower limit of ensete cultivation is about 1,400-1,700 m altitude. In the west – i.e. in the rift zone of the lakes – the Sidaama land includes a wide lowland area where cattle breeding is predominant, combined with the cultivation of maize. In the east, the terrain rises up to 3,000 m and more, but in some places, it exceeds the upper limit of ensete cultivation (about 2,700 m).

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[25] In preparation for the Frobenius expedition to Sidaama, Schulz had undertaken a literature survey in 1942. In this overview Schulz reported that the reports from the end of the nineteenth century, in particular, spoke of several Sidaama peoples (d'Abbadie 1890; Paulitschke 1893). Jensen probably assumed that by using the term 'Sidamo', which according to Schulz was the proper name of one of the numerous Sidaama peoples, he could avoid confusion, especially with regard to the older literature. Since the term 'Sidamo' is now considered to be a misleading one, it has been replaced by 'Sidaama' throughout the following.

[26] Jensen mentions the year 1934 as this was when he travelled through the Sidaama area for the first time. The road may have existed before then.

Image 1: Euphorbia candelabrum fence in Beera

Here barley and moringa trees (*moringa oleifera*) are planted, but above all the extensive plateaus and slopes are used as alpine pastures.

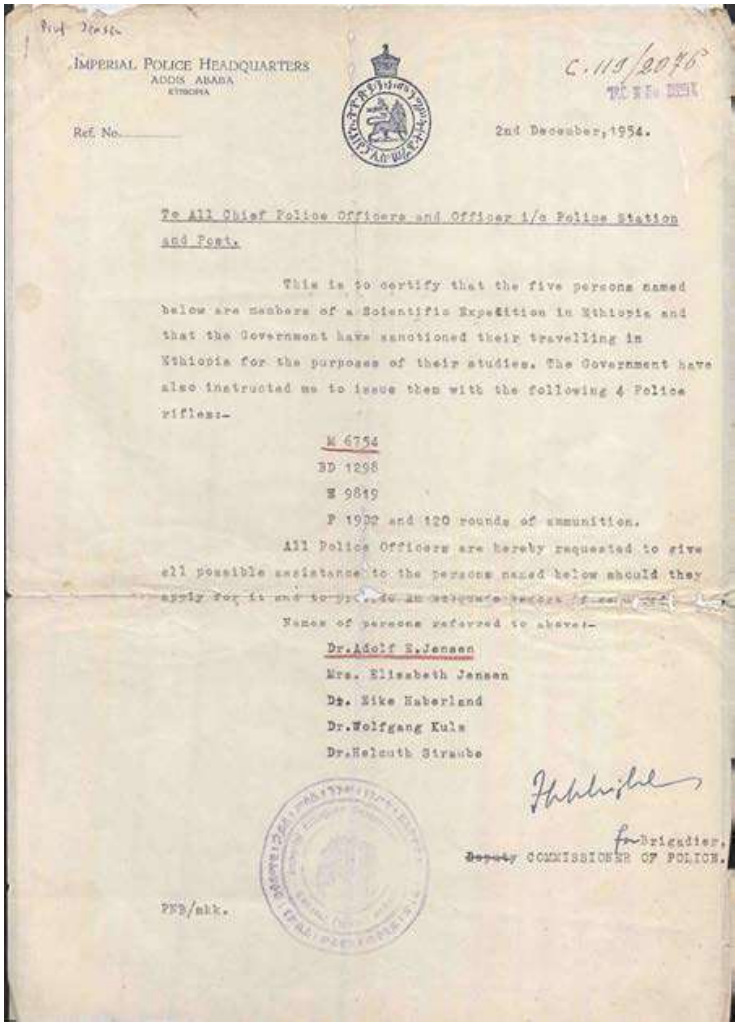
The Sidaama break down into three strictly endogamic groups: firstly, the actual bearers of the Sidaama culture, the *wolawo* (sing. *wolawichcho*); secondly the despised minority of the *haadiiwo* (sing. *haadiichcho*); and finally, the *awaado* (sing. *awachcho*), who form an even more despised caste than the *haadiiwo*. The *haadiiwo* are generally referred to as potters by the actual Sidaama, although they only exceptionally practise the pottery craft. They settle throughout the country as a numerically weaker group among the *wolawo*, but also as a large, closed group outside the *wolawo* in the south of the country, south of the village of Tafari-Keella. The *awaado* are also named by the Sidaama for the crafts they mostly practise, namely blacksmithing and leather work. We will return in detail to the position of these two castes (*haadiiwo* and *awaado*).

There is a very good and very useful ethnological work by Simoni about the Sidaama (Simoni 1939). Their language has also been recorded by Cerulli (1938) and Moreno (1940). As we learned in Yirga Alem, Wolf Leslau has also recently been there for language studies.[27] In the following descriptions, I will only refer to

[27] Wolf Leslau visited Sidaama in 1950, this visit led to the publication of an article (Leslau 1952).

Simoni's work where I could clearly see that the information he provided needed to be modified.

My interlocutors among the Sidaama were at least as numerous as those among the Konso. It is a great advantage of these densely populated areas that much more people are available than in the sparsely populated area west of the Woito, for example. Of these, I will mention only the most important: Aggaro Domme (see image 4, page 22), who was by far the most available to me, and Ribbe Tule, a Haadiichcho, both of whom were close to our main camp; Gadissa Sufa (see image 3, page 21), close to the border between Alatta and Holloo; Russa Daalachcha in Holloo; and *balambarras*[28] Wena Hankarso (see image image 6, page 24), a sub-chief in Shabbadiino. Aggaro and Wena were both prominent figures: Wena was an active reformer and Aggaro a conservative, very distinguished and dignified, yet absolutely a natural representative of his people.



IMPERIAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS
ADDIS ABABA
ETHIOPIA

C.119/2076

Ref. No.

2nd December, 1954.

To All Chief Police Officers and Officer i/c Police Station and Post.

This is to certify that the five persons named below are members of a Scientific Expedition in Ethiopia and that the Government have sanctioned their travelling in Ethiopia for the purposes of their studies. The Government have also instructed me to issue them with the following 4 Police rifles:-

M 6754
BD 1298
M 9819
F 1930 and 120 rounds of ammunition.

All Police Officers are hereby requested to give all possible assistance to the persons named below should they apply for it and to provide an adequate escort if necessary.

Names of persons referred to above:-

Dr.Adolf E.Jensen
Mrs. Elizabeth Jensen
Dr. Eike Haberland
Dr.Wolfgang Kula
Dr.Helmuth Straube

for Brigadier,
~~Deputy~~ COMMISSIONER OF POLICE.

PWB/mkk.

Image 2: Research permit from the imperial police headquarter in Addis Ababa

[28] *Balambarras* was a military title used by district administrators and the like during the imperial regime.

Country and its people

The Sidaama area is relatively large. Along the road running from north to south it has an extent of 90 km and from east to west an average of 60 km. It is bordered to the west by the Bilaatte River and to the south by the lower reaches of the Gidaawo River and the Dilla Valley. In the east and north the boundaries were not so clearly defined. The approximate course of the borders can be seen in the map (image 2). The language is uniform throughout the Sidaama area, and the culture is also largely the same, apart from small deviations.

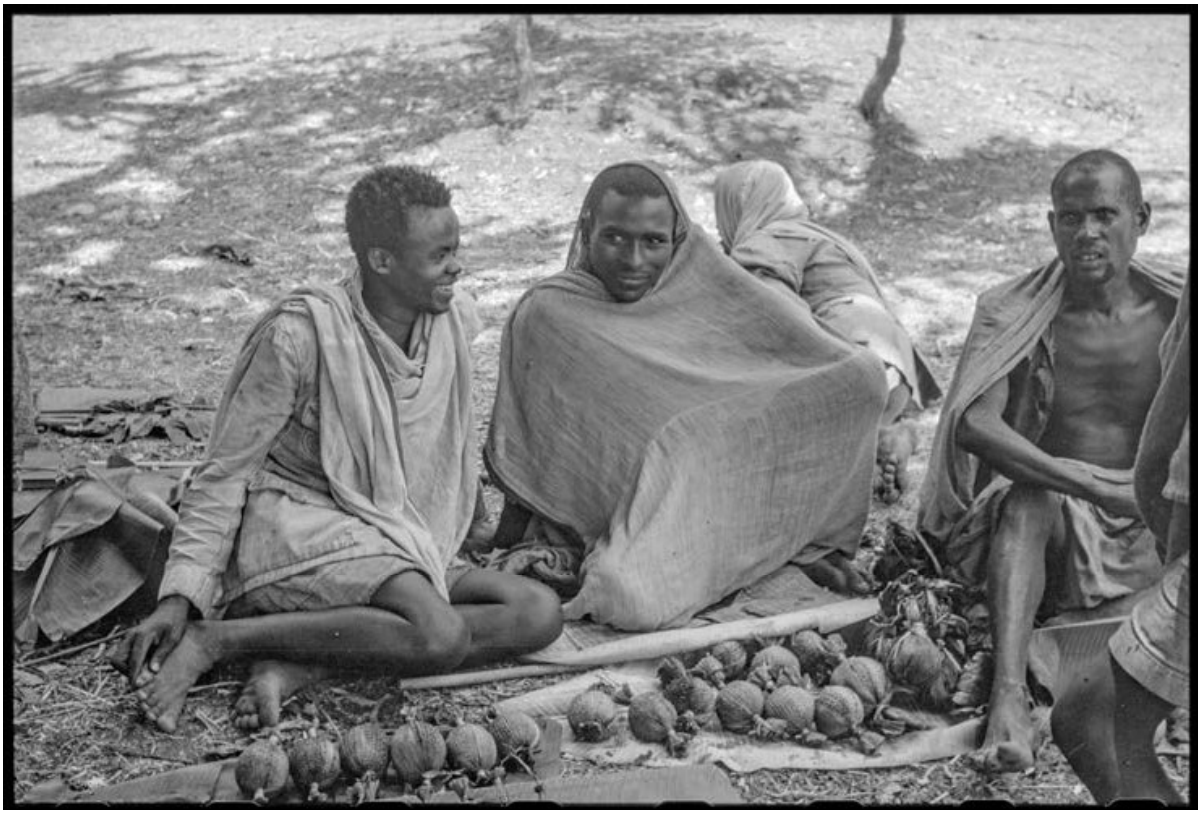


Image 3: Market in Shabbadiino with butter wrapped in ensete rind

At first it was surprising for us that, in the northwest of the Sidaama area, there is also a remnant of Guji people whose territory belongs to the Sidaama who conquered it. This in itself is an unusual occurrence for southern Ethiopia. The Guji were once even obliged to help the Sidaama with weapons in war – even against

the Guji. According to information from *balambarras* Wena, this [the current] state of affairs is the result of a peace agreement in which a war that had lasted for decades was ended before the arrival of the Amhara. Originally, the whole lowlands belonged to the Guji, so that there was a connection between this group living in the northwest and their brothers in the south on the eastern shore of Lake Abbayya. Through successful wars, the Sidaama were able to push their border as far as Bilaatte, so that they also lived on the western shore of Lake Hawaasa. Only the northern shore remained to the Arsi. The split-off Guji groups live in Sheello and in Wondo-Genet (in the northwest of the Sidaama area, not to be confused with the village of Alatta Wondo on the road) under their own sub-chief, who, however, is subordinate to Fantaye Waaqayyo, the chief's daughter in Shabbadiino.

The entire Sidaama area does not appear to have been administered as a unified territory before the Amhara period. In any case, there was no longer any memory of a common head. Rather, even then – as now – it seems to have disintegrated into several independent districts, each of which is now administered by a chief confirmed by the Amhara. The districts and their presumed boundaries can be seen on the map (image 2). The names of the present independent districts and the names of the respective chiefs with their Amharic titles are given in the following list:

1.	Shabbadiino Yanaase	Fantaye Waaqayyo (female)
2.	Alatta	*balambarras* Alemayehu Bii'no
3.	Garbichcho	*balambarras* Addeme Jilo
4.	Holloo	Shila Arqa
5.	Asaraado	Baraaso Tirrol
6.	Haweela	Abebech Mengistu (granddaughter of the recently deceased *grazmach*[29] Hameesso)
7.	Malga	*balambarras* Gada Boona
8.	Saawoola	Gimbo Baashsha
9.	Haadiichcho	*balambarras* Baanata Wojago
10.	Arbegoona	Canoe Wuicho
11.	Qeweena	Koroso Looggita

We reached the Sidaama area at Lake Hawaasa, coming by car from Addis Ababa. On its shoreline meadows, numerous herds of cattle were grazing, guarded by naked boys and girls. In between, horses romped around, and you could see all sorts of water birds, large and small on the shores. Together with the extraordinar-

[29] *Grazmach* was a military title used by district administrators and the like during the imperial regime.

ily beautiful weather and the incredibly charming surroundings, the impression of a paradise landscape immediately forced itself upon us all. Here in the lowlands, there are said to be individual people who have up to 1,000, even up to 3,000, heads of cattle. At least we were assured of this several times by people in the middle highlands. According to Wolfgang Kuls, who made a trip to the Bilaatte River in the lowlands, it is likely that this information is exaggerated.

Due to the abundant rainfall (a real dry season, which was actually due during our presence, was limited to fourteen rain-free days), the whole area is extremely fertile. Moreover, the landscape is interspersed with beautiful groups of trees, among them especially mighty podocarpus trees, which also play a role in the ceremonial life of the Sidaama.

Image 4: Mighty podocarpus tree in Baddaame

At the time of our presence, the Amhara administration of the province of Sidaama-Borana was headed by *ras*[30] Adefris, who rarely visited the provincial capital because of his advanced age. He was represented by a general director, *fitawrari*[31] Kebede Mekonnen. *Dejjazmach*[32] Tademme Zelleqe is responsible

30 *Ras* was a royal title, sometimes equated to duke.

31 *Fitawrari* was a military title used by district administrators and the like during the imperial regime.

32 *Dejjazmach* was a military title used by district administrators and the like during the imperial regime.

for the sub-province of Sidaama. Under him several officials are responsible for the individual districts. Among them, we have actually only dealt with *fitawrari* Abebe in Alatta Wondo. In the province of Sidaama, the Amhara administration has already started surveying all the land and, as a result, does not levy a per capita tax, but collects a certain tax per *gaasha*[33] according to the size of the land holdings. This land survey has divided the country into three categories:

1. *läm* = fertile, arable land: 58.50 Ethiopian $ in tax per year per *gaasha*
2. *läm t'äf* = half fertile land and half pastureland (e.g. at Lake Hawaasa): 40 Ethiopian $ in tax per year
3. *t'äf* = primeval forest, dry steppe etc. (where there is nothing to gain except wood): 15 Ethiopian $ in tax per year

Judging by the level of clamour that the natives in other parts of Ethiopia tend to raise when the talk turns to taxes, these taxes, which are paid for presumed land, seem tolerable, as we have heard relatively few complaints about this issue in Sidaama country. It is likely that the coffee market, which has been excellent for some years now, will make taxes bearable here. The coffee market did not emerge until the incorporation of the Sidaama into the Ethiopian State, so it is understandable that the Sidaama have come to terms more easily with the Amhara occupation and with the penetration of Amhara populations in comparison to other areas we have visited. It may be added that the Amhara, who have been settled in these parts of the country since Menelik's campaigns (1880s), have completely adapted their economic model to that of the Sidaama, and in this respect are no different from them. Nor do they seem to feel the contempt for the indigenous population that is still quite evident in other areas. On the whole, it seems that here, as in Gedeo, coffee has been the means of economic recovery. Before the Amhara incorporation, coffee – if grown at all – was only used by the Sidaama to negotiate with the Guji and other tribes. They used to chew it as a whole fruit – two coffee beans in a bowl – roasted with butter. In any case, since my first visit to this country some twenty years ago (1934/35), coffee has become of great economic importance. Wolfgang Kuls has made an accurate record of the population density at our main camp in Beera. His assumption that there are 190 inhabitants per square kilometre can only give us an indication of the total population of the Sidaama country. According to our travel experiences, there are much less densely populated areas, especially in the eastern highlands and in the western lowlands. The denser settlements, like those in the area of our main camp, are often interrupted by extensive unpopulated forests, which must have been much more the case in the highlands in former times, if one may believe Darragon (1898:138), who was there in the 1890s. He describes eastern Sidaama as absolutely impenetrable jungle. If we assume the area of Sidaama to be 4,500 km^2, according to Kuls' calculation, this

[33] 1 *gaasha* = 30-40 ha. In my opinion, the enormously large land survey unit must be related to the large land holdings that were common among the Amhara.

would mean that the total population is certainly less than 850,000 and may be between 300,000 and 500,000, if one is to reproduce such estimations at all.

One cannot speak of actual villages in Sidaama country. The very loose pattern of settlement does not allow for the construction of farmsteads next to farmsteads, which usually gives the impression of closed villages. Rather, each homestead has the main part of the fields belonging to it directly behind the house, so that there is a more or less large distance to the neighbouring homestead. The different settlement districts have their own names; however, the boundaries between the individual districts can often only be determined by native experts. Thus, the transition from Beera, where our main camp was located, to the next settlement Manche was not recognizable at all for the uninitiated. It turned out that a podocarpus tree represented the border. The settlement districts, which are marked by a common name, are extraordinarily large. This is how it happened that in 1934 I named two camps of our expedition as Beera I and Beera II, because the passage through the Beera district took about two hours. Often, however, a river or a so-called *caffa*, i.e. a large area of pasture, forms a clear border.

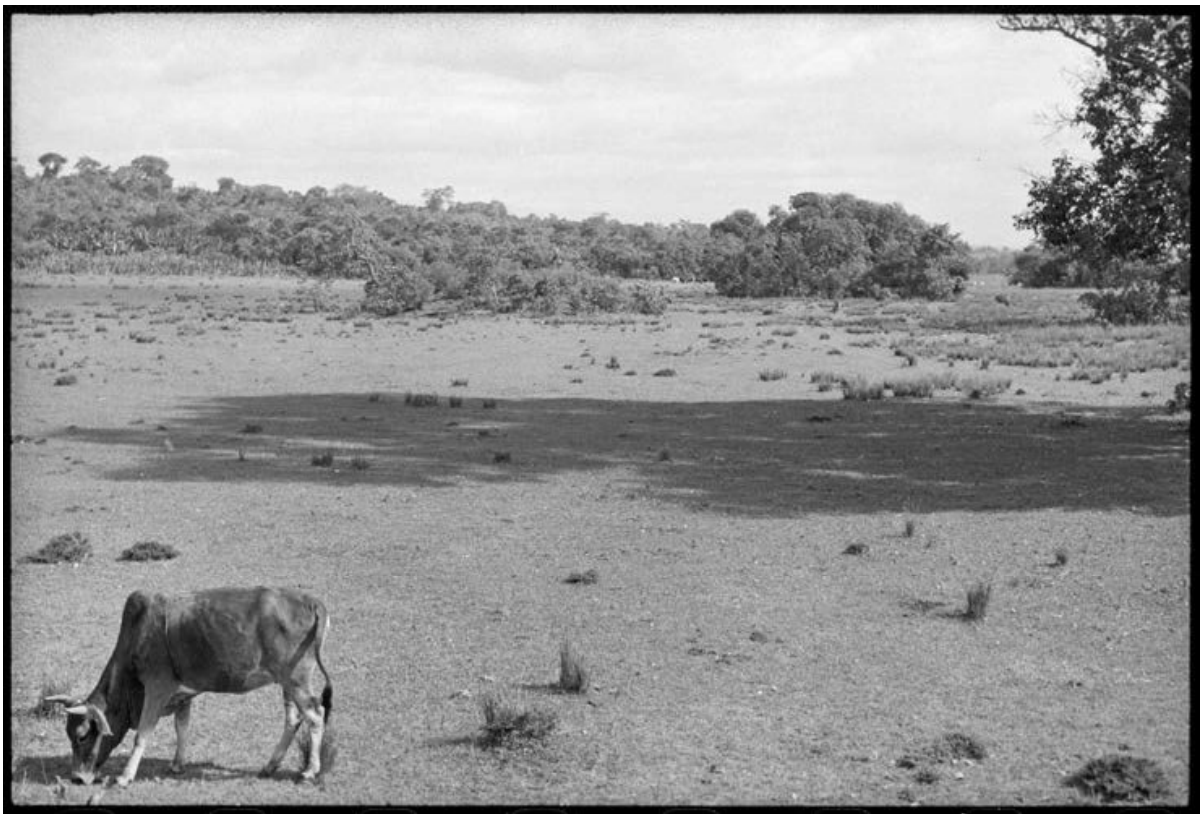


Image 5: Willow area with termite bushes in Shabbadiino (caffa)

During our stay in Sidaama country we had our main camp in Beera (Alatta district) near the chief, *balambarras* Alemayehu. From there we made various excursions, some of which took us east to the highlands, some to the western lowlands and south and north. The following explanations therefore mainly refer to the province of Alatta, and all information about other Sidaama areas is explic-

itly stated as such. For example, information on the *luwa* system applies only to the district of Alatta. There are undoubtedly deviations from this scheme in other Sidaama areas, as I have seen for myself, but given the complexity of the system, these occasional observations are not sufficient to clarify the whole system.

Social life

The king or chief

Without doubt, the most important and significant institution in all provinces today is that of the so-called *balabbat* or chief. *Balabbat* is an Amharic term. Often one is given the Afaan Oromo term *moti* or the Sidaama variation *mootichcha* as its former title. Most *balabbat* can be traced back to mythical personalities. Such are Maaldeya and Bushshee. Only after these two had migrated into the country, according to the legend of origin, did the following personalities come down from heaven to earth: Gidichcha from the clan Womereera; Daada from the clan Gissa; and, as a servant of the clan Gissa but also descended from heaven, Du'a, who is the progenitor of one of the *haadiiwo* clans belonging to the pottery caste. According to one version, Du'a held a red sheep in his left hand. That is why the members of the Du'a clan, who trace back to this mythical man, put a piece of a red sheepskin in their fields to protect their crops against theft.

The chiefs of Alatta

According to a second version, Du'a came down from heaven together with Daada. Daada is the mythical tribal father of the present chieftain dynasty of Alatta and at the same time the founder of the clan Gissa. The place where he touched the earth is called the cabbage garden of the Haadiichcho people, who already lived on earth at that time and also made pots. Du'a immediately began to make a pot using a refined technique, breaking the first one at God's behest to make a new pot from the crushed shards. From Du'a's appearance on earth, the *haadiiwo* (plural of *haadiichcho*) first learned to make real pots. According to a third version, he had a pot of iron in his left hand, while his right hand held on to the chain by which he came down from heaven. Since Du'a is expressly referred to as the ancestor of the *haadiiwo,* but the ironsmiths belong to the *awachcho* caste, it remains unexplained what the pot of iron is all about. According to a fourth version, Daada and Du'a came down from heaven on two different chains, and Du'a landed with his pot of iron, not in Gushala like Daada but a few hundred metres away, in Matallo. The later Amhara owner of the land built a Christian church exactly on the spot where the pot of iron is said to have come down from heaven. According to a fifth version, Daada had injured his hands and instructed

Du'a to hold the chain so that it would not return to heaven. More people wanted to come down from heaven. These, however, saw halfway through that the chain was held by Du'a the *haadiichcho*; considering this a great shame, they returned to heaven. According to a sixth version, the chain was held in heaven by a man who, when Du'a grasped the other end, threw it to the earth. The *awaado* (plural of *awachcho*) distributed the iron that fell to the earth with the chain among themselves. Therefore, the relationship between the so-called *awaado* (the blacksmiths and leather workers) and the *haadiiwo* (the potters) remains unclear. Since, in the legend of origin, the legendary Du'a – who came down from heaven with a pot in his left arm, with iron contained in this pot and also the chain on which he came down, which founded the iron forging of the *awaado* – was the sole ancestor of the *haadiiwo*, it can be assumed that the actual Sidaama (i.e. the *wolawo*), regarded the two endogamous, despised castes as belonging together, or at least regarded them as strangers. Du'a also brought a red sheep and the *cacco* ensete species. The *wolawo* claim that Du'a was the servant of Daada who only carried the heavenly goods. In reality, of course, Daada had received these things from God, because God had found at that time that people had to come into possession of these two cultural goods.

In detail, the following can be said about the legend of the descent of the first king of Alatta from heaven. A woman was married to a man of the clan Daama. From this marriage came a girl called Dufurre (her name is also the name of a short grass species). After the death of her first husband, the girl's mother had been remarried to a man of the Hoyye clan, named Waara. At the same time this man is also called the founder of the Hoyye clan (see genealogy, image 17). There is also a settlement complex in Alatta named after him. These two clans, Daama and Hoyye, were apparently the oldest clans in the country. On the other hand, both clans go back to Maaldeya, the leader of one of the mythical migration groups. The girl Dufurre lived with her stepfather in Matallo, today a market town in eastern Alatta, which, like the adjacent Gushala forest, the largest sanctuary of the Alatta group, is owned by an Amhara, the *balambarras* Jimma Gabru. He is an old but very spirited man who was settled in this area when the Amhara conquered it in the 1890s. He has largely cleared the jungle, which according to him existed in Matallo at the time he settled, and transformed it into farm and pastureland. Only in Gushala – where the land survey had determined a podocarpus to be the border with Matallo – had he left the original state of the forest out of consideration for the former Alatta chief Bii'no, the father of today's *balabbat,* Alemayehu, with whom he sought close cooperation, for understandable reasons. Gushala is one of the few jungle areas we have seen in the Sidaama country. It lies on a flat ridge of mountains, which does not show anything remarkable. One day, the girl Dufurre saw a man coming down from heaven on a chain and coming down to earth in the Gushala forest. She immediately reported this to her stepfather, Waara, who then went to the place where the man who had come down from heaven was. This

man was Daada. Waara spoke to him, but Daada refused to answer him. So Waara built a temporary hut for Daada and left him. Shortly afterwards, Waara sent his stepdaughter Dufurre to the same place to inquire about Daada's condition. But Daada answered the girl immediately, so it was obvious that he had taken a liking to her. The day before, the man Gidichcha had come from heaven in the Diirammo square in Shabbadiino (a Sidaama region north of Alatta). Daada inquired at Dufurre about this man who had left heaven before him. He asked that Waara send a messenger to Diirammo to ask Gidichcha to come. Waara complied with this request and sent a messenger to Diirammo in Shabbadiino. Then Gidichcha came to Gushala and Daada had a long conversation with him. After Gidichcha returned to Diirammo, Waara built a permanent house for Daada in Gushala and gave him a number of milk cows and a boy named Woiba from the Hoyye clan to help as a cowherd. Woiba later became the founder of the clan named after him and considered to be part of the Gissa and Hoyye clans. Woiba had asked to be dismissed from the clan Hoyye because he belonged to the heavenly man Daada as an assistant, and this man had founded the clan Gissa among others. Since that time there have been fierce arguments between these two groups, Gissa and Hoyye, about among which group Woiba should be counted. Since the boy, Woiba, could milk the cows, but could not give out the milk (which is exclusively a woman's matter), Waara gave Daada the girl Dufurre as his wife.

According to another version, Daada lived on earth but was taken to heaven as a child by *Magano* (God). There he grew up and had two sons, Jajja and Sanga, both of whom he brought to earth when he returned. From Dufurre, he had two more sons: Buda and Ayyaane. Although Ayyaane was the youngest, he was chosen by Daada to become king of Alatta. His two brothers, who came down from heaven, became founders of the clan, namely Jajja of the clan Gidiwo and Sanga of the clan Elelcho.

Whether Daada died or not, the opinions of our informants were divided. The majority, among them the most intelligent, were of the opinion that he did not die, but was somewhere. There was no information to be obtained about where. They stressed that they could not imagine that Daada had died. However, the fact that he came down from heaven together with Du'a the *haadiichcho*, whose name means 'mortal' in Afaan Oromo (which is very close to Sidaama language), suggests that Daada was immortal. One of my informants, Wena, believed that Daada had disappeared together with Gidichcha, the man who had come from heaven in Diirammo. Gidichcha had not got on with his sons and had gone back to Daada in his loneliness. Daada blessed the Gissa clan before all other clans by giving it kingship. He gave lightning to the Elelcho clan and a bracelet to the Gidiwo clan. Nobody knew anything more about the meaning of the bangle and its whereabouts. The lightning that he bequeathed to the Elelcho clan is connected with a special story that was still familiar to many.

Image 6: Sacred grove in Shabbadiino. The Diirammo square

A genealogy was given for the dynasty of Gissa in which each name represents a generation, i.e. each name is followed in the list by the name of the son. Where brothers of the kings listed in the list have ruled, this is occasionally known, but is not mentioned in the generational sequence. For example, the older brother of Ene, named Bido, was chief, and the same is true for the older brother of Gasare, named Gimbo. It therefore often happened that the dignity of chief was inherited by a younger son, which increased the generation gap. If we nevertheless take thirty years as the average for a generation, we arrive at 300-350 years to the mythical heavenly descent of Daada. The current chief of Alatta, Alemayehu, who is a Christian, does not want to know anything about the heavenly origin of Daada. He has extended his lineage beyond Daada by four generations – on the basis of which documents I do not know. Here we get to know for the first time a cultural asset that is very common among the Sidaama, namely, knowing one's genealogy over many generations and being able to tell even those of other people or about the clan origins is one of the basic conditions for being considered a high-ranking and distinguished man. The genealogy, which the chief Alemayehu had recorded and gave me for transcription, reads:

I have only listed Aisso's genealogy here because he was often in the chief's entourage and called himself a brother of Bii'no. 'Brother', however, means only a member of the same generation in the same clan among the Sidaama.

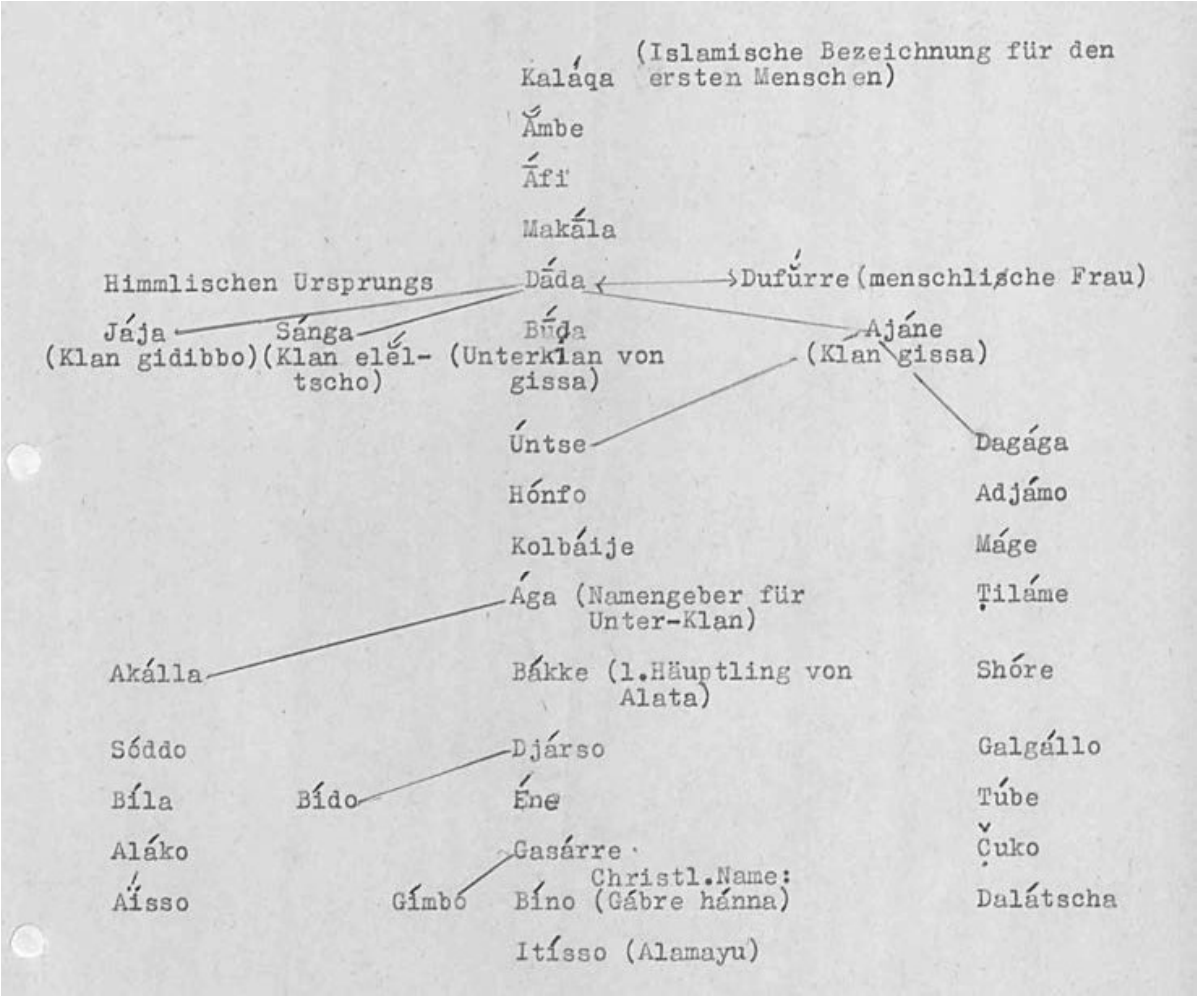


Image 7: Genealogy of chief Alemayehu from Alatta[34]

Moreover, there does not seem to have been a constant chieftaincy in Alatta, as the country was often abandoned by its entire population and then occupied by the Guji. According to my informant Wena, such evictions (probably partly under duress) occurred seven times in all. At the time of Ene, the Amhara came into the country. When the first soldiers entered Alatta, Ene prayed to Daada in the forest of Gushala, whereupon the day changed into night. It remained dark night until the soldiers themselves sent to Ene asking for day to come; they would then also leave the country quickly.

In the course of the Amhara's further occupation of the country, Ene refused to appear before them. Cuukko was then appointed chief; he was a member of a different line, but one that also goes back to Daada (see above genealogy). He fought together with the Amhara against the southern neighbouring tribes when

[34] Copy from the original manuscript by Jensen EH 65:19. Translations from German to English: Islamische Bezeichung für den ersten Menschen = Muslim name for the first human being; Menschliche Frau himmlischen Ursprung = Human woman of heavenly origin; Klan = clan; Namensgeber für Unter-Klan = Namesake for sub-clan; 1. Häuptling von Alata = first chief of Alatta; Christl. Name = Christian name.

the Amhara conquest extended to these areas. He is said to have earned special merits in these fights and was highly favoured by the Amhara.

However, under another governor, he fell out of favour and died in prison from smallpox. He was followed by his son Daalachcha, who was also disgraced by the new governor. His enemies used this disgrace to make him suspicious to the Amhara. They buried elephant teeth, which were very popular with the Amhara because of their value, behind his house. The absolute prohibition on subjugated people owning ivory caused him great embarrassment when Amhara soldiers discovered the buried teeth. Daalachcha was severely punished and had to give up 500 head of cattle and also spend some time in prison. Through this manoeuvre, his enemies achieved what they intended: the Amhara reverted to the old dynasty of the sons of Ene and appointed an older brother of Bii'no, named Gimbo, as chief. When Daalachcha returned from prison, however, he cursed the Sidaama of Alatta, whereupon all those people who had falsely accused him died. A treaty was then signed between Daalachcha and the new dynasty. Thereafter, Daalachcha renounced his chieftaincy claim, but the people of Alatta had to reimburse him the fine of 500 head of cattle imposed by the Amhara.

The legend of the celestial origin of the chief dynasty is an extraordinary reminder of the myth of the origin of the Baka dynasty (Jensen 1959:35). Serser, the first king of Baka, probably also came down from heaven, and the forest where he was 'found' is as much the highest sanctuary for Baka as the Gushala forest is for Alatta. In general, a particular narrative type of heavenly descent seems to be common in the royal culture of northeast Africa. The Sidaama tell most wonderful things about Gushala. Among other things, two stone stelae with face carvings[35] are said to be there because after his [Gushala's] death, Daada and Dufurre were transformed into stones. Now there are phallic stones spread all over the Sidaama area, but without face ornaments, often even a large number in one place.

Balambarras Jimma Gabru, who owns the Gushala site, said that he had searched eagerly for such stones in the Gushala forest but had not found any, just as he could not find any of the miraculous things confirmed. Furthermore, Gushala is said to be dark even during the day, which may be true in that it is an immensely dense jungle, the likes of which we have never seen in the Sidaama area. Furthermore, the forest is said to be so full of spiders that no human could be there. In this context it is worth mentioning that, according to one version, Daada did not come from heaven on a chain but on a spider thread and that, consequently, the clan Gissa does not kill spiders. When I myself was led into the Gushala forest by the Amhara owner, many Sidaama, however, stopped shyly at the podocarpus tree, which forms the border between Matallo and Gushala, while we followed a

[35] Grave markings such as stone stelae were part of the research focus of the Frobenius Institute's first Ethiopian expedition, in 1934/35 (Thubauville 2017).

Image 8: Phallic stones near Alatta, on the road to Adola

narrow footpath deeper into the forest, which was actually very dark. But I did not notice any spiders.

In ancient times, the Sidaama of Alatta prayed to Daada in the forest of Gushala and offered divine honours to the *balabbat* himself. A *haadiichcho* informant, Robbe, also spoke of these divine honours to the chief. No wife of a chief was ever allowed to pronounce the name of *Magano*, the god of heaven. The taboo is said to exist because the ancestor of the chief came down from *Magano*. Unfortunately, there was no more information about this. Today's prayer formula, however, contains the names of *Magano* and *Baatto*, the heavenly and earthly deities.

One of the most important ceremonies of the Alatta people was when their king, who is a direct descendant of Daada, accompanied by all the men of the Gissa clan, went once a year to Gushala to slaughter numerous oxen. However, the ceremony has not taken place since the death of the last chief, around 1950, much like in Baka (Jensen 1959:72f), because the present chief was not yet of sufficient age or rank to perform the ceremony. However, a serious conflict seems to have erupted between the Christian and fully Amharized chief and the old Sidaama

men over the future of the ceremony. They [Jensen's informants] said that the old men had once spoken to the chief about the ceremony in Gushala forest, which made him very angry, and since then the issue had not been touched upon. On the other hand, the ceremony has most probably been omitted because the chief is not yet authorized to kill animals; in Sidaama land only circumcised people can perform the ritual killing of animals. In the *luwa* system, the chief belongs to the class of *moggisa*, who will not be circumcised for 8 years. However, he himself was brought up according to Amhara custom, he was circumcised at baptism in childhood. Gadissa said that the difficulty lies in the fact that the only way they can tell whether someone is old enough or still too young for the ceremony is by circumcision.

Another difficulty is that today's chief, Alemayehu, is not his father's eldest son and, according to the original Sidaama law of inheritance, his eldest brother, Billisso, must have inherited the chieftain's dignity. His father, Bii'no, however, loved Alemayehu more than Billisso and appointed him as chief during his lifetime and obliged all sub-chiefs to obey Alemayehu. This adds a special nuance to the conflict, as the ceremony in Gushala can only be performed by the eldest son. In addition, the two brothers, Billisso and Alemayehu, are hostile to each other, so that it is not clear when and if the ceremony will be resumed in Gushala.

The chiefs of Shabbadiino

Shabbadiino is ruled by the Yemerechcho clan, the descendants of Xummaano, and the daughter of the late Chief Waaqayyo, named Fantaye. The Sidaama affirm that they have not had a female line of succession since the legendary Queen Furra. This is a novelty that was introduced by the Amhara only very recently, after the return of the emperor after the Second World War, and that is difficult for the Sidaama to understand. This new regulation applies not only to the dignity of a chief, but also to the share of the father's inheritance for the daughters. Until now, all peoples of southern Ethiopia, with their strictly patrilineal clan constitution, did not know any right of inheritance for daughters. Today, if the father has not made a will – another previously unknown institution – the daughters can sue for their claim to the inheritance. Although these measures seem very progressive for Europeans, they seem somewhat premature in this area.

Waaqayyo died in prison for beating to death the servant of a European who was travelling in the country with imperial permission in order to round up the number of tribal strangers he had killed to one hundred.[36] First his son inherited the chieftain's dignity and, after he died childless, an uncle of the deceased led the office. However, according to the new Ethiopian law, the sister of the chief-

[36] This happened in 1934-35, when I was also travelling through the Sidaama tribal area. At that time, it was only with the greatest difficulty that it was possible to travel through Sidaama or any other tribal area with a tribal stranger.

tain who died childless, Fantaye, sued for appointment to the office and holds it for the time being, but she is being contested by others, including my informant Wena. Waaqayyo himself was originally chief of Yanaase. In his time, the two districts of Shabbadiino and Yanaase were united. Today they are administered by two sub-chiefs, one of whom, Riqe Alambo of the clan Gonowa, is responsible for Yanaase, and the other, Kisho Atara of the clan Faqisa, for Shabbadiino. Yanaase and Shabbadiino together have a total of thirty-three *qorro* (sub-chiefs), one of whom was my informant *balambarras* Wena, who is based in Diirammo (the place where Gidichcha came down from heaven). He was particularly great at enumerating long genealogies and traced his own back to the first man, Kalaqa. He emphasized the fact that the Somali and the Arabs were of the same genealogical branch.

The chiefs of Haweela

In Haweela, a man named Haile of the Birbiro clan, which goes back to Maaldeya, reigns. I received all the information about this from *balambarras* Wena. Wena gave me the genealogy of Haile and also that of a collateral line.[37] The representative of this branch line, Kaye, was present when Wena gave me the genealogy. Kaye is considered a close relative of Haile. He called himself 'son' of Haile, because his genealogy was one generation longer.

According to Wena's theory, the genealogy of Maaldeya meets again with the ancestors of Yemerechcho, Wena's own clan, in the man named Dallo. Of Dallo, Wena claims that he is one of the ancestors of the Somali. Of Gadawo, the fifteenth in the line of ancestors, he reports that he lived at the time of *atse*[38] Lebna Dengal (1508-1540), an Amhara king, before he was driven out by Ahmad Gragn. Wena also claimed that the land of Haweela got its name from the Amhara shepherds of this king, who were called *abelami*[39] in Amharic. Gadawo married an Amhara woman as his first wife, from whom he had three sons. He also had several Sidaama wives, one of whom was the mother of his successor, Gadira. When Gadawo was very old, he was to be elected *woma* by the people. His Amhara wife insisted that the *woma* festival be celebrated in her home. Gadawo said that she should then also make sure that all her relatives were present. So she and her three sons set out to invite her clan. In the meantime, his Sidaama wives were able to persuade the decrepit man to have the election carried out immediately. When the Amhara wife returned with her sons, the old man was already *woma*. The sons of the Amhara wife were so enraged that they – none of his other sons were present – cut off the genitals of old Gadawo. When the other sons of Gadawo heard this, they

[37] Genealogies of Haile from Birbiro clan, Aggaro Domme from sub-clan Hoddile and Dilkaaso from sub-clan Aguddo are on pages 22a and 65-66 of the original manuscript (EH 65).

[38] *Atse* is an Amharic term for emperor.

[39] Amharic name for king herdsmen.

became so angry that they beat two of the three stepbrothers to death. The third was able to save himself, making it to his father Gadawo and crawling under his cotton cape. The father forgave him, and he was thereafter called Maro (literally 'the one who was forgiven'). Maro founded his own sub-clan but, because of the deed done by Maro and his two brothers, it is still so ostracized today that it [the sub-clan] cannot own any land of its own, and nobody except those from the clan Malge and the tribal alien Arsi want to marry its members.

Gadawo's son Gadira became chief after him. It was the time when the riots caused by Ahmad Gragn's military campaigns were going on in the country. Gadira was considered a powerful chief. He died on a hunting expedition, where he was killed by a buffalo. His body is said to have spoken after his death. He indicated the place where he wished to be buried, but whenever his people dug the grave in the appropriate place and buried the body, the body cried out so that they had to take it out again, whereupon he indicated another place than the one he previously wanted. So he was buried four times in all, and only in the fifth grave did he stay three days before he cried out again. The people opened the grave and saw that five things had come out of his body. On his upper arm they found the ivory arm ring (*hirborchcho*), an award for killers of men and big game, in his hand a spear, on his thighs the *sorsa* called red earth with which the grave of a killer is painted today, and on his back a wing of a large bird, the *shale* (a warrior's ornament). His body was made of honeycomb.

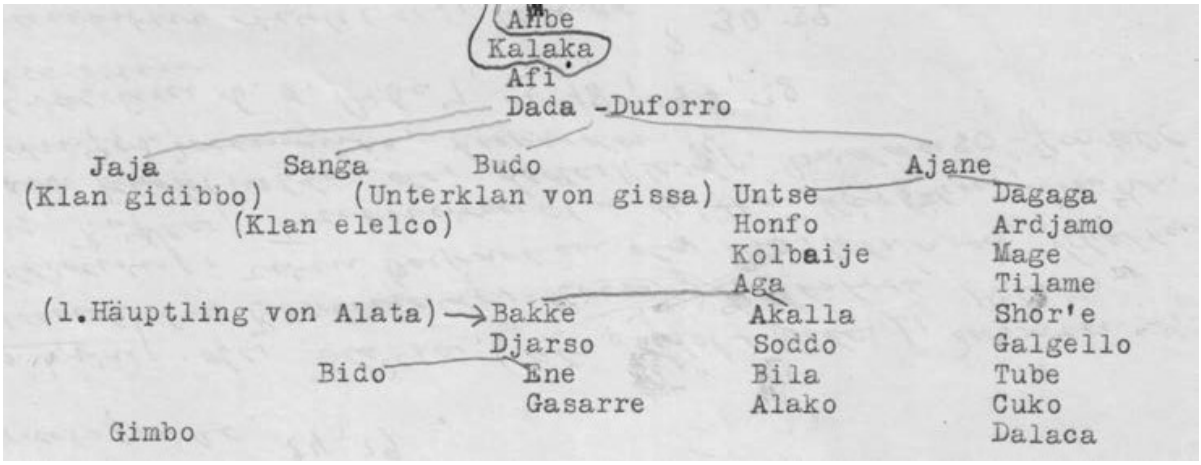


Image 9: List of former rulers[40]

The corpse urged his sons to take possession of these things he had produced. The eldest son, Gamasso, received the three awards, a son called Woome, the spear. Gado, however, the second son of his first wife, received the honeycombs, and his offspring multiplied as much as the bees. Moreover, this lineage – at least today – also holds the dignity of chieftain. After these gifts had been taken from

[40] Copy from the original manuscript by Pauli reg. no. EH 74. Translations from German to English: Klan = clan; Unterklan = sub-clan; 1. Häuptling von Alata = 1. Chief of Alatta.

the corpse, he demanded to be buried in a sixth grave, in Bunamo. This grave is now under a mighty podocarpus tree and is extremely important for the people of Haweela. There are said to be loud and audible wails when the neighbouring Arsi are up to something against the Sidaama. These are thus warned early and can prepare for battle. On the other hand, loud cries of joy, similar to those of the living, can be heard from the grave when the warriors return from a successful war. The Sidaama people then know when is a good time to go on a war campaign against the Arsi.

I have no information about the rulers of the other provinces of Sidaama. Some can be found in the clan origin legends.

Legends of former rulers in the Sidaama country

There is a legendary tale of a queen with unlimited power which is linked to the legend of a cruel woman queen who ruled in earlier times – a legend that is also common among other tribes (see Jensen 1939:502ff). It is possible that these legends have a historical core in addition to their mythical content. For example, it still belonged to the historical awareness of the Sidaama that there had been Amhara rule in the Sidaama land in earlier times, even before the Gragn Wars. It is said that the peoples of Ethiopia were already under unified rule at that time, until Ahmad Gragn destroyed that empire. In detail, the legend of this is as follows:

> The king of the Amhara, who had already brought Christianity to Sidaama and reached agreement with the Amhara people, was called *atse* Zar'a Yakob (1434-68). It was a happy time for the Sidaama country, where there were no wars and no disease. The king called all the people together and praised this peace by saying: "We must divide our army into two parts and let these parts fight against each other, because there are no more enemies with whom we could wage war." People talked so exuberantly. They whipped the earth forty times to send them enemies to fight against.

This is followed by the story of Ahmad Gragn[41], with all the details we have published earlier (Jensen 1939:10f).

After Ahmad Gragn had expelled the Amhara and had himself moved on, the Hoofa came into the country and suppressed the Sidaama. According to another version, they had been in the country before but had no power. They are said to have been the first to make a woman queen. This woman was called Furra. She possessed unlimited power. She is said to have been the one who introduced the custom that long-grown hair, the so-called *bukkichcha* hairstyle, could be worn by everyone. Until her time, this hairstyle was a privilege of those who had killed big game. But she killed a rhinoceros and then asked all women to let their hair grow. Then she asked her soldiers to kill all the old men. The old men were already in the habit of sitting together most of the day and talking to each other, and Furra saw

[41] Ahmad Gragn is called Diingama Koyya here.

this as a danger to her power. The order was executed, and all the old men were killed. Only one old man escaped by joining the soldiers, saying: "You yourselves will be old men one day and you will be killed. But if you hide me, I can be of great use to you and help you get rid of this cruel ruler. The soldiers then did as the old man had suggested and hid him away. One day it came to the capricious queen to order that all women and all female animals should line up on one bank of the Gidaawo River and all men and all male animals on the other bank. She then caused the women and the female animals to lure their male partners over by all available means, whereupon the entire male party could no longer hold on to itself, fell into the river and drowned. Since then it has been forbidden for women to take the initiative in making love. From now on, it must come from the men, because they are not able to control themselves.

Finally, the queen asked her soldiers to catch and tame a large antelope, called a *qorke*, and to train it as a mount for her. The soldiers asked the old man whom they had hidden what this mission was all about. The old man said: "This order can only be carried out calmly. It will destroy her". The *qorke* was captured, but it was an undergrown animal that had to be made strong by feeding it. When it had become quite strong, the soldiers, on the advice of the old man, told the queen that if she rode on it, she had to be tied up, otherwise she would fall. When this was done, the animal ran away to Chume in Shabbadiino. There the queen lost her intestines (*cuma* = entrails). Then the animal ran on to Dasse (also in Shabbadiino), where the queen lost her arm (*dassa* = arm). It then ran on to Qote, and there Furra lost her shoulders (*qote* = shoulders) and died.

After Furra's death, Gololcha Orde, who was a descendant of Ne'a from the Maaldeya tribe, seized power. According to other versions Gololcha was the first king of the court. His capital was in Geranje in the province of Qeweena. It is said that he ordered that the markets should only be held at night. His own sister went into labour when she went to the market at night. She cursed her brother's government. He had also become unclean because he had once eaten meat that had not been slaughtered by his people. Later, it was even said to have been hippo meat. But this was a slander, the Sidaama added explicitly. He saddled his horse and rode into Lake Hawaasa and was never seen again. They attributed to him a proverb that was customary in Sidaama, which he coined shortly before his death: "After I have experienced both high reverence and hatred of the people, I will leave this world."

His son was Goggolano and still today this is the name of the chief clan in Qeweena. This story is closely linked to the story of Xummaano, one of the most important founders of the clan.

The clans

The next most important thing in the Sidaama's thinking is undoubtedly the respective clan affiliation. If you ask them if they know a man with a certain name, the first thing they usually do is ask a counter-question about his clan membership, so they can identify him. They have different words for the clans and their sub-groups, much like the Borana. For example, when asked about his ancestry, about his *sircho* (seed), a man will answer that he is descended from Xummaano, that is, he belongs to the Yemerechcho clan. Much more frequent is the question about the *garre* (clan), to which he will answer, for example, with Faqisa, which is a sub-clan of Yemerechcho. More special is the question about the *nafara* (fenced meadow in front of the house), to which he can answer with Gona, for example, which is a sub-group of the sub-clan Faqisa. Gona in a narrower sense means the family of a human being, i.e. the brothers who live together with their children.

The Sidaama are either descended from the personalities who came down from heaven or from Bushshee and his four sons, or are derived from Maaldeya. A few clans do not have any such ancestry; they are considered to be the oldest resident clans in the country. According to another version, two clans – Hoyye and Daama – also trace back to Maaldeya. All clans, which can be traced back to one personality, cannot inter-marry (with some exceptions, which are dealt with below).

A member of a clan that can be traced back to Maaldeya may not choose his or her spouse from a clan that also names Maaldeya as its progenitor, but must choose from a clan with one of the other three origins. In my opinion, there is something historical about these legends of clan origins, which comes from the certainty with which the individual Sidaama enumerates his long genealogy.

First, we will deal with the clans that trace back to the mythical figures that came from heaven, which we discussed above. Three people are said to have descended from heaven. One is Gidichcha, who came down to earth in the sacred grove Diirammo in Shabbadiino [the other two are Daada and Du'a]. Gidichcha, like Daada, is a divine personality who probably did not die. A grave that we were told was his in Diirammo is said, according to other sources, to be that of his son. In fact, in Diirammo (*dirima* = abyss), we were shown only the graves of his three sons. We had our camp near *balambarras* Wena, who had a house in Diirammo. The place was fenced in very cleanly and was the sanctuary of Womereera. Once a year, all Womereera men gathered at this place and sacrificed several large cattle.

Gidichcha married a girl from the clan Dafina, which goes back to Maaldeya, one of the mythical clan founders. The descendants became the clan Womereera. This clan is also represented in Alatta. Today it falls into three sub-groups, called Bukulo, Hombeessa and Adeeda. Two other sub-groups of the clan were destroyed in earlier wars. The Womegira sub-clan lives only in remnants in Wolaitta, the Saamanna sub-group only in Arsi. That is why the sub-group Luqullo now pro-

vides the clan leader, who is called *woma* by this clan group. His name was Sidda Baallichcha, and he was one of our informants. He listed fourteen generations as his genealogy – two more than to Daada, from which one would have to conclude that Gidichcha came from heaven before Daada, while the story said that Daada and Gidichcha came from heaven at the same time.

It was Daada who reached the earth in Gushala; and the clans Gissa, Elelcho and Gidiwo can be traced back to him. These three clans therefore consider themselves as related and cannot marry each other. But they also do not marry the clan Woiba, whose ancestor we have already experienced in the myth of Daada (see page 50), nor the clan Gunufa. The clan Gunufa is related to the clan Haittaalla and can be traced back to Maaldeya, as seen in the following generational enumeration of a man from the Haittaalla clan (see p. 64).

Gunufa, the man to whom the sub-clan of the same name goes back, was however the youngest son of his father Aguddo. After his father's death, his older sister, who was married to a Gissa man, took him in. So, he grew up with Gissa people and later received a large piece of land from his Gissa brother-in-law, who had taken him to his heart. When he received many descendants, he applied to be released from the clan Haittaalla and to be allowed to count himself among Gissa. This request was granted and was complied with by both clans, although of course the ban on marriage between Haittaalla and Gunufa was maintained. This attribution of the Gunufa clan to the clan group Gissa used to have great significance because it meant war aid when the traditional clan feuds degenerated into war.

The third man who came down from heaven was Du'a, according to one version the progenitor of Hado or founder of a Haadiichcho clan, to which we will return later.

There is also a tradition according to which a man came from heaven at a place called Dossa in Holloo. This man always walked backwards and claimed that he had come down from heaven. His story was only partly believed among the inhabitants of Holloo. To check whether the story was true, they built a fence around him to watch him and to prevent him from escaping. When they went to look for him one day, he had disappeared without a trace. He left no descendants and therefore he is not the founder of a clan.

Another clan origin legend is the tale of Bushshee and his five sons: Ne'a, Aabbo (*abboo* = large; title for an extraordinarily honoured person; in reality this Aabbo was called Ashshamma, but no Sidaama can say his real name after sunset), Xummaano, Gando and a fifth who was so small that he did not yet have a name. One day, the mother went out into the fields with the three oldest sons. When they returned home, they did not find the youngest brother, and Gando finally confessed that he had eaten him. The three older brothers then reached for their spears and threatened Gando, causing him to flee. Then the brothers cursed him, so all the descendants of Gando became a despised caste into which no one married. The

Image 10: Genealogy of Sidda Baallichcha

Image 11: Generational enumeration of a man from the Haittaalla clan

leather workers and the blacksmiths belong to this caste. Their name is *awaado*. Many *awaado,* however, who we got to know are the same as the *wolawo* farmers and do not practise any of these crafts. But even the *haadiiwo* (potters), who are also looked down upon as a despised caste and with whom the actual Sidaama are not allowed to marry, answered in the negative the question of whether they could marry the *awaado* and shook with disgust at the thought. According to another version, the *awaado* are the descendants of Hoofa, the legendary people who once ruled Sidaama land and were supposedly destroyed by Xummaano. The *wolawo's* view that the *awaado* have light skin, in contrast to the *haadiiwo*, who are dark-skinned – which is true according to our findings – makes this statement seem possible.

Many stories are spread among the Sidaama about Xummaano. He is always portrayed as an especially wily man, although he is said to have been not particularly fussy in his use of cunning means. At the time when the Hoofa were in the country, Xummaano knew how to gain their trust and deceive them. In detail, the story of Xummaano is as follows:

> When the Hoofa ruled the country, Xummaano's wife was the first to contact them. She was hungry and went to ask the Hoofa people for food. The second time she came to ask for food, the people asked her where she came from, and she told them that she and her husband's three brothers had come up from the Daawa River. (According to another account, Bushshee's father had already been born in Shabbadiino and had emigrated southeast to the Daawa River. He had then returned from there with his sons). The Hoofa people told the woman to come back with her husband and his brothers. The brothers refused to respond to this request, but Xummaano followed suit. The Hoofa people had the habit of sitting together all day long and giving advice and then not coming to an end. In the evening they took their spears from a tree trunk whose crown had been cut off and asked the trunk to keep everything that had been discussed that day until the next day. The next day they continued their counselling. Xummaano in his cunning, however, always brought the affairs of the Hoofa to an end in one day. He became a judge and adviser to the Hoofa. When he had largely consolidated his position with the Hoofa, he invited them to dance at Chume. As a sign of their friendship, he asked them to come to the dance floor without weapons. They really did come without weapons. But Xummaano and his retinue had tied spears to their big toes and dragged them through the grass behind them. They clapped their hands as a sign of their unarmedness. As they approached the dance floor, they suddenly pulled out their spears and fell upon the Hoofa, most of whom received a thrashing. A part of the Hoofa that managed to escape was killed in Alatta on the great *caffa* (the pastureland that now serves as an airfield for Yirga Alem). The bodies were not buried but left to be eaten by vultures. Even today, a large podocarpus tree is called "the tree of the vultures" because it was full of vultures that ate the corpses of the Hoofa.

Aabbo was the older of the two brothers, Aabbo and Xummaano, but he was repeatedly taken advantage of by Xummaano. Once a sister of the two brothers

had brought them food and Aabbo had eaten from it, but Xummaano had not. The sister was unclean as she had syphilis (*harkumme*), and men who enjoyed her food became unclean as well. In vain, Aabbo claimed that he did not know about the sister's illness and had eaten her food in good faith. When his father, Bushshee, died, Aabbo – as the older one – wanted to do the first stitch on his grave as usual. Xummaano protested against this, and the people also prevented him from doing so at Xummaano's instigation. When the Feast of the Dead for Bushshee was to take place, Aabbo wanted to slaughter a bull, but Xummaano prevented him from doing so because he had become impure. So there was a constant quarrel between the brothers, and Aabbo finally decided to move on. He went to Holloo and Garbichcho, two Sidaama provinces, which were henceforth inhabited by his descendants. All his descendants – and these are practically all sub-clans of Holloo and Garbichcho – cannot marry each other. They must either bring their wives from another Sidaama province or from a clan in Holloo and Garbichcho that has immigrated there. There is a special name for those parts of the clan that for some reason immigrated to another province, namely *xalatichcho*.

On the other hand, the descendants of Xummaano (the clan of Yemerechcho) and the descendants of Aabbo (the clans of Holloo and Garbichcho) marry each other even though their progenitors were brothers. The following story is told as a justification:

> When Aabbo had parted from Xummaano in anger, Xummaano sent a message to Aabbo after some time to reconcile with him. Aabbo told him that this was only possible if one of his own daughters was married to one of Xummaano's sons, so that Xummaano would also become impure. Xummaano wavered for a long time and made counter-proposals, all of which were rejected by Aabbo, who stuck to his first condition. Then Xummaano agreed and the first wedding was celebrated, thus generally lifting the ban on marriage between the descendants of Aabbo and Xummaano.

There is a myth that Aabbo also descended from heaven. He reached the earth at a place called Haka Gulana on the border of Holloo and Garbichcho. His son roamed the country with a bull until he reached the place where today the Gidaawo, which did not exist at that time, rises. The bull poked the ground with his horns. A spring gushed out of it, which became the Gidaawo River. This son later became chief.

The descendants of Xummaano form the clan Yemerechcho with its numerous sub-clans, which all cannot marry among themselves. They inhabit the provinces of Shabbadiino, Yanaase, Arbegoona and Malga.

The Yemerechcho clan has a special regulation for circumcised people, which is also found in several other provinces, namely in Saawoola, Qeweena and Haweela. There, a circumcised person has to stop eating immediately if someone utters a high sound like "Huuuuh!" or "Hiiiiii!" He also stops eating immediately if someone spits in his presence (which happens very often since the Sidaama – as

tobacco chewers – spit very often). Furthermore, the members of the Yemerechcho clan only eat meat from animals they have killed themselves. Furthermore, they will not eat a dish of ensete not prepared by women over whom they have sprinkled the blood of their slaughtered cattle and sheep. For example, if someone from Shabbadiino comes to Alatta for a funeral service, the hosts must ensure that the ensete dishes are prepared by a Yemerechcho woman. But it is also sufficient, as others assured me, that the Yemerechcho man symbolically cuts through the ensete porridge in the fermentation pit. Then the food is considered blessed by the Yemerechcho clan and can be eaten. Others assured us that, for a circumcised member of the Yemerechcho clan who is a guest of a member of another clan, it is sufficient if a third, namely an uncircumcised one, steps in from the outside and says "This food is good!" Then the Yemerechcho can also eat it. The provinces of Haweela, Qeweena and Saawoola, where this custom also exists, are inhabited by clans derived not from Bushshee but from Maaldeya.

Xummaano is reported to have died at a place called Teellamo (about 1 ½ hours northwest of Diirammo, our camp near *balambarras* Wena). There, his grave with a huge podocarpus tree is said to still be visible. Wena, who is himself a descendant of Xummaano, sacrifices in Teellamo every year and has to enumerate all the ancestors of his genealogy. He mastered the oft-admired art of Sidaama – the enumeration of genealogies from memory – in the most perfect way. He had a complete picture of history to offer and he underpinned it tirelessly with endless genealogies. I will try to reproduce some of what he told me. First of all his own genealogy[42] back to the first human being:

[42] The two names Dagaijo and Namaijo appear among the sons of Maaldeya. Jemo, Chuluke, Sätamo and Selema are buried in Borana.

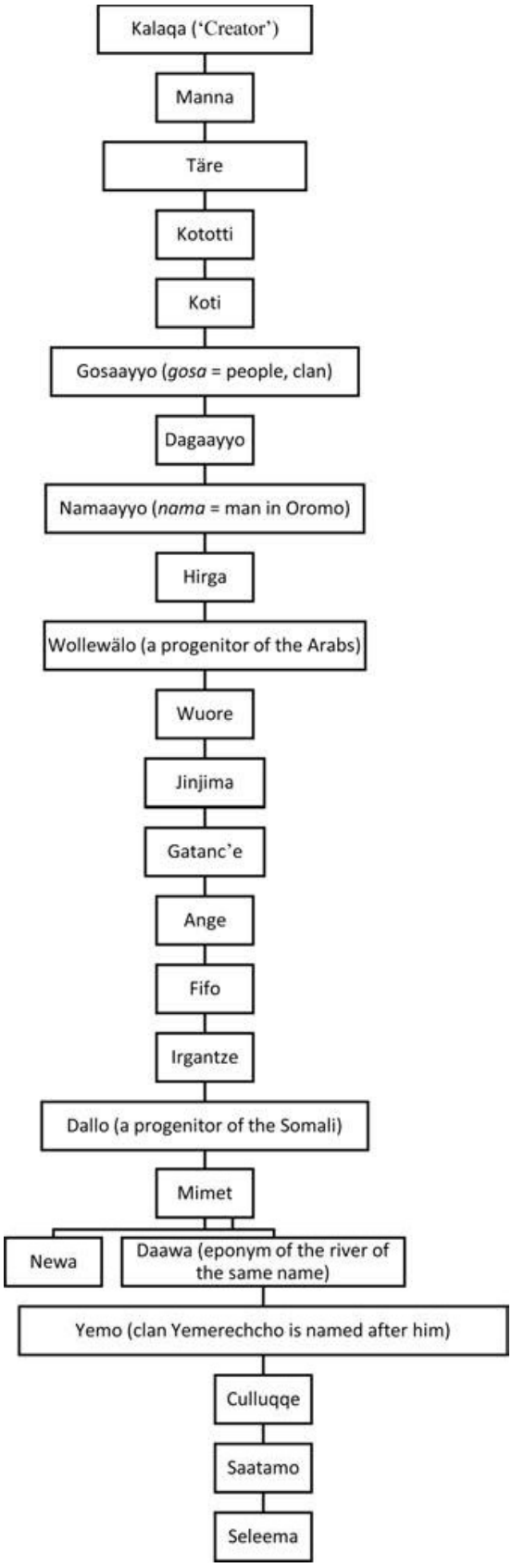


Image 12: Descendants of Kalaqa, the first human being

Busche (= Boden, Erde)

Heme	Abo Aschama (Bewohner von Hollo				Malga (Bewohner von Malgano)	
Tummano	(Bewohner von Schabadino)					
Gono(w)a	Gorsana	Harando	Fakissa	Katabo	Arbake	
Gono(w)a	Gorsana	Harando	Fakissa	Katabo	Arbake	
Yanasse	Wíga	Muyédo	Arbogóna	Aschura	Árbe	Manáno
Déba	Gidantscho	Adilla	Schabadino	Idirre		
Shondólo	Darancóne	Dima	Gono	Tela		
Konsórre	Allabo	Umurre	Dimbo	Allán		
Hamido	Hankadino	Usatta	Ronso	Kurámi		
Barísu	Kolta	Billawe	Manico	Wondjalla		
Adulole	Bonoja	Moddo	Maddo	Cáfo		
Hejáko	Dulo	Sagéco	Salingo	Schawálle		
Warabbo	Midjo	Bodaca	Schafíne	Lóbe		
Dalica	Häscha	Uena	Blissa	Magánne		
Waqhaiju	Hendiko		Ankársso	Bale		
Bakalle	-Fantai		Wuéna	Dakáme		
	Gadana					
	Dangísso					

Image 13: Descendants of Bushshee, first part

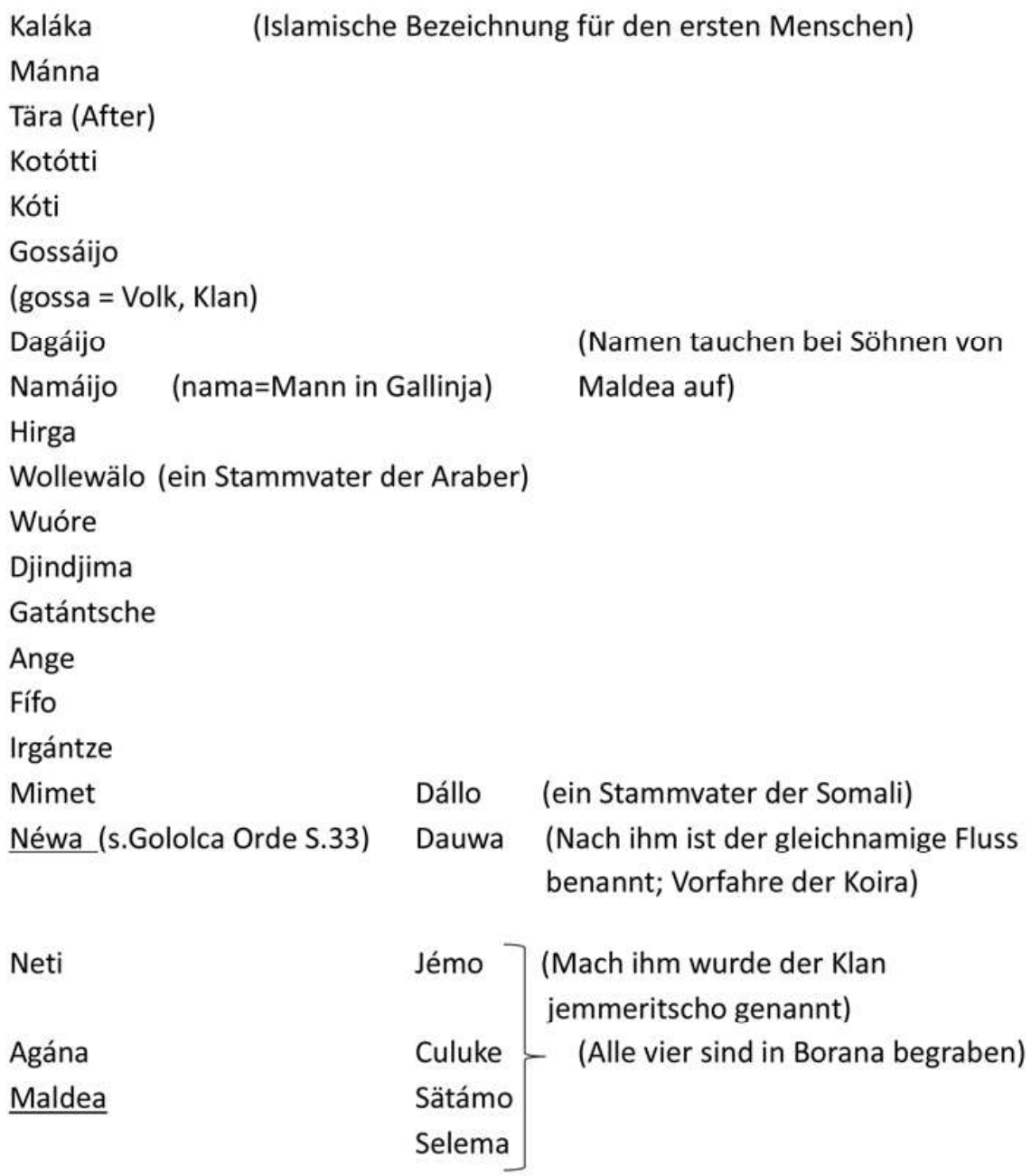


Image 14: Descendants of Bushshee, second part[43]

Of the six sons of Xummaano, Faqisa has spread by far the most in Shabbadiino. The Sidaama attribute this to the fact that he received the special blessing of his mother on the following occasion:

> Garsaana was the eldest brother of Faqisa from the same mother. One day, as the mother was sitting in front of her hut and sewing on her leather dress, Garsaana approached with a structure made of ensete, which deceptively resembled a snake. When he threw this supposed snake at his mother, she was so frightened that she leapt up and, without any clothes on, stood in front of the people. The quick-witted Faqisa

immediately threw his large cotton cloth over her. For this act the mother cursed her son Garsaana and blessed Faqisa.

The fourteen sub-chiefs who represent the indigenous government under Fantaye Waaqayyo are all descended from this sub-clan. In former times, Shabbadiino was also called Faqisa. But even in the neighbouring district of Asaraado, all sub-chiefs are also from the sub-clan Faqisa, which again falls into the following sub-groups: Gona, Ebbicha, Heda Maiko, Billate, Awodja Hamiido, Nugusso, Manino, Adilla and Gasho.

Faqisa's grave is displayed in Maro, about one hour north of Wena's house in Diirammo. The grave of Muyeedo, one of his sons, is in Dubba, in front of another Wena's houses. Shabbadiino and Gona were killed on war campaigns outside the country. Therefore, they have no graves. The clan members always pray to the three at the grave of Muyeedo. Through these graves, the enumerations of generations are verified. Furthermore, the fluency of the enumerations is very convincing for most of the respected Sidaama. Moreover, the fact that the generations could be recounted was a good method of verifying the accuracy of the genealogies. The Sidaama never do this and were very surprised when I said, for example, that Ne'a must be the grandfather of Wena. They always asked me how I knew that and confirmed emphatically that it was so. All in all, I think the genealogies over fourteen or sixteen generations are absolutely correct. There is certainly something right about them further up, but several generations have probably been left out by names being forgotten.

Balambarras Wena was a great reformer and claimed, among other things, that the heavenly descent of Daada and Gidichcha was an absolute fraud. Instead, they were clever people, he said, who knew that they could not get land from the Sidaama in any other way.

Among other things, a new marriage law for the members of the Yemerechcho clan has been drafted in response to his efforts (at least according to his claims) and was adopted six months ago. As soon as all the signatures of the sub-chiefs have been collected, this law will be submitted to the emperor. Afterwards, the clan exogamy will be abolished, and marriage will be permitted if no relationship between the spouses can be proven within the last seven generations, of course only verified through the paternal line. As far as maternal kinship is concerned, it has always been the case that not even the mother's clan was prohibited for marriage, but only direct kinship in three generations was decisive. According to other sources, the maternal clan was out of the question for the son (as a wife-giver) as long as the mother was still alive. After her death, the sons could also marry women from their mother's clan. The new law of Wena is an adaptation to Amhara custom. Likewise, after this law has been enacted, it should be impossible

[44] Copy from the original manuscript by Jensen reg. no. EH 65.

for a husband to claim his wife's first child if she ran away from him after one year of marriage and had her first child after about ten years.

Bushshee, whose name means soil or earth, had come from Borana via Koyra to the Sidaama land. The reason for his departure from Borana is said to be that in his time there lived two monsters, made of flesh in the front and stone in the back, called *liqi'mi assa* (devour), to which people had to give their children for devouring. When the people had left the land, the monsters killed each other. Some of them returned to Borana, but not Bushshee. He had a special way of testing the fertility of the land he was passing through. He had a deep hole dug and then filled in the earth again. When the earth did not quite fill the hole, he moved on. Only in Sidaama, where the earth still protruded a little bit over the hole when it was refilled, did he say: "I'm staying here, the land is the most fertile of all those I have passed through."

Bushshee lived in Shabbadiino but died in Alatta when he visited his sick daughter. Therefore, no Sidaama father has been allowed to visit his married sick daughter since then, as he would inevitably become ill at his son-in-law's house. The oldest son of Bushshee was Ne'a. He became the progenitor of the *haadiiwo* (a despised endogamic caste).[45] It is said about this:

> Ne'a, the oldest brother of Aabbo and Xummaano, the progenitor of the *haadiiwo*, lived in the forest from the results of his hunting. If he shot an antelope he would eat it, if he had shot a wild boar he would eat it. He also ate hippo meat and the meat of the *midaqo* (dik-dik antelope). His brother Xummaano, who had followed him, noticed this. Because he used to eat these three animals, which the *wolawo*, i.e. the actual Sidaama, spurned, Xummaano chased him away when he returned from the forest. All his descendants became *haadiiwo*, belonging to a despised caste that makes pots and is not married by the rest of the Sidaama.[46]

According to another version, Haadiichcho and Wolawichcho, the progenitor of the actual Sidaama, were twins, one of whom was born in the hut near the wall and the other at the fireplace. Also in this story Haadiichcho is chased away by the Wolawichcho because he ate these three impure animals.

Xummaano chased Ne'a away and he settled in the south of the country. In reality, this separation of Haadiichcho took place only a few generations ago. His descendants, the *haadiiwo*, are considered unclean because they supposedly eat unclean meat. In the past, they were not allowed to keep cattle. Today they are not allowed to kill animals – of course, only as far as they live in the *wolawichcho* areas – but are dependent on a *wolawichcho* for this. Nor do they have their own land; the *wolawo* on whose land a *haadiiwo* family lives is called *bilo*. Today,

[45] Compare the variant according to which Du'a (cf. page 50), the man who came down from heaven with Daada, was a *haadiichcho.*

[46] Almost the same legend of origin for a despised caste can be found at Lake Tana. There, three brothers surprised a fourth, catching him eating hippopotamus meat, whereupon they cursed him (Grottanelli 1939:173).

many *haadiichcho* are already registered as owners of the land on which they live. The simple reason for this is that the *bilo* do not want to pay taxes for land that they do not use themselves. One can see that the Sidaama are still a long way from capitalist thinking, as it does not even occur to them to lease the land that is generally considered their own. One can see particularly clearly that even purely selfish actions are bound by cultural history in their cultural expressions. In a culture where there is no lease (i.e. where this cultural element has not yet been invented), the invention that is obvious to us is not made, even if it is suggested by the non-tribal survey and taxation of the land. The pottery associated with the *haadiichcho* caste is only made by women, but by far not by all *haadiiwo* women.

The following episode is reported of Ne'a and, according to its content, must have already happened before the above-mentioned stories of Aabbo and Xummaano, because it refers to mythical prehistoric times.

> When Ne'a was alive, the sky was still so close above the earth that no trees could thrive and only *dufurre* grass[47] could grow. The moon used to eat the grass in those days. Ne'a saw the moon during this activity. At that time the moon still had human form, but had bull horns on its head. That the moon had these bull horns could still be clearly seen from the waxing moon, which was composed of these horns. The moon then said to Ne'a: "If you do not tell anyone what you have seen, you will live forever. But if you pass it on, then you will die at the same moment." So Ne'a did not tell anyone about it and lived on forever. He got older and older and survived his children and then his grandchildren, and people started to talk badly about him because of it. Then Ne'a decided to die. He prepared a great feast and built a platform for himself to stand on so that he could speak to the people. In the early morning all the people came together, and Ne'a stood on the platform. He began to speak: "The reason why I live . . . " But then he couldn't bring himself to continue speaking and started again: "The reason why I live so long . . . ". But he didn't have the courage to continue speaking, so he started his speech again and again until noon, and people started laughing at him. Finally, he said: "The reason why I live so long is because I have seen the moon eating grass." And he dropped dead. The people were now so sad about his death that nobody wanted to touch any of the food Ne'a had prepared.

Since then, people say "this is like Ne'a's festival" of a festival that is disrupted by a serious incident or fails for some other reason.

All other clans, especially the population of Alatta, Haweela, Saawoola and Qeweena, trace their origin to Maaldeya.[48] Maaldeya came from Migo, which is in the east, possibly in the Harar area. When Maaldeya was born, he was initially a lump of copper or brass. Only when that lump was washed did it take on human form. This is why the Sidaama still call brass or copper "the iron of Maaldeya".

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47 A particularly low-growing grass species.

48 Even the inhabitants of Alaba, a land outside the Sidaama region, near Kambaata, trace their origins back to Maaldeya.

According to another version, Maaldeya and Bushshee, the father of Aabbo and Xummaano, first lived together on the Daawa River (probably in Koyra), Bushshee then set off for Lake Abbayya and Maaldeya for Migo in the east. All traditions agree, however, that Maaldeya came to the country rather than Bushshee.

He had already found a people who called themselves Sidaama. Sidaama had a son called Kussai. After the destruction of the Hoofa and the split between Xummaano and Aabbo, Xummaano did not want to fight Kussai, who he had betrayed – like all the others. When Kussai, who had been present in the country for a long time, following the destruction of the Hoofa, made a claim to the land and Xummaano made his claim against him, Xummaano suggested that Kussai ask the water. When Kussai did so, Xummaano hid a man in a cave by the river. When the question was raised as to who should own the land, the man replied: "I am speaking to people for the first time and you will never hear my voice again, but I am speaking because I must proclaim that the land belongs to Xummaano."

After the treaty with Kussai, war broke out between the descendants of Xummaano and those of Maaldeya. The war ended with a peace treaty, according to which the descendants of Maaldeya were to live south of Gidaawo, and those of Xummaano north of Gidaawo.

The podocarpus tree is also called the "tree of Maaldeya" because in Maaldeya's time it grew up from the root of the *qu'ne* plant. The women of Maaldeya had the custom of smoking themselves and their clothes over a rack (called *sagara*) over a fire (called *dibate*), and this event occurred just when they were practising this custom (now common among the Sidaama).

The clans that can be traced back to Maaldeya are considered to be the oldest *wolawo* clans, with the exception of some small clan remnants that will be dealt with later. Maaldeya first settled in Shabbadiino in Gonoba, near the present market town of Lakko. He had already been in the country before the Hoofa and was also oppressed by them. When Xummaano came and cunningly disposed of the farm and was unable to keep peace even with his older brother Aabbo, an agreement was reached between Xummaano and Maaldeya, which resulted in Maaldeya moving to Alatta. In doing so, Xummaano also took advantage of Maaldeya, because he had surveyed all the land beyond the Gidaawo and he knew exactly how small the area was when he suggested to Maaldeya that he occupy all the land south of the Gidaawo.

The Maaldeya clans can marry all those clans that trace back to ancestors who came from heaven and those clans that are descendants of Bushshee. But even within the Maaldeya-derived clans, the prohibitions on marriage are limited. Maaldeya is a mythical clan founder, like Bushshee. But while Bushshee was created, according to the legend, from earth (which is already indicated by his name Bushshee (earth)), Maaldeya was created from brass or copper.

The probably incomplete list of the clans of Alatta, Garbichcho and Holloo is as follows:

1. We have already reported on the Alatta clans, which trace their origins back to Daada that came from heaven.
2. The clan Womereera, which goes back to Gidichcha, who came down from heaven, originates from Shabbadiino and has some sub-groups in Alatta, which have also been reported.
3. Clans that go back to the brothers Aabbo and Xummaano exist in Alatta only as *xalatichcho* (immigrants). They can be married by all Alatta clans. The two explanations for how these *xalatichcho* clans came about are as follows. One is the sub-clan of Yemerechcho in Alatta called Gutano. Gutano had slain a clan member in Shabbadiino and fled to Alatta, where he had numerous descendants who named themselves after him. The other is the sub-clan of Holloo that calls itself Adoossa. This clan settled in a district near Yirga Alem called Masincha, in the middle of an area inhabited by a sub-clan of Haittaalla, namely the Masincha. The clan Adoossa came from Holloo five generations ago as war aid when Masincha and perhaps other clan members were involved in a war. In the treaty on war aid, the settlement of the Adoossa people was included with the same rights as the members of the Masincha clan in the area they inhabit today.
4. The sub-clans that all trace back to Bushshee and that emigrated to Holloo with his eldest son Aabbo are Tamaamo (chief clan), Adallo, Goita, Cimo, Gambaddo, Hanaffa, Shontorre, Gudicho, Goosaluwa, Adoossa, Billishe, Gedire, Abaado. They cannot marry each other. But there is also a ban on marriage with the following sub-clans of Garbichcho, which is justified by the fact that the inhabitants of Holloo and Garbichcho are all descendants of Aabbo and therefore of Bushshee: Diishsho, Hullisa, Adiwo, Dangaanye, Garbe, Yamule. The sub-groups have at least partly again numerous sub-groups.
5. Most clans in Alatta are derived from Maaldeya. However, there is only a limited prohibition of marriage between them:
   a. Hoyye, Hondoowa, Daama, Doolimma and Alwonno do not marry each other.
   b. Waa'eno, Caawa and Haittaalla do not marry each other.
   c. Lamala and Dafina marry both each other and all other Maaldeya clans.
   d. Furthermore, Hoyye and Caawa do not marry because they consider themselves to be related.
6. The sub-groups of some clans are:
   1a) Hoyye: Aga, Affirto, Bide, Dambe, Wondo, Barjaanto.
   1b) Hondoowa: Yoka, Hombeessa, Kolishsho, Qiltasine, Sankurre, Shäto, Irbaito
   2a) Waa'eno: Bankano, Fäto, Allawo, Homosine
   2b) Haittaalla: Shaba, Masincha, Aguddo, Birbiro, Bute, Gorra, Beech, Adishiloqe, Shunto

3a) Lamala (means seven in Sidaama and should refer to the seven sub-groups of this clan): Aruujje, Hoddile, Oromoda, Allada, Baguda, Wollida, Lela

I have checked the clans of Yanaase with two informants from this area on the basis of Simoni's list (see Simoni 1939:47) and have found the following deviations from this author:

1. Xummaano is the founder of the Yemerechcho clan. Sub-groups of this clan are in Yanaase: Handja (chief clan), Bugatto, Bonoja, Sadamo, Kitawo, Manino, Mahe, Gonowa, Garsaano, Allawo, Consorre.
2. The other clans indicated by Simoni are in fact not clans but the so-called *gobba*, i.e. the district from which the man in question comes, which does not always coincide with the clan name.

Here I would like to add the probably not quite complete list of sub-clans from which the *gadaana* can be chosen, which was given to me by an informant:

from Hondoowa	only Kolishsho
from Daama	only Matata
from Womereera	only Luqullo
from Waa'eno	only Banqaano
from Haittaalla	only Shaba
from Caawa	only Woshar Milo

The present *gadaana* of the *luwa* class, Hirboora, is from the Gidiwo clan. However, the extent to which this clan is entitled to provide the *gadaana* is a hotly disputed question, because the chief has already emerged from the group Gissa.

The Hoyye and Daama clans are regarded as the oldest clans to have taken possession of the land. According to another more common version, Hoyye and Daama also go back to Maaldeya. Aga was the first man of the Hoyye clan. It seems that the clan has a kind of priestly function. If any man goes to the medicine man because of an illness and hears from him that he has to sacrifice a cow or sheep of a certain colour, this animal has to be killed by a member of the Hoyye clan. Similarly, the Hoyye clan has a decisive say in the appointment of any man as *woma*. Most of the Sidaama assured us that the land had previously been inhabited by Guji and Jemjem, who, by the way, they call two different tribes: the Guji are said to have come from the Ethiopian province of Jimma and the Jemjem from the east. The name of a holy place in Shabbadiino, Mana Waaqa (Afaan Oromo for 'House of God'), is said to have come from the Guji and to have been retained by the Sidaama. So their former language is said to have been that of the Guji and Jemjem (i.e. Oromo). Today's Sidaama language is said to have been the language of the Hoofa, which is very closely related to the Oromo.

Totemistic relationships are no longer very much alive in the thinking of the Sidaama. It is said that Daada, the man who came down from heaven, brought

lightning and gave it to the clan Elelcho. This clan kept the lightning hidden and tied up in the house and used it to frighten the goats when they tampered with the cabbage in the garden. Once a daughter of the Elelcho clan married a Waa'eno man from the sub-clan Banqaano (*banqo*=thunder). The daughter complained to her father that she no longer had the means to frighten the goats and that they therefore ate her cabbage. The father then lent her the lightning. She scared the goats away, but the lightning was so bright that she was frightened, and the lightning escaped to the sky. Elelcho's father was initially very angry about this imprudence. But when he was about to die, he blessed his son-in-law's clan and said that from then on, he would have power over the lightning.

This may be a remnant of an earlier matrilineal order. This becomes much clearer in the case of neighbouring Gedeo, where it is explicitly stated by people who have totemistic relations with the flash [i.e. lightning] that, in the past, their affiliation with these people was inherited through women (Jensen 2020:36f).

When the Banqaano clan once held a big festival, lightning appeared in the shape of a partridge. It brought with it an axe, fire and water. When the feast was over, the partridge flew up into the sky with a strong thundering sound, so that all the people fell down as if dead. Only after some time did they come to their senses and got up again.

The circumcised of the Banqaano clan had the power to pull down lightning from the sky.

In earlier times, all Sidaama had an ox slaughtered in their homes every year. Then the lightning came down in secret, entered the house and drank the blood of the ox. This protected the sacrificing family from being struck by lightning.

Since they have been awarded the lightning, all circumcised men of the Banqaano clan can perform the following ceremony. When a Sidaama man wants to secure his field against theft, he goes to a circumcised man of the Banqaano clan with the back tendon of a slaughtered cow (cf. Jensen 2020:78f). If he comes alone, he has to bring 10 cents and some butter as payment. Most of the time, however, they get together in groups and deliver 2-3 shillings (= 1-1 ½ Ethiopian dollars). The back tendon, called *diimmichcho*, is rubbed with some butter and then cut in half. The Banqaano man gives one half to the petitioners. They cut it into as many pieces as they need for themselves and their family members. Each member of the family must attach a piece of tendon, often only a thread, somewhere on their belt or collar. The petitioner can now place or hang a small podocarpus branch in the field to protect his fields from theft. Any thief who steals from the field will be killed by lightning. The family members are protected from these consequences by the small piece of back tendon and can work in the plantation without any damage.

The other sub-groups of Waa'eno can provide similar protection against theft, but only for their own clan, by placing the two plants *garbabbo* and *lalunte* in the field and securing the owner and his family with a blade of the so-called *du-*

furre grass, which is knotted around the belt or collar. Any potential thief will be infected by a disease that causes the body to swell considerably.

The Haittaalla clan also has such security for its members. They can put the leaves of the so-called *masincha* tree (*croton macrostachyus*, Amharic: *bəsanna*) – a sub-group of Haittaalla is also called Masincha – in their fields. As a safeguard for the family members, a piece of *dufurre* grass must also be worn on the body to protect against the penalty for theft. These protective amulets are called *gurda*, the protective signs placed in the fields are called *xaare*. Among the *haadiiwo*, the clan Du'a, as mentioned above, uses a piece of fur from a red sheep as *xaare*; the other *haadiiwo* use the *xewerrakko* plant (*bersama abyssinica*).

If a thief, having received the appropriate punishment, dies after confessing his theft, it is customary to 'bless' his corpse in the *xaare* way, i.e. to strike the person who caused his death. Thus, the thief should suffer no consequences for the theft in the afterlife.

Image 15: Forked staff attached to the hut entrance as a xaare sign in Shabbadiino

By far the most common protection against theft is that provided by the Banqaano clan. One hardly sees a field that is not secured by podocarpus branches.

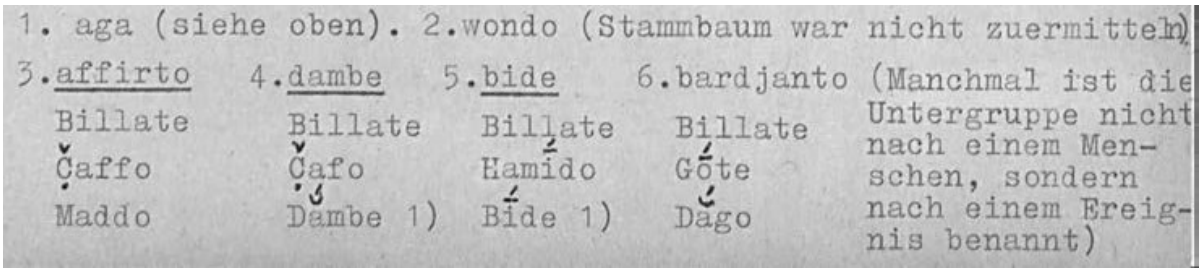
The Banqaano never eat goat, just like the Gissa clan. Moreover, Banqaano adult males are immediately entitled to slaughter cattle as soon as their father has died. In all other clans, the son must wait for his circumcision before he can kill animals.

Twins were once born in the Dafina clan: one was a human; the other a leopard. The father divided his fields equally between his two sons and used so-called *koqotta* branches (a large-leaved parasite on many trees) to separate them. Since that time, the Dafina clan has had a kinship to the leopard and therefore never kills it. If a field belonging to the Dafina people is robbed, the thief is eaten by a leopard. In order to indicate this, they place *koqotta* twigs in the field as *xaare.*

A man I once asked about the relationship between the clans Womereera and Dafina said that the first man of the Womereera clan who came from heaven, Gidichcha, married a girl of the Dafina clan. He learned this from once wondering why the Womereera clan also secured its field with *koqotta* branches.

The Doolimma clan has a relationship with the tick. Once upon a time, a baby of this clan was born with a tick on its navel. Since that time, members of the clan do not kill ticks, but remove them from both humans and cattle. The saliva of a Doolimma man who has been circumcised is considered to be particularly curative when a tick has entered the ear.

In order to show how strong the Sidaama's thinking around clans and generations is, some genealogies are shown, as the Sidaama males are taught their own descent as well as those of other people. Surprisingly, they were able to enumerate about twenty generations and gave them in the same order again and again as verification. They do not start from the oldest ancestor, but vice versa, from themselves, and move via the father, grandfather etc. to the founder of the clan or one of those mythical ancestors who came from heaven.


1. aga (siehe oben). 2.wondo (Stammbaum war nicht zuermitteln)

3.affirto	4.dambe	5.bide	6.bardjanto	(Manchmal ist die Untergruppe nicht nach einem Menschen, sondern nach einem Ereignis benannt)
Billate	Billate	Billate	Billate	
Çaffo	Çafo	Hamido	Göte	
Maddo	Dambe 1)	Bide 1)	Dago	

Image 16: Name giver of the sub-clans[49]

Family tree of my guardian Gadissa Sufa, who belonged to the clan Hoyye, which he traced back to Maaldeya.

[49] Copy from the original manuscript by Jensen reg. no. EH 65.

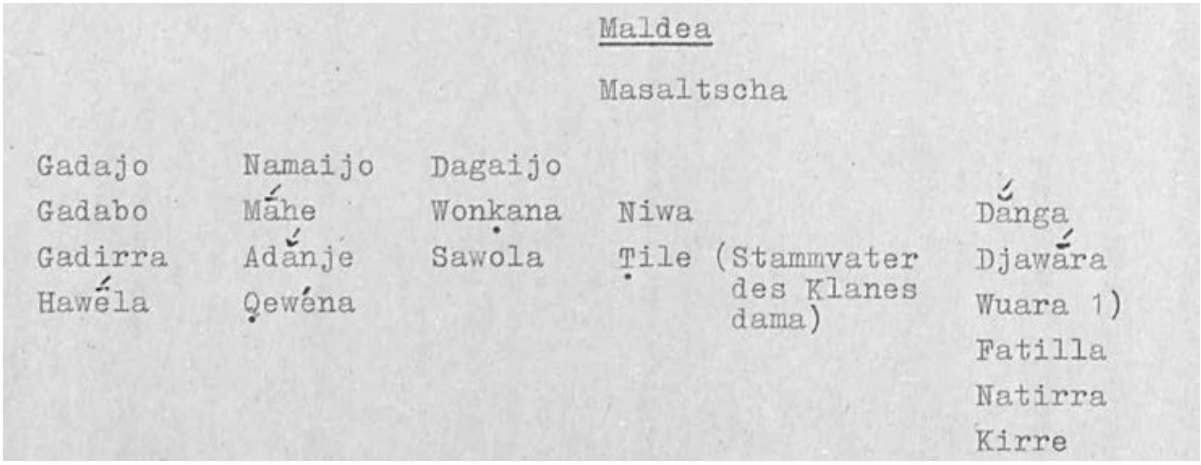


Image 17: Genealogy of Jensen's guardian Gadissa Sufa from Hoyye clan[50]

Waara is the progenitor of the Hoyye clan. The brother of Waara, whose name Gadissa Sufa had forgotten, became the founder of the clan Doolimma.

Haweela, Qeweena and Saawoola are provinces of Sidaama. After Kirre's death, his wife, Maqeto, and her five sons by Kirre went to Qeweena, where she married again. Three of her sons stayed in Qeweena; one of them died without descendants, the other two – Guto and Shuna –founded the sub-clan Maqeto of the clan Hoyye in Qeweena (here the name of a sub-clan was taken from a woman!). The remaining two of the five sons, namely Woshara and Risa (falcon), returned to Alatta and lived very close together. Woshara became the progenitor of the Caawa clan. The descendants of Risa were:

[50] Copy from the original manuscript by Jensen reg. no. EH 65. Translations from German to English. Stammvater des Klanes Daama = Ancestor of the clan Daama.

Image 18: Descendants of Risa

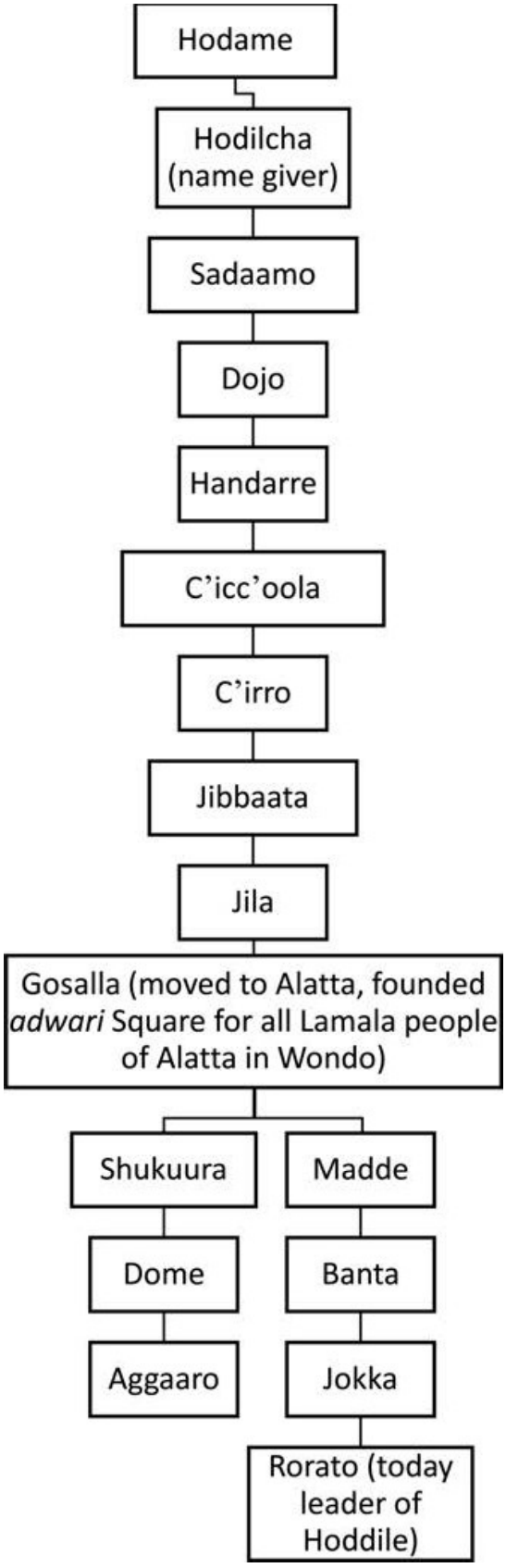


Image 19: Genealogy of Aggaro Domme from the sub-clan Hoddile of the Lamala clan

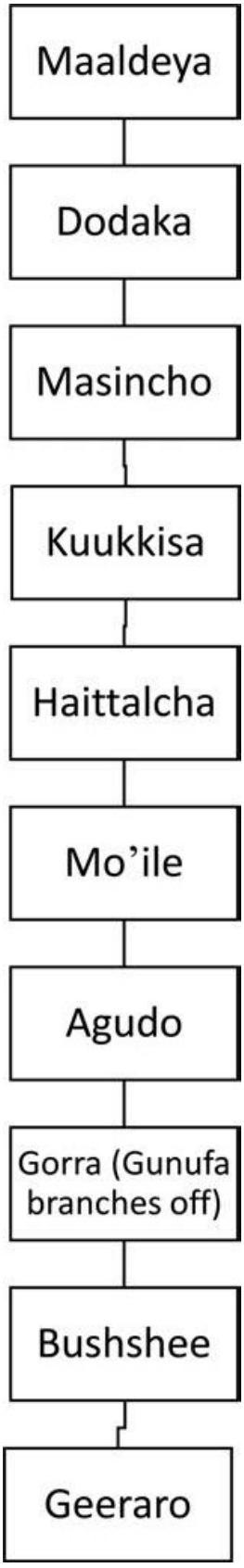


Image 20: Lineage of Dilkaaso from the sub-clan Aguddo from the Haittaalla clan

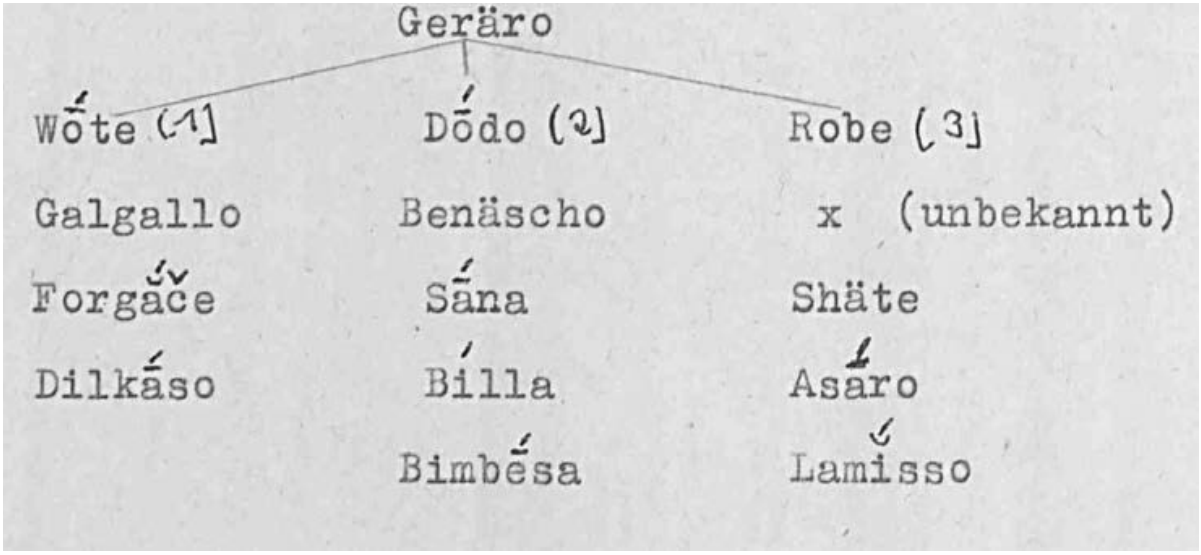


Image 21: Genealogy of Dilkaaso[51]

Among the sons of Billate, the clan Hoyye in Alatta was divided into six sub-groups:

1. Aga (see above)
2. Wondo (genealogy could not be determined)
3. Affirto (Billate, Chaffo, Maddo)
4. Dambe (Billate, Chaffo, Dambe)
5. Bide (Billate, Hamiido, Bide)
6. Barjaanto (Billate, Gote, Dago)

Sometimes the sub-group is not named after a person but after an event.

The fact that the clan is called Haittaalla and Massincho is a sub-group even though the eponym of the clan appears two generations later than the eponym of the sub-clan is said by the guardians to be normal, since Haitaltsha was a much stronger personality than Massincho.

I received the genealogy of the chieftain's family in the province of Haweela (which belongs to the Birbiro clan), which also goes back to Maaldeya from *bal-ambarras* Wena:

[51] Copy from the original manuscript by Jensen reg. no. EH 65. Translations from German to English: Unbekannt = unknown.

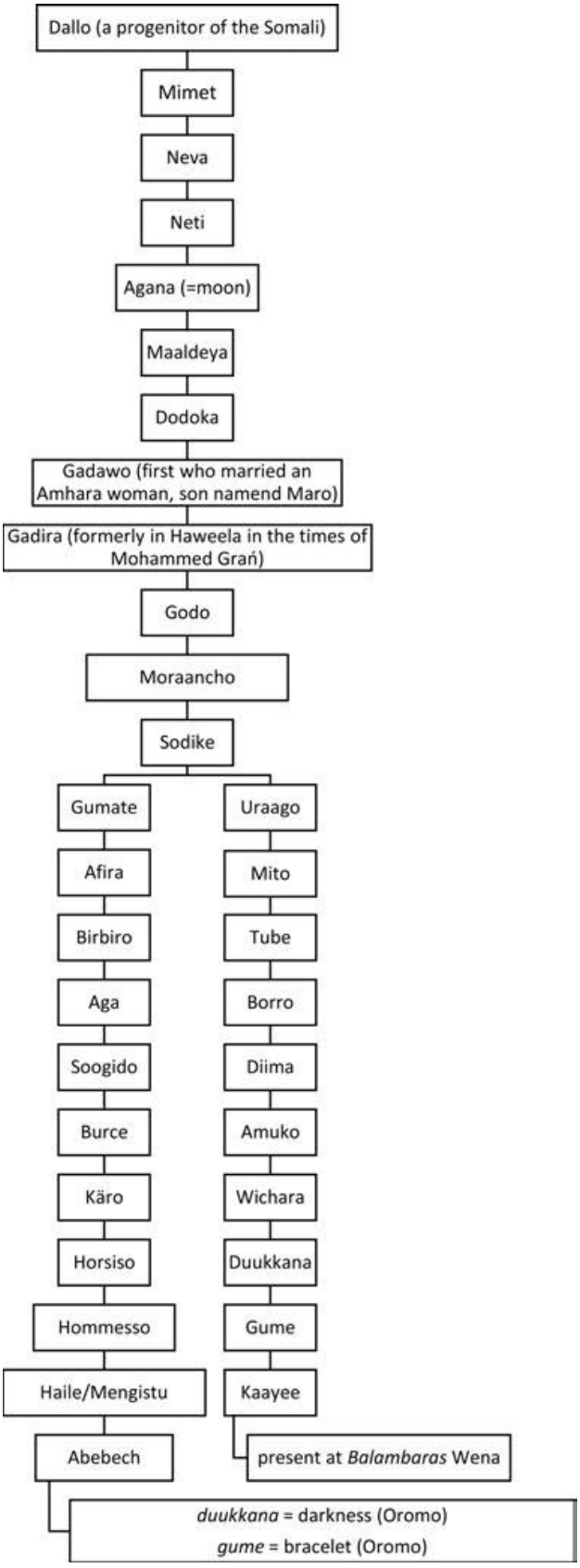


Image 22: Genealogy of the chieftain's family in Haweela

This chieftain family of Haweela also appears in the genealogy of Gadissa Sufa (see image 17), although strangely enough he counts seventeen generations back to Godabo there, while here there are sixteens generations. So Gadissa and Wena come to relatively equal results. If we calculate the generation to be thirty years, the genealogies reach back 480-510 years, i.e., since the information was given in 1955 to the years 1445 and 1475 respectively. The first Amhara occupation of the Sidaama country was, however, in the times of the repeatedly mentioned King Zar'a Yakob, who reigned from 1434-1468. So, it is evident from these two cases that the enumeration of genealogies can reflect a true historical picture.

The names in these lineages very often recur as geographical designations (*gobba*). They are explicitly places that have been named after people. In most cases, one can imagine that the person in question lived in the district that was then named after him or her.

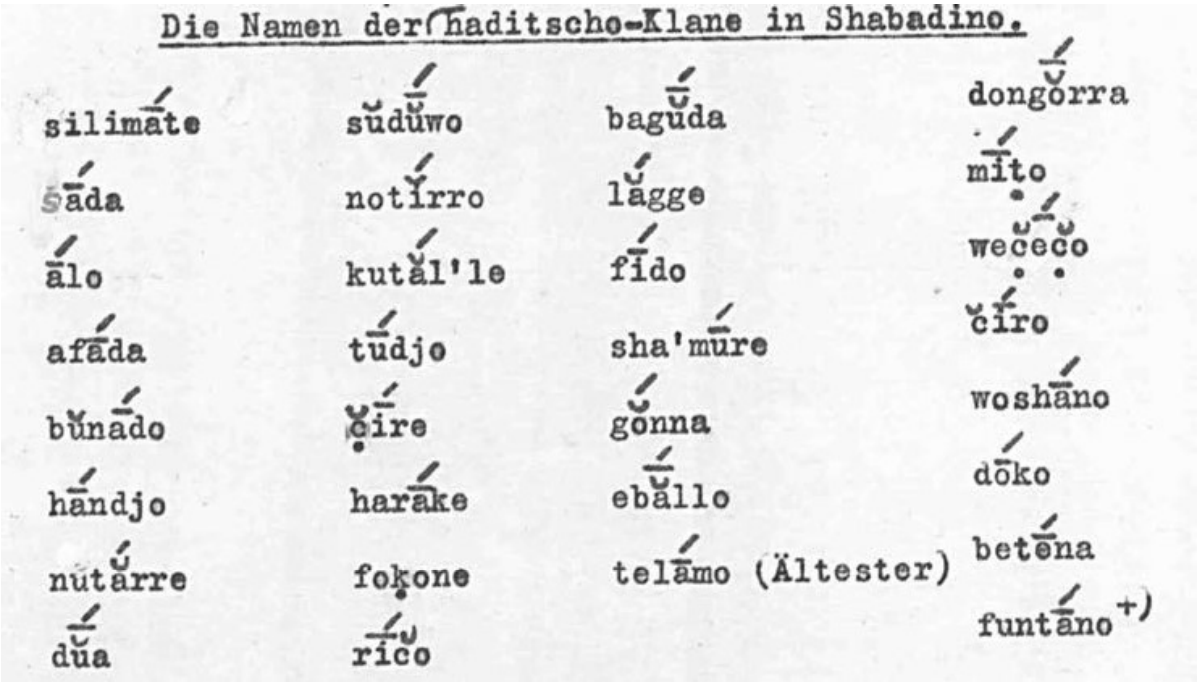
The genealogy of Dilkaaso could also be evaluated historically to Masincha. For the history of the country this means that over the last 400-500 years something about today's clans and their relatives can be read from the genealogies. This means almost nothing for ethnology, since the population that only immigrated in recent times – the clans that can be traced back to Maaldeya and Bushshee – had already been in the country for an indefinite period before that. It is very likely that this part of the population was connected with the Oromo, who, through their extensive migrations, completely changed the central and southern part of today's Ethiopia and, above all, forced their language (Afaan Oromo) on many foreign peoples.

Before them, other peoples had already come to the Sidaama area of today, as evidenced by the remains of some clans. As such, the following were named to me: Kussai, Sankawa, Mutalle, Hagawo and Doorande. These are most likely remains of older peoples, but they are considered pure and are married by the *wolawo*. We have not met any members of these clans. We were told that they usually deny their clan affiliation and call themselves after the clan in whose territory they live.

There are also the clans of the impure *haadiiwo* recorded in Dara, in the south of the Sidaama country, by Straube. The settlement in the south is based on a story that is said to have taken place five generations ago. The chief in Shabbadiino at that time was called Dullo (= war). His genealogy, which goes back to Bushshee via Xummaano, Hanando and Wiga, was dictated to me by Wena. In any case, in one of his wars, the *haadiiwo* provided military aid and excelled so bravely that, out of gratitude, he left the land of Dara (conquered from the Guji) to them for independent settlement. Since that time there is a province in the south of the Sidaama country that is inhabited only by *haadiiwo.*

Of all the provinces of the Sidaama country we visited, Shabbadiino has decidedly the most *haadiiwo* families. The clans into which they are divided are not – as with the *wolawo* – traced back to a few people; in general, nothing could

be learned about the connections between the individual clans beyond the clan names. The names of the *haadiiwo* clans in Shabbadiino, as given by Wena, are listed given below.


Die Namen der haditscho-Klane in Shabadino.

silimáte
sáda
álo
afáda
búnádo
hándjo
nútárre
dúa

súdúwo
notírro
kutál'le
túdjo
círe
harake
fokone
rico

bagúda
lágge
fído
sha'múre
gónna
eballo
telámo (Älter)

dongórra
mito
wecéco
círo
woshano
doko
beténa
funtáno +)

Image 23: List with names of the haadiiwo clans[52]

With this list, the chapter of the clans will be closed. I would like to emphasize that the image of the clans offered points to a quite heterogeneous origin for the clans in the case of the Sidaama, especially because a claim to a higher valuation of one's own clan is derived from every description of the origin. This is quite different from the neighbouring Gedeo, where there is a limited number of seven equivalent clans. The Oromo-speaking Guji, as neighbours of the Gedeo, have the same number of seven clans. For the Konso living further away, there is also a limitation of nine clans. Oromo-speaking Borana have the same nine clans. Both peoples probably only experienced this limitation to the number of clans after relatively recent contact with other peoples.

It must also be emphasized that the Sidaama – unlike almost all the peoples of this area – have not imposed any dual system in connection with the clan orders.

The *luwa* system

The *luwa* festivities are mainly used by the Sidaama to raise the rank of the men. They acquire most ranks within this system. But there are also other possibilities for acquiring a rank and name that are not related to the *luwa* system. Such possibilities are, or were once, the killing of humans or big game, and knowledge of the laws and the history of the people and, in particular, knowledge of the calendar

and the clan connections. Such a knowledgeable man is called an *ayyaanto* and is held in high esteem by his fellow tribesmen.

The *luwa* system, however, forms, so to speak, the basis for the stratification of the whole tribe, since all tribal members – even including the *awaado* and *haadiiwo* – take part in the *luwa* festivals.

First of all, it should be noted that the following is only a presentation of the Alatta system; Alatta is also the only one of the provinces we visited where the system still has its old order. Later, I will add some remarks about the province of Shabbadiino. The independent provinces of Sidaama all have their own system, but I only noticed that it is different in Shabbadiino and Holloo than in Alatta. In Alatta, the festival place is called Goidda, and every eight years a certain *luwa* class from all over Alatta are brought together there. In Shabbadiino, there is no particular place for the festivities; it is one of the tasks of the *kiilancho* (fortune teller) to get the right place. In Holloo, the place where the festival takes place is called Kinante. When a young man has to go to the festival for the first time depends on the class affiliation of his father. There are five classes within the *luwa* system: *hirboora* (1), *fullaasa* (2), *wawaasa* (3), *daraara* (4), *moggisa* (5). If the father is *hirboora* (1), all his sons become *fullaasa* (2), and all their sons become *wawaasa* (3), etc. The man keeps the name of the group he joined for life.

The last festival took place seven years ago, from December 1947 to February 1948, in Goidda square; and was celebrated by the *wawaasa* group (3), whose fathers thus belonged to the *fullaasa* group (2). After eight years, i.e., from December 1955 to February 1956, the next festival will be held, and will then be celebrated by the group that is given the name *fullaasa* (2). Thus, the festivals are held every eight years in the order of the groups from *hirboora* (1) to *moggisa* (5) and *daraara* (4) and again *wawaasa* (3). The order in which the groups celebrate the festival is therefore the reverse of the order in which the group names alternate for father, son, grandson, etc.

The meaning of these five group names in the Sidaama language is almost identical to that in Afaan Oromo. *Hirboora* is the plural of *hirboora*, the ivory arm ring which a man wears on his upper arm as an award for killing success. *Fullaasa* means to penetrate, as when a spear penetrates a shield; figuratively it means a man who overcomes all difficulties. *Wawaasa* is the fearless one. *Darasa* is derived from *daraaro* meaning flower. *Moggisa* is derived from *moga*, which means 'wingman' and refers to those standing on the left and right wings of a row of men.

A man is circumcised in the *luwa* period at the end of which his sons go to the festival for the first time and receive their class name. This is one of the greatest events in the life of a Sidaama man. Our stay in the Sidaama country fell into the eighth year of a *luwa* period and, although theoretically circumcision can be performed from the first year of this period, it seems that a certain accumulation takes place in the eighth year. In our case it was the turn of the *hirboora* class (1) to be

circumcised. Wherever we went, we saw the newly built huts for the circumcised and had several opportunities to participate in this celebration of elevation.

The leader of a *luwa* class is the *gadaana*; his deputy is the *djellaba*. The *gadaana* sits on the right side of the *djellaba* during ceremonial occasions, and both look to the east. South is indicated by the Sidaama word for right. This is exactly the same seating arrangement and the associated order of precedence as we have found among the Arbore at Chew Bahir (cf. Jensen 1959:386). Both [the *gadaana* and *djellaba*] must be the last to be circumcised from their class, i.e., the *hirboora* class, which was circumcised in October 1955, during our time there. Then the sons of the just circumcised *hirboora* (1) go to Goidda square and are named *fullaasa* (2). They stay in the Goidda square for two months. The choice of *gadaana* for this *fullaasa* (2) class was already being discussed in internal circles at the time of our presence. However, the final choice can only be made after the circumcision of the *hirboora* (1) *gadaana*. The young people who gather in the festival square are led by the old men of the previous *fullaasa* class, who went to the festival for the first time forty years ago. However, the role of these old *fullaasa* men is meaningless. Only some of them, who are distinguished by intelligence, serve as arbitrators in disputes and as advisers. They also take turns in this function. The main attraction of the festival is the young people, the sons of the *hirboora* (1) men. Thirty-two years later, before the sons of these young people, who are still young today, go to the festival to receive the name *wawaasa* (3), these *fullaasa* men (2) must undergo circumcision and thus attain the rank of fully-fledged Sidaama tribe members.

A man can still acquire another rank thirty-two years later, when his sons are circumcised. This highest and very rare rank is called *woma*. At present, however, there is only one *woma* in all of Alatta; he is from the Caawa clan.

The first luwa festival

After the *gadaana* and his deputy have been elected, and the election has been confirmed by the *kiilancho* (the magical priest), the festival takes place at the beginning of the barley harvest in the month of Sadaasa, i.e., December. The beginning of the barley harvest is important because the young people go to Goidda square with the first bale of barley. The exact day of the beginning is determined by the *ayyaanto*, i.e. they decide whether it is a *dullatte* or *adula* day, as only these two days, which are considered to be favourable, are eligible. The festival ends exactly twice twenty-seven days (the Sidaama month) [i.e. fifty-four days] after this starting day.

On the day determined by the *ayyaanto,* the young people go to Goidda square with spear, shield and knife. On the way there they cut grass and place it with the first tuft of barley under the podocarpus and ficus trees that stand on the square.

The sacred trees in the square are called *luwu gecho* (tree of the Luba) and are always podocarpus or ficus species. Each candidate must cut off eight stalks of the grass called *guresha* and place four of them under a podocarpus tree and the other four under a ficus tree. As there are 2,000-3,000 candidates who celebrate the festival together, there are naturally quite considerable piles of grass. Nothing happens with the grass. It is the same custom that is widespread in East Africa and is called *ireechchaa* by the Oromo. The Sidaama, however, insisted that this custom should not simply be equated with *ireechchaa*, because *eresa* is a place where you can cut grass and give it to someone else to put under the sacred tree without harm. That could not happen in this case, however, since the candidate has to put it under the tree himself in all circumstances.

On the first day, the young people go into the forest and cut sticks from the *gowachcho* tree (*maesa lancemia*). After that, they all go back home except the *gadaana,* the *djellaba* and the *hayyiichcha,* who have also been elected for the duration of the festival and are available to the *gadaana* and the *djellaba* as messengers and advisers. There is also an elected office called *sadeso*. The holder acts as servant to the two high officials. The *sadeso* comes immediately after the *djellaba* in rank. These all never leave the fairground for a period of two months. They sit in huts built for them by the youths, while the youths themselves live in temporary huts scattered across the Goidda field.

The next morning before daybreak the young men leave their parents' houses again and leave the *gowachcho* sticks and spears there. Each of them is dressed with a shoulder skin, the so-called *falcho*, armed with a knife and shield, and goes into the forest to cut a *lolloqa* stick from the *qitilmancho* tree and decorate it with a curled ornament by peeling off the bark.

They slowly approach the fairground in the east of the country from the west. They spend the first day in Gundo, located in the very west of Alatta. On the second day they arrive in Dongoora, on the third in Galama, on the fourth in Beera and only on the fifth day do they arrive in Goidda (see the fairground in Konso, which is located in the very east of the country).

The young men of *fullaasa* (2) are divided into groups of about twenty men each according to the districts of their origin, and elect a leader for each group called *murrichcha* (the same as the leader of the so-called *seera*, the neighbourhood help). It is a matter of honour for the Sidaama to provide a piece of cattle for each son who is on the fairground. Most of them follow this custom. But the very poor, or a father who has too many sons on the fairground, do not provide a piece of cattle for each son, but pay the *gadaana* 5-10 Maria Theresa Thalers,[53]

[53] The Maria Theresa dollar, also known as the thaler, was the only foreign currency to obtain extensive circulation in pre-war Ethiopia. It is not known when the thaler first arrived in Ethiopia. During the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1950-52 and 1954-56, the Maria Theresa Thaler had already been officially confiscated as a means of payment in Ethiopia, and the Ethiopian dollar was already in existence. In the south of Ethiopia, however, thalers continued to be used for payment.

depending on their wealth. Of this money, the *gadaana* has to give a part to the *djellaba*, the *sadeso*, the *hayyiichcha* and the *murrichcha;* he can keep the rest.

Only the *gadaana* and the *djellaba* can slaughter cattle. Care must be taken to ensure that the *gadaana* has always killed one piece of cattle more than the *djellaba*. It is important that all those involved receive an arm ring or even just a finger ring (*injichcho*) from the fur of the sacrificed animal. It is a very honourable office to be *gadaana.* When the old men from the *fullaasa* (2) group are appointed, it is expressly said: "Whoever dares to walk or sit before you shall die." Once, when the *gadaana* of *hirboora* (1) was with me in the camp, strict attention was paid to ensuring that the seating arrangement complied with this regulation. Only the chief and the *woma* are entitled to this distinction.

Incidentally, the *gadaana* also plays a role outside the *luwa* system, like every important official in the life of the Sidaama. He can make a sacrifice through which an infertile woman bears a child. He can make a sacrifice asking for rain and for relief from plagues such as cattle plagues and the like. In all cases this means a prayer to the supreme deities, *Magano* and *Baatto*, and not, as in other cases, a prayer to the ancestors, as in the case of the sacrifice at the tomb of the father, whereby only the deceased is addressed. The great importance of his office is also due to the fact that, like the chief and the *woma,* the *gadaana* does not return the respectful greeting offered to him. Strangely enough, the duration of the first Feast of the Dead is as long for him as for all ordinary people, namely three days. However, it is 5-7 days for a *woma* or chief.

While the young people are at the fairground, they do not eat cabbage, but drink butter "like water". When a piece of cattle that the father is contributing to the young people's food is ready to be taken away, the corresponding group, led by the *murrichcha,* goes to the father's farm and sings and dances there. The whole group must then be entertained to the best of the family's ability and finally receives the cattle, which they drive together to the Goidda square.

On the last day before the end of the festival, the young people who celebrated the festival eight years ago, in this case *wawaasa* (3), come to Goidda square. The two groups (*wawaasa* (3) and *fullaasa* (2)) line up on either side of a stream: the *fullaasa* (2) group with the *lolloqa* sticks on the right bank; and the *wawaasa* (3) group on the left bank with tufts of leaves in their hands, picked from the *hadabo* bush. There is a pronounced enmity between the two groups, which manifests itself in songs and dances and often leads to violence. Therefore, on this day it is particularly important for the old *fullaasa* (2) men to make sure that this quarrelling does not get out of hand. The young *fullaasa* (2) sing: "Now we inherit and you shall deliver it." The *wawaasa* (3) group, on the other hand, sings: "Well, we want to give it to you, but with all the difficulties and quarrels."

The next day the end of the festival is reached. The young people leave singing and rioting to the west, then return to Goidda square and move west again. Those who have a horse ride west at a wild gallop and return to Goidda square.

Immediately after the festival, the young people used to go on a cattle raid to Arsi or Guji. How firmly this custom is linked to the increase in rank can be seen from the fact that today – since manslaughter and robbery are severely punished by the central government – every *luwa* group signs a contract with an Arsi or Guji man, according to which they pay him for a whole herd of cattle. The day after the festival, the whole *luwa* group chases this Guji man in front of them and stabs a black bull from his herd, cuts its tail off and finally drives the whole herd home as robbed cattle. A piece of this 'robbed' cattle must be given to the chief. The others are distributed across over the different districts.

When I asked the old *hirboora* (1) men how they got along without the help of their sons during these two months, as this is the main harvest time, the *hirboora* (1) said with a sigh: "Yes, this is also a hard time for them, they have to work on behalf of their sons."

The circumcision

One of the most important acts in the life of a Sidaama man is circumcision. In general, he reaches this stage at the age of 40-55 years. Since this takes place thirty-two years after his father's circumcision, there are of course cases where a son reaches it at a much higher or younger age. If, for example, a man has a son ten years after he is circumcised, then the feast at which this boy should have been accepted into the *luwa* system has already taken place. Such extreme cases are dealt with by allowing this son to enter the system only when the *luwa* class to which he belongs according to his father's class affiliation is next in line to celebrate the feast, i.e. at the age of 30. By the time he can then be circumcised, he is already 62 years old. But even a son who is born four or five years before [his father's] circumcision and could take part in the feast his group is celebrating at the earliest age of childhood, is generally not taken to the fairground. The information about the minimum age for participation in the festival varies among the representatives of different districts and varies between six and eight and, according to some information, even twelve years.

The other extreme case occurs when, for example, a man of the *hirboora* class (1), who was circumcised at a normal age, e.g., at 55 years old, has a son who is only twenty years younger than he is and – let us immediately set the extreme case that this occurs again in the next generation – and a grandson who is twenty years younger than his son. If the *hirboora* (1) man was circumcised at 55 years of age, his son would be 35 years old and grandson 15 years old at that time. The son will then enter the system as *fullaasa* (2) at the age of 43 and, as a result, will be circumcised at a very inopportune time, namely at the age of 75. The grandson, on the other hand, who was 15 years old when his grandfather was circumcised, will already be introduced into the system at the feast that the *wawaasa* (3) celebrated eight years after the circumcision of his grandfather (*hirboora* (1), i.e. at the age

of 23), and will therefore be circumcised at 55. At this age, the system is regulated by the fact that the person concerned, in deviation from the rule, enters the rotation according to his age.

Again, deviating from the rule, another man was already circumcised when he was introduced into the system as *moggisa* (5), even though he was only entitled to circumcision after eight years. He gave as his reason that his daughter was married to a man from Shabbadiino who was already circumcised. However, it is uncommon for a man's father-in-law to be uncircumcised if the man is already circumcised.

In further deviations from the rule, there were two chief brothers who, although only *moggisa* (5), had been circumcised. One of them was the already mentioned eldest son of the late chief in Alatta, Billisso, whose circumcision may have involved important tribal matters. Nevertheless, the condemnation of this irregular behaviour was clearly felt – at least by most of my informants.

The comments on the system in Shabbadiino are inserted here. I was assured that the system there used to be (at the time of Hoke, who had ruled in Alatta at the same time as Gosarre) in complete agreement with that of Alatta. During the Amhara period, however, the festival was not celebrated several times and everything fell into disarray. Now the festival is celebrated every eight years, but there is no longer any connection between the father and his sons. The fathers had to be circumcised if their sons were willing to go to the festival at the ages of 16 and 24; it depended only on the *kiilancho* from whom the sons receive their name at the festival.

The point in time when a man in Alatta has to be circumcised, i.e., the month and day, is supposed to be determined by the *kiilancho*. In general, however, it is determined by the people themselves by questioning the *ayyaanto*. For this [circumcision], as for all important acts in the life of the Sidaama, only the lucky days *dullatte* and *adula* can be considered. A new hut must be built for this purpose. An old hut can also be taken, but only if animals have never been accommodated in it. Usually, the hut is built a few metres from the main hut and separated from the rest of the property by a fence over two metres high, made completely opaque with podocarpus branches. Inside the hut, a cell where the circumcised person sleeps, if possible in the west of the hut, is separated by a partition wall made of dry ensete leaves. Since brothers usually live together on their father's property, it is customary to build a hut for two or three, in which the brothers then spend the circumcision time together.

Each of them is assigned a godfather, called *jaala* (friend), who is obliged to provide all the services that the circumcised person needs. He is usually a close friend of the house. It must be a man both of whose parents are still alive. Mostly they are relatively young people. They must anoint their hair with butter and wear a headband made from ensete bast to prevent butter from running into their faces. From now on the *jaala* is called 'father' by the circumcised person. The *jaala* must

bring a pot of milk to the wife of the circumcised person and give 3 Ethiopian dollars to the circumcised person himself. For his part, apart from being involved in each feast, the *jaala* receives a rib from each animal that the circumcised man has slaughtered that he can take home with him and that must be kept for him even if he is not there.

The circumcision is called *muta mura* (cutting off the testicles). This name could support the theory of circumcision, put forward for example by Bergmann (1883), according to which circumcision is only a substitute act for castration. In colloquial language, however, it is usually described as *barcima ofollanno* (*barcima* = stool, *ofollanno* = he will sit). During the operation the person to be circumcised sits on a stool. The circumcision takes place behind the house in the ensete plantation. The *jaala* sits behind the man and holds him firmly. The circumcision may under no circumstances be performed by a *wolawichcho* (*awachcho* and *haadiichcho* are also excluded because they belong to the despised castes). Thus, the operation is usually performed by non-tribal people. A special knife, called *magalaale*, with a long, narrow shape, is used for this purpose. The foreskin is wrapped in a sheet of ensete and brought to the new home together with the patient. Later, when he moves back to his normal house, he has to have a new bed of clay built and the foreskin is finally buried in this clay.

The part of the hut that is not reserved for the circumcised person(s) is neatly furnished with mats and ox skins for visitors, which will not be lacking for the following two, and sometimes up to five, months. The circumcised person remains in a dark room the whole time. Women are not allowed to enter his cell, nor are all visitors. He converses with visitors through the partition wall and is looked after by the *jaala*. In the night before the circumcision there is singing and dancing in front of the hut all night long. The young boys and girls come together for this. In the songs the circumcised man is praised.

His relatives and close friends have to bring him presents and often come from far away for this purpose. The presentation of a cattle, sheep or goat is always a festive day on which the relative who brings the gift appears with all his or her family. These presented animals are called 'gifts' (*gumaata*), but when viewed in the light of day they are only a loan, because they have to be paid back to the donors in exact numbers as soon as the recipients are circumcised or celebrate another festival. Some guarantors have also said themselves that this gift system is a loan system, in which the exact amount is calculated. After all, the rank of the circumcised person is measured by the number of animals donated. For example, one *ayyaantichcha* (i.e. a wise man) told me that he had received twenty cattle and ten sheep and goats during the period of seclusion on the occasion of his circumcision. The donor is entitled to one foreleg of the slaughtered animals. If meat from other animals is still present when the donor arrives, the circumcised man may keep his animal alive and offer the donor a leg from another animal. It really is a great festive season when circumcision is performed, and we were very

lucky to be present at this great event. One could travel through the whole province of the Sidaama country, and again and again one could see the festive huts of the newly circumcised, which were immediately recognizable by the podocarpus fences. And almost every evening, from one of the circumcision huts, songs could be heard until deep into the night, accompanying the dance of the gathered crowd celebrating a circumcised man.

With circumcision, the man gains several important rights. First of all, he is now allowed to ritually kill animals, which previously he (with the exception of the men of the Banqaano clan) could not. He belongs to the council of old men, in which only the circumcised, the so-called *cimeessa*, never the uncircumcised, the so-called *rauua*, have a place. He is entitled to a special burial. The so-called *madaada* is only given to a circumcised man. From manhood onward, the Sidaama wear a piece of clothing that is worked like trousers; but is not worn as such by uncircumcised people, instead it is wrapped around the hips like a skirt. Only the circumcised person can wear this piece of clothing as trousers.

On the other hand, only the circumcised person is subject to special precautions. So he can only eat what another circumcised person has slaughtered. He is not allowed to participate in a feast of the young people when they use the money they have collected to slaughter and eat an ox without ritual.

Before circumcision he can sleep with whatever women he wants, after circumcision he can only sleep with his wives. This is perhaps a weakening of the custom of the Konso, where a circumcised person is not allowed to have intercourse with a woman at all. I see in this regulation the actual core of the circumcision regulation among the *luwa* people.

For the circumcision period, an already circumcised man is chosen, and during this time he kills the animals for the circumcised man. The animals must be slaughtered in the circumcised man's festive hut, in the part reserved for guests. The animal is thrown with its head to the east on its right side and the old man chosen for this purpose cuts its throat. He leaves the knife inside the animal for as long as the circumcised person drinks from the blood coming out of the wound on the animal's throat. To drink from the lower end, the latter uses an ensete leaf rib, which is naturally formed like a gutter. This leaf vein is inserted into the wound and the blood runs through the gutter, which is rubbed with butter for this purpose. Since the Sidaama do not bleed cattle as most other more cattle breeding peoples do, this custom may indicate an older, more cattle breeding note in the Sidaama culture.

The circumcision takes place in the early morning. The young men erect a sun canopy of ensete leaves outside the hut, where many men gather and sing praises to the circumcised throughout the day. Large drinking horns are passed around with *bulbula*, a mixture of honey and water. A strict order of drinking is observed: first all men of the *luwa* class that is being circumcised (in our case *hirboora* (1))

must be given a drink, then the last circumcised group (in our case *fullaasa* (2)), then the rest of the circumcised, and finally the uncircumcised.

Next to his camp, the circumcised man has two identical bamboo sticks which he uses to support himself when he leaves the hut to go out, which can only happen at night. One of these two sticks, which is simply called *leemmiichcho* (bamboo), must be thrown by the *jaala* into a river before sunrise in the morning of the same day of the next moon on which the circumcision was made in that moon, or it must be stuck into the ground in a swampy place so that it cannot come out. This bamboo stick in fact contains the feathers of a bird, either the *waanje* or *dubbiyye* bird. One of these birds must be killed by the *jaala* and the circumcised man's young relatives and neighbours while the circumcised man is still in his hut.

Similarly, a *wolliimma* bird, one of the many species of turaco found in this part of Africa, must be hunted. Its feathers – they are bluish, black and red – are then attached in a row to an ensete leaf rib, which is placed on the partition wall between the circumcised person's cell and the room for the guests and must remain there until the day the circumcised person leaves the hut for the first time. On this day both the circumcised man and the *jaala* wear some of the red feathers in their hair: the circumcised man has two on each side above the ears; the *jaala* two at the back of the head. The circumcised man can also, if he is a killer, wear a feather from the *shaallo* bird at the back of his main hair.

The second bamboo pole he used as support during his time of suffering is called *daficho*, although it is also made of bamboo and does not differ from the *leemmiichcho* pole. The *daficho* stick, however, is supposed to protect the circumcised person while he is in the circumcision hut. If he hits someone with the stick, it has terrible consequences for the person who is beaten: a child would no longer grow and would remain a dwarf; a rich man would immediately become poor; and a cow would remain barren from that moment on. The day he takes a bath in the river and moves back to his house, he must also make this stick disappear by throwing it into the river or hiding it in a muddy place.

After two or three months, when the wounds have healed, the circumcised person leaves the festival hut on exactly the same calendar day on which he was circumcised. The duration of the stay in the circumcision hut also depends on whether all the relatives and acquaintances expected to bring gifts have already visited and paid their tribute. In practice, an agreement is reached among the circumcised persons of the same district about when they want to leave the hut. On the day when he leaves the hut, he has to go before daybreak (i.e. still in darkness), decorated with the feathers of the *wolliimma* bird, to the river and take a bath. Then, at the first grey of dawn, he goes very slowly, accompanied by about twenty singing men, to his usual hut, where he must spend the first day, because it would not be good for him to be exposed to the daylight. In the meantime, the youth gather in front of the hut with singing and dancing. At the same time friends and relatives visit him and are entertained.

We will never forget the solemn impression made when we were awakened early in the morning by the booming singing of the men. Huddled together to form a dense mass – only the sticks the men carried protruded above the group – the older men in their midst led two men decorated with *wolliimma* feathers, recognizable as the newly circumcised, into their home. But the compact mass of men approached so slowly that at first, at dawn, they could only be recognised by their outlines; it took a long time for the choir to parade past us. The men sang their booming singing, obviously moved and looked neither right nor left. All the spectators, who, like us, came running out of the huts, kept still and apparently also looked deeply moved by the group of men, who took no notice of them.

Despite the great honours associated with circumcision, there are said to be men who despise being circumcised. Called *katela*, these men are different from the *rauua*, who are not yet allowed to be circumcised because they belong to a low group in the *luwa* system, are extremely despised and have to sit with the children at communal meals. The reason given for refusing to be circumcised is usually the excessive age some have already reached when they reach the time of circumcision. One can well imagine that an old man of 70 years of age would no longer want to undergo this procedure. He then has to accept the shame associated with the name *katela.*

The woma degree

As already mentioned, the man can achieve even higher degrees within the *luwa* institution, if he organizes a correspondingly large celebration at the time when his sons are circumcised. The council of circumcised men must, however, have previously come to the conclusion that this man is worthy of the *woma* degree, which requires not only age, but also wealth and knowledge of the tribal laws as in an *ayyaantichcha*, as well as killing successes; if possible the applicant should have killed a human being or large game. In addition, obtaining the *woma* degree in Alatta still requires the consent of the Hoyye clan, which alone has the prerogative to decide whether this honour should be given to someone. The Hoyye clan has this privilege because it is considered to be the oldest clan, which first took possession of the land. A *woma* enjoys the same honour as a chief or a *gadaana*, the leader of a *luwa* class: no one can sit or walk before him. He also enjoys such great reverence that he sits all day long on a chair in front of his house, smoking his pipe, and always has gathered around himself people who wish to talk to him – something that has always been particularly emphasized and is apparently an ideal state of affairs in the eyes of the Sidaama. He is also given a special funeral service, in that the *doore* tree that is erected for him is decorated with numerous horns of cattle and antelope.

Even one whose sons are circumcised, who could theoretically be *woma* without going through the ceremony associated with the appointment (which is by far

the majority), is often called *woma*; but he does not enjoy the honours of a *woma* during his lifetime, although after his death he gets some horns on the *doore* tree at the *wi'la* festival.

The title *woma* has a completely different meaning in the four clans – Womereera, Caawa, Yemerechcho and Alwonno. Here the hereditary office of the clan leader is called *woma*. Such a *woma* will not be cut in the order prescribed by the *luwa* system and will also enjoy the honours mentioned above.

There is, however, a peculiar condition attached to the bestowal of this dignity that apparently makes it undesirable for most men. It is said that he who is so honoured may under no circumstances hear even the slightest sound of the songs sung at any feast given at his own expense and that of his circumcised sons. For this purpose his ears are blocked, and the auricle is folded and wrapped in a cloth about 10 metres long. He has to sit in his house, about 100 metres from the place where the dancing and singing takes place. It is said that, if he heard some of these songs, he would be so happy he would drop dead on the spot. It seems to me that this strange idea is due to a real incident. Perhaps, many generations ago, such an elder suffered a stroke at this festival, which people – probably with good reason – attributed to the fact that he was too happy about the singing.

Other forms of rank enhancement

As mentioned above, there are opportunities to achieve rank and prestige outside the *luwa* system. Above all, knowledge of tribal laws, the course of the stars, or the ability to predict the future from the entrails of a slaughtered animal can earn a rank far beyond the average. People who excel in any of these areas are called *ayyaanto* (to translate, for example, the gifted). This title is not officially awarded to a man, but simply because of his knowledge, more and more people will begin to call him *ayyaanto*. It even seems to be hereditary to a certain extent, but perhaps only in the same way that prestige and dignity are inherited from father to son, since my main informant, Aggaro Domme, was the son of an *ayyaanto* and was considered to be such himself, as was his older brother. People who are able to list their genealogy back up to ten or fifteen generations are not yet *ayyaanto*, because this is expected of about every third or fourth man in Sidaama, at least when he is circumcised. But to know all the clan connections, to be able to enumerate the genealogies of a number of different clans, but above all to know the twenty-seven days of the month by heart (which in fact only very few can do) or to know many star names and the course of the stars, all or some of this knowledge usually earns a Sidaama man the honorary title *ayyaanto*. To be able to predict the future from the bowels is a custom. Presumably, those who are able to suggest something universal to the people about the future through their personal ability are called *ayyaanto* (cf. Jensen 1959:288).

The name *ayyaanto* is not linked to circumcision. Even an uncircumcised person can become an *ayyaanto* if he or she has the necessary knowledge. No external sign is connected with this dignity, just as the burial of the *ayyaanto* does not differ in form from others. Only the importance attached to the funeral by all sides and the resulting strong participation expresses the prestige of the deceased.

A very similar relationship exists with the office of *hayyiichcha*. With other peoples, the *hayyoole* are holders of an office assigned under the *luwa* system. Among the Sidaama too, the office of judge is mainly that of an arbitrator of peace. To whom disputing parties turn is largely left to their own choice. Whoever is particularly distinguished in this office is called *hayyiichcha*, a title which also does not have any external insignia.

Another way for a man to give his name prestige is the killing of big game, which is forbidden by the Amhara today, or humans, which of course hardly ever happens today. The honour that is bestowed on such a man is expressed above all in the form of burial and funeral services, which can still sometimes be found today when an old man dies. However, the desire to receive such an honourable funeral is still so strong that it supposedly happens that someone goes crazy and kills a person. However, he then comes into conflict with the police, but this has no influence on the form of the death rites. Almost every Sidaama has a pierced left ear and usually has a ring attached to it. A killer of human beings or of at least two pieces of big game – like lion and leopard – has the right to pierce his right ear as well and then wear jewellery. Killing women was rejected by the Sidaama; no honour could be gained from it. It was also considered unusual to kill hyenas. Allegedly, it was even dangerous to kill hyenas, because the evil spirit the hyena is possessed by can transfer to the perpetrator.

The ivory arm ring, the *hirborchcho*, is an insignia that is only allowed to be worn on the upper arm by killers of humans and elephants and lions. The killer of a leopard wears four brass bracelets on the forearm.

By the way, if someone has beaten a tribe member to death, he will never receive these special honours. Manslaughter within the same clan is thus reconciled as quickly as possible by payment of atonement. But if the killed person belongs to a different clan than the killer, it is often very difficult to bring about reconciliation, and a lot of time passes over it. During this time, the clan brothers of the killed person cannot eat with the clan members of the perpetrator. Where they meet them, they have to use the flip side of the spear [i.e. the blunt end] to jab the killer's clan brother in the back and express their contempt in any way they can, without the killer being able to defend himself against it. Only after some time do the elders succeed in bringing about a reconciliation between the clans, i.e., by determining the payment for atonement. The atonement ceremony includes the ritual slaughter and eating together of a cow provided by the perpetrator's clan. Mutual brushing of the forehead (or throat in the case of women) with blood ends the enmity.

When a man returns from a hunting trip where he has shot big game, he is greeted with jubilation and is highly honoured. He must then kill a certain very large water bird called *shaallo*, or a very clumsy black bird called *humo*, and stick four of its feathers all around the head. Allegedly, this headdress is supposed to be symbolized by four long, protruding bamboo sticks when fencing the grave of a killer. A festive period of up to one year begins for the killer. He moves from relative to relative who, depending on their wealth, have to slaughter a cow, a sheep or a goat for him. At dances, on the day of the *fichchee-cambalaalla* festival, and also in war, he does not wear the cape made of cowhide, which is now out of fashion, but is entitled to wear a leopard or lion hide, even if he has not killed a lion or leopard but an elephant, for example.

I wondered how, in a culture that knew about killing people from one of the neighbouring tribes to the extent found in the southern Ethiopian peoples – where a man must have killed a foreigner before he could marry (information by Wena) – tribal trade, on which these peoples were particularly dependent, was possible. The mere fact that all the men of these peoples wore cotton cloth as clothing even though they did not know weaving – and even today only know it to a very limited extent – shows that trade played a very important role here. But after 1934, when the enforced peace by the Amhara administration was already largely established, the Sidaama porters absolutely refused to come to the Gedeo area, because they feared they would be killed. That their fears were not unjustified, is shown by the fact that, at about the same time, the chief of Shabbadiino and Yanaase, a certain Waaqayyo, killed a servant of a European simply because he was a foreigner and because this killing brought his hundredth success. However, he was imprisoned by the Amhara administration for this and died in prison. But who cared about the many cases of unknown natives who ventured through the Sidaama territory and were killed in the process? One would certainly not learn about them from any Sidaama. Today, however, among peoples like Sidaama, Gedeo or Wolaitta, the killing of a foreigner is almost impossible; only in the southwest, near the Banna or Hamar, do such cases occur sporadically and the fear of wandering alone through a foreign territory is therefore still widespread.

But how trade was nevertheless possible before the time of the Amhara administration is shown by the information provided by the *woma* Sidda Baallichcha in Shabbadiino. First of all, the declared state of war between two tribes must be distinguished from these isolated killings. The killings for ritual reasons always took place, regardless of whether a state of war was declared or not. Causes for war were usually a breach of the rules for killings or disputes over the country. If a state of war was declared, any trade between the two tribes was impossible. Therefore, if trade between them was important, both tribes shared an interest in reaching peace as soon as possible. This was particularly true in the case of a war between Wolaitta and Sidaama; for the Wolaitta are the only weavers in the area,

and the Sidaama's interest in obtaining cotton dresses was naturally as great as that of the Wolaitta in selling them.

All killing successes achieved in such wars between two tribes were credited to the killer, earned him the same honours as peacetime successes, and had an effect on his funeral. But women were not killed even in war. If they could be captured, they were taken as slaves. On the other hand, there was no crediting of killing successes in wars between individual clans or provinces of the Sidaama country.

Peace [between groups] was concluded by a ceremony at the border, at which the leading personalities were present; two spears with their points facing the opposite direction, i.e. with the spears pointing to their own country [rather than the enemy's country], were laid down, a cow and a sheep were slaughtered and the blood was drunk together. The individual conditions of peace were explicitly invoked in complicated formulas.

For periods when there was no declared state of war, there were two possibilities for trade. On the one hand, there were the women, who were able to travel unhindered in foreign territory, since all these peoples would not kill a woman on principle, unless she had (in their opinion) committed a crime. Often enough, war will have happened because a woman was killed after all because she had, for example, stolen or was alleged to have stolen, or because an argument had arisen about something. The life of the foreigner was not very high on the agenda.

Of course, the women made little use of travelling around in a foreign country. This form of trade mainly took place at the markets near the border. There was a large Sidaama market on the border with Arsi, in Shiisho, where Arsi women appeared in large numbers. In addition, the Wolaitta held a large market in Diinto, directly on the Bilaatte, the border river opposite Sidaama; and Sidaama women also went and bought the large cotton cloths (*bulukko*) worn in Shabbadiino and Yanaase. These *bulukko* were different from those worn in Alatta; they were not as good. The Alatta women went to another market a little inside Wolaitta, in Bilisso, which no longer exists. The markets in Wolaitta, incidentally, were every seven days, while the markets in Sidaama and Gedeo were every four days – a sign either that the four-day week was not on the west side of the lakes, or that the old Amhara occupation of this area was much more intense in Wolaitta than in Sidaama.

In Wolaitta, the Sidaama women bought large cotton cloths of the first quality woven called *liko*, a Sidaama word of unknown meaning that also refers to the cane given to a girl by her father as she matured, or a second quality cloth called *gumaata*, named after the market town in Wolaitta where this fabric was sold.

How each tribe – and sometimes even the individual provinces of the tribes – came to have their own distinct fashions and traditional costumes, recognizable by the way they are dyed or striped, when they obtained their cloth from one weaving centre is a question that can no longer be answered, as the costumes are probably

several centuries old. Certainly, however, the type of cover, i.e. the market from which the clothes were originally introduced, played a role.

The other way of trading was the adoption of a trader by a member of a foreign tribe. Professional traders in particular made ample use of this possibility. However, it required that the adopting father, for example a Sidaama, constantly accompany his son, for example an Arsi, on his travels through the Sidaama country. Since the adoption relationship established a relationship of kinship, such as father and son, this meant that the Sidaama father could also travel through the Arsi country accompanied by his Arsi son without being killed. As a result, this adoption relationship was of course particularly advantageous for two traders.

But anyone else could do such a ceremony. In former times it was a source of income for the Sidaama living near the border, because nobody did it for free. Usually, an Arsi man, for example, had to give a few pieces of cattle, a Wolaitta who wanted to trade in fabrics had to give a few pieces of fabric and an old cow needed for the ceremony. This adoption ceremony was called *gondooro* in Sidaama and *haruxa* (breast) in Arsi. When a Sidaama adopted someone, this man had to suck honey from the breast of the Sidaama man. Furthermore, the old cow had to be slaughtered without being eaten (except by the *haadiiwo*). The lungs and heart were taken from the animal. The lung was rubbed into the face of the adopted man and the heart was swung around the Arsi seven times. Then the heart and lungs were cut through, telling God to cut anyone who dared to kill the adopted person.

An important commodity in earlier times was slaves, for which there were separate markets. Dr. Kuls, for example, saw the remains of such a market in Dole, in the lowlands near the Bilaatte, the border river between Sidaama and Wolaitta, which apparently was still in operation until about 1925. For example, Gete Lakko, one of the women of Alatta's chief, Bii'no, who died three years ago, was near our camp; she was a young woman of 32-38 years of age. The mother of this woman was bought as a young Wolaitta woman in the slave market. The daughter still wore a Wolaitta tattoo. The mother gave her to the house of an Amhara and later she married a servant of Bii'no. After the servant's death, she married Bii'no herself at an old age because she was familiar with Amhara customs. The Sidaama claim that they never sold their children as slaves. However, they claim the opposite of the Wolaitta, Borooda and Koyra. They themselves never bought Koyra as slaves because they are related to the Koyra.

To return from this detour to the subject of increasing rank, we should mention the important office of clan leader, which – at least in Alatta – is usually not associated with a title. Only in the above-mentioned four clans – Womereera, Caawa, Yemerechcho and Alwonno – does the hereditary clan leader bear the honourable title *woma*. In Holloo, however, such a title also seems to exist. There, the man who is entitled to make sacrifices for the clan is called *gana*. For the Daama clan in Alatta, there is currently a man called Haigako; for the Lamala clan, he is called

Rorato Joka; and Adeela for the Haittaalla clan. These offices are usually given in hereditary succession to those who have a so-called *adbaare* place. Some clans, however, do not have their own *adbaare* place and are consequently free to choose for personality. In general, the so-called *ayyaantichcha* or *hayyoole* are preferred.

Their function is exclusively to offer sacrifices, often at infrequent intervals. Mostly these sacrifices are caused by bad dreams, which announce danger for the clan. Of course, the dreams of a young man are evaluated differently to those of a circumcised man or even an *ayyaantichcha*. The clan leader, after consulting with the clan elders, will then slaughter a cow in his *adbaare* place in the presence of many clan members. For this task, the clan leader must of course already be circumcised.

The *kiilancho* (Afaan Oromo: *qaallichcha*) also occupies an equally highly respected position. He is the one who understands the language of the spirits, heals diseases using magical means, and unfolds prophetic gifts in his trance states. We will come back to him and his role in the treatment of the diseases.

The despised castes

As already mentioned, there are two other despised castes besides the *haadiiwo* and the *awaado*. For five generations, the *haadiiwo* have had their own district with two independent chiefs in the south of the country. Helmut Straube has worked with them and will report on this separately. However, the *haadiiwo* who do not live in their own district but scattered over other Sidaama provinces do not own any land; they always live as tenants on the land of a *wolawichcho* called a *bilo*. They are not allowed to kill animals, although they have recently acquired cattle. They are always dependent on their *bilo* for this. The number of *haadiiwo* still living in the *wolawo* provinces is estimated to be one-fifth to one-third of the total population.

The degree of contempt for the *haadiiwo* and *awaado* fluctuates. It was claimed in Alatta that the clan Yemerechcho prefers the *awachcho* to the *haadiichcho*. However, during our visit to Shabbadiino, where the Yemerechcho clan is based, there was no sign of this. In Alatta, for example, the members of the chief clan Gissa would probably dance with a *haadiichcho* girl but not with a girl from the *awachcho* caste.

The following story, which every man knows but which is never heard in public, is told about the origins of the *haadiiwo*. It was only confided to me in private:

> Selema, the father of Bushshee, had a donkey with which a servant had performed sodomy. The donkey became pregnant and gave birth to a human-born son called Hade (from *hadirra* = the part of the house where the cattle are kept). From this Hade all *haadiiwo* descend.

We have already heard of Ne'a and Gando, who were sons of Bushshee and brothers of Aabbo and Xummaano and are considered the progenitors of the *haadiiwo* and *awaado*. This part constitutes, so to speak, the official version of the origin of the two despised castes, while the above story is surrounded by the strictest mystery. Presumably, this secrecy is born of tactfulness towards the *haadiiwo*. Another story is also kept secret and is told only in a whisper and in private:

> It was in those distant times, when God was still living on earth, when a man had a beautiful daughter. When she was ripe for marriage, three very distinguished men applied for her at the same time and no one was willing to give up, so much did they desire the beautiful girl. The girl's father, in desperation, turned to God with a request to help her. God took a tuft of the *masincha* leaves and touched with them a donkey and a bitch that were in the possession of the man. Then they were transformed into girls, which resembled the man's daughter to confuse them [the three men]. Then God said: "Give your daughter to the man who first asked for her. To the other two applicants, give the two girls I have transformed for you." The man pretended. From the girl who was originally a bitch came the *awaado*; from the one who was originally a donkey, the *haadiiwo* (cf. the same story among the Gedeo, Jensen 2020:37).

In Holloo and other provinces, aversion to the *awaado* is so strong that the population avoids any contact with them. If contact does occur accidentally, for example at the market, a purification ceremony must take place. We were able to observe this ourselves once, when two *awaado* visited us in the camp. Although our servant – a *wolawichcho* whose family came from Holloo – fearfully avoided any contact and energetically refused to touch the tools bought from this leather worker, he somehow came into contact with the man's tools of trade. The purification ceremony must be performed by a member of the clan. Fortunately, the policeman who was at our disposal in Sidaama was from the same clan and could perform it immediately. He obtained a leaf sheath from a particular species of ensete called *cacco*, a tuft of a fragrant grass called *tala*, which is torn out by its roots, and a handful of beeswax with honey attached. That only *cacco* ensete may be used for this purpose was justified, by our main informant Aggaro, by the fact that Daada had brought it from heaven with the red sheep. All other species of ensete had already been there at that time. In the cleaning ceremony, the ensete leaf sheath is slit lengthwise in the middle. The wax with the adherent honey is placed in this opening, where the liquid contained in the leaf comes together, and then the tips of the tuft of grass are dipped three times, and the polluted person is sprinkled with it. At the same time, the words "Be pure!" or "Be *wolawichcho*!" are said three times. In the same way, everything that the *awaado* had touched was sprinkled, unless it could be thrown away.

According to others, a *wolawichcho* who has come into contact with an *awachcho* must slaughter a sheep and have its blood rub off the spot that was touched. The *haadiiwo* also have to perform a purification ceremony when they

come into contact with the *awaado.* For the *awaado* itself, contact with the other castes has no such consequences.

The *haadiiwo* play a role in certain *wolawo* ceremonies, while the *awaado* are not eligible for this. For example, a *haadiichcho* can cure a certain disease that a *wolawichcho* has. The *haadiichcho* wraps a rope from a climbing plant around the head of the sick person and says: "May the evil spirit that caused this disease follow me." Then, dragging the rope behind him, he goes down to the river and throws it in; the disease takes the same path. He then returns to the house and is given food.

For the following ceremony a *haadiichcho* gets a heifer. If a *wolawichcho* couple does not have children, they try to make it happen in the following way: A *haadiichcho* man has to hang with spread legs above the entrance of the hut, with his back against the roof to which he is holding on, and the couple then crawls under him into the house. This is supposed to bring child blessings or eliminate the infertility of the man and woman.[54] A *haadiichcho* assured me that the man who does this becomes infertile himself. Today, and only seldomly, do poor *haadiiwo* offer themselves up. In the past, they could be forced to do so by the *wolawo.* Even if difficulties arise when calving a cow, the *haadiiwo* are considered good helpers.

The *awaado* used to not own land. When they made their land claim with reference to the position of the *haadiiwo*, who have only been living in their own district for five generations, they were assigned land strips in the lowlands between the mouths of the rivers Gidaawo and Buna in Lake Abbayya. However, this land is completely barren and covered with reeds. It is not used by the *awaado*.

The Sidaama say that Gando, the ancestor of the *awaado* (in this case, apparently, the leather workers), was not present at the time when the land was distributed among the people because he was busy scraping off the flesh still adhering to a freshly stripped hide to eat. So, he missed the distribution of land, which, according to the *wolawo*, was a good thing. According to other sources, the *awaado* are said to be the descendants of the Hoofa.

Old Sidaama people assured me that sexual intercourse between *wolawo* and *haadiiwo* would probably occur occasionally in secret, but never with the *awaado*. A *wolawichcho* man who slept with an *awachcho* woman would inevitably die. This prevents the *wolawo* from ever having sexual intercourse with an *awachcho* woman. If a *wolawichcho* man establishes intimate relations with a woman whose clan he does not know exactly, so that it is possible that she is an *awachcho* woman, he always has the woman put manure in his hand beforehand, which he keeps in his hand all the time. This protects his cattle from dying.

[54] In a hymn that Howell tells of the Dinka, deities (or spirits) are addressed who are supposed to allow the petitioner to crawl through their legs. Lienhardt (1961:103) remarks in a footnote that there is a Dinka rite whereby a sick person crawls through the legs of a "magician", "leaving the sickness behind.

It is very rare that leather workers and blacksmiths are united in one caste. It is likely that this fusion is a secondary act. Of course, there are far fewer blacksmiths than leather workers. We have only seen one blacksmith family, living away from all homes on a large cattle pasture (*caffa*) and which proved to be very secretive. As with most other peoples we visited, the other people's avoidance of the blacksmiths was very strict, at least much more than of the *haadiiwo* caste. This much more intensive avoidance of the blacksmiths perhaps also affected the leather workers, but only secondarily, possibly as a result of some event, and it only brought about the combining of the two crafts in one caste. In any case, it is hardly possible to say more about the endogamous caste from our material.

However, the relationship between the Sidaama and the *haadiiwo*, who are far more often farmers and only a few of whom actually make pots, confirms the assumption made earlier that the Sidaama are the country's older population. This is already suggested by the legend of its [the group's] origin, which traces it back to the eldest son of Bushshee. Throughout southern Ethiopia, mythology refers to the oldest brother as the one who has lived in the country the longest. It also fits that Ne'a, the ancestor of the *haadiiwo*, lived on earth in the myth when the sky was still so close above the earth that no trees could grow. It also fits that the contempt for the descendants of Ne'a is justified by the fact that he ate the meat of wild boars, hippos and the small dik-dik antelope. The role of the *haadiiwo* in several ceremonies, where they are indispensable in removing a particular disease and in obtaining child blessings, also fits in with this.

Much of the information provided by the Sidaama indicates that the *haadiiwo* represent an older section of the population.

Religious and spiritual life

Myths of origin

The origin myths of the Sidaama are extraordinarily numerous and testify to a living mythical imagination. The many customs and mores that refer to the myths of origin testify to the vividness of the mythical thought, which is considered binding for many expressions of life. For example, the fact that the mouse once brought cereal to man is still binding today for the relationship between man and mouse. The same applies to the cat, which once gave milk to humans and which therefore still receives a calabash of milk.

Origin of man and death

Often the myths contain biblical motifs. Thus, when asked about the first man, the answer is usually that Adam, the first man, was created by God, and Eve was formed from his rib. But there are also other names for Adam and Eve, namely Kalaqa and Kalika, which are of Arabic origin and may have infiltrated Sidaama in older times through contact with Islamic influences. In the Sidaama language, *kalaqama* means creation. This is also the origin of the different Sidaama variants of biblical motifs, which are told in a different way from the Bible.

So they tell that Eve had thirty children, fifteen sons and fifteen daughters. First a girl was born. When she went to the river to fetch water, Satan waited for her and she had a child with him. This child was black and all black people descend from him.

The woman's menstruation came from the fact that Eve had eaten from the fruit of the tree, which was forbidden. When God asked her if she had eaten from it, she denied it and said that she had walked under the tree with a load of wood and that the fruit had fallen down. God said: "As a punishment for your lies, let blood come out of your body for two (*lame*) days every month." But Eve thought that God had said seven (*lamala*) days and asked in surprise: "Seven days?" "Well," God said, "then it shall be as you have said!"

In the early days, when people did not yet die, God once walked the earth and asked a woman for some water to drink. The woman refused him the water. So God went on, came to the snake and repeated his request. The serpent immediately went to fetch water and brought it to God. Then God blessed the snake and said

she never had to die. When she got old, she would get a new skin and live on forever. But the woman threw earth in God's face and said that man should die.

Origin of ghosts

God came one day to the house of Eve and wanted to visit her. For this visit, Eve hid fifteen of her thirty children in the house, and only showed fifteen of them. Then God asked her how many children she had. Eve denied the fifteen hidden children and said she had fifteen children. Then God cursed her and said: "That is why your other fifteen children should remain invisible for ever and do only evil!" Thus, the spirits came into the world; they are, in reality, relatives of human beings, but always invisible. They cause disease.

When I asked why Eve had hidden half of her children, that surely a woman would be proud to have as many children as possible, they said that a man could never know what motives a woman had for her actions. For example, she hides the butter in the house or tells the man that there is none left when he asks for butter, even though the man can see it. It turned out, by the way, that the women alone control the stocks [of food] and that, even in a case like the one mentioned, the man himself should not say: "There's the butter."

Origin of the cattle

In Haweela (according to another version Gure, near the market town of Deela near Wondo) one day, cattle with wonderful, large horns came out of the ground. A man from the clan Doolimma happened to be nearby and saw more and more cattle coming out of the ground. Suddenly, he saw one of the cattle with a split upper lip (which is said to be caused by a kind of cattle plague called *zäle*). Then he laughed loudly, and at the same moment, the hole in the ground closed and no more cattle came out.

According to another version, the man was beside himself with excitement and joy when he saw the many magnificent cattle. He called all the people together: "I have cattle! I have a lot of cattle!" And with the help of the others, he began to capture the animals. Then the earth closed up, and the many cattle that were about to come out remained in the earth. If the man had behaved differently, the whole earth would be full of cattle.

The following narrative is also reported. God created all animals. Then he ordered the animals to each other, saying to the lion, "Yours shall be the cattle!" and giving him some bulls and cows. To the hyena he said, "You shall have the donkey!", and he gave her some male and female animals. To the leopard he gave goats, but to the cat he gave the milk cow. When man heard of this division of the animals, he went to God and complained bitterly that he had received nothing. Then God gave him the blacksmith, who immediately made a spear for him, and the water because he had no more animals to give.

But man became the master of all animals and took possession of the animals by making contracts with them. First the cat came and said that she was not able to look after the cows and milk them after all. So she offered man co-ownership of the dairy cow on the condition that she would always get some of the milk. Therefore, Sidaama who have a cat (the animal is very rare) must always give some of the freshly milked milk to the cat first, before using it themselves, because the cat is the original owner. They told me this story because I doubted that the cat had been in southern Ethiopia before. The story, however, came from their fathers (in truth an ethnological proof of the age of a cultural asset). Then the lion wanted to lead his cattle to the watering place, but at the water's edge stood a man armed with a spear who said: "The water is mine! I will not allow you to water your cattle." The same happened to the hyena and the leopard. They all had to give the man a pair of their animals if they wanted to water them. But as this was repeated more and more often, and man's wealth in cattle, donkeys and goats grew, the wild animals finally agreed that they would give their property to man on condition that he would keep the cattle well. If he did not look after it well, the wild animals would take it back. Therefore, according to Sidaama law, if a hyena attacks a donkey at night, it is because man has not fulfilled his obligation to look after it well.

When I asked them why the sheep did not appear in this story, they assured me that the sheep had not been on earth when man made these contracts with the wild animals. Rather, the sheep only came down from heaven with Daada, because God told Himself that man must also possess the sheep. When I asked them whether the clan Gissa, which Daada founded, did not eat goats because it had brought the sheep down with it, they told me the following story.

The reason why many self-respecting people do not eat goats is different. The goat was not originally created as a goat but was created from the cadaver worms of a very fat man. People could not carry this fat man to his grave, partly because of the unbearable stench of his corpse. They laid him down on the road and covered him only slightly with earth. Then the worms came out of his body, and these later became the goat.

The *kiilancho*, the fortune-tellers and medicine men, in all of Ethiopia also do not eat goat, and if you go to a *kiilancho*, you must not have eaten goat meat before, nor eggs or chickens, by the way, for which no explanation could be given to me. This repulsive depiction of the origin of the goat supports the view that the goat belongs to an older layer.

Origin of the ensete

The most important food plant of the Sidaama is the ensete. According to a widespread belief, the first ensete plant grew out of the horn of a cow (or the first cow). The horn was stuck in the ground, rotted there and finally the ensete

sprouted from it. This belief is still so firmly anchored among the Sidaama that nobody doubts it. When I was once told this story, by chance, among the audience was a native assistant preacher from the Ethiopian church who claimed that this could not be reconciled with what he had learned at the seminary. An old Sidaama man then said: "You just have to try. It is still the case today that an ensete plant will grow out of a cow horn that you bury." A few days later, a young Sidaama brought us a strange structure consisting of a piece of rotten cow horn with soil adhering to it and roots similar to those of the ensete tuber growing from it. Such horns with roots are often found in the earth.

According to another version, God told the earth to produce many trees and asked the first man, Kalaqa, to choose among all plants what to eat. Kalaqa then chose the ensete plant. The plant grew up and developed a blossom, which matured and fell to the earth. Then new ensete plants came out and the people could plant more. But more and more people came to have ensete, and Kalaqa did not know how to make enough for everyone. So he cut off an ensete plant, cut the root bulb into pieces and distributed them. People planted the pieces, and new ensete plants grew. These so grew in number that all people could live on them. After some time, people complained that they should live on ensete alone. Then God gave them the cabbage so that they could enjoy it with the ensete.

There is also the following story about the origin of ensete. Two men wandered together: one had a rifle; the other had no weapons. The armed man asked the other how he could dare to walk across the country without weapons. The other replied: "I trust in God, for God is stronger than a weapon in my hand." The armed man thought: "I want to see if God will really help him." And so he shot him. He dragged the body into the cave of a jackal and went on his way. When he came back the same way after a while, he saw that an ensete plant and a banana tree had grown up at the place where he had hidden the body. He tasted the fruit and root of the new trees and found them wonderful. He sent a message to the king reporting that he had found two new food trees. The king sent for the man. But at the moment the man placed the fruit before the king, it turned into bones. Then the king ordered that the man be hanged. Before his execution, however, he confessed how these trees had come into being. Then he was executed. But since then, the ensete and the banana have been around.

There is also wild ensete in Sidaama. It is said to grow only in Malga. It is called *durriisa* (Satan) *weese* (ensete), i.e. 'the devil's ensete', exactly as it is in Aari (Jensen 1959:178). It is never eaten.

Haberland learned from a man in Arbegoona that the ensete came from the brain of a dead or killed person. That is why even today the dead are wrapped in ensete leaves.

Origin of barley

A mouse could not find any food for its children and went to heaven on a spider thread. There it saw barley growing and secretly ate it and returned to earth. According to one version, the spider thread tore halfway, and the mouse fell to the earth and burst apart. From her body the first grain grew.

According to another version, after she came back to earth, the mouse made a contract with man. She gave barley to the humans because she was too small and too weak to dig up the earth. In return, the people did not cover the baskets in which they kept their crops, so that the mice could always get their share. In fact, many Sidaama leave the barley storage baskets uncovered or make a small hole under the lid. Some denied this and said that, on the contrary, they kept cats to chase away the mice. However, when sowing barley, they say: "Let this barley grow, and we will share it with the mouse."

Origin of maize and millet

Maize and, even more strikingly, millet were strangely not brought from heaven. The maize is said to have come from Kambaata or from Wolaitta. The millet grew on the earth by itself. On the other hand, the Sidaama say that the first man, Kalaqa, pulled off his hair and planted it. From this the millet was born.

As another variation, they tell of a man who went buffalo hunting and came to a remote part of a forest. Suddenly he saw a field where corn and millet grew, which had not existed on earth until then. The field belonged to Satan. The hunter took a number of fruits from that field. When Satan noticed the theft, he followed the hunter. At the square in Chume in Shabbadiino, he caught up with the hunter and followed him home. When the hunter and his son and daughter had eaten of the corn and millet, they became ill. Since that time there has been the sickness and the *kiilancho*, who can talk to Satan to heal people from the sickness. Another consequence of this story is that the *kiilancho* has to offer corn or millet to Satan because he [man] has stolen these foods from him.

A variant from Saawoola, which Dr. Kuls collected, is as follows. Originally, man had no other food than the trees of the forest. God gave him the ensete, cabbage, barley, which at that time had much larger grains, and the cattle to which he owed the milk. Man now had enough and became exuberant. He trampled the barley underfoot. God punished him for this and took the barley away from him. But the mouse took pity on man. It climbed up to heaven and asked God for the barley for man. God gave it to him too, but with much smaller grains. Since then, the mouse has not been killed when it eats barley grains.

Origin of the pumpkin and the gourd

There was a *woma* who had four eyes: two in the front and two at the back of his head. Nobody knew about it, and he could see what was going on behind his back, unnoticed. One day, he asked a young man to remove his lice and went behind his back to the house, where nobody could see him. When the young man came to the place where his second pair of eyes was, the *woma* told him to stop. But he was not sure whether the young man's eyes had seen or not seen [his second eyes], so he asked him if he had seen anything. When the young man denied it, the *woma* said to him as a precaution: "If you have seen something, say it to no man, otherwise you will die on the spot." The man kept his secret for fear of dying, but it did not leave him in peace. Once, when it was bothering him too much, he tried to tell the earth. He dug a small hole in the earth and whispered into it: "The *woma* has four eyes! The *woma* has four eyes!" Then he carefully filled the hole with earth again. After some time, a plant grew out of this hole, which bore a gourd as its fruit. People marvelled at this fruit. Then the calabash began to speak and said: "The *woma* has four eyes! The *woma* has four eyes!"

According to another version, a man saw the fruit and wanted to cut it off. Then it said: "The *woma* has four eyes!" The man was frightened and abandoned his plan. He told all the people. The people could not make sense of it and finally went to the *woma* and told him. Then the *woma* sent for the man who had deloused him at that time and confronted him. But he said: "I have told no one but the earth." Then the people cut off the calabash and made themselves a water pipe.

Another tale that deals with the origin of the pumpkin and gourd tells that a man found a fruit in the woods that looked almost like a banana. He took it home and planted the seed from the fruit. From this, both the gourd and the pumpkin were created.

Origin of fire

When there was no fire on earth, a woman once gave birth to a child and then died in childbirth. The father was very unhappy and did not know how to feed the child. He rubbed two pieces of wood against each other and that is when fire started. When he saw how useful fire was, he wanted to keep it secret and use it only for himself. He therefore hid the fire in the roof of his house during the night (cf. Jensen 1959:267). That is when the roof caught fire and the glow of light announced that the man had discovered fire. Then all the people came and got fire and have used it ever since.

Origin of the monkeys

The monkey used to be a man who was too lazy to till his own field. He always ate from the crops of others. People were angry about this and took him to task.

But when all the coaxing did not bring any improvement, they chased him into the forest with their spears. This man became a monkey and still lives from the crops of the others.

The concept of God

If one considers the expressive forms of the ceremony associated with circumcision and the cult of the dead, even though it is not based on clear ideas, it is striking how poor, almost formulaic are the rites which refer to the highest deities of the Sidaama. *Magano*, the god of heaven, and *Baatto*, the goddess of earth, are clearly the highest in the order of precedence. They are also usually addressed together in prayers. *Magano* and *Baatto* are supposed to help people out of all kinds of difficulties. But these prayers always seem very formal and quite different from the prayers to the deceased father and the sacrifices offered at his tomb, in which there is no mention of *Magano* and *Baatto*.

One imagines that *Magano* lives in heaven. His name, however, is not identical with sky or sun as it is with the Oromo. The sun and moon are considered to be his eyes.

Magano is considered to be the husband of *Baatto* and is undoubtedly the superior of the two deities, but obviously only because he is male. Even the activity of creation is attributed to *Magano* only to a limited extent. The earth was created out of itself. *Magano* is considered to have been created later, although it remains unclear whether the earth also produced him. He could easily reach his place in heaven at that time, because heaven was close to the earth. Once in heaven, he seems to have gained dominion very quickly because the earth then brought forth many things at his behest.

The Sidaama do not know much about *Baatto*, the earth that produced everything. They do not know its shape, nor do they know any concrete and vivid information about it. A man once reported a prayer formula in which only *Magano*, but not *Baatto*, appeared. When I asked about it, he said it was not so necessary to call her, because a mother never forgets her children. But *Magano* would, of course, resent such neglect. Thus, both the heavenly and the earthly deity remain rather colourless figures in the religion of the Sidaama, especially because almost no cult is dedicated to them. Most sacrificial ceremonies and prayers are addressed to the ancestors. A curious exception is only the sacrifices offered by the *gadaana*, the leader of the *luwa* class, which are always addressed to *Magano* and *Baatto*.

Death, burial and soul images

When a child dies, there is no mourning ceremony. The grave is usually placed under the fence that separates the meadow in front of the house (*nafara*) from the

ensete garden. The grave is inconspicuous and can only be recognized by a small elevation in the ground.

However, all men and women receive a more or less high burial mound, surrounded by a fence of bamboo wickerwork or wooden sticks.[55] The corpses are always buried with the head facing east, men on the left side and women on the right. This is strange in that the right side is otherwise always male and the left side female.

At the funeral, a podocarpus branch is placed on a man's corpse and a Juniperus branch on a woman's. They say this is done in memory of the time when there was no leather or cotton clothing in Sidaama, and the men wore a podocarpus branch and the women a tuft of Juniperus branch to cover their private parts.

Only the tomb of circumcised people is still surrounded by an outer fence, the so-called *madaada,* with two gates, one to the east and one to the west. Both gates are initially closed with a door.

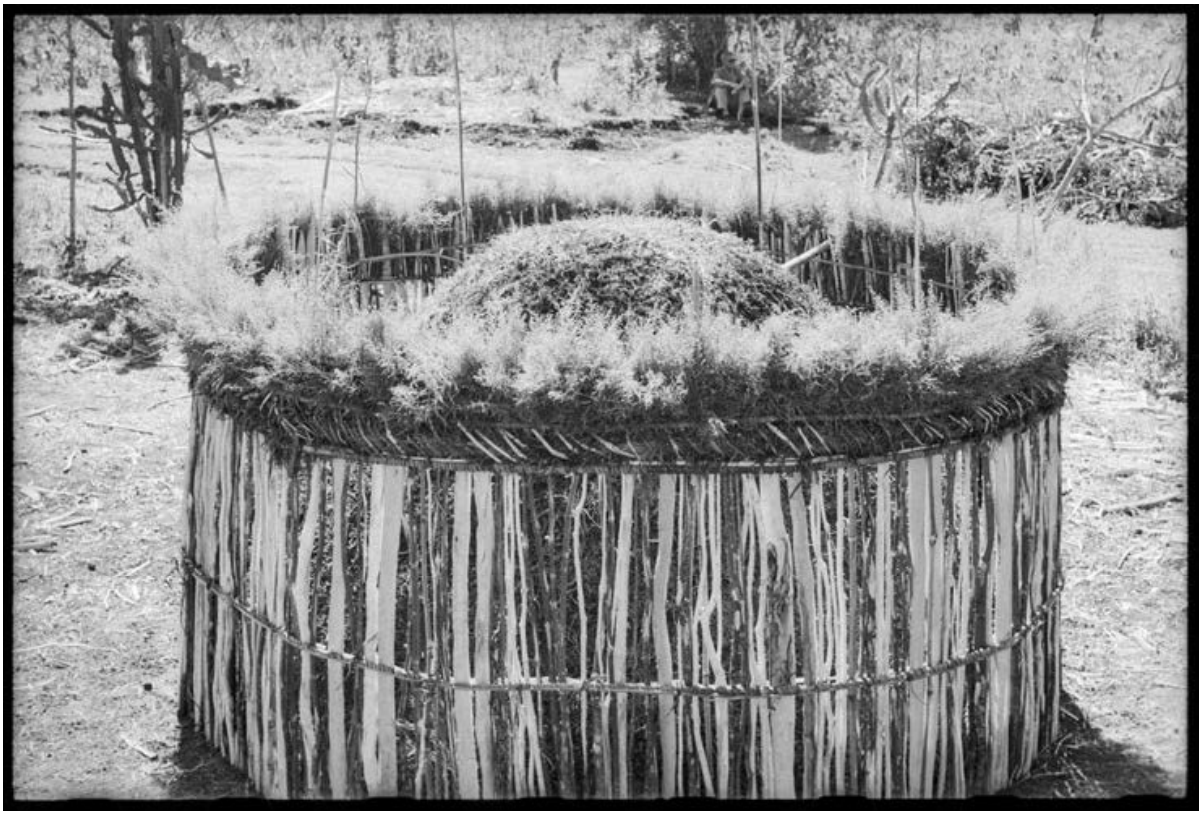


Image 24: Tomb. For men of the lower ranks, the burial mound is surrounded by a simple fence

The first Feast of the Dead, which lasts three days and is called *wi'la* (lament), takes place near the grave on a large open space, three days after death for rich people and one or two months after death for poorer people. A medium-sized, bifurcated podocarpus tree is felled for this festival and, if the deceased had been circumcised, the bark and leaves are removed. Only the bark and leaves are left at

[55] For burial mounts and their wickerwork see film by Pauli (1960b).

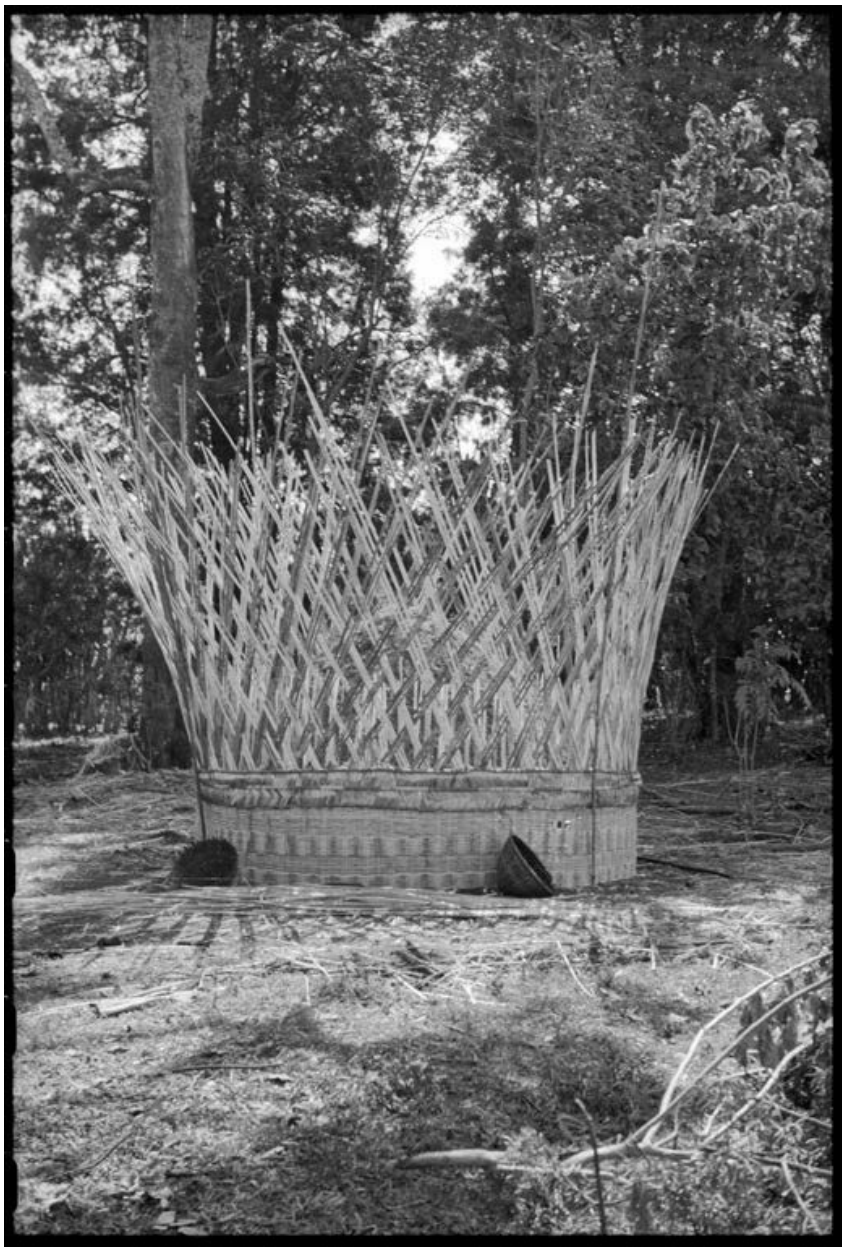


Image 25: Tomb. The highest ranks receive a special grave arrangement, called madaada

the top. To symbolize the deceased's bracelet, three grooves are made all around the trunk below the point where it forks. For killers, these rings are cut into both branches above the fork. For married uncircumcised people, these rings are not notched but left standing as bark. For unmarried people, the bark is not peeled off at all, only the leaves are removed. This tree is called *doore* and is placed on the fairground and held by supports. Once, we even saw two *doore* piles in the same place, i.e. they had been erected for two deceased persons, one of whom had been dead for some time. Presumably, his family was poor and joined the funeral feast of a richer family.

The spear and one or two shields of the deceased are leaned against the *doore* tree. The *doore* pole is dyed with red ochre earth called *sorsa* for a big game

or man killer, and the *madaada* is also decorated with vertical red stripes. Small figures are made from ensete tubers, which are supposed to represent the animals killed by the deceased. These are also laid down at the foot of the *doore* tree.

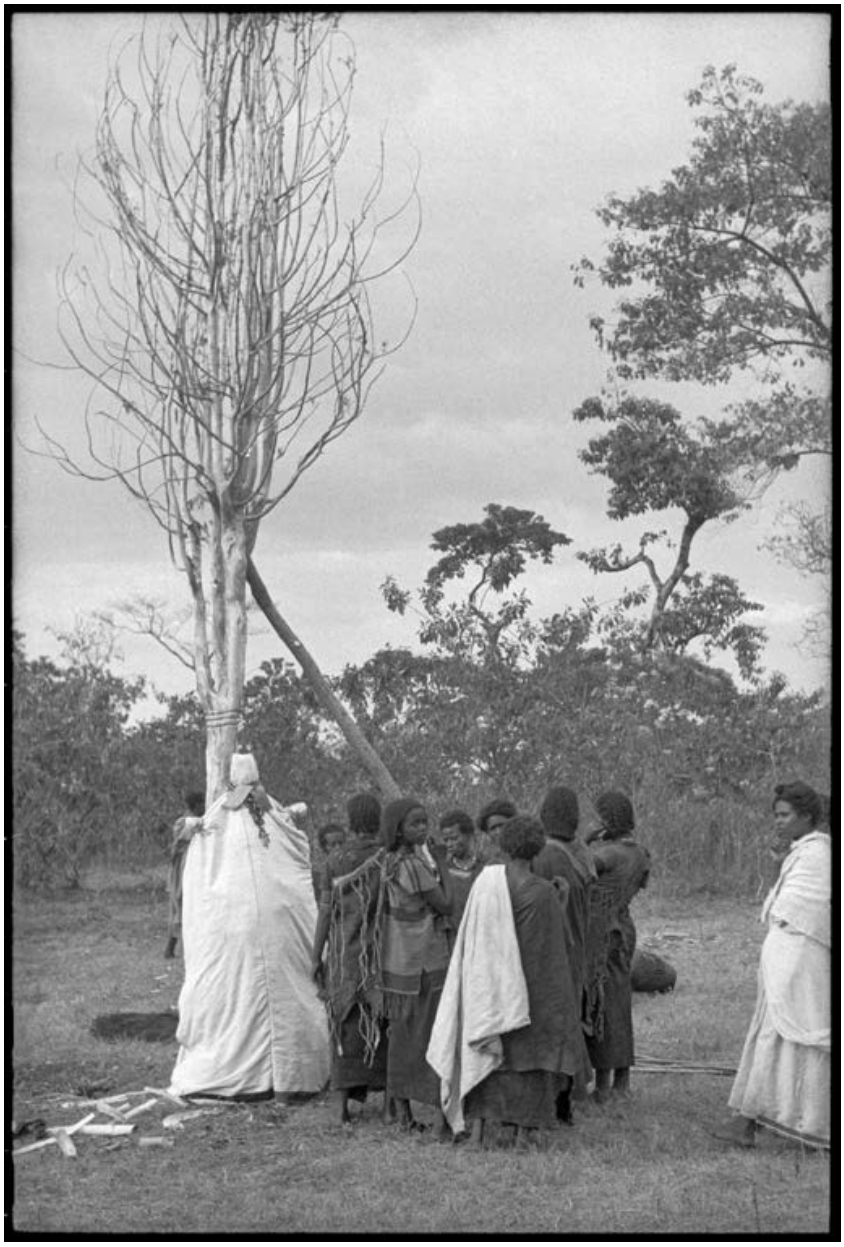


Image 26: Death ceremony in Manche. Group of women with doore tree and midaancho puppet

For a *woma*, the *doore* tree has another special feature: a horn from a cow or an antelope is attached to each of its branches. In addition, some men of the mourning society carry such horns in their hands. One can see that they have taken many forms to reflect the status of the deceased through the social characteristics that are important to them. As has often been emphasized, circumcision is the most important event in a man's life. Also, at the death of a woman it is extremely important whether her husband is already a *cimeessa* [i.e. circumcised] or still belongs to

the *rauua* [i.e. uncircumcised]; it is of decisive importance for the monument she receives.

Image 27: Death ceremony in Beera. Drum accompaniment to dance and singing

For three days the neighbours, friends and relatives gather on the fairground and dance and sing. This celebration is one of the greatest things that the Sidaama culture has to offer. The people are gathered in great numbers. It would be an insult not to attend this funeral service, and even the old people would intervene if someone really tried to avoid this duty. The men form a large circle around the *doore* tree and hold their spears with the tip pointing upwards. Within the circle are three or four women, each of whom has a drum, and a lead singer who blows[56]

[56] It is the other way round with the neighbouring Gedeo: the drums are only beaten by men.

the short solo parts to the choral singing of the men. To the sound of singing, the men jump to the rhythm of the drums, leaning on their spears. Around the circle, the women move in a procession of three or four in a row with strange, ornate steps and arm movements. Some of them, usually close relatives of the deceased, carry the personal belongings of the deceased in front of them on outstretched arms: his drinking calabash, his *mixe* belt, his *konyara* knife, his trousers, the abdominal bandage, etc. If the deceased had a horse, his widow leads it around the circle of women. The saddle is covered with a cloth. The shields and drinking horns of the deceased are carried around by the men. Outside these circles, now and then isolated men with spears and shields dance and perform mock battles.

For a *woma* – I was expressly assured – the songs are not divided into solos that are then repeated by the choir, but are all sung only by the choir. Furthermore, the men do not stand in a circle or perform mock fights but only walk around in circles. In this way, the lively hustle and bustle goes on for three days from early morning until darkness falls. At night all the people go home to sleep, only to dance and sing again with all their strength the next day. When a sudden rainfall sets in, they scatter to hide under trees and bushes, only to continue the festival when the sun shines again.

The *wi'la* festival also takes place in the event of the death of married women. In this case, however, a kind of life-size doll is erected in place of the *doore* tree. Its body consists of a clay vessel used to prepare ensete, called *midaancho*. The doll is draped with the clothes and jewellery of the deceased and wears a calabash as a head, which is decorated with many feathers (this headdress is called *sifaarcho*), if her husband is already a *cimeessa* (circumcised) at her death. The whole figure is also called *midaancho* (plural *midaano*). The men do not perform jumping dances but carry the spears over their shoulders and sway their heads back and forth.

On the evening of the third day of the festival, but still in daylight, the *doore* tree is knocked down. A number of men hold their spears in a star shape with the tip against the trunk. In this way, they direct the slow fall of the tree, which must fall to the west. Sometimes this does not succeed perfectly, and the tip of the tree deviates slightly from the western direction. The fallen tree is covered with as many sticks, called *dogga*, as times the deceased was able to save himself from a spear throw. The *dogga* sticks consist of a stick to which a yellow solanum fruit is attached, which is supposed to symbolize the iron band wound spirally around the lower end of a spear. A sister or a close female relative of the deceased stands ready with a pot of water. This water must not have been taken from a running stream but only from a standing puddle, such as those that form on the banks of streams. While all the festival participants huddle together to the east of the fallen tree, the women sprinkle the fallen tree and the place where its top lies with a tuft of leaves moistened with the water. The figurative representations of the killed animals are destroyed. The bull to be slaughtered is dragged to the top of the tree. It is usually a miserable animal called a *mittigo;* the bulls are otherwise always

called *woraamo*. When the *wi'la* festival is celebrated for a woman alone, a lean cow is sacrificed instead of the *mittigo* bull. The animal is always placed with its head facing west – the opposite way round to all other sacrifices – and its mouth is torn open and filled with grass and earth so that there is no more sound; it is then killed by a spear thrust. If the deceased was a *cimeessa* (circumcised man), there is something that needs special attention during the killing that I did not understand. This is not taken into account for a *rauua* (uncircumcised) man. In any case, the bull killer is a relative of the deceased.

The *wolawo* are not allowed to eat anything from the slaughtered *mittigo* bull under any circumstances, because "it would be like eating the meat of a relative". The animal is dragged away from the fairground by the *haadiiwo* and eaten somewhere in the dense bush.

The women with the water jug then quickly sprinkle the bullfighter's spear torn from the wound, the deceased's shield, the drums and the whole mourning gathering. This ceremony should ensure that no one else dies. Thus, water must be taken from a stagnant body of water; if it comes from running water, there is a high risk that someone will die.

Suddenly the whole assembly crouches down, looking east, the men supporting their spears vertically on the ground, and a general murmur arises, swelling to a roar that is supposed to mimic the rustling of the falling tree. This is a general cursing of villains. Such a villain is said to topple over, just like the *doore* tree. The cursing is a fixed text that is spoken over and over again, but which, nevertheless, only a minority actually knows by heart; the others murmur along. Immediately after this ceremony, everyone flees – most running – the course.[57]

There is one curiosity to add, which concerns the oldest Sidaama clan, Hoyye. If the deceased is a member of this clan, his brothers do not appear at the *wi'la* festival.

The decoration of the grave, which is not far away, is usually only finished shortly before the *wi'la* festival. The two gates in the extensive *madaada* fence are attached, even if the bamboo fence is not yet fully woven. The gate that faces west is considered to have been opened when the *mittigo* bull was sacrificed. The eldest son of the deceased can actually open it on the same day, provided it is a lucky day. Otherwise, however, it is better to wait until a *dullatte* or *adula* day.

If the relatives do not bring this *mittigo* sacrifice, then, according to their faith, the soul that has ascended to heaven is dissatisfied and cries out in pain. But when this *mittigo* bull is killed, it is a great comfort to the soul of the deceased.

After the *wi'la* festival, all next of kin cut their hair with the large bush knife known as *konyara*; they usually cut their hair with the ensete knife or obsidian stones. Only those men who have just been circumcised are exempt from this

[57] It seems to be the same behaviour that was described to me at the great Baka ceremony. There, too, the running away of all the ceremony's participants was an incomprehensible act (cf. Jensen 1959:74).

rule, as they are not allowed to cut their hair for a year under any circumstances. The mourning relatives may not anoint their hair with butter until the second Feast of the Dead.

From then until the so-called *duna* day, the relatives of the deceased do not return a greeting, although their neighbours always offer them morning and evening greetings. The relatives stream in from far away, sit down in front of the house and break out in complaints. Then the family members come out of the house and join in the complaints. When they think that they have had enough of mourning, they order a man from another clan who did not take part in the *wi'la* festival to come to them early in the morning and greet them with the morning greeting. They then reply to this greeting for the first time. On this day the eldest son goes to the grave and pours some milk and *bulbula* (honey dissolved in water) on the grave. This action gives the day its name, because *duna-* means to pour. If relatives from outside the family arrive after this day, the family must not under any circumstances join in their complaints; they then send someone out to tell the relatives that they have already done the *duna* ceremony.

The second festival of the dead takes place five or six months after the death and is called *faashsho*. It is usually only celebrated in the circle of the immediate family. However, friendly neighbours can also take part. The eldest of the family slaughters a bull or a sheep, but never a goat, at the grave a few metres behind the west gate, but facing east. Then he takes small pieces of as many different parts of the ox as possible (e.g. from the heart, from the loin, from both testicles and the glans of the penis, but not from the liver and the intestines), roasts them on a fire and passes through the west gate of the fence and puts these pieces of meat on the grave, along with some of the blood and milk and *bulbula*. In doing so, he turns to the *anni'ya ayaanto* (father's grace) and prays for many children, long life, many cattle and many crops. Then he goes around the grave on the right and opens the east gate from the inside, or removes the door with which it was previously locked.

These sacrifices, especially at the grave of the father, are often repeated. The information about the frequency of these sacrifices varied greatly. Some said that the festival had to be repeated several times a year. They justified the frequency of the sacrifice by saying that it was for the benefit of the whole family. Others said that a bad dream or an illness in the family gave rise to a sacrifice, which may be committed only every few years.

A further ceremony will then take place after one year. For the widow or widows of the deceased, the mourning period does not end with the second Feast of the Dead but must continue until the feast called *busurte holino* (mourning prohibited). In this ceremony, the eldest son or brother of the deceased gathers the man's widows in a house belonging to one of the women. He slaughters a sheep in the house and asks the widows whether he should sprinkle the blood on them or rub it on their chests. It depends on the woman's answer whether she will

henceforth be the wife of the brother or the son of her husband. The women, of course, already have their answer ready and say either "sprinkle only the blood on me", meaning "I don't want to be your wife", or "rub the blood on my breast", i.e. she agrees to become his wife. From that day on, all mourning ceases for the widows too; they can put on their jewellery and anoint their hair with butter again.

Even if a widow refuses to be considered married at this ceremony, she has the right to continue living in the house and use the same piece of land as before. Only if she marries a man from another family, does she lose any claim to the family of the deceased.

The ideas about the human soul are very blurred. The human soul is called *lubbo* and sits in the heart of a living person. After death it goes to heaven, where there is a western side connected with darkness and an eastern side connected with light. Good people will be in the eastern heaven, and bad people in the western.

Other ceremonies and celebrations

A ceremony, which may be generally Ethiopian, is held in the so-called *adbaare* or *gudumaale* (Amharic: *adbar*) places, or in a similar type of place called *ireechchaa.* The two places differ mainly in that blood sacrifices are also made in the *adbaare*, but not in the *ireechchaa.* All places where blood sacrifices are made are called *kakkalo* in Sidaama. *Ireechchaa* is an Afaan Oromo word meaning both 'holy places' and the well-known Oromo custom of cutting grass and laying it under certain trees or other places.

It is the mighty podocarpus trees or a group of such that give these squares their characteristic appearance. However, the *adbaare* is not bound to this tree species; it can also be marked by another magnificent tree, especially one of the ficus species. Every year, when the maize harvest is over, a festival is held in these squares, for which temporary huts are built. The women cook from all the crops, then take some and go to the nearest river and throw it in there. With the rest they enclose a rectangular area under the *adbaare* tree. Then a female sheep is slaughtered, and some small pieces of it are roasted and laid down on the sacred tree. When this has been eaten by the dogs or hyenas during the night, they say that the *adbaare* spirit has taken it. The more important of these places can always be identified by the fact that the bark of the trees has a series of dark round spots at about eye level, which are the result of being rubbed with butter. Sometimes the *adbaare* places are also separated by a fascine fence after the path to the site. Occasionally the fireplace and the scaffolding on which the meat is roasted are preserved from the last sacrifice. Firewood must only be taken from the dry branches of the sacred tree for the offerings made on the *adbaare* sites. Every clan has such an *adbaare* place, and the clan leader performs the sacrifices for the whole clan there.

Some of these places are well known for their special miraculousness. These include the piazzas known as *deela* (market) and a square in Shabbadiino known by the Oromo name Mana Waaqa (house of God). The Sidaama people claim that this square was already named when the Guji still lived there, and they have kept their name. The square is said to have been named for a large cave, which they consider to be a house that God had built for himself here. Just as the Sidaama houses are provided with supporting pillars that support the roof, this 'house' with pillars is said to be divided into different rooms for the cattle and the family members. At this place, one prays mainly for the blessing of children and promises to bring an ox as a sacrifice if the wish is fulfilled. It is said to be extremely helpful and, as a result, the entrance to the cave is always buttered and rubbed with fresh blood from the many sacrificial slaughters that take place here. Other places of this kind are the sacred mountain of Garamba in the east and Halo Tullo in the west of the country, which once belonged to the part of the country occupied by the Guji. The ceremonies at Halo Tullo are said to be very similar to those held at Garamba Mountain. Dr. Kuls visited the Garamba Mountain and reported the following:

> On the top of the Garamba Mountain there is a sacrificial site. One asks for all kinds of things, for example, grass for the cattle, children etc. and promises a sacrifice on the mountain if the request is fulfilled – on larger occasions a cow, otherwise butter and milk. About 100 m below the summit there is a bamboo hut where the pilgrims, who allegedly come from all over Sidaama, can rest. On the summit there are two trees – *saatticho* (*borassus aethiopum*) and *koroncho* –, in front of them a circle of bamboo; many vultures (*doowiro*) gather here. First the sacrifice is made in the square in front of the trees, i.e. a cow is slaughtered or the milk is given to the vultures, who will actually drink from a calabash held out by a man. Then one walks along the bamboo row, spreads butter on each trunk and finally prays in front of the two trees. Butter is then spread on each tree, and finally you walk between them. Before and after leaving the mountain, you throw yourself on the ground and kiss it. The two trees are also decorated with shells and pearls. Garamba is the Amharic name for a tree. One imagines Garamba as a being. When asked why Garamba was able to fulfil a request, they said that Garamba was a favourite of God, whose intercession with God was very effective.

Also probably taken over from the Amhara, namely from their *masqala* festival, is a festival called *fichchee-cambalaalla* in Sidaama. Today, many rituals similar to the *masqala* customs are held here. However, the *fichchee-cambalaalla* festival is undoubtedly older than the most recent Amhara conquest, possibly due to an earlier Amhara occupation. It takes place at the end of the twelfth month, called *wocawaaro.* The day is still determined by the *ayyaanto*, probably a *dullatte* or *adula* day (see calendar). The festival lasts for five days and is a festival for the youth, who go from house to house dancing and singing. The father of the family must split the firewood himself on this day. This probably includes the different

sticks that are kept in the sleeping cell of the house from the last *luwa* festivals and that have to be used as firewood on this day. The woman then prepares a dish of ensete on the fire, which the father of the family must eat from first after throwing some of the food over both shoulders. It is the New Year celebration of the Sidaama.

But mainly, the *fichchee-cambalaalla* takes place on the markets. It starts at a market in Kawado, continues through all four market days and ends on the fifth day with a market in Kawado again. No goods are offered for sale at the markets on these days. The people group themselves into clan-wise groups, and the young girls sing songs in which they praise their clan and belittle and insult the other clans.

Image 28: Market in Kawado. Woman with ensete porridge wrapped in ensete leaves

Usually, several clans join together and insult other groups. For example, in Alatta, the clans that go back to Maaldeya insult the clans descending from Daada. In the end, the men line up in long rows and try to wound themselves with their spears. Even today, one or more deaths can still occur. Such deaths are concealed from the Amhara authorities. A blood sacrifice also takes place. The man who is elected to kill the animal is, so to speak, the champion shot and a very respected official.

Ideas about ghosts, diseases and other things

The leader of the evil, disease-causing spirits is called *abboo*. This is not a name, but merely a solemn address to a very exalted person. *Abboo* is never alone, but always comes with one or more of his servants, some of whom have the names of diseases.

The *kiilancho* know how to cure diseases. If a young person is destined to become a *kiilancho*, one day he will fall into a trance, his fellow men will beat the drum, and finally a ghost will speak through him. If the *kiilancho* says, for example, that he is infested with *abboo*, they will immediately ask him who came with *abboo*. So the area of responsibility of a *kiilancho* is limited to a few diseases. For example, if you suffer from coughing (*buusano*), you have to go to a *kiilancho* who is afflicted by the spirit *golla* or the spirit *golgolla.* The latter can then talk to the spirit sitting in the patient and find out from him under what conditions he will let go of the patient. Another spirit is called *shekkere,* which also means malaria. It is the spirit that causes malaria. In a similar way, both smallpox itself and the spirit that causes it are called *bakka*. On the other hand, the spirits causing typhoid and similar diseases are called *hawusa* and *lako*, while these diseases have other names. Another spirit, *bale*, is called the son of *bakka*. There are also female spirits, which are gathered under the respectful form of address for women, *ayyoo.*

The whirlwind (*hambabalate*), which covers the houses and destroys the plantations, is also a spirit and is therefore called *durriisa*; although this is a general name for spirit, it is especially used for the whirlwind. A *kiilancho* can also be attacked by *durriisa*, but rarely by it alone, as it cannot gain many customers with it. The only countermeasure against the whirlwind is to throw iron, and especially to raise a spear against it.

Another spirit, *bara,* makes the person infested insensitive to fire. Such people can even put fire in their mouth. Psychopaths go to the *kiilancho* to be healed. Also, the *kiilancho* are often visited by the Sidaama because of their prophetic gifts.

In both cases, for healing and for divination, payment is only made when it has been shown that the *kiilancho* has really helped or correctly prophesized. First of all, when you tell the *kiilancho* your problem, you only pay five cents and some tobacco. But if, for example, the wish of an infertile woman for a child is fulfilled, a sick person is actually healed or a prophecy has come true, the price that was promised before has to be paid under all circumstances. If no such vow was made, remuneration corresponding to the assets of the petitioner must be given. There is no danger at all that a person does not pay, because the evil spirit of the *kiilancho* concerned would immediately attack him if he tried not to pay. With the first money he received, a servant with our expedition bought a sheep to take to the *kiilancho* who had cured him of an illness years ago.

The *kiilancho*'s response in most cases is limited to indicating the colour of the sacrificial animal and the date of the sacrifice. Almost always it comes down to this. Only rarely are other practices advised. It is striking that we were not told anything about surgical doctors. It is possible that this art was not practised by the Sidaama, just as the doctors who performed circumcision were foreigners.

The office of *kiilancho* is very often hereditary, as certain practices that need to be learned are best learned from close relatives. But there are also vocations, and it seems that people with certain conditions are predestined for it. One case that occurred at the time of our presence is mentioned here. A man came to our camp and asked for a medicine for insanity, which he called *mice.* His daughter had been suffering from this disease for about a week, and the disease had been caused by the girl eating an ensete dish mixed with butter at a party in another house and not washing her hands before leaving. This was strictly forbidden, and the consequence was that an evil spirit had taken possession of his daughter and driven her crazy. It seems that a person is particularly prone to the impressions of evil spirits if they somehow violate the laws of life. When we said that we had no medicine for this disease, the man said that it was best to give the daughter to a *kiilancho* as an apprentice. It seems also that mentally disturbed people are predestined to be *kiilancho.*

A very famous *kiilancho* was Bila, whose grave is still shown near the Arsi border. He died in the times when the fathers of my guardians lived. Satan abducted him as a child and took him into his house, which was located under Lake Abbayya. There he grew up as a disciple. Satan took him back to his home after having raised him to be a very capable *kiilancho.* In particular, he excelled in fortune-telling. He did not marry and became very, very old. One year before his death, two boys herded some of their cattle at Gidaawo. Suddenly the cattle disappeared. In their search, the two boys found themselves in an underground corridor, which they followed until they reached a beautiful pasture where hundreds of cattle grazed, tended by many people. The two boys received the lost cattle back with the words: "The owner of these many cattle will die within a year." After exactly one year, Bila died. He was buried above ground in a stone box in Aanno, Yanaase province. Miraculously, the body disappeared from the grave. Today a circle of candelabra euphorbia can be seen, just as they are often found in the Arsi country as grave plants. The place is called *bila jannate*, which supposedly means Bila's paradise. The underground path that the two boys had taken was never found again.

Various remedies that are widespread all over northeast Africa are also known in Sidaama, namely, burning wounds or painful spots with the fire whisk wood, and tying a bandage around the head and greasing the hair with butter for headaches. Once a young man came to us who, on the advice of another, had treated a scabies rash on his neck with local remedies. He had rubbed it with a decoction made from the leaves of the *ha'nashsho* plant mixed with the juice of the

candelabra euphorbia. The result was a horrible rash that covered the whole neck, for which he now wanted us to give him medicine. The scabies seemed to have been removed. There are many such home remedies, and many Sidaama use them. One policeman assigned to us was great in the distribution of these medicines, but it was impossible to find out from him what he used. That was his secret, which he would have taken over from his father. Once he tried his medicines on a blind or almost blind child brought to him by his father. The child cried so horribly after the treatment that we feared he had poured the juice of the candelabra euphorbia into the child's eyes, because he used it as medicine extraordinarily often. But he only answered our question by saying that the medicine was his secret, and we would see if the child came back with healed and seeing eyes. In fact, the child did not reappear at our camp.

Calendar and performances about nature

The Sidaama calendar is very similar to the Borana calendar and seems like a foreign body in this peasant culture. Where it may have come from is difficult to say. It seems not to have come from the north – like most of the foreign cultural assets in these colonial areas – since nothing similar can be found among the Amhara. It probably came from the western or southern coasts, where an Arab-Indian mixed culture has been developing in the cities for centuries, to which this fortune-telling calendar can be ascribed; indeed, the fortune-telling character has probably been the vehicle for its spread among the peoples east of the chain of lakes.

The year, which begins in autumn, around our October, is divided into twelve moons, which are counted from new moon to new moon. The names of the months are:

Birra (Afaan Oromo: clear, time after the rainy season)	October	1 (*mite*)
Onkoleessa	November	2 (*lame*)
Sadaasa (Afaan Oromo: the third)	December	3 (*sase*)
Arfaasa	January	4 (*shoole*)
Amajje	February	5 (*onte*)
Badhdheessa	March	6 (*lee*)
Dotteessa (Afaan Oromo: thing that makes you crazy)	April	7 (*lamala*)
Cansa (Afaan Oromo: what stops the rain)	May	8 (*sette*)
Ela (Shoa: carcass; Borana: well)	June	9 (*honse*)
Adoleessa (Afaan Oromo: large bird that is seen in this season comes to Ethiopia)	July	10 (*tonne*)
Woxawaajje wachi (Afaan Oromo: *woxa* = sound)	August	11 (*tona mite*)
Wocawaaro (Sidaama: short shower)	September	12 (*tona lame*)

So far, the calendar of the Sidaama does not differ from the usual ones in our area. Now, there is the consideration of the sidereal month with twenty-seven days and seven hours independent of this monthly calculation. As a result there are twenty-seven day names and a leap day (*fooqa*) if the twenty-seven days are not enough. These day names[58] are counted without regard to the respective new moon, so that each lunar month begins with a different day name.

Only a few people know about the calendar. Mostly these people are called *ayyaanto.*

	Sidaama names of the day	**Corresponding European date**	**Explanations**
Month Sadaasa			
1.	*argaajjima*	6.1.1955	Day of God
2.	*arba*	7.1.1955	Afaan Oromo: elephant
3.	*bola*	8.1.1955	Afaan Oromo: pit
4.	*kara bassa*	9.1.1955	*kara*: Afaan Oromo: lace; Sidaama: new; *bassa*: Afaan Oromo: chase out (2nd pers. pl.)
5.	*gudja bassa*	10.1.1955	Sidaama: *gudja* = lower part
6.	*charo (w)a*	11.1.1955	
7.	*dureette*	12.1.1955	Sidaama: rich (f.)
8.	*kara dullatte*	13.1.1955	Sidaama: *chulatte* = old (f.); happy day
9.	*bidirsa*	14.1.1955	
10.	*kara dete*	15.1.1955	
11.	*kara wicha*	16.1.1955	
12.	*garda duumo*	17.1.1955	Sidaama: *duumo* = red; feast day for the cattle
13.	*sonsa*	18.1.1955	Holiday of the dogs
14.	*rurruma*	19.1.1955	Holiday of the lions
15.	*lumaasa*	20.1.1955	Holidays of the hyenas
16.	*giddada*	1.1.1955	
17.	*ruda*	22.1.1955	Holiday of the sheep
18.	*kara eräre*	23.1.1955	Month Afarsa
19.	*gudja eräre*	24.1.1955	On this day was new moon
20.	*kara adula*	25.1.1955	Happy Day
21.	*gudja adula*	26.1.1955	Happy Day
22.	*herfatto*	27.1.1955	
23.	*gedinsi dete*	28.1.1955	Sidaama: *gedeinsi* = the last

[58] For a list of Sidaama day names according to today's standardized form, see Sidaama list of day names in the appendix.

24.	*dulattos*	29.1.1955	Happy Day
25.	*bita*	30.1.1955	Afaan Oromo: left; very unlucky day
26.	*dicho*	31.1.1955	
27.	*sorsa*	1.2.1955	Sidaama: red earth; is related to the killing honour
28.	*fooqa*	Intercalary day	not used this time

This order of day names was given to me in writing by *balambarras* Alemayehu, who had received it from one *ayyaanto*, and dictated to me by another *ayyaanto*; it was not disputed by my main informant, Aggaro Domme, who knew exactly how to enumerate the days and did not raise any discrepancies in numerous verifications.

The twenty-seven calendar days were also recorded by Willy Schulz-Weidner (1961) among the southern Guji and by Eike Haberland (Haberland 1962:577) among four Oromo groups. A comparison with the Sidaama record gives different words and probably different word meanings for a number of days, but the matching names are in the same place for all of them. From this, it can probably be concluded that there was originally a list of twenty-seven day names, from which the individual deviations among the different tribes only occurred over time.

The twenty-eighth name, *fooqa*, has the following meaning: *fooqa* in Afaan Oromo means 'to rub with force' (scrub). In Sidaama it has the meaning of 'overhanging' or 'hanging in the air'. For example, if an object lying on the table partially protrudes over the edge, this part is called *fooqa*; the part of the hut wall that is above the door, i.e. the part that hangs without a fixed support on the floor above the door opening, would also be called *fooqa.* Whether the switching day is attached to the twenty-seven days or not depends on the position of the moon on the previous *sorsa* day. If in the evening of that day, the seven-pointed star is visible and the moon is east of it or on the same height, the switching day is not used. The next day is then *argaajjima*. But if in the night after the *sorsa* day, the moon is west of the seven stars, the next day is called *fooqa* and only the next but one is called *argaajjima*. At the time of our presence, we regularly observed the moon with the *ayyaanto* on *sorsa* day. Since it passed east of the Seven-pointed Star, no leap day was inserted in the whole time, i.e. from mid-December to mid-March. It also follows from the seven hours that the sidereal month lasts longer than twenty-seven days, so that the *fooqa* day only has to be inserted after 3-4 months.

During the time when the seven stars are not visible, the *ayyaanto* are relieved of all worry. The time in which a star is not visible at all because of the passage of the sun is called *aimino* by the Sidaama. In the time when the constellation is visible in the morning sky, the observation is made exactly as in the evening.

When I asked them how they determined whether a *fooqa* day should be inserted if it was cloudy in the night after the *sorsa* day, the *ayyaanto* claimed that the stars could then be seen either in the highlands or in the lowlands of the Sidaama region and that the *ayyaanto* there would then inform the others. The Sidaama must take into account the different holidays for individual animal species such as lions, dogs etc. insofar as they do not kill the animals on the corresponding days or, if they are domestic animals, they do not even beat them.

With regard to the unlucky day *bita* (Afaan Oromo = left) as well as the feast day of God, *argaajjima*, I was told that children born on these days become so strong and ruthless that all their relatives have to be wary of them.

The two *dullatte* days and the two successive *adula* days are the only four days of the month that are eligible for circumcision, the beginning of a wedding, the beginning of house construction and the sacrifice at the father's grave. The question of the *dullatte* and *adula* days is taken very seriously by the Sidaama. For example, in the southern area, where only *haadiiwo* live, there should be no man who knows about the calendar. For all important projects, they therefore send someone to the Alatta area to ask when the lucky days are.

The beginning of the year should always be on a *dete*, *karawichcha* or *garda duumo* day. If the year starts with a *garda duumo* day, there is a lot of rain in the dry season. If the first day of the month Badhdheessa is a *dullatte* day, this is a sign that there will be little rain in the rainy season.

The Sidaama have a four-day market week. They themselves say that at each marketplace there is a market 'every five days' by adding together one market day, three market-free days and the next market day. The four market days have the following names: Deela, Dikko, Kawado, Kawalanka. These days are counted separately, and each Sidaama knows which market day is today. Most of the time, the markets are known by the name of the day when there is a market, although each place also has its own name.

The four market days are not related to the twenty-seven day names of the sidereal moon orbit. So, they could well belong to two different waves of cultural exchange with neighbouring tribes. If one assumes that the four market days reflect an old four-day week, it is hard to imagine how this week could be combined with the twenty-seven days of the month analogous to other known calendars. So, for the time being, it seems to me that there is every reason to believe that the two contexts that undoubtedly point to the calendar belong to two different cultural waves.

The market plays a very special role in Sidaama, and not only as an opportunity to exchange goods. It is undoubtedly pre-Amhara, which is already evident from this four-day cycle, which incidentally also exists in Gedeo, because the Amhara have a seven-day rhythm. Furthermore, in Sidaama, a ritual market visit is part of certain rites (circumcision, engagement, etc.) and certain festivals take place in the marketplaces.

Image 29: Packages of fermented ensete porridge at the market in Beera

In their knowledge of the stars, the Sidaama hardly surpass the other peoples of this area. They have the Oromo name *sadde* for the three belt stars of Orion; they call the seven stars *buusa* (i.e. bridge, which is probably related to the meaning of this star for the shifting day). For Venus, which they know to appear as both the morning and evening star, they have the name *bakkalcha*.

One imagines the stars partly as insects, like fireflies, and partly as night birds with shining eyes, which are guarded like cattle by someone, so that they always have the same position to each other. Once a year, each group of stars takes a rest, i.e. you imagine that the stars go into their house at sunset and therefore cannot be seen.

The cardinal points are named after the sun's orbit. Thus east is called *ale* (up) and west *woro* (down). The fact that east is the preferred compass direction is shown by the fact that south and north are named with the viewing direction east, namely *qiniite* (right) for south and *gura* (left) for north.

Occasionally, during conversations, how the Sidaama imagined certain natural phenomena came out. Some of them are reported here.

They associate the rainbow with the idea of a female being and say that she is a daughter of God. The sun (*arrishsho*) and the moon (*agana*) are pulled to and fro by two men: one in the east and one in the west. On the other hand, they say that every evening, when the sun has set, it has left this world forever. She slaughtered a cow and the blood made the sky red. The next morning a new sun comes up.

If *Magano* is willing to give rain to the people through the prayer of an appointed rain priest, he instructs *banqo* to have the lightning do it. *Banqo* then sets in motion a machine, similar to a car, which makes a thunderous sound and emits smoke – namely, the clouds.

The moon appears in the story of Ne'a as a cow, or as a man with cow horns, and eats grass. When the moon is waxing you can still see the horns.

Curriculum vitae

When a child is born, the postpartum period lasts three days for a girl and four days for a boy. This is the reverse of what it usually is in southern Ethiopia. If a woman dies during pregnancy or in childbirth, a grave must be dug for her immediately, contrary to the usual custom, because she gives off a bad smell that makes it impossible to keep the body in the house for any length of time. It is possible that this provision is a survival of ideas of 'bad death', which are often associated with the death of women who have just given birth. However, the Sidaama do not know anything about it, nor about the fate of the soul of such a woman.

For two months after each birth, the woman is given a certain hairstyle, called *bonkooyye*, which she also wears as a newly married woman for two to three months during the time she does not need to work (see below). Birth takes place in the sleeping quarters of the hut, usually without any help from others. The umbilical cord is cut by the husband or a neighbour or relative who knows how to cut it. In the case of a boy, it is cut with the *konyara*, the men's working knife; in the case of a girl with the *worime*, the working knife of the woman. The umbilical cord is also buried in the sleeping part of the hut.

After six days, the man fetches a jug of water from the river – it is the only time when a man fetches water – with which the child is washed. There are usually many women present, and they eject the typical African women's trill, called *illilete*, three times for a girl and four times for a boy. This is again an inversion, as we have already pointed out above. During the first fourteen days, whenever the child wants to drink the mother's milk, some butter is pressed into his mouth. After fourteen days, butter is dissolved in a little water and given to the child to drink.

When they have reached the age of 2 years, the boys receive a calfskin, which they can wear as a cape, and a belt made of leather strips, the so-called *mixe*. The bullroarer (*fumfatta*) is here still a child's toy; the only reminder of its former significance may be the rule that only boys may play with it. Amazingly, girls go completely naked until the age of about 7 years and wear a cape at most when they are about 5-7 years old. The same custom exists with the neighbouring Gedeo. To my knowledge, these are the only cases in southern Ethiopia where girls do not get at least a hint of skirt or apron at the age of a few months. When they have reached maturity, they receive full leather clothing. Furthermore, the father gives them a

two-metre-long stick, called *liko*, which gets its reddish colour from being rubbed with butter and hung in the smoke for a while. Women keep this staff carefully in the hut, have it all their life and also wear it when they go with many other women to congratulate a circumcised man on his increase in rank.

The boy receives a loincloth called *hafare* when his voice changes. At about 25 years of age the young man can buy *gomfa* pants, which he is not allowed to wear as pants until circumcision but may wear in various ways as a loincloth.

When marrying, women from remote Sidaama areas are often given preference on the grounds that the woman cannot then easily run away from her husband's home to complain to her parents. If this custom does not go back to an originally exogamous dual organization, as is presumably the case with the Gedeo (see Jensen 2020:35ff), then the reasons they give do indeed seem to be very relevant, because it is apparently very common for women to run away from their husbands; it is something said by them to be a completely everyday occurrence.

Children remain with their father in any case, unless they are still in infancy and therefore dependent on the mother. Once such a child has grown up, it must return to the father, even if the woman should not find her way back.

The choice of bride is often made without the participation of the young people and is mainly based on the reputation that the parents enjoy. For example, the father of a marriageable young man tries to find a girl for his son from his sister, who is married in another Sidaama region. However, this is not a constraint on the choice of bride. Marriages can also be arranged in the immediate vicinity, and the young man can also choose his own bride. He gets to know her mostly at the dances and arranges a marriage with her.

The bride price used to be only two sheep. Today, 30 Maria Theresa thalers (i.e. approx. 45-50 Ethiopian dollars or DM 80-85) and even double this amount is paid. The bride price is not paid when a sister of the man marries a brother of the woman. Or a daughter of the husband's older brother (but not his younger brother) or a daughter of his paternal uncle (father-brother) is given to the bride's family for marriage. The father-brother or the older brother usually give their consent for such multiple marriages, of course, because the kinship relations between two clans are established much more firmly, and the two families concerned gain more support and influence.

If the two families agree and the girl is engaged, she will go to the market with her *liko* staff in hand, and – if her family is powerful and has enough followers to provide the entourage – her head soaked in butter. In front of her, two men walk to the market; behind her walks a group of friends, all with their staffs in hand. The girl goes stooped, with her eyes lowered and tries to hide behind the second man's back. The whole procession moves forward only with very slow steps. In this way, she announces that she is engaged, and everyone flocks to congratulate her.

The wedding day must of course always be a *dullatte* or *adula* day. Eight young men, but not including the groom, go to the bride's house to pick her up and take her to the nearby home of a relative with whom it has been arranged. The bride walks between the eight men as slowly as possible, taking about three hours to walk a few hundred metres. She then enters the relative's house and, on the same day, is circumcised there by a woman with an obsidian splinter. The woman also checks whether she is still a virgin. If this is the case, the man's family will be satisfied and must give the girl's mother a heifer. This custom is now about to change to the opposite; some young men assured us that it is considered a disgrace if no man has yet taken a liking to the girl.

The Sidaama consider female circumcision to be indispensable and despise the Gedeo because, among the latter, the women are circumcised at the same time as their husbands, i.e. at a higher age.

The bride is considered married from that day on. She now stays in the relative's house until she has recovered, i.e., two to three months. Then, she is picked up by the groom and the eight young men on the same *dullatte* or *adula* day that her circumcision took place. She is wrapped up in many blankets, the ends of which must be constantly fanned out. She is carried on a carrying frame – although others say on the crossed arms of two men – to the new house that the groom has built for himself in the meantime.

On the wedding night, the young couple is not alone; a so-called second groom, called *albisa*, sleeps in the same room, where it is so dark that the young woman cannot tell whether she is dealing with her husband or the *albisa*. The *albisa* (*alba* = face, forehead) must always be a married man, but still relatively young, and must show the young husband 'how to do it'. Nowadays this institution is also out of fashion because young people already know how to do it. The wedding also includes another ceremony, called *loogo* (Afaan Oromo: *rako*), which is supposed to bless the marriage with children. One invites a circumcised member from the clans that are only allowed to eat the meat of animals that they themselves have killed. These are in addition to the Yemerechcho clan in Shabbadiino, which goes back to Xummaano (hence Bushshee), also the clans in the provinces of Haweela and Qeweena, which have Maaldeya as their progenitor. This man kills an animal, which is eaten in a joint meal with the greatest possible participation from the two families and coats the young woman's breasts with blood. Later he hangs the intestines of the killed animal around her neck.

From now on there is strict separation between the young married man and his mother-in-law, his wife's older sisters (not the younger ones) and the wife of her father-brother. There is a strict ban on seeing any of these women, and this is for life. Wherever these relatives appear, the husband must disappear. If he is at the market, where it is usually crowded with people, people will tell him if they notice one of these women. He must then leave the market immediately.

Shortly after the birth of a child, the woman's mother must announce her visit so that the son-in-law can leave the house. She then meets many women in the son-in-law's house, and the father of the man or the uncle has to slaughter a cow or a goat, depending on his wealth. The woman's mother has to serve the guests with ensete dishes. She brings the best variety of these dishes, the so-called *buurisame*, which is only eaten by the young couple and only after the mother-in-law has left the house.

In the case of mourning among the relatives of the wife, to whom the man must also appear, he and the female relatives of his wife will be surrounded by others in such a way that they do not see each other. But this has been described as a situation in which the mother-in-law can look after him.

There is also an absolute avoidance between the young woman and her father-in-law and the older brothers of her husband. This avoidance, which is much more difficult to carry out than the other one [between her husband and her female relatives], as the woman lives on her father-in-law's farm, is only valid for six months to a year. Strangely enough, the ceremony that overrides this prohibition on seeing each other is performed by the young woman's husband. He enters his house, where his wife, his father and his elder brothers are gathered, holding milk in his mouth and puffing it on everyone present.

If a girl does not agree with the choice that her parents have made for her, she can communicate with her lover, whom she intends to marry instead. She then simply throws her carefully stored red *liko* stick into the hut of the parents of this lover. In the ensuing negotiations, both the parents of the desired young man and their own elders will usually agree to the marriage.

A girl, even if she is not desired by any man, can throw her staff into the hut of a man she wants to marry at the drop of a hat. In this case, the man is not obliged to take her as his wife but will consider it seriously and – I am assured – will very often do so.

If a woman or a girl meets a man along the way, and he throws his cane in front of her, the woman has to stand on the cane until he picks it up again. Today, however, if she is not interested in the man, she can walk around the stick and continue on her way.

Menstruating women are considered impure. However, they can prepare food, and the man can enjoy it. The woman then merely sleeps in another part of the hut. If a woman is expecting a child, there is no change in her marital life at first. Only in the last three months is she shunned by her husband, who secretly consoles himself with other women.

Oral traditions

The man who learned the language of animals

In ancient times, when men only had one wife, there was once a poor man. Since he had nothing, he went to *Magano* (God) and asked him to help him. *Magano* listened to him and gave him the ability to understand the language of the animals. But he was not allowed to tell this to anyone, otherwise he would die immediately. If he understood the language of the animals, he would soon become rich. On the way home, the man lay down under a tree to rest. Then he heard two birds talking to each other. One of them said: "The man is dead." But the other did not believe he was dead and said: "Why don't you poke him in the eye once and you will see if he is still alive." The man remained lying very still and, when the bird wanted to peck him in the eye, he quickly grabbed and caught the bird. Then the other bird called out: "Release my brother and I will show you a place where there is uninhabited land and lots of cattle." The man agreed, held the captured bird and followed the other. After several days they passed through uninhabited land to a place where large herds of cattle grazed, which did not seem to belong to anyone. The cattle were milked by Satan. The man asked the bird if he could see his house from the air. The bird confirmed he could and led the man to his house, where he released the other bird. The next day the man went back the same way and took all the cattle and drove them home. On the way home, a man stood on the path and asked him where he got all the cattle from. The man said, "I owe it to *Magano*", and he praised *Magano*, who had helped him out of great need. But the man on the road was in fact *Magano* himself, who had taken human form. He was pleased with the human's response and blessed him.

When the husband brought home all the cattle, his wife was very curious about where he got it from, but he did not reveal how he got it. The wife, however, did not give in and kept prying, trying to elicit his secret from him. So, he finally decided to tell her. He invited all the neighbours and slaughtered a piece of cattle. When he threw the lung to his dog, the neighbour's dog came and tried to take it away from him. But the dog would not give it up and said: "The lungs are mine, for it is my master who is about to die, for he wants to tell his wife where he got the cattle." Then the neighbour's dog said: "Your master will not be so stupid after all. You can chase a woman away just like you throw away a stick and take a

new one! He does not need to die!" Then the man said to himself: "That's a good idea!" And he immediately turned to his wife and said: "I won't tell you anything, I'll chase you away! Get out of here!" The wife had to go, and since the man was rich with a lot of cattle, a neighbour came and offered him two beautiful daughters to be his wives, for which he paid a few head of cattle.

The man then left the country with his two new wives and went to another country, where there was great distress because there was a great drought and the king of the country had no children, which his wife was inconsolable about. While the man was sitting in the king's court, he heard a snake living under a big tree and a cock talking to each other. The rooster said: "If people knew that you always swallow all the water under the ground, they would cut down the tree and kill you. Then they would find a beautiful spring in the place." The serpent replied: "And if the king knew that all he had to do was to cut off your head and sprinkle your blood on his wife to have a child, you would not have long to live either." The man went straight away to the king and promised to help him out of all his troubles if the king would give him a third of his kingdom as a reward. The king was very pleased and promised him a third of his kingdom if he could really help the land have water and his wife have a child. The man immediately knocked down the tree and killed the snake, and a spring really came out at the spot. Then the king believed him and gave him a third of his kingdom. He also immediately had the rooster beheaded and proceeded just as the man had advised him. In fact, after a year the king's wife gave birth to a girl that the man married when she was grown up. So, he himself became king of the whole country when the old king died.

The blind, the lame and the burned

The situation was quite different for three men who also went to *Magano* and asked him for help but who behaved ungratefully. One was blind, the other lame and the third had no hair on his head because it was burned. They asked *Magano* to heal them, and *Magano* gave the burned man a magnificent shock of hair, the lame man beautiful strong legs and the blind man eyes as big as two human fists. When they went home, *Magano* in human form stood by the path and asked: "Where did you get such beautiful hair? Where did you get such beautiful legs? And where did you get those beautiful big eyes?" Then all three of them began to show off: "That's nothing! You should have seen what beautiful legs, beautiful hair and big eyes I had in my youth!" etc. Then *Magano* became angry and cursed all people and said: "From now on a blind man should not be able to see, a lame man should never be able to move his legs and burned hair should never be able to grow again."

The clever woman and the man under the bed

A man from Holloo, supposedly a friend of the narrator, had a love affair with a woman from Saawoola. One day, when this woman's husband told her that he had to go away for three days, she told her boyfriend to come and see her. The boyfriend did not miss the opportunity for favourable company. But, before the three days were over, the husband returned. When the couple heard the husband clearing his throat, which the Sidaama men were used to do before entering the hut, the lover quickly escaped under the bed, while the woman tampered with the fire, where she had just prepared a particularly good meal for her boyfriend. The husband came in and sat down on the bed. Then the woman saw to her horror that the lover's backside could be seen under the bed. She quickly grabbed the earthen frying pan and leaned it against that part of the bed. But the pan was hot, and so, in a moment, the lover got up so that the bed was pulled up and the husband and the pan fell to the ground. The lover used the moment to escape from the hut while the woman threw his clothes behind him and saw him hide nearby. The husband was very disturbed and asked what this was all about. "It was one of Bila's ghosts," said the wife, who was also very excited. Bila was a famous medicine man. "We must appease him so that he does not harm us. The best thing to do is to leave him something to eat outside." The man found this a wise thought, and while he prayed in the hut that the spirit would not harm him, the woman brought the food she had prepared for her boyfriend to his hiding place. Since then, there is a saying in Sidaama: "Can you hide your lover as well as the woman from Saawoola Bila's spirit?"

Beera and Hankassa

Once in Alatta, a man called Beera from clan Lamala of the Aruujje sub-group was ebullient. He was a famous man who had killed many people and large animals. He was also tall and handsome and had fast horses. Since he had died without sons, the place where he lived (the place where we had our camp) was named after him. One episode in his life gave rise to a Sidaama proverb. The story that underlies it is as follows:

> In Beera's time there lived in Qeweena a man of the same name clan called Hankassa, after which a district was also named Beera and Hankassa were good friends at first, and Hankassa had given Beera a daughter as wife. Later, however, this friendship cooled off, as Hankassa suspected that Beera had had a love affair with his wife. Therefore, Hankassa sought to kill Beera, and he recruited some of the Arsi men to kill Beera. On a day when he was expecting Beera in his house, he himself left the house and had it rebuilt by the hired Arsi men who had been ordered to kill the strange visitor.
> However, Beera's wife had bad news, and when he tried to ride away from home, she tried to talk him out of going to Hankassa. He ignored her warnings at first, but she

managed to persuade him to take *kooso* and give up the visit on that pretext (*kooso* is a remedy for tapeworms). Meanwhile Hankassa was waiting impatiently outside his house to learn that the Arsi had killed Beera. When the waiting became too long for him, he decided to go and see for himself. In order not to be recognized, he covered his head with a cloth and rode to his house. The Arsi men, who had waited all this time in vain, naturally thought that this was the man they were to kill and ambushed Hankassa and killed him. Since then, there is a saying in Sidaama: "Do not be like Hankassa."

The king and the petitioners

A man came to his king. The king said: "Why do you come to me?" Then the man replied: "I want money from you." At the same time another man came, and the king asked him why he was coming. He answered: "I ask you for nothing. I have asked God for money." Then the king got angry and said: "God is not here! Get out of here!" He gave the first man a sack full of money. He was so angry with the second man that he sent his soldiers after him, saying to them: "Send home in peace the man who carries a sack of money, but kill the man who has no money." Meanwhile the pious man had helped the other to carry the money and, just as the soldiers came, he had loaded it [onto his back]. Then the soldiers killed the other and said to the pious man, "The king has ordered you to go home with the money."

The punished slanderer

Before Ahmed Gragn's time, when it was customary to throw criminals into the abyss (instead of hanging them), a man once went to the king and told him that another man had insulted the king. Then the king sent for his warriors and said: "Go to the cliff and if a man comes with a letter, throw him in." Then he sent for the man who was supposed to have insulted him and told him to take a letter to the soldiers. The man, unsuspectingly, did as he was told. On the way, however, he heard the priests singing in the church and went inside. But the slanderer was eager to see the other one thrown into the abyss and went there. When he saw that the man with the letter was not there, he ran away. The soldiers, who had waited all this time in vain, thought that this was the man they were to kill and ran after him and caught him. He shouted: "It is not me! Someone else is coming who has the letter!" But they did not believe him and threw him into the abyss. When the man with the letter arrived soon afterwards, the warriors said: "We have already done our duty. You get out of here."

The new king and the judge

A king had a judge as a friend. When the king died, his successor had that judge thrown into prison. Then he went to see him to ask him three questions. “What do you want to ask me?” the judge asked. The king said: “How much should a man eat in a day? How much should a man walk by day? How much should a man talk during the day?” In reply to the first question, the judge said: “If a man eats only cabbage as much as he can, he cannot eat any more fish or honey. The person must eat as much as he can until he is full.” In reply to the second question, he said: “A man who decides to go to another village may only go so far that he can be back again on the same day, otherwise his wife might die and he will not be there to bury her.” In reply to the third question, the judge said: “When a person talks about a matter, he has to finish it. If a person is captured, he must be killed or set free on that day.” Then the king understood that the judge was speaking of himself and set him free.

by Elisabeth Pauli

Material culture

Music instruments

The Sidaama drums (*dibbe*), leather-covered wooden tubes that narrow slightly towards the bottom, are conspicuously small compared to those of their neighbours, e.g., the Gedeo. Their height and upper diameter are 50 cm at most. Many are considerably smaller. They are only beaten by women and only at festivals for the dead. The most beautiful musical instrument is the *gingilaate*, a very simple xylophone that the field guards used to make at the time of millet ripening in order to drive away the birds with the jingling sound it makes. They cut narrow, flat logs from certain types of wood in different lengths, thicknesses and types which sound different when hit. The logs are simply placed next to each other on two pieces of wood or ensete leaves laid on the floor, sometimes prevented from slip-

Image 30: Xylophone (gingelota) played by the field guards to drive away the birds

ping by vertical sticks inserted in the spaces between them. You then carve around them until the tones are tuned to your liking. The number of tonewoods seems to be arbitrary. We saw those with five, seven and also eleven tones. The instrument is beaten with two simple wooden sticks of about 30-40 cm length. The melodies are charming to listen to, although they are very short and simple – for example, a sequence of five to twelve tones that is repeated tirelessly. In addition, the Sidaama reed flutes (*suusulle*) have four finger-holes, and, as a pastime for children, there are small ball flutes (*kukucho*) made of fruits and whirling woods, artlessly cut wooden leaves of about 15 to 20 cm length on a bast string.

Handicrafts

As is generally the case in Ethiopia, certain crafts are left to certain marginalized population groups. Among the Sidaama, these are the *haadiiwo* (potters), *awaado* (leather workers) and the blacksmiths, who are also called *awaado*, but form a caste in their own right. The pottery craft is carried on only by the women, while the men, who were formerly serfs of the *wolawo* on whose land they were settled, today carry on their own agriculture or that of their landlord, or have become traders. Among the various *haadiiwo* who lived in our neighbourhood, it was never possible to find a woman working as a potter. They were always busy with domestic chores or planting, or they were said to be on their way to collect clay. The women are also responsible for transporting the clay, which is found in certain areas. The men obviously used to do their crafts more as a part-time job. We have not been any luckier with the blacksmiths, who do not live in the area of the *wolawo* settlements but in separate farmsteads or groups of farmsteads. All we saw was an empty workshop, a cone-roof hut, half or three-quarters open, away from the homestead, and the inventory: hammers, anvils and pliers made of iron and the charcoal fireplace with the hose blower. We had more luck with the leather workers. Their homesteads are also separated from those of the *wolawo*.

About an hour south of our camp, on the other side of the small River Daarimo, there was a settlement like this, Bedäye, which was in fact always busy. Mainly, hides for women's dresses were processed there, and the business seemed to flourish. The settlement consisted of four or five farms with their plantations. The inhabitants were all related to each other. They claimed to have been settled there for several generations. A predecessor of the chief, Bii'no, had made this land available to their ancestors; they called this land their property, although they admitted that they could only sell it with the chief's consent. They all owned cattle – about ten per farm – and considerable plantations, especially ensete. The hides were obtained partly from their own herds and partly from the markets, but the majority were taken from neighbouring Arsi. In addition, they are of course on hand to get the hides when slaughtering is taking place somewhere.

Image 31: Blacksmith hut in the Haadiichcho region

The fresh skin is spread out on the floor, meat and fat residues are removed from the leather side with a knife, and the fur side is washed.[59] Slits are cut all around the edge for the tensioning pegs, and the hide is then stretched out to dry with the leather side facing upwards. Before it is really dry, it is removed and, to keep it moist, wrapped in fresh ensete leaves and left for a few days. In general, if they have not been worked on, the skins are kept packed in this way in the hut or in a shady place in the plantation so that they do not dry out. The Sidaama women also tend to keep the finished clothes between fresh ensete leaves. Skins that have dried out when they have been lying in the leaf wrapping for three or four days are soaked again and no longer hard. For further processing, cattle skins are stretched on a rectangular frame (*harcho*) – with the leather side facing outwards and the head part facing upwards – which is leaned against a tree at an angle. At the lower end, the hide is not tied up but has several straps which are pulled tight and held with the feet while being worked. Now the upper layer of the leather side is scraped off. For this purpose, a strange tool called *duugaancho* is used. It consists of a wooden handle in which two obsidian scrapers are fixed. Unhewn obsidian pieces are brought to the markets by foreign traders. According to Simoni (1939:124), they come from Wolaitta, where obsidian is found in layers of volcanic origin. A lump costs only a few cents, which is probably one of the

[59] Pauli (1960a) recorded the process of tanning among the Sidaama and Gedeo in a short ethnographic film.

reasons why the Sidaama still use obsidian splinters as knives. There are splinters and discarded fragments everywhere in the terrain and on paths, also in Gedeo and in the mountainous areas west of the lakes (Dorze, . . .). The tanners make the scrapers themselves by knocking off splinters from a suitable piece of obsidian with a flat iron with light, skilful blows until it has the desired turtle shape. An *awachcho*, who demonstrated it to us, did not need ten minutes to do this. For the oval base, which should be as even as possible, you take a smooth fracture surface that hardly needs any work. The convex side is given a fairly even shape by numerous small knock-offs. In most cases, the whole surface is covered with retouching. To sharpen the edge, hold the stone with the flat side up and strike the outermost edge lightly with the iron at an obtuse angle. In this way, tiny splinters bounce off, leaving a sharp edge and small retouching along the edge of the curved side.

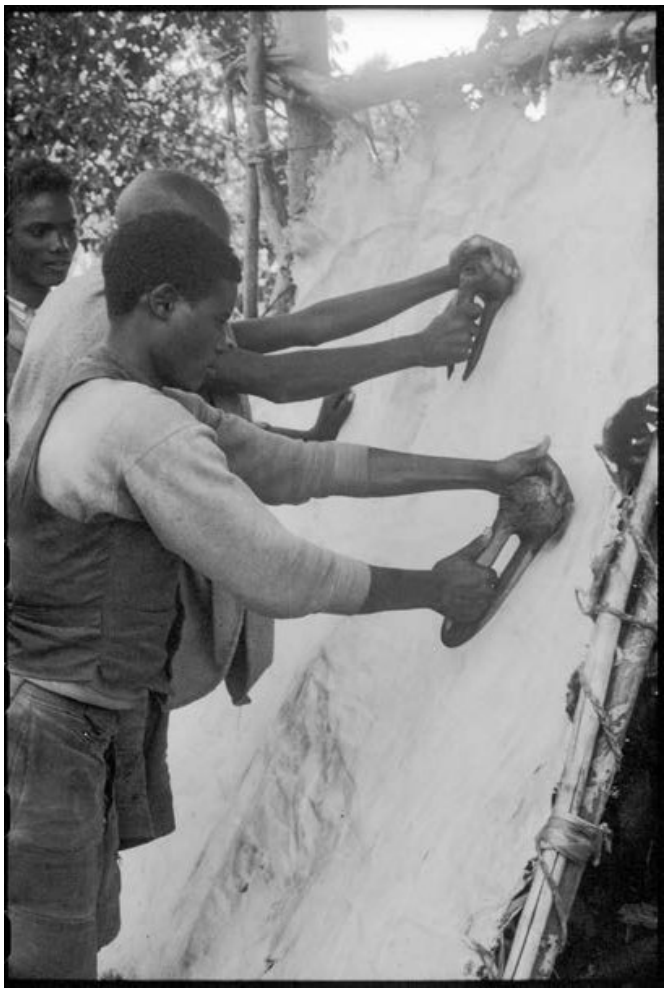


Image 32: Tanner. Leather workers scrape the leather side of a stretched cowhide thinner

The two scrapers are fitted into the thickened upper part of the wooden handle in hollowed out recesses on two opposite sides and are fixed in it with a resin-like mass. They make this mass from small sticky white lumps found on trees. Supposedly, it is the dung of a certain small bird. A sufficient amount of it is

Image 33: Tanner. The stretched fur is worked on the leather side with a spiked ring

heated in a clay pan and, still hot, stuck into the cavity and around the stone. When it cools down, the mass hardens and encloses the scraper so tightly that it has not the slightest play. When the stone is used up, the mass is softened again by heating, and the scraper is replaced with a new one. To scrape, grasp the tool with both hands: the right hand on the handle, the left hand placed over the top. With the sharpened edge you scrape thin shavings off the leather surface by moving it from top to bottom. When the first scraper has become dull, and this is the case after a few minutes, turn the machine over and work with the second stone for a few minutes. Then the edges of both have to be re-sharpened, which takes only a few seconds with the routine the *awachcho* have. Of course, the stone gets shorter every time, even if only by a fraction of a millimetre. I would like to estimate that a double scraper is used up after processing two or three cattle skins. In order to keep the skin moist during scraping, water is sprayed over the area that is to be machined. Since the coat dries out on the one hand and individual areas expand when moistened on the other hand, it is repeatedly retightened by loosening or tightening the straps of the lower edge held by the feet. The whole procedure takes about three hours if two people work on it. The stretched hide is then wetted again and pegged over the floor with the fur side down, to be worked on with another tool, the so-called *gu'umati*, which is provided by women as their only share of the men's craft. The *gu'umati* implement is a kind of padded ring about 12 cm in diameter, with vertical spikes protruding upwards all around. It

consists of a horn ring about 2 cm high, cut from a cow horn. Hard, pointed thorns about 4 cm long are attached to the ring by tightly wrapping bast cord around them. The thorns are then set in a strip of fur under half of the ring, and the ring is then wrapped tightly again from the inside outwards with bast cord. A thick tuft of bast is placed on the thorns, which has the function of a sponge. With this spiky ring, the woman rubs tirelessly, for about a day or so, over the leather side of the skin while repeatedly pouring water over it. The water mixed with the scraping gradually turns into a white mush. In this way, the skin is freed from all unevenness and, at the same time, roughened. The skins thus treated are then removed, soaked in warm water to which butter has been added and thoroughly kneaded. Questions about a special tanning agent remained without result. Simoni (1939:87), however, reports that the Sidaama tan the skins with a decoction of yellow berries called *borbodhdho* that contain tannic acid. Later, when we were with the Gedeo, the tanners there did not want us to know anything about a tanning agent and only revealed it to us after a long acquaintance, so the Sidaama probably regarded theirs as a professional secret and kept it secret from us. Finally, the skin is rubbed on the leather side with a yellow powder, which is obtained from a crumbly earth found in certain areas and ground on the millstone. Later, when the hide is made into a garment and put on the market, the buyer will knead it with butter. During this process, the yellow powder combines with the fat that dyes the leather dark brown, giving the characteristic fawn brown hue of Sidaama women's clothing. The cattle skins processed in this way are used to make either the simpler women's capes (*homba*), by having the *awachcho* cut them to size and decorate the edge of the neck with a decorative hem, or the women's skirts. Or it is made into a *gorfa* (leather cape). However, specialists are available for the production of women's capes. In Bedäye, it was a worthy old man who understood this art, and probably this work is always left to the old men, as it is less strenuous and is done sitting comfortably in the hut, protected from heat and bad weather.

The largest possible and beautifully patterned bovine hide is cut rectangularly and on the side intended to be the edge of the neck, a corresponding strip of the decorative hem is folded over. On both sides, the edge is cut with a knife into strips 1-2 cm wide. To do this, place the fur with the leather side facing upwards and stretch a strip of fur over it at a distance of 20 or 30 cm from the edge, which is attached to two pegs stuck into the ground. The incisions should end at this line. Each of the fur strips are now wrapped twice tightly around the stretched fur strip and then knotted into a loop 2 cm long. The remaining fur strips are later turned spirally and hang down as fringes. With the help of an iron bail, a fur strip is again pulled through the loops. In this way, a decorative border is created, which at the same time prevents the fur from tearing. The lower edge also has a decorative border and fringes. They are worked slightly differently. Four or five narrow rectangles are cut out of the lower edge at equal intervals, so that it is lobed rectangularly. In the case of the decorative hem, the upper edge, i.e. the

wrapped horizontal strip, is omitted. The cut strips are only long enough to form the loop to which fur strips are attached as fringes by wrapping them around. The wrapping leaves the end of the loops free, and these are firmly connected by a fur strip pulled through. The last step is to finish the decorative hem at the edge of the neck. The neck hem is sewn on with a contrasting colour fur strip, creating a line pattern running parallel to the edge. Sometimes this dashed line is also interrupted by two or three rectangles or squares of fur stripes arranged vertically next to each other. Between the upper edge and the dashed pattern there is usually a decorative pattern of leather stripes made using slotted belt technology.

Image 34: Sidaama women. Left: shoulder cape made of cowhide with fringe decoration (gorfa)

We have not been able to observe the production of the small shoulder capes made from calfskin. Other things were not made in Bedäye at the time we were there.

Image 35: Sidaama women. Left: tubba with short shoulder fur. Right: simple shoulder cape (homba)

Drums, for example, are made by other *awachcho*, as are shields. The women's clothes are taken to the market, if they are not made to order. The *awachcho* women are used to showing them off to interested women like mannequins. A beautiful *gorfa* costs 14 Maria Theresa thalers, i.e. about DM 40.

It was interesting to observe the behaviour of our Sidaama interpreter Shaffik, who was a very fine and intelligent young man, during these visits to Bedäye. He made no trouble about accompanying us there and was polite and friendly with the *awachcho*, but he was wary of touching anything and refused, contrary to his otherwise always proven willingness to serve, to even touch a *duugaancho* device that we had bought and that he was to carry on the way home. One employee

of the expedition, who grew up in Harar and Addis Ababa and was accordingly "enlightened" and who liked to make fun of the ostracization of the craftsmen, took the opportunity, when Shaffik once stood next to an *awachcho*, to bump into them for fun, so that their arms touched slightly. Shaffik did not let the *awachcho* notice anything, whether out of tact or fear, was not to clear. During the whole way home, however, he was deeply depressed and as gloomy and anxious as if he had fallen into a hopeless situation. The blemish of this touch required a special cleansing ceremony, which only a *wolawichcho* from the same clan can perform. Thank God Leenjishsho, the Sidaama policeman who was at our disposal to guard our camp, was from Shaffik's clan. He also took this incident very seriously and hurried to get everything necessary for the purification ceremony: a handful of honey residue (a granular sticky brown mass of wax and honey), an ensete leaf sheath and a few torn out blades of grass with the roots still on. The leaf sheath must be of a particular variety of ensete called *cacco*, which is said to be the only ensete that came down from heaven with Daada. The stalks must also be of a certain grass species called *tala*. It is the same grass that the Amhara scatter on the floor of the huts on feast days for its fragrance. The concave side of the leaf sheath is cut open lengthwise in the middle, and the sap emerges and collects in the channel-like piece of leaf. The wax mass is placed in the liquid. Then Leenjishsho dipped the blades of grass with the tips into the liquid and sprinkled them on Shaffik, who was standing in front of him, repeatedly saying: "*Fala!*" (be pure). Thus the cleansing was completed and Shaffik could breathe again.

When *awaado* later visited us in our camp and were ready to show us how to make a stone tool, Shaffik and the policeman arranged it so that it took place away from our huts. When the *awachcho* had left, they hurriedly picked up the leather pad that had caught the shards of stone with the tips of their fingers and poured its contents into the bush outside the camp. Then they went back to their purification ceremony, in which the stools on which the *awaado* had sat and everything that could have come into contact with them was sprinkled. It was conspicuous that they always avoided letting the *awaado* themselves feel some of this disgust. All other crafts are not subject to this contempt and are therefore also carried out by *wolawo*.

Weaving

There is bamboo, bast and cane wickerwork practised in Sidaama. In the following description, the terminology of Bühler-Oppenheim (1948:113 ff) is applied. Highland Sidaama, where bamboo grows wild and is also cultivated, is the centre of bamboo weaving. Hut frames and fences in this region are artfully woven from bamboo. There are also specialists who carry out such work in the lowland areas. In Alatta, at any rate, if made of bamboo wickerwork, the partitions that

Image 36: Cleansing ceremony undertaken by Aggaro and Leenjishsho

close off the sleeping cell from the rest of the hut were made by people from Holloo-Saawoola who came over to do so. These bamboo weavers, however, are *wolawichcho* and farmers and do their craft as a sideline. In highland Sidaama, it is also customary to make all kinds of bamboo wickerwork for sale at the markets, especially hut doors, storage baskets and dice trays.

The hut doors are simple rectangular panels made of vertical, longitudinally split bamboo sticks, which are interwoven – two over two under – with uniform bamboo shavings. The shavings are flexible enough to be bent around the edge bars on both long sides and fixed into the back of the wickerwork. Of the storage baskets, only the small ones – up to a height of about 1.2 m – often have the shape of an oval cut off at the top in longitudinal section; the larger ones, which can reach a height of 1.8 m, are almost always barrel-shaped. They are also made of simple half-braid: vertical, longitudinally split bamboo sticks woven with elastic bamboo shavings, two above and two below. The upper edge is set between two flexible rods, which are then tightly wrapped with bast strips and sewn to the upper curves of the wickerwork. The bottom plate is made of parallel rods or halves of rods, which are cut to size and fitted into the circular opening in the bottom of the plate, a few centimetres from the edge. The ends of these rods are stuck into the lower edge of the wickerwork and gain a firm hold through the edge border, which is thereby produced. These storage baskets are sealed with clay, probably mixed with dung. There are also storage baskets made without this plaster. Most of them have

Image 37: Storage baskets for coffee made of bamboo wickerwork at the market

a few decorative stripes all around, which are the result of a clever use of greenish and whitish different widths of bamboo shavings for the horizontal braiding. The lower part of the inner *madaada* fence also shows this type of decoration, but here it is done very carefully and intentionally, whereas in the baskets, it is more or less haphazard. Another method is shown by the double ornamental border that closes off this lower part: vertical rods (actually shavings) that protrude far out of the wickerwork are caught at its edge between two strong rods running all around, which are firmly tied together with the rods. Two further horizontal fixings of the same type are placed at intervals of one hand width. The two spaces in between are woven with fine, diagonally inserted bamboo shavings over an upholstery with podocarpus tufts, so that a fishbone pattern is created and the decorative strip is at the same time slightly curved. The outer canes are also tightly wrapped with green bamboo bark strips, and the shavings are alternately green and whitish. In this way, a pretty green and white patterned decorative border is created. The rods of the upper diagonal latticework are clamped between the three double rods of the horizontal attachment. For this purpose, longitudinally split bamboo rods are used, alternately two and two or three and three, with the curved green and the concave whitish side facing outwards, and green interwoven over green, green under white, white over white, or white under green to form a loose lattice. People from the neighbourhood were among the men who participated in the construction of such grave fences in Alatta. It is possible, however, that among them were also

special bamboo weavers from highland Sidaama, who had been brought there for the more artistic work, especially since the bamboo must have been brought from there.

Also, the palm feather braiding is only particularly pronounced in certain regions. While Simoni (see Simoni 1939:23), who apparently got to know the area around Alatta, reports that it plays a major role and that children and shepherd boys were often seen working with it, we saw none of it in Alatta; although the highland palm (*phoenix abessinicus*), which provides the material for it, does occur here occasionally. However, in the Shabbadiino region, whose higher elevation is more favourable to the plant's thriving, we saw a few men at work. They made plates, bowls, sieves and the like in spiral-bead half-plait.

For the passive part of the spiral, a bundle of fine shavings from the longitudinal leaf stalk is used. The shavings are shifted so that the beginning and end of the bundle become thinner and thinner. By adding more shavings, which are gradually inserted during the work, the length of the bundle is increased, and the thickness remains even. For wrapping, one takes the detached dry feathers, which are about 40 cm long and almost 1 cm wide at the base. The upper ends run out into extremely fine and, at the same time, thorn-like hard tips, with which the braid (or the space between the two previous curves of the spiral) can be pierced, as if with a needle. When working, the bowed outer side of the braid is turned towards the braider, who works on it from left to right. The *meemmo* sieves (see image below) are also worked in this way. The edge of the sieve netting is also made of leaf pinnules. They are first twisted by placing the feathers on the right thigh, holding them from the left, and then moving the flat right hand from above towards the knee several times (the usual way of twisting cords in Ethiopia (see Jensen 1959:95)), resulting in an S-twist. Then, two twisted feathers are twisted into a fine string. The right-hand strokes in the same way but in the opposite direction, resulting in a Z-twist. However, this is not a fixed rule, S-twist with Z-twist also occurs (plywood string). Grass weaving is the same as with the Oromo. It mostly occurs in combination with small calabashes. The two places where the leather strap is attached are each provided with an ornamental braided rosette. Apart from house building and fences, wickerwork is also used for beehives, usually as simple semi-wickerwork with passive vertical rods – over one, under one, edge-parallel or spirally braided elastic horizontal lines. More artistic are the delicately woven braids of the small hand water pipes with base and handle.

Costume

Men

Small boys go naked and wear only the middle belt, a thin string that all men wear for the rest of their lives. The Sidaama have adopted their current men's cos-

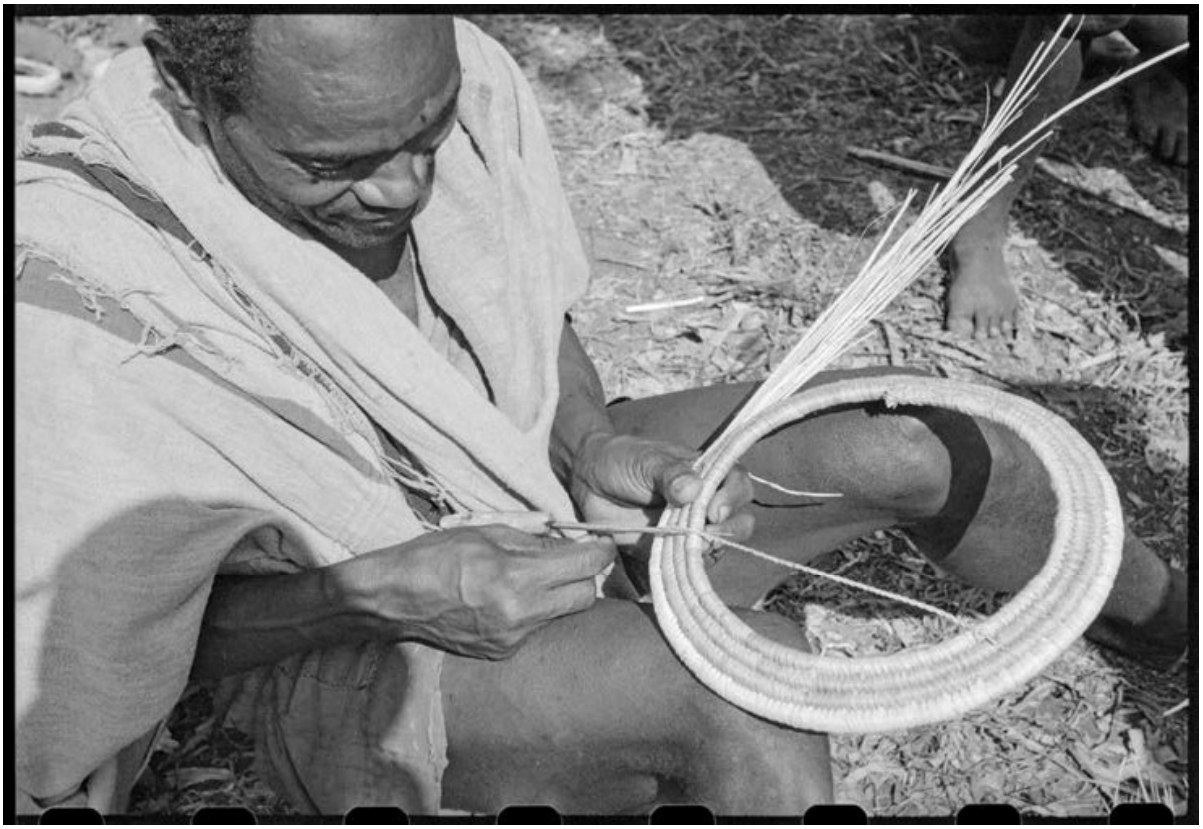


Image 38: Production of a sieve for ensete flour

tume made of local cotton fabrics from other tribes, perhaps from Wolaitta. They themselves did not have their own weavers in 1955. Rather, the cotton garments are brought to the Sidaama markets by foreign weavers. In the past, the men's costume was made of leather. In the 1930s, leather wrapped around the loins was still known as a warrior's costume (Simoni 1939:123). A shoulder cape made of leather or fur was still part of a warrior's outfit during our visit and was also used occasionally. For warriors who have killed a leopard, this shoulder cape is made of leopard skin. On the belly, a hack knife (*konyara*) in a leather sheath is held by a long leather strap wrapped horizontally several times around the body; this also holds the loincloth.

According to Sidaama tradition, this leather costume was not their original costume. In legendary times, men and women are said to have worn a traditional costume made of deciduous branches. Today, although Amhara clothing and European stuff is beginning to take root, men generally still wear *gomfa* trousers and a large white cotton scarf as a cape. It is the same costume that is common among the peoples west of the lakes (Wolaitta, Dorze, etc.) and in Kaffa. Only the pattern of the trousers is different. Certain colours and patterns are reserved for certain tribes, and the weavers are attuned to these regulations. The Sidaama trousers are white with black and red decorative stripes on the upper and lower edges. The inserted square gusset is black and white striped.

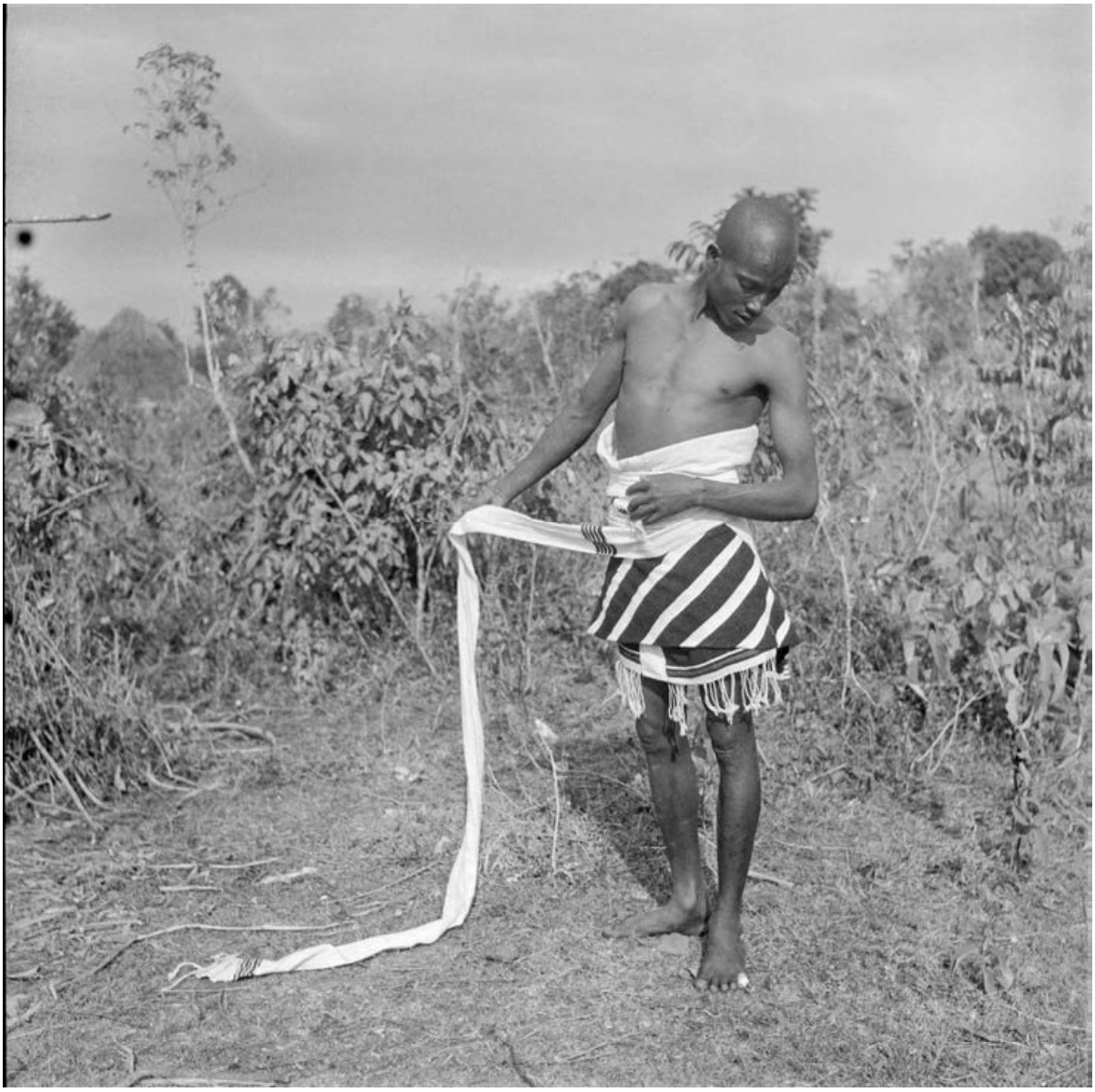


Image 39: Cotton trousers, not worn as trousers but tied around the waist as a loincloth

The strange rule that only certain dignitaries may actually wear this garment as trousers, while all others have to tie it up like a loincloth, also exists in Sidaama, but here it is linked to the age-group system: it is only from the *cimeessa* degree onwards that men are granted this privilege. Another curiosity is the boys' costume. They wear a loincloth, called *hafare*, which looks like trousers with trouser legs and a black and white centrepiece, but consists only of the front half of a *gomfa*. Such dummy trousers of course cost only half as much as real trousers, and that is probably the reason why this strange garment became commonplace. But it was not seen very often anymore, especially because the children today usually wear trousers or shirts of European design, which are sold at the markets by foreign traders. Married men wear a loincloth (see image above). Worn as trousers, the same garment is called *luko* (*lekka* = leg). The *gomfa* is held by a

belly band, a white cotton strip up to 4 m long and about 20 cm wide, which is tied around the body four to six times.

During war campaigns and on longer journeys, the *gomfa* is carried in a different way: it is tied up with a tricky folding to and fro in such a way that it is relatively short and does not hinder walking. The abdominal belt is also worn for this purpose – it is supposed to "keep the intestines in place" when walking – and the leather belt with the knife worn over it. The cotton cloak, commonly used in southern Ethiopia and called *bulukko* by the Amhara (see also Bieber 1920:283), is a rectangular cloth consisting of two panels about 3 m long and 70 cm wide, usually with an interwoven red stripe and short fringes on one narrow side. This type is called *derbata*. In the cloths sold at the markets, the two panels are only stitched together with loose stitches. The buyer then sews them together with tight stitches over and over again. As in the whole of southern Ethiopia, beyond its practical purpose, the *bulukko* is regarded as a marker of dignity. There are different ways of wearing it for different occasions, and all young men know all the details of this rite before they have a cloak themselves. A distinction is made between different qualities of fabric. The best, a firm fabric made of evenly spun threads, is called *liko*. Most of these cloths have, apart from fringes and a red stripe, woven decorative lines of thicker threads in relief on one narrow side. A lower quality, *gumaata*, is woven from less even threads and more loosely. Of course, every man will buy a cape as soon as he can afford it, even if it is first a *derbata* made of second-class fabric. However, at the latest from the *cimeessa* rank onwards, men will wear a special *bulukko* called a *seemma*, consisting of two double panels of heavy *liko*-weave cloth. To put on this large and heavy cloth in the prescribed manner is an art in itself. Normally it is draped in such a way that about half of it hangs in numerous folds over the right arm – a considerable load that restricts freedom of movement and thus requires dignified behaviour.

The men, like the women, go barefoot. Even the head is uncovered unless one wraps one end of the *bulukko* around it. On some occasions, however, the men wear leaf caps: a piece of fresh ensete leaf is wrapped tightly around the head, fastened with a bast string and tied at the top. These caps are worn when the head is freshly anointed, to prevent the melted butter from running into the face. Also, men wear these leaf caps to protect their hair from contamination by soil when digging a grave. The gravediggers also tend to take off their clothes, to avoid soiling them, and instead tie a kind of skirt made of ensete leaves around their loins.

Women

While in all other tribes we visited, even in the most remote southwest, the little girls get a pubic cover before they can walk, the Sidaama girls (and in former times also those of the neighbouring Gedeo) only wear a small shoulder cape

made of fur and go otherwise naked. This is all the more disconcerting because the clothing of older girls and women is highly sensitive. Older girls and women can only be seen wearing skirts that reach down to their feet, and men are not allowed to see them in their working costumes, with short leafy skirts, expressly on the grounds that this inadequate clothing is offensive.

The women's skirt (*tubba*) is made of a rectangle of cattle skin, which is wrapped from right to left with the fur side facing inwards in such a way that the front part is doubled, and the outer longitudinal edge runs diagonally from the left hip to the bottom right. The skirt is fastened around the hips with a long leather strap which is wrapped around several times, and the upper edge of the fur – about 30 cm wide – is folded over the belt so that a strip of fur all around forms the upper finish. The skirt must almost touch the ground. The fear of *budakko*, i.e., people with the evil eye, also plays a role in this rule. In any case, our informant Aggaro once warned me, with great concern, not to go to a funeral service – where of course many strangers gathered – in my normal European clothes because they did not reach to my feet. When an inflammation appeared on my ankle immediately afterwards, he decided that I had received it because I had ignored his warning about the *budakko*.

Around the shoulders, the women also wear fur with the leather side facing outwards. There are three types. For everyday use, there is a smaller cape (*qont'olo*) made of calfskin, which is worn with the head part down. The hind legs are cut into long tails, which are tied together with a leather strap. The back part is turned outwards and cut into narrow strips, which are twisted in a spiral and hang down as long fringes over the leather side. Usually a sickle-shaped strip of the turned-over fur remains uncut at the edge of the break and forms an ornamental border sewn on with a strip of fur of different colour. The rest of the coat is trimmed to the natural shape of the skin and also has spiral fringes here and there. As with the skins for women's clothing in general, great importance is attached to a beautifully patterned coat. If a calf is born with a particularly effective pied or coloured coat, it is slaughtered immediately, and the coat is sent to the tanner to be made into a shoulder cape. However, these whole skin cloaks can only be seen at the great funeral ceremonies, where the next of kin of the deceased wear clothes with the fur side out. All shoulder cloaks are normally worn over the left shoulder and knotted on the right upper arm, so that the upper body is covered and the right arm is unhindered in its movement. The *qont'olo* cape can also be hung over one side or over the back as desired. The *qont'olo* cape is also often tied under the left armpit and the right shoulder so that both arms have freedom of movement.

For protection against rain and cold, there is a cloak (*homba*) made of cowhide that reaches the ankles. The coat is slightly trapezoidal in shape. The widest side, about 1.80 m long, serves as the edge of the neck and is made of the turned-over fur with an ornamental hem, often cut into strips. Five large strips are cut into the lower edge. The front and back edge of the neck are tied together on the right

upper arm with a strip of leather drawn through. The rest of the fur hangs down in folds in front and behind the arm. On the way, especially in the rain, the closure is turned to the front, so that the back and anything carried there are covered, while the freely hanging ends protect the chest and arms. When fetching water, the left hand, which holds the jug resting on the left hip, simultaneously grasps the left long edge of the cape, so that the jug is partly held up by the taut part of the cape.

The parade cape of the Sidaama woman is the *gorfa*, which is worn mainly on festive occasions. It is a rectangularly cut cowhide with a turned-down fur hem at the edge of the neck and rich fringe decoration of incised and spirally twisted fur strips on the remaining sides. Four or five short, hand-wide strips are cut out of the lower edge at regular intervals, so that it is divided into five or six rectangles. The incised strips are first twisted at the upper end to form a border framing the large leather surface, approximately 1 m^2, on three sides, and only then the ends – about 20-30 cm long – fall down freely. The clasp usually consists of a short leather strip, which is pulled through the front and back part of the neck edge and is tied at each end with a leather knot or, preferably, a blue pearl. It is a very decorative costume. The cloak, the colour of whose borders and fringes stands out very effectively and shines against the dull, fawn leather, envelops the whole figure and falls in soft generous folds that serve to emphasize the natural dignity of Sidaama women. At funeral ceremonies, the upper edge is brought under one armpit, usually the left one, so that the shoulder is free – probably as a variation of the women's custom, which is widespread among many tribes of southern Ethiopia (e.g. Male, Zala. See Jensen 1959), to bare the shoulders or even the whole upper body as a sign of mourning. Here, it also seems to have a practical advantage, as the arms are given the freedom of movement necessary for the gestures of lamentation. On longer walks, both the *gorfa* and the *homba* are gathered up and hung over the left shoulder, fur side out, folded several times. As an out-of-style addition to this leather clothing, women often wear a clumsy shirt made of black, red and white striped indigenous cotton fabric, which also covers the upper third of the skirt. In the surroundings of the Amhara villages, Amhara clothing also has its appeal for women. However, they usually wear such clothing only on festive occasions and stick to their traditional costume in everyday life.

Jewellery

Jewellery plays a surprisingly minor role. Among men, only the *hirboora* bracelet, the award for a 'killer' is of importance. We have never seen the copper neck ring described by Simoni (1939:124), which was still common as a sign of dignity in Italian times. Almost all of the men, like the Ethiopian Christians, wore a thin necklace (Amharic: *maatawa*) made of any material, including small pearls, either to please the Amhara or to conform to them, or because of the protective spell

attributed to the *maatawa* cord. Armrings were very rarely seen. Here and there men wore a narrow metal ring on their right wrist. In those cases where it could be verified, they belonged to the caste of craftsmen. All men have pierced the left earlobe and sometimes wear a glass bead, an iron ring, a wooden stick or the like in it. On the belt sometimes, apart from the sand flea implements [used to removed sand fleas from the feet], there is usually a pair of tweezers whose upper end runs out into a needle and a brass plate in the shape of a laurel leaf with an incised line or circle pattern. A piece of jewellery of the same shape made of metal or horn is also sometimes worn by women on their necklaces. They also tend to wear it on the bridle of their horses. It probably has the meaning of an amulet.

Boys and men often have a number of burn scars the size of a penny on their arms, which they have had applied with a glowing fire whisk "to make the arm strong". Most girls and women wear a necklace hanging down to the chest (named *siigo* according to Simoni 1939:128), sometimes two or three, made of different coloured or spotted pearls. Often a few appendages of metal, horn or the like hang from it. Appendages can also be worn on a narrow leather strap around the neck. They are probably amulets. Rarely the *maatawa* cord was seen on women, sometimes with a silver cross on it. The young girls pierced the left earlobe, women both. Often coloured beads or other small, simple pieces of jewellery are attached to it. Arm rings, usually narrow iron or copper hoops, and finger rings were rarely seen.

Women are not very fond of jewellery either. There are many, including wives and daughters of wealthy dignitaries, who do not wear any jewellery, even on festive occasions. This is strange in so far as the *midaancho* figure, which is supposed to represent the deceased at the Feast of the Dead, is richly decorated with necklaces and bracelets borrowed from the mourners. Also, the face tattoo, which many women apply to themselves, is said to serve only as a decoration. It is always of the same type: three thin, bluish vertical lines, only faintly visible, about 15 mm long on each cheek below the eyes. They are created by scratching fine lines into the skin with an obsidian splinter and rubbing soot into them.

As far as we could verify, the ornamentation with which small children are sometimes hung does not serve as jewellery, but as a defensive spell. To protect the little boys from the dreaded *budakko* (evil eye), an iron or aluminium bell is hung around their neck or on their loin cord. The *budakko* is distracted by this and cannot see the child's face. Kauri shells, which are sometimes hung around children's necks, may also have this purpose. It is noticeable that, while Kauri shells are popular with the Sidaama's neighbours as jewellery and for decorating appliances, they do not play this role at all in Sidaama, although they are sold at the markets that are also visited by Guji and Arsi. Only here and there did young Gidamo women wear a few Kauri on their collars, probably also as amulets. Children who scream or groan in their sleep are given little pieces of iron or copper

to wear around their necks or belts to protect them from bad dreams. Narrow copper bracelets serve the same purpose.

Hairstyle

Little boys have their heads shaved. Obsidian shavers or small iron knives are used for this, and recently imported razor blades are also used. When the hair has grown 3-4 centimetres, it is shaved off again. Little boys often have one or two circular tufts at the back of the head, or a small island on the front of the skull. Under certain circumstances, the youngest son, as long as he is a child, gets a special hairstyle "because he is the father's favourite". The Sidaama, like all these peoples, are very loving fathers, and probably the youngest is always the father's darling. But this hairstyle was seen very seldom, and therefore there must be a special relationship with this award that was not revealed to us. In this 'Benjamin hairstyle', as we called it, the head was shaved bald except for a small island in the middle of the skull and another on the upper back of the skull. This hair is allowed to grow to a length of 10-15 centimetres and then braided into small plaits. Those of the front tuft of hair lie over the front of the skull; those of the other tuft hang down from the back of the skull. At their ends, the plaits are attached to each other in two-finger widths with red cotton threads that are braided across.

Image 40: Hairstyles of children. On the outside two boys, in the middle four girls

Image 41: Special hairstyle of the youngest son, which marks him as the darling of his father

Young men let the hair grow a little longer than the boys before shaving it off again. Only as *cimeessa* may they let their hair grow as long as they like. This hairstyle is called *bukkichcha* (forest, bush) and is considered a sign of dignity. Only older men wear a beard, usually as a carefully trimmed wreath framing the lower face. A short moustache and chin beard are rarer. Young men and some older men also tend to pluck out or shave the beard hairs.

Little girls have their hair shaved off except for a circular tuft on the upper part of the back of the skull. When they are three or four years old, this tuft is allowed to grow long and is then woven into small braids which hang down over the back of the skull and are cross-weaved at the lower end with red and white cotton threads so that they hang close together. The ends of the coloured threads hang

down long on both sides. In larger girls, the tuft of hair left standing is larger, and the braids hang, often reaching to the shoulders, around the back of the head. The front of the skull remains shaved short. When they marry, girls initially keep this hairstyle until the hair on the front of the skull has grown sufficiently, but braid the ends of the braids with inconspicuous threads instead of coloured ones, the ends of which are also no longer left hanging down. As soon as possible, they then move on to the actual female hairstyle: one or two thin braids above the forehead, along the hairline, reaching from the parting line to the ears, and covering the entire skull with braids running parallel to the parting line, ending in short protruding braids at the neck or braided into a transverse braid. At first, the plaits lie tautly around the head. The more the hair grows, the higher the forehead braids are lifted and often frame the face. The rest of the hairstyle gradually covers the ears and neck and finally reaches the shoulders and back. Sometimes the forehead braid is missing, and the ends of the remaining braids are woven into a braid that extends from one temple across the neck to the other temple. In another variation, the hair is parted across the parting line from one ear to the other, like the front part, the back part of the hair is braided into small plaits which run to the forehead and are braided into a plait on the forehead. Two months after the birth of a child, the mother creates a special hairstyle for herself for some time. It is probably the previously described hairstyle.

The hairstyles last for months because the women sleep on neck rests. They are renewed when they become too unshapely. Since women also sometimes cut their hair completely, e.g. when a close relative dies or because lice are rampant, we often saw younger women without special hairstyles. Older women no longer wear plaited hairstyles at all, but let their hair grow 5-10 centimetres long, similar to the *bukisa* hairstyle of the men.

According to Simoni (1939:256) the girls' hairstyle is called *gutto*, the women's hairstyle is called *naanno*. The hairstyles are made by special hairdressers.

Settlement, house building, household goods

As far as we could see and experience, all the work in building a house is done by men, with the help of friends and neighbours. Nevertheless, a new building will take many weeks. Even for a house that the chief had built during our time there for a man in his retinue, his subjects, who are obliged to do such work, needed almost three months. Although there were often fifty or sixty people gathered on the building site, it did not happen that more than five or six were working on the house at the same time. The rest joined the many elderly people who had gathered in the shade of a room to observe the progress of the work and give good advice.[60]

[60] Five pages of Elisabeth Pauli's typewritten manuscript describing the beginning of the house

A layer, approximately 20 cm thick, of compressed leaves of the *so'ichcho (ocotea kenyensis)* tree is pressed against the plank wall by a latticework of rods. This gives the outer wall a slight curvature, which at its upper edge joins the curve of the roof, thus completing the characteristic 'onion-shaped' silhouette of the Sidaama house.

The entrance is the same height as the wall. The doorframe is formed by two vertical planks fixed parallel in the ground and connected at the top by a horizontal plank, or in the case of simpler houses by a cattle-beam, the two ends of which are tapped into the side walls. The horizontal fastening of the plank wall also ends in drilled holes in the door frame. Some hut entrances also have a threshold board and, in front of it, half pressed into the ground, three or four logs are lined up close together, which in a way serve as a doormat.

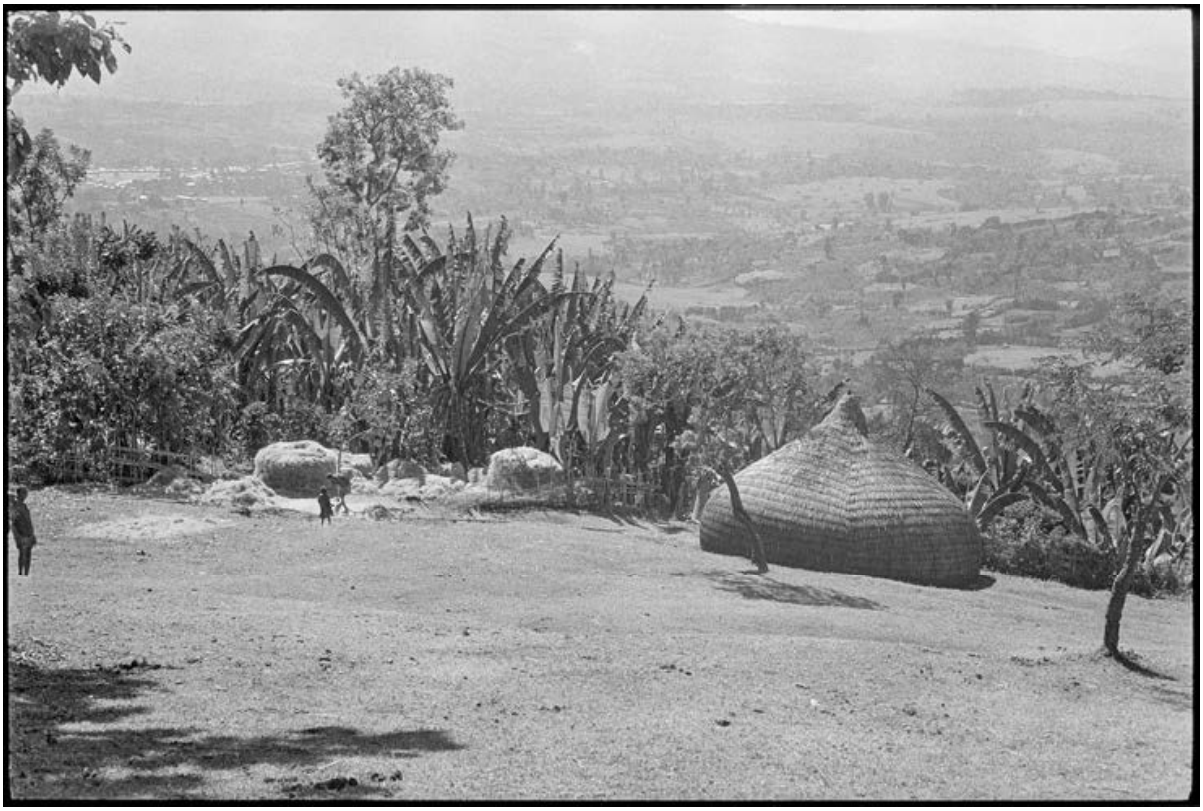


Image 42: Sidaama highland houses made of bamboo

Above the entrance, the roof framework usually bulges out like a nose and is attached to the wall in a bundle of rods. The resulting space between the upper edge of the door and the protruding edge of the roof is filled with a neatly woven horizontal plate. A rectangular piece of bamboo wickerwork serves as a door, which is pushed from the inside into the entrance in the evening and held in place by a strong, forked branch braced at an angle against it. Wing doors, common in

building process are unfortunately missing at this point and could not be found until the book went to press.

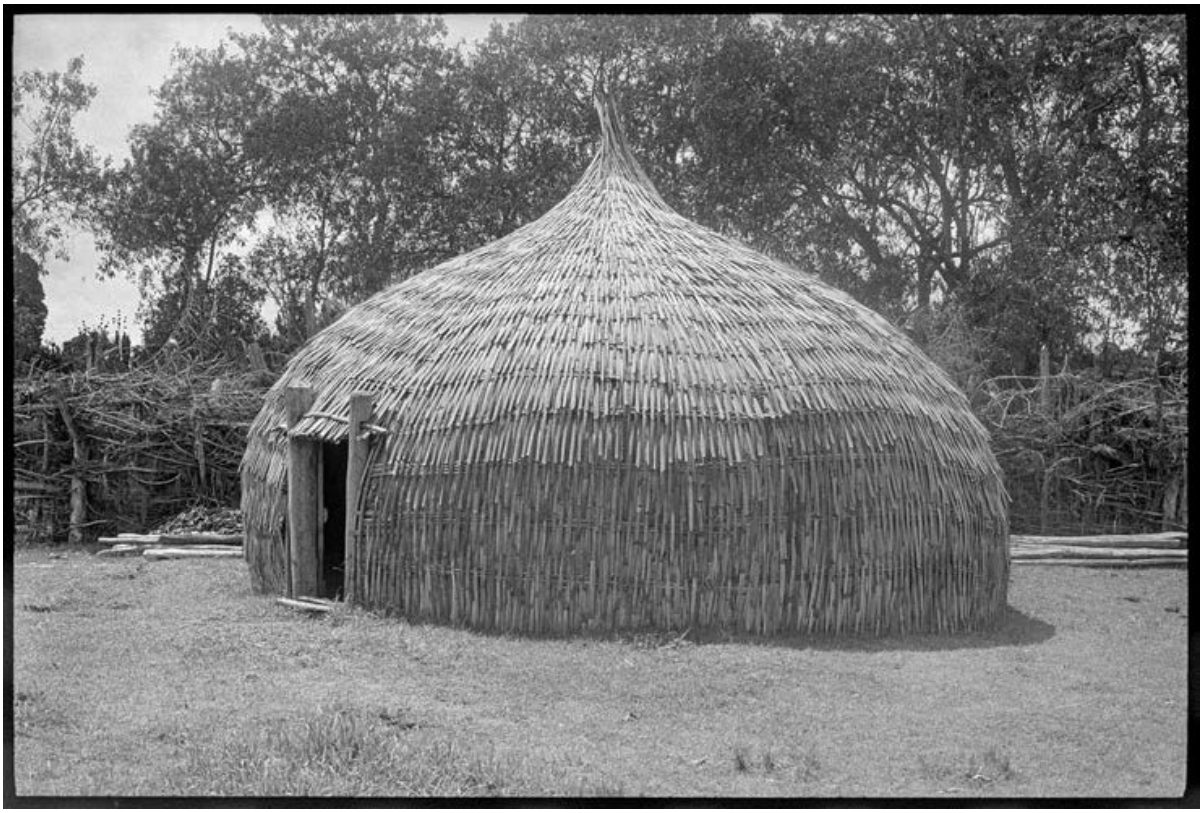


Image 43: Sidaama highland houses made of bamboo

Gedeo, were only seen sporadically. The bamboo doors are made in the higher-lying Sidaama districts, where only bamboo thrives, and from there they are taken to the most remote markets in the country. It is a curious sight to see a procession of walking doors moving through the landscape on market days. A door costs the equivalent of 70 pennies including carrier's fee and one or two days' walk.

Finally, the roof is covered with grass. First the ground floor, where wall and roof merge into one another, is covered with a four to six-fold layer of short tufts of grass, each layer beginning about 20 cm higher than the previous one and covering it three-quarters of the way. The edges of each layer are cut evenly with a knife. Dark grass or reeds are used for this lower edge of the roof, but long, straw-coloured bundles of grass are used for the rest, so that the dark, multi-stepped edge looks like a decorative edge.

The top layer of grass covering the top of the roof is attached to the protruding central pole by tight wrapping. In addition, several strong, neatly wrapped rings are put over the tip and pressed down, thus holding the whole thing firmly together. Sometimes the uppermost ring is also specially secured by pegs inserted at an angle from above.

The interior of the house is divided into three sections. Seen from the entrance, usually on the right, a segment of the round hut serves as a cattle shed. A barrier of beams (*golo*), which are stacked on top of each other in strong forked stakes, separates it from the rest of the room. Near the entrance to the hut, a passageway

is left open, flanked by two parallel planks with a vertical row of holes. To block the entrance, logs are pushed through the holes.

The cattle shed is used to house cattle and small livestock, including the housefather's riding horse, if necessary, at night. Small gutters lead the liquid manure under the hut wall through to the beds behind the hut. Opposite the entrance to the hut is another room divided by a two-metre-high wall. The wall consists of a light scaffold, which is tightly covered with dry ensete leaves. The entrance to this cell is opposite the house entrance. It is also closed with a door made of bamboo wickerwork. This rear room, which contains a bed on stilts or other storage space, is the sleeping chamber of the housefather and his wife, and is not entered by guests. The wife withdraws here when she gives birth. The umbilical cord of the newborn child is buried here, and certain sacred objects are kept here. Here, too, and always right next to the barrier to the cattle shed, is the earth pit containing the year's supply of ensete pulp and the woman's incense burner (*sagara*). The incense burner is a three-legged piece of branch about 60 cm high, which is placed over the fire. Above it, the woman hangs her leather clothing to smoke. For this purpose, certain dried, cherry-sized fruits, which grow in the lowlands and emit a strong, spicy smell when they burn, are placed in the fire. The women also place themselves in front of the rack to smoke their bodies; men are not allowed to be present, and the woman blocks the entrance to the hut. It seemed unseemly to talk about this ritual at all.

The rest of the house serves as a lounge and workplace for the woman. To the left of the entrance, along the wall, are the sleeping quarters of the other members of the family: wooden, elevated grids or clay benches upholstered with ensete leaves and covered with a bark skin or cotton cloth. They also serve as seats for guests. At funeral ceremonies, this part is reserved for female mourning guests. The men gather outside or in the front part of the stable. Approximately, in the left half of the house, about halfway between the wall and the central pole, is the fireplace, which is surrounded by a clay ring. The hearthstones are generally made of the tops of broken jugs, three in number, with their neck openings facing upwards at an angle and placed in such a way that the pot rests firmly between them. The 'hearth stone' closest to the central pole, called *mamate*, must have a special meaning, as it is strictly forbidden to move it. Not even when the ashes are removed may it be moved aside; the right constellation for the respective pot must be achieved by moving the other two.

About 2 m above the fireplace, a large hoop (*kato*) hangs horizontally, crisscrossed with strips of bast. It is attached with taut bast threads to three rods buried in the ground and is used for drying, especially seed corn, but also for household goods and the like. The millstone (*daammu anna*) is located between the fireplace and the sleeping cell. The millstone is a block of stone with an almost rectangular shape, about 60 cm long. The surface is bevelled, so that the higher narrow side, where the woman kneels at work, is about 40 cm high, and the lower side about

20 cm. The rubbing stone, in the shape of a loaf of bread, is about 25 cm long. The purchase of a new grindstone is connected with a celebration. Some men choose a suitable stone from the scree of the river valley and tie it to two long, parallel poles. Four men take the ends of the poles on their shoulders and, accompanied by the guests, bring the stone to the house, where an ox is slaughtered and people dance.

Image 44: Household goods: a) rack for smoking women's clothing, b) wooden cones for pressing ensete pudding, c) ring of ensete rib, d) ensete fibres (used as cleaning wool) e) wooden stool, f) wood-chipper, g) axe, h) coffee mortar, i) clay pot, k) clay pot (xilte) for ensete dish, l) three broken clay pots (used as hearthstones), m) portion of ensete porridge wrapped in ensete leaf

Among the most important household items is the large double-handled clay jug, *midaancho*, in which the housewife keeps the water supply. It is also used in the preparation of beer and honey water. At the funeral ceremony for the housewife, this jug is used as the top of the doll that symbolizes the deceased (see image 26) and that is also called *midaancho*. Smaller jugs of the same type are called *gambaaychcho* (Afaan Oromo: *gombo*). To fetch water, which, like everywhere else, is a woman's job, large clay jugs (*finiincho*) are also used, but they only have one handle. They are carried on the side of the hip, with the arm around them. This impractical custom is shared by the Sidaama with the Wolaitta and Yem; in southern Ethiopia the much lighter calabashes are used for fetching water, and these are worn on the back, which is much more comfortable. However, the Sidaama women carry other loads, such as market goods – the heavy packages

of ensete porridge or cabbage – on their backs. The rest of the woman's work equipment is described in connection with the processing of ensete.

Along the fence of the barn there are almost man-high, barrel-shaped storage baskets made of bamboo wickerwork for the grain supplies and, more recently, for the coffee harvest. Separate storage huts are very rarely seen. These are the usual round huts built on a low platform made of wood or wickerwork with a conical roof.

In the front part of the house or by the fireplace there are usually a number of low wooden stools. The legs often have a number of burned holes, as they are often used for fire-drilling. The place of the housefather can be recognized by the nearby water pipe (*gaayya*), a long-necked calabash (*qooncho*) with a clay pipe bowl (*gaayya kincho*) attached to a cylindrical base with leather straps. The pipe tube (*cuunjuma*) is so long that you can smoke comfortably sitting down while the bowl is standing on the floor at some distance. There are also very nicely crafted, smaller pipes that you can carry with you: a gourd, approximately 25 cm high, is braided and has a braided base and handle, so that you can both smoke the pipe while standing by holding it in your hand. We only saw this kind of pipe for men; women usually have small hand-held water pipes that cannot be set down. They are kept, like many other household items, hanging from a stick stuck into the roof of the hut. The spears are also hung horizontally on two wooden sticks that protrude from the wall at an angle. Thick rings of rods, tightly wrapped with bast strips – and like an Advent wreath – are suspended horizontally in the roof at a height of about 2 metres. They are used to store pitchers, which are inserted with the neck downwards. In addition, rectangular braided panels are often tied to the roof by their lower long side; the upper edge is attached to the roof by two ropes starting so that the panels hang diagonally upwards. Small items are stored in these compartments.

Ensete[61]

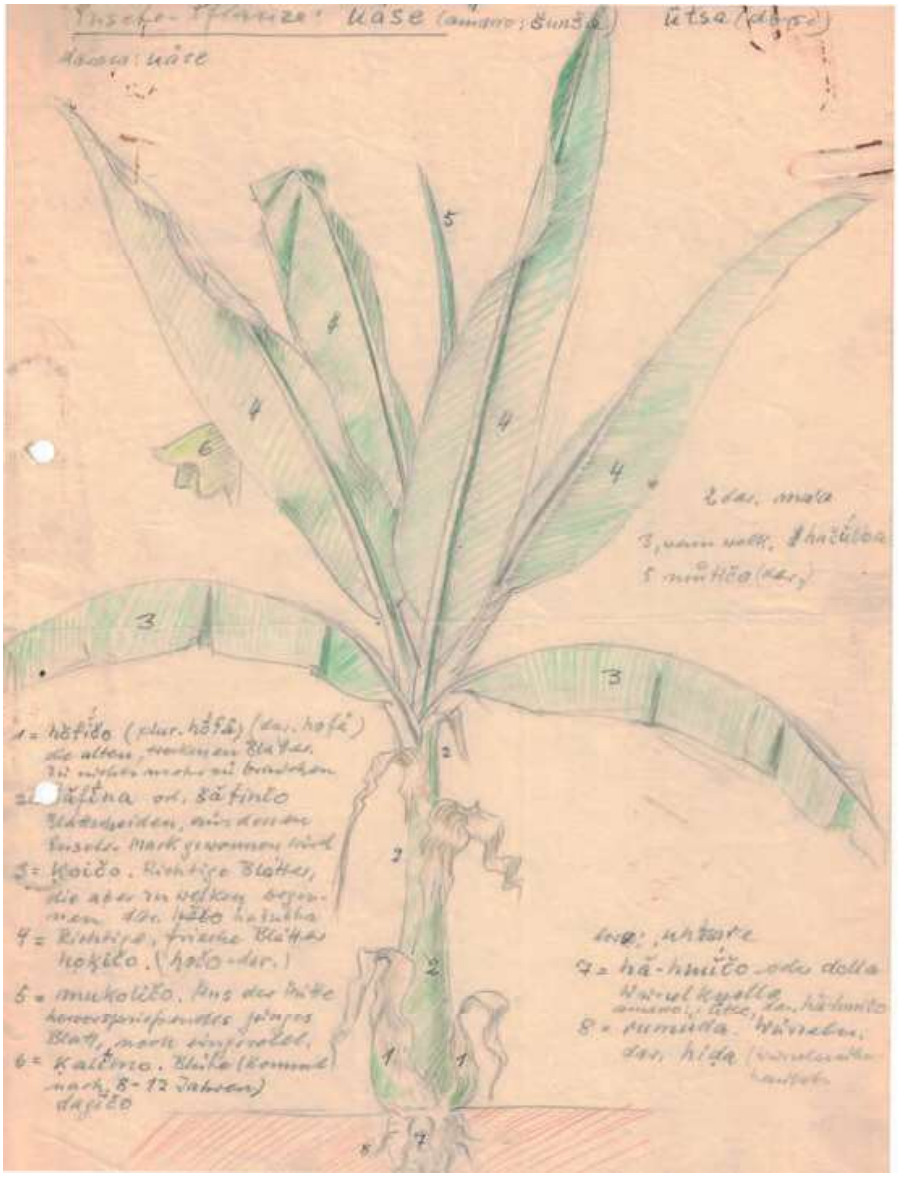


Image 45: Ensete sketch by Pauli

[61] Pauli recorded the whole process of ensete cultivation, right up to the preparation of various ensete dishes, in a short ethnographic movie (Pauli and Haberland 1964).

Sidaama names for ensete species

aidara	leaf sheaths at the lower end black spotted, therefore used for leopard figures at memorial of death
ado	'milk', is considered the best species together with Ganticho
allaticho	Allata?
asta	came from Gurage
atara	
awulcho	
bandja	
birbiro	clan of Haweela
birra	like name of the first month; *bərr* = silver
bobodicho	
botate	
chacho	came from heaven with Daada; used for ritual purification
chillä or chillako	vulva or vulva-like, only called so by women among themselves
damalla	
damashasha	
darase ado or *darasicho*	*ado* by Gedeo
dobiramo or dowiramo	
dubandjo (sing.), *duwane* (pl.) or *dubane*	
gadime or *gazimä*	
ganticho	*ganta* = ragged; considered the best variety together with *ado*
garaicho	
goloma or *gullumo*	peoples of the world, mankind
gosallo	
haho	
haisa	*haisso* = grass
hancha or *hansha*	grows in the highlands
ha(u)we	
hecache	
hondororicho	
kanda	what you wipe out of your eyes in the morning
leemmiichcho	bamboo
madda	
mea (u)cheese	'female ensete'; paraphrase of *chillä*; used by men
midasho	
mundiraro	
tsaranna	

tudnacho or *tunako*	also a paraphrase of *chillä*
u(w)isho	'head'?; one of the best varieties; red rib
wanekore	e.g. 'cut off, cut off'; this type does not tolerate the sun

In general, the *ado* variety was considered the best. Occasionally *ganticho* was mentioned as the best; it is the most productive and strongest. Why everybody did not plant only the best varieties could not be satisfactorily explained.

The cultivation of ensete

While the processing of the ensete – starting with cutting, uprooting and hauling the trunks – is exclusively women's work, its cultivation, like all field work, is exclusively in the hands of men. However, the regulations are not so strict that women could not help in emergencies. However, it was considered impossible for a woman to plant the young shoots.

Image 46: House with ensete garden

The preparation of the field for the cultivation of new ensete plants starts in February. Two 2-metre-long grave poles are used to break the soil (as in Baka, Jensen 1959:90 f). Usually, neighbours help each other carefully. The incredibly large, unwieldy clods are also crushed into smaller chunks with the grave poles. Nothing more needs to be done to the ground at first.

To obtain new ensete perennials, the Sidaama never use the seeds, but always only the tubers. They claim that the seed does not bear fruit at all, or only after ten years, and that such a plant is weak, grows slowly and dries out the soil, and its roots push towards the other plants and affect them, and the like. They therefore tend to trample on plants that have sprouted from seeds by chance, at least in Beera. In Shabbadiino they let them grow. There is probably a superstition behind this, because an Eritrean who had been living in Manche for about twenty years assured us that, according to his experience, ensete perennials grown from seeds thrived far better than those grown from tubers.[62]

The Sidaama month Amajje (December, January) is the planting time for the tubers. It is best to use tubers that are three years old. Although they can be used at any stage, they produce fewer shoots when they are older. The whole tuber is planted, although the Sidaama are familiar with the method of halving them (see Baka, Jensen 1959:94) from the Wolaitta. The ensete plant, which is a perennial, is cut off at about a hand's breadth above the ground, the remaining part of the pseudo-stem is hollowed out and the tuber buried pointing upwards within the hollow. Numerous young shoots then sprout from the hollow; they come to the surface after about four weeks and can be planted out the following year. To do this, the tuft of plants is removed from the ground, the leaves are cut off and the plants are separated.

The people of Alatta never use home-grown saplings, but procure them from Holloo (in the highlands) because they are much better. They buy them from the plantations there and plant them the same day if possible. They sell their own saplings to the Sidaama in the lowlands. However, in other areas, such as Holloo and Shabbadiino, they use their own growth.[63] Only after the plants (or the tubers) have been dug in, the soil is worked with a rake to break up the coarse chunks. The first planting must be done by a *cimeessa*; if sons live on their father's farm, for example, the father will do it; the young people prepare the soil and make the

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62 The Eritrean was undoubtedly well-informed, for, in the two decades he had lived there, he had planted an extensive plantation, in which, incidentally, he had also successfully grown bananas and oranges and other crops unknown to the Sidaama in addition to ensete and, above all, coffee. A young Sidaama in Shabbadiino who is somewhat alienated from the traditional ideas also confirmed that the seed ensete thrives well. He also grew plants that had accidentally sprouted from seeds in his garden while more traditional people tend to trample them down immediately, not with the indifference with which one removes a weed, but with obvious revulsion, like trampling a scorpion. The Sidaama feel similar disgust for the wild ensete, which is said to be found in some areas and which also naturally reproduces by seed.

63 They refer to a tradition according to which *Magano* taught people how to obtain shoots by planting the tuber and, in this way, to obtain many new plants and thus food for many people in a short time. In fact, as Smeds (1955:20) points out, this method is more productive, because a young tuber, usually a three-year-old one, can be used for saplings, but seeds only develop after eight to ten years. In addition, an ensete plant produces many more useful shoots than useful seeds.

planting holes. They give the *cimeessa* four of the best shoots. They dig them in and say: "*Misse uäse käru itisse kärutum!*" (Let us eat it in peace!). Only then can the owner continue planting.

The plants are planted so densely that they can thrive for several years. Then you replant part of them. This usually involves chopping off the leaves, sometimes also a piece of the stem. The plant will recover from this without further ado. The care the plant needs is minimal. The men remove the weeds, which are usually fed to the cattle. As soon as the rainy season comes, fertilizer is applied. The women deposit dung and ash, collected for months beforehand and wrapped in (ensete) leaves, around the plantation. When the rainy season approaches, the men loosen the soil around the plants with a simple wooden hoe (*honkoolo*: roughly 'crooked leg') and mix in the dried dung. If fertilizer is available, the plantation is fertilized throughout the rainy season. Only manure is used. [The idea of] transporting manure from the pastures was rejected with mocking laughter as too laborious.

Crop rotation or fallow periods are not necessary for ensete plantations. On the contrary, it is best to grow on the same soil again and again. However, it often turns out that they grow coffee, cabbage or, for example in the higher situated Nato, cereals on harvested ensete terrain.

The processing of the ensete

The basis of the Sidaama's diet is the so-called *waasa*, which is obtained from the tuber and leaf sheaths of the ensete. This *waasa* is used in the months with the least rain, i.e. January and February, to produce a supply for the whole year. Our stay in Sidaama coincided with this great seasoning period, so we were able to observe the process.

For this purpose, a work hut is erected in the garden – a square shade roof which is surrounded with ensete leaves; only one side (always east) remains open. For small households and poor people, this hut is only 1.5-2 m^2; for the wealthy 3 x 4 metres or more. It contains the various tubs and pits that are needed, the most important being the large fermentation tub (*bale*; when it is full, it is called *hassa*). This is made by digging a round pit about 50-180 cm in diameter in the ground; it can be even larger, depending on the household's wealth. It is covered with multiple layers of ensete leaves and raised above the ground by a border of leaves to form a trough about 1 m deep. For the trough, large leaves, from which the ribs have been torn off and which have been placed in the sun for a while to make them soft and supple, are used as the lowest layer. The hollow is then covered with several layers of such leaves, and the top layer is covered with outer sheaths of leaf sheaths. For this purpose, the leaf sheaths, which are up to 5 cm thick at the lower end, are torn off, tearing out the inner fabric together with the liquid contained in it, so that only the outer cover, which is as supple and

Image 47: Ensete processing

Image 48: Ready and filled fermentation pit for the ensete porridge

Image 49: The fermented ensete porridge is piled up in the working hut for drying

durable as glacé leather, remains. Then a number of sticks are placed around the pit and many layers of ensete leaves and complete leaf sheaths are skewered over it until the border is the necessary height. Then the whole pit is laid out again with 'gutted' leaf sheaths from the edge down, and if necessary, the whole thing is tied together on the outside with narrow strips that are torn off leaf veins or leaf sheaths, which here replace the bast cords.

Next to the fermentation tub, an oval surface, which is slightly sloping, is laid out with leaves, and bordered with leaves and leaf sheaths. At its lower end, a hollow of about 50 cm diameter is dug out and also covered with leaves. At the upper end of this 'dinghy' is the woman's workplace.

Plants of all stages can be used for processing. If he can afford it, a man waits until they are 8–l0 years old, because that is when they are most productive. Once a plant has flowered, it becomes woody and gradually dies. Women who still live on their father-in-law's farm must ask his wife, even if it is not their husband's mother, to make the first symbolic cuts with a knife before they start cutting their plants. Then they can begin to cut the plants, saying a short prayer (such as: "Let me enjoy it in peace!"). Women have the same knife (*konyara*) as the men use as a bush knife. First the crown of the leaves is cut off – for leaves they cannot reach, they use a spear – and then the roots are cut with powerful blows around the plant. Then the trunk is wobbled out and dragged close to the working hut. Here the tubers are chopped off, beaten into multi-edged balls, removing the roots, and

then placed in a shallow, leafy pit in a shady spot and covered with leaves. There the tubers are left to rest for up to twenty days, away from the air. In this way, they remain moist, heat up a little and become softer, even mouldy on the outside. The ban on men touching or even seeing anything during the processing of ensete, which is always defended with much nagging by the women, applies especially to these tubers. For example, if a man lifted the leaves and saw the tubers, he would become hard as stone.

Now, the leaf sheaths are processed. They contain a tissue and a white juice, which form a main component of the *waasa* mass. To squeeze out both, the usable parts of the leaf sheaths are folded into pieces of about 60 cm in length and torn open. The woman sits down on a seat made of pieces of leaf veins at the upper end of the dinghy. In front of her she has a sloping board on which she places the leaf sheath, holding it with the heel of her right foot. Then she scrapes the leaf sheath with a piece of split bamboo briskly from top to bottom until all the soft and liquid components have been squeezed out, leaving only the outer shell and most of the fibres. She heaps up the squeezed-out mass into the bottom of the vessel on her right, from where a part of the liquid slowly runs into the pit at the end. This is where the best quality ensete product, the so-called *bul'a*, is collected. Left to stand overnight, a white, starchy mass is deposited on the ground and, after drying in the sun, it is collected in a special small pit covered with leaves until all the plants have been processed. It looks like fine quark and, at this stage, tastes like nothing at all, like starch.

During scraping, the woman sorts out the better variety, which piles up in front of her; this is the pulp pressed out of the lowest, thickest part of the leaf sheath, which contains relatively few fibres. The more tender, inner part of the tubers is later finely chopped and added to this pulp. This mass is considered the second quality and is called *udde*. From now on, it will always be treated separately but in the same way as *waasa*, which is the third best variety and far predominates in terms of quantity. *Udde* represents at most one-twentieth of the mass of *waasa*, and *bul'a* another fraction of the mass of *waasa*. *Waasa* is used for everyday food, the other two for festive occasions. *Bul'a is* also used for sick people, pregnant women, women with a small child, etc; it is considered to be a particularly strengthening and digestible food.

When a sufficient amount of the main mass has accumulated, it is squeezed out by the woman repeatedly piling up a portion of it into a knee-high cone and leaning on it with both hands and one knee as strongly as possible. In the process – as in the whole procedure – the women repeatedly fish dirty or too fibrous parts out of the mass and throw them away. However, if enough *waasa* still adheres to it [these fibrous parts], it is collected in a separate place to be used as the fourth (worst) variety of ensete, called *deleqe.* Finally, the whole mass is spread out on the bottom and stamped with the feet. The stamping and squeezing are repeated several times until the mass has lost enough moisture and the expected amount

of *bul'a* mass has accumulated in the *bul'a* pit. Then the mass is poured into the fermentation vat, which is loosely covered with leaves when it is not being worked on. The *deleqe* mass is placed in the same fermentation vat, where its different consistency makes it easy to distinguish from the rest.

Finally, the tubers are chopped with a cow's shoulder blade (*qeho*). The broad part is grasped and chopped with the articular cavity, which is notched all around for this purpose, so that it acts like a grater. They knew that the Gurage used wooden tampers, and the Wolaitta stones, instead, but they considered the bone more suitable, just as they thought their whole method was better than that of the neighbouring peoples, probably rightly so. This mass obtained from the tubers is also heaped, pressed and stamped, the woody and mouldy parts are sorted out for *deleqe*, and the tender inner parts for *udde*, and the main mass is then mixed with the rest in the fermentation vat, accelerating the fermentation process as the tubers have already fermented a little. The *udde* mass is placed in a special pit.

The mass remains in the fermentation vat for about twenty days, with further liquid slowly seeping through the leaf lining. Then almost the entire work hut is covered with leaves, and this area is bordered with a leaf bulge – like a large oval pan. Inside the border is the fermentation vat, the border of which is now torn away. The mass is spread out on the pan, loosely covered with leaves to dry further in the air, with the hut being surrounded so tightly with ensete leaves that it is completely in the shade. In this way, the mass is left to rest for about ten days, while being stamped with the feet about every two days. It is then formed into a large heap in the hut, which is firmly tapped together with the hands and pressed. In the same way, the *deleqe* is formed into a pile, and the *udde* is pressed into a large lump. Everything is loosely covered with leaves. The *bul'a* mass is placed in a small pit of leaves in the shade hut. On top of the *bul'a* mass and separated by a layer of leaves, is placed a portion of the already fermented *waasa*, from which the *bul'a* will take on the flavour. This is then covered with leaves and a pile of fresh leaf sheath or rib pieces. The hut is made as dark as possible, and everything is left to dry for another ten to twenty days.

In the meantime, the men dig a deep pit for the *waasa* and a smaller one for the *udde* near the living house. The women again lay out the pit with leaves. The *waasa* mass is filled in bit by bit, with the women standing in the pit and stamping it – a pad of leaves under their feet – again and again. The *bul'a* is placed in the middle of the *waasa* mass, separated by a layer of leaves. As the uppermost layer – as a kind of cork, so to speak – the *deleqe* is pressed in, so that there is still about 20 cm to the edge of the pit, then the whole thing is firmly covered with the upper ends of the leaf lining and other leaves and earth is filled on top of it so that no one can see where the pit is. Before the heavy rains start, two pits for *waasa* and *udde* are made in the hut, and both are decanted there to be consumed slowly until the next harvest season. The leaf lining has to be renewed about every three months. People who cannot afford such a lot of trouble may also move the mass directly

to a pit in the hut. But the quality is said to be better if it stays in the garden pit as long as the weather allows; it spoils when heavy rain comes.

The different varieties are edible after three or four weeks. Supposedly, it is still edible after two years.

Women who do not have much ensete or few helpers shorten the procedure, which is of course at the expense of quality. In general, the neighbours, i.e. the women from the families whose husbands work together in the fields in the *dee* working community help each other. During this work in the ensete plantation, the women take off their leather clothing and instead wear a wide belt of leaf sheaths and a short skirt made of ensete leaves. They do not want to be seen like this in front of men under any circumstances, however, because they feel it is inadequate clothing. There was no question of taking photographs at all – a great pity, because such a hut where four or five women in this costume were at work was a highly original sight. One or two of them sometimes sat in the tub on the big *waasa* mountain and chopped the last tubers.

To justify the fact that men must be kept strictly away from ensete processing, it was said that once upon a time, a man observed his wife doing this work and noticed that the *waasa* porridge was getting less and less (due to drying). He said that his wife had put some of it aside and beat her. The women then decided that men should never interfere in this work again.

Preparation of ensete dishes

In order to be able to process the mass taken out of the pit into food, it must first be squeezed again. For this purpose, the Sidaama have a pointed wooden cone called *kincho* (*kincho* also means 'stone' and 'pipe bowl'). The necessary portion is taken out of the pit and kneaded for a while in a flat wooden tub, where the fibres contained in the ensete, some of which become crumbly during fermentation, are crushed and then formed into a solid lump. This is then wrapped in a thick bundle of ensete fibres and pressed onto the tip of the cone. The woman, with the help of a knee, presses and kneads it until, after a while, liquid emerges. This liquid is called *qarxa* and used to be poured away. Today the *qarxa* that settles at the bottom is sold to the Amhara, who use it in the preparation of injera (as yeast).

The women then tip the now crumbly, dry mass from the fibre bundle into the wooden tub. For festive meals, this mass is now sifted to remove the fibres it contains. It is sieved first with a sieve called *meemmo* made of palm wicker (from *phoenix abessinicus*), then the flour thus obtained is passed through several times with a tightly stretched thread of ensete bast, which the woman holds between both hands. During this process, small pieces of fibre become attached to the thread, which she then removes. This is repeated until the flour is cleaned of all small fibre particles. This flour is called *araddisame*, the sieving with the

thread, *araddisa*. The flour is then spread out in a thin layer on the earthenware pan and, when sufficiently roasted, the pieces that stick together are lightly rolled up and either eaten (simple dish) or put into the *xilte* pot (festive dish). Then butter is made liquid in a small jug with a handle, and a small branch of a a wild spice (*ha'nashsho*) is swirled around in it for a while so that the butter takes on the spicy taste. Then the butter is also put into the *xilte* pot with a little salt and mixed with the flour. The dish is now ready and can be taken out of the *xilte* pot with softened pieces of leaf and enjoyed.

The *araddisame* flour is also used to make small loaves of bread (*bixiichcho*) by forming them into fist-sized dumplings, wrapping them in a piece of ensete leaf (which was previously held briefly over the fire to make it supple) and baking them in the glowing ashes. For eating, it is broken apart.

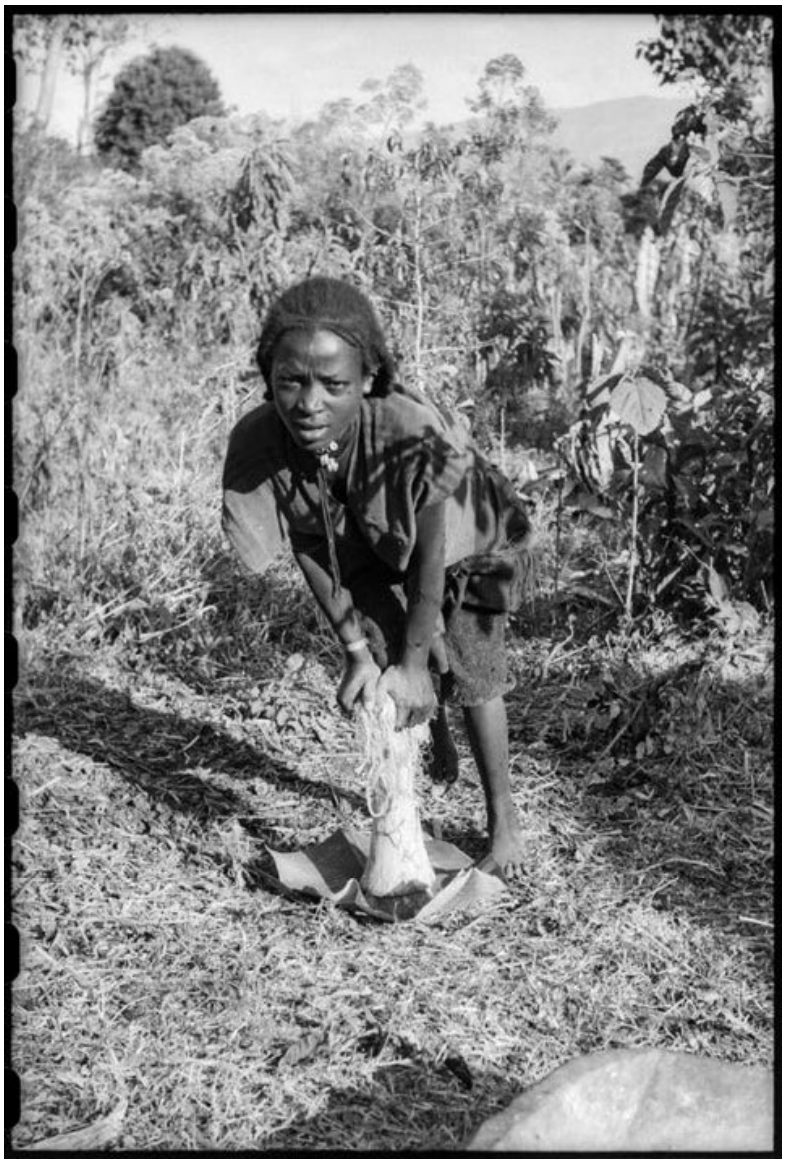

Image 50: Pressing out the fermented pulp on the wooden cone

Another, less good, flour and bread is prepared from the residue from the sieve and from unscreened flour. To do this, the squeezed-out mass is kneaded in the pan for a while, formed into a lump and cut into slices with a knife, then kneaded again and cut until all the fibres seem to be sufficiently crushed. This flour is called *furfuraame* (*furfura* = to cut up low-quality *waasa*). A thin layer of this is placed on the pan and, when sufficiently roasted, folded into a double half; a further layer of flour is then sprinkled on the half of the pan that has become free, on which the double half is then folded over, on which further flour is sprinkled on the other half of the pan, etc. The flour roasted in this way is enjoyed like *araddisame* with or without butter from the *xilte* pot.

In addition, *furfuraame* flat pan cakes called x*alta* are baked in the pan. Broken into pieces, this *xalta,* like the *bixiichcho*, is called *timma*.

You can do the same with *udde* as with *waasa*. It only needs to be sifted once because it has little or no fibres. The *bul'a* hardly needs to be squeezed and sifted, and is only enjoyed as roasted flour with butter, salt and *ha'nashsho*. In fact, it tastes very light and delicate, melting on the tongue, so to speak. Strangely enough, *bul'a* in Sidaama is also the word for yellow. It has been explicitly referred to as the same word. But *bul'a* flour is white at every stage. *Deleqe* is only used to make *furfuraame*.

Furfuraame is the main food of the young boys and children. They also occasionally eat a dish made from the fresh ensete bulb by cutting some of it into pieces and cooking it.

Other use of ensete

Apart from its enormous importance for nutrition, the ensete is also of great use in other ways, especially its leaves. They are fed to livestock when there is a lack of food. They are also dried for use as padding for the sleeping quarters, and hung in bundles over a crossbar as a partition in the huts of the circumcised. The partition wall of the sleeping cell is often made of dried leaf sheaths. The fresh leaves are used as a seat underlay, for packing market goods, as rain protection and as temporary shade roofs. They are also used as clothing for the women at work in the fermenting hut, and as clothing for the gravediggers. When the head is freshly buttered, a cap of ensete leaf is worn. They serve as plates, and small, softened pieces of leaf act as spoons, etc. The cords and strings used are almost exclusively long strips torn from the ribs or leaf sheaths, which are so durable that they consider it unnecessary to twist the fibres into strings. Before the Amhara made it possible to sell the fibre scraps, they were only used to squeeze the ensete porridge and as sponge and cleaning rags; the rest was thrown away when the new ensete fermenting season started. In the death rites, the leopard is made from an ensete trunk and a tuber, and the skeleton of the *midaancho* doll is partly made

of ensete ribs. Clear ritual use of the ensete was only found in the purification ceremony for the *wolawo*.

Annual requirements of ensete

Eight eight-year-old plants are enough to provide all the food one person needs for a year. According to Aggaro Domme, the content of his fermentation tank represented 10-15 large plants, and was enough to feed three adults for a year. In Gedeo, our neighbour had a plantation, which I roughly estimated by walking around to be approximately 500 square metres. He claimed that it was just enough for a family of two or three. This was despite the fact that the plants in Gedeo are very dense and the tubers reach a diameter of 90 cm and a height of 60-70 cm in the harvesting stage.

by Helmut Straube

Landscape and population

Borders and landscape structure

In the south of the Sidaama settlement area lies the Haadiichcho region.[64] Although its inhabitants form a linguistic and cultural unit with the rest of the Sidaama people, the Haadiichcho occupy a special position among the Sidaama people, which is particularly evident in their social downgrading.

I stayed in the Haadiichcho region from 1 January 1955 to 4 February 1955 and took up accommodation in the Baddaame district, about 2 km southeast of the road town of Tafari-Keella.

The borderlines of the Haadiichcho region are formed in the north, west and south by the rivers Digeessa, Badira and Lagadara. The eastern border cannot be defined exactly geographically. It runs on the Abeerra plateau in a generally north–south direction along the edge of the Somali plateau and also includes the villages of Abeerra and Daama in the border district of Daama Finchaawa. In the north, Haadiichcho borders on the Sidaama region of Alatta, while the western, southern and eastern neighbouring areas are occupied by the Guji, who belong to the Oromo people. In the south, the Guji have only recently moved between the Haadiichcho and Gedeo, and have separated the two culturally and linguistically related peoples.

The settlement area of the Haadiichcho, which covers approximately 250 square kilometres, extends along the eastern edge of the Ethiopian Rift Valley, so that the morphological picture is mainly determined by the fracture tectonics. The erosion of the Somali highlands, which reach a height of 2,700 m near Abeerra, to the bottom of the Rift Valley takes place in the Haadiichcho region in two large rift stages, to which the two volcanic cones of Hosso Tullo and Tullo in the Baddaame district, which are visible from afar, are attached. The rim of the upper level is 2,100 m above sea level, while the average height of the lower level is 1,700 m. The upper level is very fragmented. It lacks the large level areas of the lower level. From the edge of the lower step, at an altitude of 1,600 m, there is a wide view

[64] The Sidaama people are divided into independent groups, which in pre-Amhara times were led by their own chiefs. The groups settled in closed areas, hereafter referred to as region, which should not be confused with today's Amhara administrative districts, whose borders do not always coincide with those of the indigenous tribal areas.

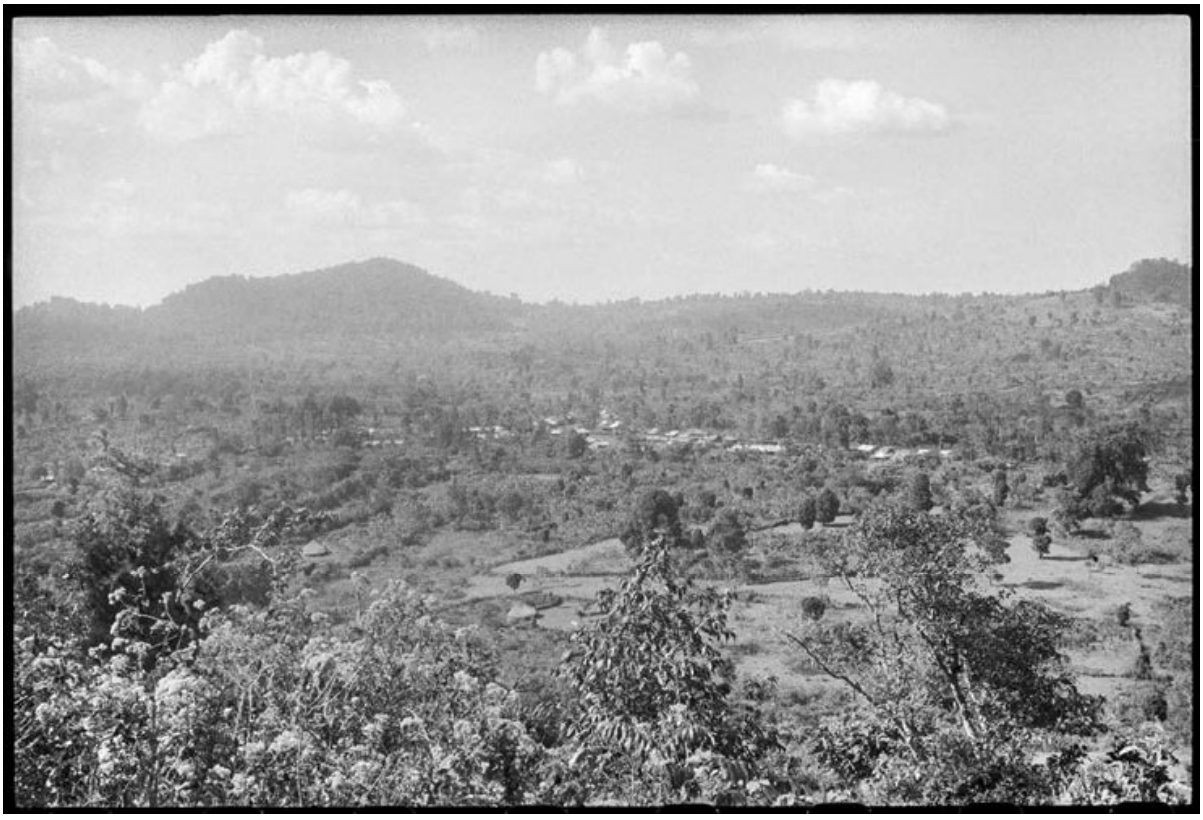

Image 51: View from Baddaame to the west towards Tafari-Keella and the mountain Halo Tullo

over the hilly lowland zone that extends to the eastern shore of Lake Abbayya, cut by the valley furrows of the Gidaawo and its tributaries. With an east–west extent of about 20 km, the Haadiichcho region has an altitude difference of 1,100 m.

The rock found in the Haadiichcho region is of volcanic origin throughout. Often very light-coloured basalts alternate with flesh-coloured or grey tuffs, which are already strongly decomposed and kaolinized in places. The columnar structure of the basalt becomes visible in the outcrops at the vents. The soil shows an often very strong red colour. Traces of soil erosion could only be observed in the Safa district to the west of the Wondo–Dilla motorway, whose undulating terrain is covered with large areas of grass. Here, erosion is affecting the grassland along the often hollowed paths.

Vegetation

The location of the Haadiichcho region on the edge of the Ethiopian Rift Valley has led to the formation of vertical vegetation zones whose character and existence have been largely transformed by human intervention, and whose boundaries have been shifted and blurred. The lowland zone between the Badira and the edge of the lower rift is occupied by a light acacia savannah mixed with *combretaceae*. East of the 1,600-metre break edge, a slightly undulating grassland, which is cov-

ered with man-high grass in the dry season, joins the acacia savannah. Groups of bushes and trees – mostly consisting of *combretaceae* – and mighty single standing sycamores give the impression of a park landscape. In the Safa district, north of Qawaado, the grasslands reach the Wondo–Dilla road. South of Qawaado, this type of vegetation can also be found east of the road. At an altitude of about 1,700 m, the appearance of larger trees and shrubs marks the transition to the mountain forest zone, where the main areas of settlement do not always coincide with those of the indigenous tribal areas. Man has cleared the forest land and transformed it into a densely populated cultural landscape, which is a mosaic of densely clustered farmsteads, small fields, pastures, groups of trees and shrubs. The trees standing in the farmsteads, fields and meadows give the landscape its own charm, often giving the impression of a closed forest cover from a distance and giving the impression of a large, evergreen garden. Closed forest stands can only be found sporadically and always cover the volcanic cones set on the fault lines. From 2,500 m on, the tree population decreases more and more and gives way to a low bush, which covers the coherent pasture areas occupied by steps parallel to the slope created by cattle farming, which lie on the steep slopes below the edge of the Somali highlands. The fact that this upper forest line is of anthropogenic origin (overgrazing, slash-and-burn) is evident from the fact that some trees planted on the Abeerra plateau in recent times are thriving magnificently. The Abeerra plateau itself is otherwise completely treeless and is occupied by large areas of meadowland covered with groups of bushes. The traveller Oscar Neumann reported observing raised bogs, bamboo groves and lobelias when he crossed the Abeerra plateau (Neumann 1902:18).

The bamboo appears from 2,100 m and is always planted near the homestead. Above 2,500 m, the small plantations are replaced by large bamboo groves, which occupy the humid hollows and valleys and are probably natural stands.

Administrative structure

The Haadiichcho region, together with the parts of the Alatta district south of Wondo, form an administrative sub-district (Meqet wäräda), whose official seat is in Tafari-Keella. The higher authority is the district administration (Wäräda) in Wondo under *fitawrari* Abebe. The Haadiichcho region is divided into a northern district, called Reera or Bantihuata, which includes all parts of the territory north of the road town of Qawaado, and a southern district, called Galasha, which includes all land south of Qawaado up to the border river Lagadara. Both districts are headed by a native *balabbat*, who is appointed by the Amharas. At the time of my presence, the southern district was run by a certain Ato Engida for the underage son of the late *balambarras* Garmaammo, while the Reera district was run by *balambarras* Baanata, a dark-skinned *haadiichcho*, about sixty years old,

who could neither read nor write and only spoke broken Amharic. *Balambarras* Baanata owed his position, his title and his very extensive land holdings to the Amhara state power, which rewarded his Amhara-friendly attitude and his assistance in the years after the occupation of the country (1894) by the *dejjazmach* Lulsegged. In contrast, *balambarras* Baanata plays no role in the social system of his own people. The division of the region into a northern and a southern district is apparently an old, pre-Amhara institution.

Amhara settlements

The Addis Ababa–Dilla road runs through the Haadiichcho region along the lower quarry step in a north–south direction. The two villages of Tafari-Keella and Qawaado are located on this road, and – with their honey wine taverns and Yemeni general stores and their rectangular ridge-roofed houses, often already covered with corrugated iron – offer the typical and somewhat bleak picture of modern street settlements. The population of these places (Amharic = *katama*) is very mixed, and the Amhara element is in the majority. Although settlements of this kind owe their existence to their favourable location on one of the few all-weather roads, both *haadiichcho* settlements, especially Tafari-Keella, now fulfil the functions of central places. They are the seat of the civil administration and the police station, they house shops and middlemen of all kinds and are visited by all rural residents on market days. Qawaado as well as Tafari-Keella are old local *haadiichcho* marketplaces, which only secondarily developed into so-called modern *katama* settlements under the influence of the road. The place name Tafari-Keella originated shortly before the First World War and commemorates the present emperor (Haile Selassie 1930-1974), who, as *dejjazmach* Tafari, was governor of the province of Sidaama in the years 1909-1911 and, at that time, set up camp for a short time near the present location of Tafari-Keella before moving the seat of government to Abeerra (Sandford 1955:30, 33). The name Keella means that there was a customs post there, where the caravans travelling north were required to pay tolls. Older Italian maps (Africa Orientale Italiana 1:100,000 and 1:200,000) still show the name Otilcho, which in itself has nothing to do with the place and is only the indigenous name of a clan sacrificial place, which lies within the settlement and on which a venerated sycamore still stands today, hung by the natives with cotton threads and spread with butter. Apart from Qawaado and Tafari-Keella, the village of Abeerra is also worthy of mention. It lies close to the edge of the Somali highlands, and its eucalyptus trees, on the otherwise barren plateau, act as a backdrop and are visible from afar. Abeerra is also an Amhara foundation based on an old indigenous market, and it served as the seat of government for the governors of Sidaama province until the mid-1920s. Only *dejjazmach* Balcha moved the governor's residence to Hagere Selam (Azais and Chambard 1931:380). There are only

a few Amharas living in Haadiichcho region outside of the villages mentioned above, most of whom earn their living as farmers on their own land.

Stone stelae in the Haadiichcho region

There are two groups of stelae on the upper level of the quarry. The group in the Babe area consists of about twenty-five round, worked stone columns, most of which lie broken on the ground. Some of the columns reach a height of 2.5 m and are clearly set off with phallic caps, while others are considerably smaller and taper conical. Three other columns are found on the road from Abeerra to Tafari-Keella in the Shabbe district. The local population has no relation to these stones and only claims that God or the muslim conqueror Ahmad Gragn once planted them. Pere Azais reports 149 stelae, of which he found 40 standing upright at the Sabbe (Shabbe) site below the Hosso Tullo (Azais and Chambard 1931). I know nothing of such an extensive field of stelae, and I assume that the number 149 also includes the stelae of the Babe district and other stone columns that I have not observed. An examination of the stone samples I brought with me showed that the columns were hewn from acidic tuffs found in Haadiichcho region and not from granite or sandstone, as Azais claims (Azais and Chambard 1931:233, fig. 1, 2).

Cultural and historical position of the *haadiiwo*

Not only do they settle as a closed ethnic group in the region of the same name between Digeessa and Lagadara, but members of their tribe also live as potters scattered in the other regions under the *wolawo*. There they do not own their own land, but only cultivate leased land. The *haadiiwo* are also not allowed to kill animals, and are called upon by the *wolawo* to perform special ritual duties as ceremonial helpers. Of course, they are not subject to these restrictions and prohibitions in their tribal area. There, they are primarily farmers on their own land, like the *wolawo*, and can slaughter their own animals and practise pottery, which is no longer of great economic importance.

They are, however, fully aware of their inferior social position and freely admit that they could not compete with the *wolawo* in prosperity. The resigned statement "we are poor, because if we were wealthy we would not be *haadiiwo*" was often heard. Of course, the correctness of this assertion could not always be verified in detail, but I noticed that the *haadiiwo* huts are often smaller and poorer than those of their northern neighbours. On average, the individual farmer's land and livestock holdings also appear to be smaller than, for example, in the Alatta and Shabbadiino areas.

The *haadiiwo* share this low and despised position with the pottery clans of almost all other Ethiopian peoples. The reproach that potters eat the flesh of un-

clean animals or that they are landless and tolerated tenants on foreign soil is a recurring one. As in Sidaama, the execution of certain ceremonies is often in the hands of other peoples. From a cultural-historical point of view, the *haadiiwo*, like the potters of other peoples, are obviously to be seen as displaced fragments of a people from an old layer that has already been largely absorbed in the area of the Great Lakes. However, it is remarkable that the *haadiiwo* are a larger, closed and localized ethnic group, whereas the old class of the neighbouring peoples is represented only in single weak clan. The existence of an independent tribal association, the possession their own closed settlement area where they live together, and their numerical weight have enabled the *haadiiwo* to escape the absorption process.

The Haadiichcho region is said to have been settled by Guji groups in the past, and tradition reports that the *haadiichcho* people migrated from Shabbadiino to their present settlement area. The origin and migration legends suggest that the *haadiiwo* were also landless and dependent potters before taking possession of their present homeland, just as their tribesmen in the *wolawo* region are still today. Even today, *haadiiwo* still migrate from the *wolawo* region to their present homeland. The current distribution configuration of the entire Sidaama people is probably of relatively recent origin and reflects the conditions the Amhara encountered when they conquered southern Ethiopia at the end of the last century. It can be assumed that large parts of the Sidaama people settled in the western outskirts of the Bale highlands in the Middle Ages and were only pushed further west by the Oromo migrations in the sixteenth century (Cerulli 1938:51).

The Haadiichcho region is also known as Wottaadara. The word *waata* is a collective term used throughout Ethiopia to describe despised and avoided castes, while Dara is the name of the first man created by God, who is said to have lived in Qawaado, which is therefore also called Dara.

Although the *haadiiwo* are nominally considered to be Coptic Christians, the Christian Amharic influences have not yet had a profound impact, especially in their spiritual culture. I was always surprised to see how little the influences of modern civilization were felt even in settlements just a few hundred metres off the road, although the *haadiiwo*, like the other Sidaama, are by nature very open-minded and accessible people. Their friendly, well-balanced and communicative nature greatly facilitated the ethnographic work.

Settlement and economy

Settlement zones

The zone with the most dense settlement in the Haadiichcho region, is on the lower fracture level east of the highway. The density figures of 190 and 175 inhabitants per square kilometre calculated by Kuls (1956) and Smeds (1955) for the districts of Beera in the Alatta region and for Arbegoona can also be described as accurate for the Haadiichcho region.

The settlement pattern of the Haadiichcho region is not uniform. In the most densely populated area, between the road and the edge of the upper level (2,100 m), the farmsteads join together to form large settlement complexes, often separated from each other by damp streambeds or by strips of bush. In many cases, however, they also merge imperceptibly into one another, because the Haadiichcho region lacks the large, free and level grazing land (*caffe*) that in Alatta encloses the settlement complexes like a belt and sharply demarcates them. Within the settlement complexes, farmsteads are lined up one after the other, and each estate borders on one of the many wide paths that run through the country in all directions, or on a lawn shaded by mighty old podocarpus trees and used as a meeting and festival place. The division of the inheritance has led to the land being split into many small plots, often not larger than 10 hectares, enclosed by dense hedges of euphorbia. The most striking feature of the farmstead plots is their mostly rectangular shape.

If you enter a farmstead from the path, you first come to a small fenced in forecourt where the hut is located. Its diameter is about 5 to 6 metres. The low wall of the hut is made of strong piles and covered on the outside with leaves and podocarpus branches. The relatively flat, grass-covered conical roof ends with the wall, so that roof and wall merge imperceptibly and often give the impression of a flat beehive hut. The entrance is flanked by two wide doorboards connected by an upper and a lower threshold wood. At night the entrance is closed by a woven bamboo door. The Sidaama hut does not have a central post, but only two or three sloping support posts that support the roof construction at the sides. In the centre of the hut is the fireplace, above which a wooden floor supported by four posts rises, which is used to store equipment. One side of the hut is taken up by the cattle barrier, while in the back of the hut there is the sleeping and storage chamber,

which is separated by a slatted shed or a bamboo wall. The hut inventory includes pile beds, small stools with an oval seat and four legs tapering downwards, large bulbous beer pots with a narrow neck and no base, wooden tubs, large slit-drum-like beer troughs and a myriad of calabashes for storing water and milk, as well as two-metre-high storage baskets made of bamboo woven and spread with clay. They stand inside the hut and hold the threshed grain. The life span of a hut was estimated to be about forty years. Defective huts are demolished and rebuilt on another part of the homestead land. The old hut squares are still clearly visible today, as the *haadiiwo* tend to plant coffee bushes around the huts, so the long-lived shrubs surround the old squares in a ring shape after the huts have been moved. Behind the hut are the vegetable garden, where cabbage, tobacco, taro, as well as edible and calabash pumpkins are grown, and the ensete plantations, to which the rest of the homestead land, which is mainly cultivated with cereals, is attached. Slash-and-burn fields on the edges of the settlement complexes and on steep slopes free of settlements are used to grow cereals and legumes. In the zone of the densest settlement, however, these external fields, used in alternating economy [i.e. the crops in the fields are rotated], are only represented to a small extent.

Image 52: Sidaama lowland hut with garden

When the 2,100 m limit is exceeded, the settlement pattern slowly begins to change on the upper fracture level. The dense clustering of farmsteads into village-

like complexes is no longer necessary; the settlement pattern is much more relaxed, and the individual farms are scattered within the farmland. The number and size of unfenced fields and pastures cultivated with cereals and legumes increases, the euphorbia hedges increasingly recede into the background, and the farmsteads usually consist of several huts instead of one. The ensete cultivation also increases in size, and the many growing beds on which ensete is raised are particularly striking. The population density is considerably lower than at the lower level, the estates are larger and the farmers more prosperous than, for example, in the Budami district. Bamboo gains more and more importance here as a building material and also influences the shape of the huts. Roof and wall are no longer two separate building elements, but form a closed construction woven from bamboo poles. The bamboo huts of the highlands are real beehive huts and can be regarded as the original house form of the Sidaama, whose settlement centres were located in the bamboo zone before the great Oromo migrations began. The huts of the lower fracture stage, whose building material is mainly wood, and in which wall and roof are already separated from each other, can be considered as a secondary development. The euphorbia hedges are often replaced by woven bamboo fences in the highlands.

As the altitude increases, the density of settlement declines more and more, and extensive pastures – large, mostly square fields used in alternating cultivation – and bamboo groves dominate the picture. The settlement boundary lies below the edge of the Abeerra plateau, at an altitude of about 2,600 m. Above the settlement boundary, the steep slopes are covered by contiguous grass fields, among which some small barley fields are interspersed from time to time. The third settlement zone is the area of the Safa and Tshisha districts, between the break edge of the lower level and the 1,700 m line. Both districts are taken up by wide grasslands with small groups of trees and bushes, in which individual farmsteads, including a round storage house resting on four low piles for storing grain, are scattered far and wide. The plantations of ensete are small or missing altogether. The settlement density is very low and corresponds to that of the uppermost settlement zone, which begins at an altitude of about 2,500 m.

Cultivation zones and crops

Looking at the agriculture of the *haadiiwo*, we again come across the significant 2,100 m line, which runs along the edge of the upper fracture level, and which we have already encountered as the lower border of the bamboo region and as a dividing line between two different settlement zones. It gains its greatest importance as the borderline between two cultivation zones. While the lower zone mainly produces maize, millet, coffee and, in smaller quantities, teff (*eragrostis tef*), the upper zone mainly grows wheat and barley, peas, broad beans (*vicia faba*), cab-

bage and, to a lesser extent, linen seeds, lentils and onions. Two other important products of the upper zone are ensete seedlings and bamboo. Both cultivation zones overlap between the 1,900 m and the 2,100 m altitude line. A developed market system enables a lively exchange of products between the two zones.

The main food crop of the entire Sidaama people is ensete (*ensete ventricosum*; Sidaama: *weese*), which is found in both growing areas, but is only cultivated in small quantities in the Haadiichcho region below the 1,700 m line, where it recedes in importance behind the cereals. Only the population of the upper growing zone is dedicated to the cultivation of cuttings, as the ensete grown from their own stocks in the mild climate of the lower zone shows signs of decomposition and is said to degenerate rapidly. For the cultivation of cuttings, cut ensete tubers are dug in at intervals of about one metre. Each tuber shoots a myriad of young shoots, which are allowed to grow into large shoots and are then planted out. The population of the lower zone has to get the cuttings from the highland farmers, as the cuttings are not traded at the markets. They are then planted in well fertilized and loosened soil near the huts. Older farmers still follow a special planting scheme in which saplings of the same age are always planted in a closed field. Nowadays, this order is often broken, and the young plants are planted in older stands, so that the annual structure of the plantations is not maintained, and perennials of different ages are mixed up. According to old farmers, an economic consideration has been decisive in abandoning the old planting scheme. The more shade the young plants get, the faster they develop and the sooner the perennials are ready for use. Thus, cuttings are planted in old shade-giving stands with the aim of shortening the propagation period, while seedlings planted according to the old scheme grow more slowly due to the lack of shade and can only be used later. However, the rapid growth can result in a reduction in the quality of the leaf sheath marrow, which can be watery and tasteless. The profitable use of the ensete starts after five or six years and ends when the plant has flowered, which usually occurs in eight-year-old plants. The harvest of the ensete plants usually takes place between September and November. Removing the leaves, digging up the tuber and overturning the pseudo-stem is the responsibility of the men, while the processing and, later, the preparation of the flour obtained is the sole responsibility of the women. The use and processing of the ensete plants by the *haadiiwo* corresponds in every detail to the procedures and work processes that Pauli has already described from the Alatta region.

The flour, obtained by a highly specialized processing method with fermentation, is enjoyed either mixed with butter and salt or with cabbage and broad beans. There are five different grades of flour. The finest flour bears the designation *bul'a* and is only served on particularly festive occasions. *Bul'a* flour is made up of the finest ingredients, which settle as a residue in the fluid that is pressed out of the moist pulp after fermentation. The flour of the second quality is called *waasa* and serves as a daily food. The worst variety, called *hobobe* or *udde*, is obtained

from the innermost leaf sheaths of the pseudo-stem. It is often used as baby food. Together with cabbage, ensete is considered by the *haadiiwo* to be their oldest food crop. The myth of its origin also speaks for the high age of ensete in cultural history. According to one version, a wild boar coming from a river once brought the first man an ensete bulb; the other version tells of a large ensete forest which the *haadiiwo* found when they immigrated to their present homeland, and whose plants they did not yet know how to use. It was only from the wild boar that people learned how to use the ensete. Therefore, the *haadiiwo* still find it acceptable today for wild boar to visit the ensete plantations at night and cause great damage to the stocks, as the ensete is and was actually part of the wild boar's property. The connection between the ensete and the wild boar, an animal that in Ethiopia always seems to be associated with the despised population groups, suggests that this fruit should also be assigned to the old class.

The natives were able to tell me the names of twenty-six different varieties of ensete, one of which, called *mundiraro*, has a reddish fruit juice; the lower parts of its leaf stalks are sweet and are eaten cooked. Wild varieties of ensete are not supposed to exist in the Haadiichcho region. The informants only knew of one in Malga region, which lies east of Arbegoona, where a wild species planted by the devil, called *durriisa weese*, is said to grow along a river. The pith of its tubers is said to be black as charcoal and inedible.

Coffee, which is becoming increasingly popular as a cash crop, only thrives in a narrow zone between 1,700 and 1,900 metres. The shrubs are either planted in rings around the huts or placed between the ensete plants, which provide shade. The quality of Haadiichcho coffee is said to be considerably inferior to Gedeo and Alatta coffee, and this is attributed to differences in variety and lack of care. The proceeds from the harvest of a coffee bush in the Haadiichcho region can be only a third of the price obtained for the same quantity of Alatta coffee. Ensete and coffee are the only crops that are fertilized. Coffee is the main commercial crop of the population of the lower production zone and provides the indigenous people with considerable cash income. It was only through the Amhara that the Sidaama were introduced to the use of the beans and the enjoyment of coffee. Before the Amhara occupied the country, the coffee beans were sold to the Arsi-Oromo.

In the gardens near the huts, mainly cabbage (*shaana*), tobacco (*tambo*), tuber (*qolcooma*), edible pumpkins (*gonsho*) and calabash pumpkins (*baaqula*) are grown. Besides the ensete, cabbage is the most important and oldest food plant and is cultivated on a large scale in the upper cultivation zone. Oddly enough, cabbage is never offered for sale at Haadiichcho markets, as the highland population only sells it in exchange for coffee. Tobacco is divided into three types, one of which is used as pipe and snuff and two of which are used as chewing tobacco only. It is smoked by men and women from the common Ethiopian water pipes. The beds of the upper growing zone cultivated with onions are probably a young phenomenon, dating back to Amhara influence, since the onion plays no role as a

food plant among the Sidaama and is only traded at the markets to the Amhara. I only came across a yam plantation once, in the Tshisha district.

In the lower growing zone, maize and millet dominate the grains, the upper limit of which is at about 1,900 m and is sharply defined. Barley and wheat are also cultivated in the lower growing zone in small quantities, but their main emphasis is in the upper zone, where maize and millet are no longer represented. Barley is the only cereal to reach the settlement limits. The oldest cereal in the history of civilization is clearly barley (*hayxe*), which – according to a myth of origin – was stolen from the sky by a mouse together with naked barley (*hordeum nutans;* Sidaama: *gardaama*) – a grain that is completely insignificant in the Haadiichcho region. A spider drew the attention of the hungry mouse to the heavenly grain supplies; the mouse then climbed up into the sky on a thread of ensete and filled its cheek pockets with grain. On the descent, the thread broke, and the mouse fell to its death, and the grains that fell to the earth rose after the first rain. Just as the ensete originally belonged to the wild boar, so the barley belonged to the mouse. For this reason, the *haadiiwo* also leave a small hole in the granary baskets to make it easier for the mice to gain access to their property. According to the informants, wheat (*qamade*) and maize (*badala*) were once imported to Sidaama from a country called Boroodai "behind Wolaitta" – probably Borooda is meant. Of the two types of millet, *bashanqa* (Amharic: *mashəlla*) and *djalile* (Amharic: *gadazangada*), the latter is said to have been introduced to the Haadiichcho region by the Amhara.

Beer (*farsho*) is brewed from barley, maize and millet and is used to make a variety of brewed dishes that can be enjoyed cold or hot, seasoned with salt, pepper and ginger and mixed with butter. Corn and barley grains are also always served roasted. Using barley and corn flour, which is watered for twenty-four hours, a slightly leavened flat bread (*budeena*) is baked, which is eaten together with a cabbage soup. However, the diet is mainly based on ensete flour, and cereal food is only used as a side dish.

Field work, types of cultivation and harvest calendar

The division of the Haadiichcho area into two cultivation zones has led to the formation of a composite economy. The population of the lower zone participates in barley cultivation in the highlands, and the farmers of the highlands go to the lower lying areas to grow the required maize. Curiously, millet plays no role in this integrated farming system, which operates according to fixed rules. If, for example, a farmer from the lower zone wishes to participate in barley cultivation, he looks for a farmer in the upper zone who is willing to provide land and possibly seeds. If the landowner provides seeds, the lowland farmer takes on the entire field work and transfers half of the yield to him. If, on the other hand, the lowland

farmer brings his own seeds, he is only responsible for breaking up the land and sowing the seeds, while the field owner has to do the harvest work; the yield is then divided again.

All field work is done by men. The ploughing of the fields, with the help of two-metre-long digging sticks, takes place from January to March. All the cereals are sown with the whole hand, and the seeds are then scraped with a knee-hoe. Only if the soil is very loose are the barley, wheat and millet seeds not broken up beforehand and are covered with cut grass to protect them from the wind and birds; in this case the corn grains are placed in planting holes.

Image 53: Breaking the soil with two digging sticks

Sowing and harvesting calendar

	Seeds		Harvest	
	lower zone	upper zone	lower zone	upper zone
	(1850 m)	(2350 m)	(1850 m)	(2350 m)
barley	July	September	January	Dec-Jan
wheat	August	July	December	December
emmer	-	July	-	October
teff	September	-	December	–
millet	February	-	December	–
maize	January	-	July	–
beans	August	?	November	–
peas	-	July	-	October

Since field fertilization is unknown in the Haadiichcho region, and only the ensete perennials and coffee bushes planted near the huts are fertilized, a regular crop rotation is observed. In the lower growing zone, barley is followed by maize and then millet in a three-year cycle. Only in the outer fields of the lower zone is it possible to switch to a multi-year fallow period; the farmland is used almost continuously. In the upland zone, on the other hand, where sufficient land is avail-

Image 54: Euphorbia fences and ensete groves

able, a two-year green fallow period is regularly observed. The crop rotation in the upper growing zone is: barley, legumes, wheat and, in the fourth and fifth years, fallow land.

During the ripening period, small platforms with protective roofs are erected in the millet fields; on these, children sit as field guards and scare away the birds with slingshots and buzzing woods (*dindo*). Prohibition signs of various kinds protect the harvest from theft. Bamboo poles with tied podocarpus branches or with the leaves of the croton shrub act as a deterrent, as the natives believe that thieves are either struck by lightning or devoured by leopards together with their livestock. Another prohibition sign (*xaare*; for the Gedeo compare Jensen 2020:78) consists of a black or red sheepskin shred attached to a pole; it causes a deadly cough when the thief tries to steal the harvest. Only members of the clan Du'a, whose progenitor once came down from heaven with the first sheep, can erect this field sign.

Livestock farming

Livestock farming lags behind field farming in terms of economic importance, although cattle in particular are highly valued. Livestock numbers are very difficult to estimate. On average 2-5 head of cattle can be owned by individual farmers, and only very wealthy people can own between 10 and 50 cattle. Goats and sheep are not very abundant. The concentration of large herds of cattle herded by the young in the lowlands is unknown in the Haadiichcho region. Every farmer has access to his own private grassland, as well as to the forests, meadows and wide paths belonging to the clan. Before the southern areas were incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire, each clan appointed a common overseer, who released the clan land for grazing in June, September and January. Every clan member was free to cut wood and graze on the common land. At present, a committee of five men supervises the clan's own land and collects a tax from each clan member for common use. Seasonal livestock migration seems to be of minor importance. In the dry season, only a few farmers from the densely populated areas of the lower rift valley feed cattle on the Abeerra plateau or lease pastureland in the Safa district, where the grassland is said to belong to the two *balabbat* of the Haadiichcho region. The cattle are tended by small boys and always return to the hut in the evening. The names of the cattle depend on their sex, coat colour and coat pattern. The owner of the herd only cuts the ears of cows that have calved. If the cattle are sick, the ears are provided with small round holes. One then either turns to a 'cattle doctor', who treats the animals with secret means, or visits a shamanistic priest (*qaallichcha*), who lights two fires, in which butter, coffee, ensete flour and cereal gifts are burned and through whose smoke the cattle are driven. Milking is done by the women in the morning and in the evening. To stimulate lactation, chewed

flowers and leaves of a small meadowflower called *beto* are spat into the cows' vaginas, or they are given a calf puppet sprinkled with salt. Calves are weaned by tying a strip of fur around their skulls with thorns.

Law of succession

In inheritance law, the eldest son is clearly preferred. He always inherits all movable property, his father's weapons, all livestock and all harvest supplies. The wives of a deceased man are taken over by his brother. Land ownership is usually divided equally among all sons during the lifetime of the head of the family. The father also reserves a piece of land for himself as an old man's share; after his death, this is passed on to the eldest son, whose inheritance is thus twice as large as that of each brother. The eldest son's inheritance also includes the hut. If the division of the inheritance only takes place after the death of the head of the family, the land is divided equally between the brothers without any preference for the eldest son. The pastureland is excluded from the division of the inheritance and is used jointly by the brothers. If one of the brothers wishes to use his share of the pastureland for other purposes, his brothers' consent is required. All jointly used land, whether clan common land or private pastureland, is called *dannawa*. Daughters were previously excluded from the inheritance. When they were married, the father merely furnished them with a leather skirt (*tubba*) and a pleura (*gorfa*). According to the new imperial law, daughters must also be considered as having equal rights in the succession.

The idea of selling land was once completely alien to the *haadiiwo.* Nowadays the two *balabbat* are said to have the right of first refusal in all land sales. However, land sales are still extremely rare today, and land leases are among the exceptions.

The craftsmen (potters, tanners, blacksmiths and weavers)

The national handicraft of the *haadiiwo* is pottery, despised by the *wolawo*, but today it is only practised by individual families. The pottery centre is the district of Safa, which is rich in clay. Besides pottery, the population of Safa is mainly engaged in the herding of pension cattle [cattle owned by those without grazing land but kept by others for a small few] from the more densely populated areas of the Haadiichcho region. Pottery is always made only by the women. The pottery is made using a mixture of drift and spiral-bead techniques. First the bottom and the lower part of the vessel wall are driven out of a lump of clay. The wall is then extended and strengthened upwards by spiral-shaped clay bulges. The earthenware, fired in a shallow earth pit covered with leaves, is coated inside and at the points where the handles are attached with a thin mush of ensete flour, supposedly to

make the vessels more resistant to breakage. Another important pottery area borders the Haadiichcho region in the north. Between the Digeessa and the village of Wondo lies the Hoommachcho district, which belongs to the Alatta region. It has become famous for the production of large beer pots, often over a metre high, which are allegedly made by Wolaitta potters – perhaps former slaves who have settled down.

Image 55: Sidaama potters with their goods

The most deeply despised caste of Sidaama's artisans, who are not only shunned by the *wolawichcho* but also by the *haadiichcho* as not equal to them, are the tanners (*awachcho*). They are said never to have been resident in the Haadiichcho region, and only live in the *wolawo* meadows. According to another source, some tanners live in Qawaado, but these seem to be families from other Sidaama regions who moved in later. The *haadiiwo* turn to Alatta to buy leather clothing, and the large shields made of hippopotamus hide were once traded by the Gedeo. One does not interact with the endogamous *awachcho* or not eat in their presence, and one is especially careful not to touch the knives and stone scrapers used by the tanners to work the hides. Anyone who has eaten with them or come into contact with any of their tools must slaughter a ram and bathe their body in the animal's blood. When a tanner enters a *haadiiwo* hut, he is assigned a place near the entrance. If chance brings him [a tanner] near a grave where the second *faashsho*, or festival of the dead, is being celebrated, he must be killed by the son of the deceased. If one asks about the reasons for the avoidance commandments and the despised po-

sition of the *awachcho*, the *haadiiwo* refer to the manifold dangers (illness, death and misfortune) that threaten them when they have intercourse with the tanners, or they report for to disgusting customs of the *awachcho*, who are supposed to eat the meat scraped from the skins. In two stories, which are supposed to support the separation of *haadiiwo* and *awachcho*, the tanners' contempt is also justified by the highly repulsive and inhuman behaviour of their progenitors, who once ate the afterbirth of their child and were therefore expelled from their community by the *haadiiwo*.

The seven families of blacksmiths in the Haadiichcho region belong to the Gedeo people and were called into the country two generations ago to ensure the supply of iron products to the *haadiiwo*, which had to be imported from the Gedeo area before that time. The Gedeo blacksmiths, who were assigned land by the *haadiiwo*, still go to their old homeland for circumcision and get their wives from there, belong to a Gedeo clan and speak their old mother tongue besides the Sidaama language. They do not extract iron themselves, but only process the raw material bought at the markets with the help of bellows. The charcoal they need is obtained from the wood of the *duuwancho* tree (*syzygium guineense*). According to my rapporteurs, local *awachcho*, as well as Gedeo people, are said to practise the blacksmith's craft in the Alatta region.

Weaving is not part of the old cultural heritage in the whole of Sidaama and has only recently been introduced. Weaving products used to come from the Ometo countries west of the Great Lakes. In the Haadiichcho region, the majority of weavers have abandoned their young craft in order to devote themselves to the more lucrative cultivation of coffee, which is also increasingly replacing pottery as an additional source of income.

Markets and calendars

A particular characteristic of all the peoples settling in the lake region is the developed market system, the importance of which is not only economic but also social and religious. It is particularly pronounced on the western side of the Great Lakes, in the Gamu highlands and in Wolaitta.

In the Haadiichcho region there are four large markets, whose names also recur in the Alatta region as names for the marketplaces there and which were originally not place names but the day names of the four-day market week; these names were transferred to the marketplaces only later. The four day names are Qawaado,[65] Qawaalanka, Deela and Dikko, and these also indicate the places where the market is held on the respective days of the week. In order to distinguish the Haadiichcho markets from the places of the same name in the Alatta region, a place name is often added to the individual market (day) names: Dara-Qawaado,

[65] Perhaps derived from the Somali numeral *kowad* = the first.

Sulula-Qawaalanka (Abeerra), Tuula-Deela (Tuula is a hill on the southern flank of the Gomorro mountain range) and Shabbe-Dikko (Tafari-Keella). In addition, the *haadiiwo* also supply the markets in Dilla and Handiida (Gedeo), which are located outside the region's borders. The money in circulation before the Amhara occupation consisted of bent iron bars, which allegedly came into the country from the Kambaata-Alaba region via Yanaase and Shabbadiino and were called *womaasha*. The old iron money has completely disappeared and only the Alatta clan Gissa is said to still possess some rods with which the clan members 'pray to God'.

In contrast to the inhabitants of the Alatta region, the *haadiiwo* were extremely poorly informed about their calendar. For example, they were unaware of the existence of a monthly leap day (*fooqa*), and only an informant who had previously lived in Alatta knew the meaning of the *adula* and *dullatte days*, which are so important as lucky days in ceremonial life. In the whole Haadiichcho region there is only one man with knowledge of the stars, a so-called *ayyaanto* (derived from the ambiguous Afaan Oromo word *ayanto* = soul, spirit, holy day of the month), who is able to give information about the calendar and is said to live east of Abeerra, near the Guji border. Therefore, to determine the lucky days suitable for making offerings and performing ceremonies, messengers are usually sent to the *ayyaanto* living in the Alatta, Yanaase and Faqisa districts.

The calendar of the *haadiiwo* does not differ from that of the other Sidaama. However, it is interesting to note that the informants called the four-day market week "creation week" and attributed its origin to a special version of the creation story, in which it is reported that God created man on the first day and on the following three days, in turn, created woman, the sun and the moon. While the four-day market week is obviously part of the old cultural heritage, the idea of a week of creation is probably of young, probably Muslim, origin and is one of the elements that the Sidaama people introduced through the mediation of their former neighbour, the old kingdom of Bale. The name of the first human being, Kalaqa, also points to its Islamic origin. This word, which is derived from the Arabic verb *halalca*, is often used in the Koran to denote God's creating and creative activity (Wensinck 1941:296). The name of the first man therefore means the 'created' (Sidaama: *kalakino* = he created). The historico-cultural four-day market week, which is also found in the Congo region, the Niger Delta and southern Nigeria, was probably only secondarily linked to the creation legend (Fröhlich 1940:260f).

Social organization and religious life

Tales of origin and migration

A very old idea of the *haadiiwo* about the human race is the belief that the progenitors of all Haadiichcho clans, with the exception of the ancestors of the two clans Du'a and Chiro, once came out of the earth. The majority of the indigenous people questioned were not unfamiliar with this belief, but their thinking was dominated by what was probably a younger – in terms of cultural history – creation myth which they always put forward first and without hesitation in response to my questions, whereas the older belief is apparently no longer common knowledge and was always told only after a long period of questioning, as they considered the reports to be irrelevant and obviously no longer considered it to be the truth. According to this more recent myth, the first man, named Dara, was created by God from damp earth on the banks of the River Daawa. This watercourse is one of the sources of the Jubba River. Dara then asked God for a woman; God then divided Dara again, to make a woman out of the left half and to create Dara a second time out of the right. God breathed a soul into both. According to another version, in addition to Dara, the progenitor of the *haadiiwo*, God created another man from molten iron, who is considered to be the ancestor of the Guji and Arsi-Oromo. Dara migrated from the Daawa River to Qawaado, which also bears the old place name Dura, and lived there on the Daramancho square (Sidaama: *mancho* = man) named after him, which plays a prominent role as a festival and seclusion square within the *luwa* system. There is no doubt that Dara is identical with the aforementioned Kalaqa, who was also created on the right bank of the Daawa on the first day of creation, while the first woman was created on the left bank on the second day.

The following traditions deal with the separation of the Sidaama people into *wolawo*, *haadiiwo* and *awachcho* and the migration of the *haadiiwo* from their old homeland in the north of the present Sidaama settlement area (Yanaase and Shabbadiino) to their present homes.

The myth of creation is linked to the many and varied wandering legends by a story in which a man named Ne'a is mentioned for the first time as the ancestor of the *haadiiwo*. Ne'a and Xummaano, the ancestor of the *wolawo*, come from the banks of the Daawa to the Yanaase region in pursuit of their runaway cows.

The three brothers Xummaano, Ne'a and Gagama are described in another tradition as sons of a man called Bushshee, who was created by God in Yanaase. Xummaano, the most agile and devious of the brothers, crossed the land day and night and declared all the land his property, while Ne'a and Gagama, the progenitor of the *awachcho*, went away empty-handed because both were engaged either in hunting wild boar or tanning skins and neglected the acquisition of land. After a few generations, a descendant of Xummaano named Dullo Bonoyya wanted to marry the widow of his deceased brother, according to Sidaama custom; but she refused to have a relationship with Dullo Bonoyya because he was ugly and unmanly. The spurned Dullo Bonoyya now made an agreement with Borijjo, a descendant of Ne'a, according to which Borijjo would help Dullo Bonoyya outwit the woman, because Dullo Bonoyya wanted to show her his male superiority in a visible way. The agreement between Dullo Bonoyya and Borijjo stipulated that, heavily armed, Borijjo would wait for Dullo Bonoyya in a designated place; Dullo Bonoyya would then appear unarmed and try to make Borijjo flee with his bare fists. In gratitude for Borijjo's willingness to play the role of a coward, Dullo Bonoyya agreed to cede part of his field possessions to Borijjo, who was landless. The woman was indeed deceived by the sham battle and married Dullo Bonoyya, but the latter, in turn, sought to evade the obligations he had assumed and led Borijjo by night and fog to the Haadiichcho region, where he left him to his fate. As a brave warrior, however, Borijjo managed to master the dangers and take possession of the land. Ne'a and Borijjo are considered the progenitors of the Teellamo clan, which is one of the oldest Haadiichcho clans.

The ethnic unity of the Sidaama tribe is expressed in this narrative by the fact that the progenitors of the different ethnic groups are brothers. On the other hand, however, the spiritual superiority of the enterprising and cunning ancestor of the Wolawichcho – who seized all the land and took advantage of his brothers, who only devoted themselves to hunting wild boar and tanning – is also emphasized. The originally landless Ne'a only acquired land later by moving to a foreign territory.

In two other reports, the separation into *wolawo* and *haadiiwo* and the enmity between the two communities is attributed to the contemptible behaviour of the older *haadiiwo* brother. On one occasion he [the older brother] fell into disrepute by eating a dead wild boar at the house of his younger brother, who only fed himself from the produce of his field work; on another occasion he tried to deceive his father in a fraudulent way. Both brothers were supposed to prepare honey water for their father. While the younger *wolawo* brother prepared the drink according to the rules, the older one offered his father pure water to drink and was then hunted into the forest. The despised position of the *awachcho* is attributed to the fact that Gagama, who lived with Ne'a, once ate his child's afterbirth while his brother was absent and was therefore expelled from the shared hut.

A special position among the Haadiichcho clans is held by the clan Du'a, whose eponymous ancestor descended from heaven on an iron chain together with the legendary Daada, the founder of the chief dynasty in Alatta, and entered the earth on Gushala Square in the Alatta region. On his arrival on earth, he held a sheep in one hand and carried a large beer pot on his shoulder. The people therefore called him *haadiichcho* (potter) and Daada insulted him as a "dirty potter" until he preferred to emigrate to his tribesmen who were already living in the Haadiichcho region at that time.

The Chiro clan is also said to be of heavenly origin. From the grave of Du'a, an initially human-like figure emerged which then gradually turned into a goat. The natives still believe that they can discover human-like features in goats and refer to the goatee beard, which emphasizes this impression in their eyes and reminds them that the first goat was born from a human corpse. The Du'a and Chiro clans are not allowed to eat goat meat, and the other Haadiichcho clans are also reluctant to eat it.

The first cattle, on the other hand, are said to have come out of the ground in Alatta in a swampy place called Gure near a river. Members of the Alatta clan Doolimma saw the cattle rising out of the ground and all of them shouted at the same time at the sight of a huge cow with powerful horns: "That's my cow! That's my cow!" Then the cow sank back into the ground, the earth closed up, and no cattle have come out of the ground since then.

The most important migration legend tells of the departure of the Haadiichcho from the Yanaase and Shabbadiino regions and their migration to their present home region. The legendary leaders of this wandering movement were Micho (also known as Gelo) and Mente, who are probably twin brothers, as the name Mente means 'twin'. According to one version, the aforementioned Dullo Bonoyya advised the *haadiiwo* migrants to hide cabbage and tobacco seeds, as well as barley and millet grains, in their hair, and to hide one ensete bulb in their armpit. This wise advice proved to be a real stroke of luck for the *haadiiwo*, as they were ambushed and plundered by the local population on their way through the Alatta region. Dullo Bonoyya's warning saved them from losing their food plants, whose seeds they were able to save from the raids. It is said that the Haadiichcho clans Hebalo and Chilla betrayed the migration movement to the people of Alatta. As a punishment, both clans – which only migrated to the Haadiichcho region afterwards and were re-integrated into the tribal union – were denied their own clan almende [commonly owned and used pasture], and all clansmen were denied their own private land. Since this raid, the *haadiiwo* and the *wolawo* of Alatta have been bitter enemies. When the Haadiichcho arrived at the border river, Digeessa, on their march, Micho was the first to cross over; he tore grass from the ground and took possession of the whole land. He then moved on to Qawaado and rested with his people at the sacred *gudumaale* square, which has been the common festival ground for all *haadiiwo* ever since. He sowed on it the

seeds of the useful plants that had been hidden in their hair; these, by miraculous coincidence, immediately sprouted and bore fruit. The square is now intersected by the road and the large podocarpus trees that once stood on it were cut down during the construction of the road settlement. Micho gave the order to clear the land, divided it among the individual clans and gave each clan a leader. Since he was the first to cross the river and take possession of the land, in ancient times only he and his successors, the leaders of the Afadda clan, were entitled to the title *mootichcha.* It was only later that this title, which is derived from the Afaan Oromo word *moti* (king), was also adopted as the title for the other clan leaders. It can be assumed that the legendary Micho and his successors once occupied a similar position as the *balabbat* and regional chiefs of the other Sidaama regions, who also trace their genealogies back to great mythical personalities of Micho's significance. At present, unlike the other regions, the Haadiichcho region does not have a central power; but the leaders of the Afadda clan, as descendants of the Micho, still hold a special position, and their privileges and ritual duties make it easy to see that in the past they possessed the power of a regional chief. They still exercise the supreme jurisdictional power today. They alone can perform the important rain ceremonies and open the *fichchee-cambalaalla* festival with a sacrifice. Important ritual functions are incumbent on the leader of the Afadda clan, which was called Itisso at the time of my presence, in the celebration of the great *luwa* festival. Near Qawaado in Wacho are the graves of Micho and his son Boshala, which are visited by poor tribesmen and barren women for intercession and which are spread with butter. The grave of Mente, the progenitor of the Caamure clan, is in Korotsha.

The clans

The *haadiiwo* are divided into nineteen main clans and sixteen sub-clans. The sub-clans are obviously stable groups that split off from the main clans in past times and later developed into independent clans with their own clan leaders, their own sacrificial places and their own clan alms. Some main clans are even assigned two sub-clans each. The main and sub-clans that belong together trace back to a common ancestor, and their members therefore cannot marry each other. Some ceremonies are performed by the main and sub-clans together, and the sacrifice is always made by the leader of the main clan in such cases.

Main clan	*Sub-clan*
Hanjo	Bunado, Hebalo
Gushulo	Betenno, Tilla
Mixo	Dongora
Chiro	Notiro, Woshano
Sada	

Baguda	
Dokko	Ritsho, Läge
Caamure	Gona
Nutaare	Dufitsho, Oatsa
Du'a	
Sudduwo	Tutsho
Afadda	
Kutale	
Alo	
Cirre	Hondoowa
Teellamo	Fido
Foqone	Hetetalo
Silimato	
Nuunnamo	

The strength of the individual clans (*garre*) seems to be very different. The clans were localized before the Amhara occupied the country and it was forbidden for foreigners to move into the often very extensive clan areas; today, however, there is freedom of movement. All clans, with the exception of the Hebalo and Tilla sub-clans, which were once denied land as punishment for their treachery, have an almende [commonly owned and used pasture] called the *dannawa*, which is open to all clan members for grazing and logging. The clan lands of the Baddaame-based clans, for example, were spread over both quarry steps, and even on the slopes below Abeerra there were still meadows belonging to the Hantsho and Bunado clans.

The marriage order states that the clans of heavenly origin (Du'a, Chiro, Notiro and Woshano) may not marry among themselves. Furthermore, marital bonds between related main and sub-clans are forbidden.

Each clan has a clan leader with the title *mootichcha*, whose rank and dignity is inherited by the eldest living brother or son. His duties are mainly religious; he is the sacrificial priest of his clans and, in particular, has to lead the two big clan sacrifice festivals.

The one festival, called *ayyaana*, in which all members of the clan, men and women alike, take part has been celebrated since the day death and illness came into the world. Participation in this festival, which was established in primeval times, has the effect of making sick festival guest's healthy, previously infertile women fertile, and the economic existence of poor people secure. The festival does not take place at regular intervals, but the date depends on the results of the examination of intestines and the observations of the *ayyaanto*. One year after the last festival, a shamanistic priest (*qaallichcha*) determines the year in which the next festival is to be celebrated with the help of the intestine oracle. When the year is approaching, the clan leader sends some old men to an *ayyaanto* to have

an *adula* or *dullatte day* set as the date. The festival can only take place during the rainy season. In the meantime, the clan members save the necessary funds to buy the sacrificial animals and obtain honey water called *bulbula.* The word *bulbula* comes from the Oromo language and is used to describe all kinds of mixtures. The sacrifice of four animals – a bull, a ram, a cow and a female sheep – is carried out by the *mootichcha* in the presence of all the clan members within his homestead. Today, the animals are placed so that their skulls face east. The informants stated that this position is in accordance with an Amhara custom, and that the skulls of the sacrificial animals used to point towards Qawaado, the sacred cult centre of the *haadiiwo*, according to ancient Haadiichcho custom. Grass is laid on the skull of the animal, and the clan leader slits the throat of the victim with a spear, dips a tuft of leaves into the blood gushing out of the wound and blasts it towards heaven, earth and all four directions. The men draw on their forehead with the blood of the male animals; the women draw with that of the female animals on the throat. A piece of flesh from each of the four sacrificial animals is strung onto a wooden skewer, briefly braised and ceremonially tasted by the clan leader. These pieces of meat are called *dhadhdhaama* and are intended for tasting. The members of the clan can only begin the feast after the pre-cooking ceremony, which lasts seven days. The men take home pieces of the sacrificial meat wrapped in ensete leaves for those women and children who stayed at home.

The other clan sacrifice is made once a year at the clan's holy sacrificial site. Each clan has a place of sacrifice for blood sacrifices called *gudumaale*, while sacred places where no slaughtering takes place are called *ireechchaa*. This time only the male members of the clan are present, and the *mootichcha* sacrifices a black ram for heaven, and an already circumcised clan member sacrifices a red sheep for earth. During the sacrificial act, butter and barley flour are thrown to the four directions, and the clan leader then sprays the blood to heaven and earth and again to the four directions. The tree standing on a *gudumaale* square, usually a podocarpus cedar, is spread with butter and sacrificial blood. The ceremonial tasting of this sacrifice is limited to the consumption of some pieces of meat from the hind legs and neck parts of the animals.

The clan fulfils a very essential function as the body responsible for the administration of justice. All offences and crimes are tried before a panel of judges made up of members of the clan of the accused. The supreme judge is a dignified old man who has reached the rank of *woma* in the age-group order. The members of the panel of judges must all have the rank of *woma* or *cimeessa*. They are therefore older, experienced men who are familiar with the affairs of the clan and have authority. Only legal cases which concern the whole tribal group or in which the clan judges are unable to reach an agreement are referred to the leader of the clan Afadda as the highest and final authority of the *haadiiwo*.

In the case of manslaughter, blood money must be paid by the offender. He hands over a pipe, tobacco and a red sheep slaughtered by a *cimeessa* to the college

of judges. The family members of the killed person are marked on the forehead with the blood of the sheep; women are marked on the throat. Men and women are also smeared with butter in the stomach area. Once this sacrifice has been carried out, the brother of the slain person may no longer take blood revenge. In another form of reconciliation ceremony, the killer and the victim's relatives line up on both banks of a river, sprinkle honey in the water and then spray each other to restore peace between the two parties.

The *luwa* system

The social constitution of the *haadiiwo* is determined by a rigid and systematized age-grading system found among most peoples of the Eastern Cushitic language group and commonly known as the *luwa* system. In its basic structure, the system of the *haadiiwo* is completely identical to that of other Sidaama regions, and only the great *luwa* festival of the *haadiiwo* has some special and original ritual.

The system has five classes, which follow each other at eight-year intervals in the order *fullaasa* (l), *wawaasa* (2), *daraara* (5), *moggisa* (4) and *hirboora* (5). In every eighth year, a new class is established as part of the great *luwa* festival. The class affiliation of a *haadiichcho* man is determined by that of his father. A son always enters the system thirty-two years after his father. If the father belongs to the class *fullaasa* (1), his son, regardless of his age, is introduced into the system thirty-two years later with the class *hirboora* (5); his son will receive the class title *moggisa* (4) after another thirty-two years. The class affiliation is kept for his whole life. All men who enter the system bear the name *luwa*, which also means 'class' and is used to denote the eight-year period between two *luwa* festivals. If a *haadiichcho* is asked about his *luwa*, he answers with his class name *moggisa* or *hirboora* and adds the proper name of his age-group leader (*luwaanna*), i.e. Damo Mogisha or Betosi Irbora, since some class names are usually represented twice by different generations.

Chronological order of the last eleven age-group leaders (*gadaana*) with indication of clan affiliation:

Alako Irbora	?
Burki Fullaasa	Chamure
Dolo Auasa	?
Rebi Darara	Betenno
Damo Mogisha	Cirre
Nare Irbora	Mixo
Hank Fullaasa	Sada
Sedi Auasa	Sada
Ualacha Darara	Baguda
Margi Mogisha	Tucho

Betosi Irbora	(started in August 1954 with the celebration of the *luwa* festival)

The great luwa festival

One of the most important events in the life of a *haadiichcho* is their participation in the great *luwa* festival, in which the extensive initiation ceremonies last for one year. The beginning of the festival is indicated by the first blossoms of the *xu'nayyichcho*, which – according to the informants – is said to blossom only every eight years. According to my calculations, the beginning of the festival must be around August, before the *fichchee-cambalaalla* festival.

All male tribesmen whose fathers were initiated thirty-two years ago, and whose turn it is now to enter the system and obtain the *luwa* degree, go to the so-called Shiisho Square, which in Qawaado is located next to the old *gudumaale* square and is surrounded in a circle by mighty podocarpus trees. In their hands they carry a branch of the *gowachcho* (*maesa lancemia*) tree, and around their shoulders they wear a short cape made of cowhide that reaches down to the hips. The pelerine is called *falcho* and is closed at the neck by two tails of fur. The lower edge of the fur pelerine, which was also worn on military campaigns, is lobed. In Shiisho Square, four wise elderly people are chosen from among the initiates; they are sent by the leader of the Afadda clan, who is also present, to three men who know the stars (*ayyaanto*) and a shamanistic priest (*qaallichcha*), in order to find out from them the names of the *gadaana*, the leader of the age group of the new class to be established, and his deputy, the *ja'laaba.* The questioning of the *ayyaanto* and the *qaallichcha* usually takes a long time, because the messengers have to visit the *ayyaanto* in the northern Sidaama regions, and because the information given by the three *ayyaanto* and the *qaallichcha* must be the same. The consultation continues until unanimity is reached. When the four men return to the Shiisho Square, which is laid out with ensete and *ejersa* leaves, they loudly announce the names of the new *gadaana* and the *ja'laaba*. Both must sit on a stool, the lower-ranking *ja'laaba* always to the left of the *gadaana*, and both are each given a drinking horn filled with honey water to hold. All present eagerly wait for the miraculous sign that will mark the choice as valid. When the honey water begins to boil in their hands, the *gadaana* and *ja'laaba* are considered elected and given the dignity marks, which consist of a leopard skin and an ivory arm ring for a *gadaana* and the fur of the serval cat for the *ja'laaba*. The *gadaana,* Damo Mogisha, told me that, before he was elected, he dreamt that his skin would take on the colour and mottle of a leopard skin. The choice must be confirmed by the sacrifice of a red-brown sheep by the leader of the Afadda clan, who draws on the foreheads of the *gadaana* and the *ja'laaba* with the sacrificial blood, while the other initiates independently dab their foreheads with the blood. The *gadaana* must reward the leader of the Afadda clan for his work. A messen-

ger is then sent by the newly elected *gadaana* to that of the previous class to ask them, on payment of a fee, for a tuft of grass with which to light a new sacred fire, which must burn for eight years from then on and may not go out until a new *gadaana* is elected. The sacred fire burns in the house of a man called Hanke, who is responsible for maintaining the fire and in whose family the office of fire guardian is hereditary.

Image 56: Initiation camp in Kawadu south of Tafari-Keella. Seclusion huts on Daranco Square

After the election of the officials, all age mates leave the Shiisho Square, throw away the *gowachcho* branches they brought with them and go into the forest to cut the so-called *lolloqa* sticks from the wood of the *qitilmancho* tree, which they always carry with them on their shoulders and which are thrown away after about a year, at the next *fichchee-cambalaalla* festival. The bark of the *lolloqa* sticks is peeled off in a ring shape in such a way that a strip of bark always remains between two peeled points. The cane is then held in the fire to blacken the peeled areas. Afterwards, the remaining bark rings are also removed, so that the cane gets a ring-shaped black and white pattern.

The initiates then move to Daramancho Square, where the first person to migrate from the Daawa River to the Haadiichcho region once spent his life, and stay there for a year. The name of square comes from the combination of the words Dara (name of the first man) and *mancho* (human being). The square is located at the northern exit of the village on the road to Tafari-Keella and is made up of several large podocarpus trees. For the *gadaana* and the *ja'laaba*, a hut is

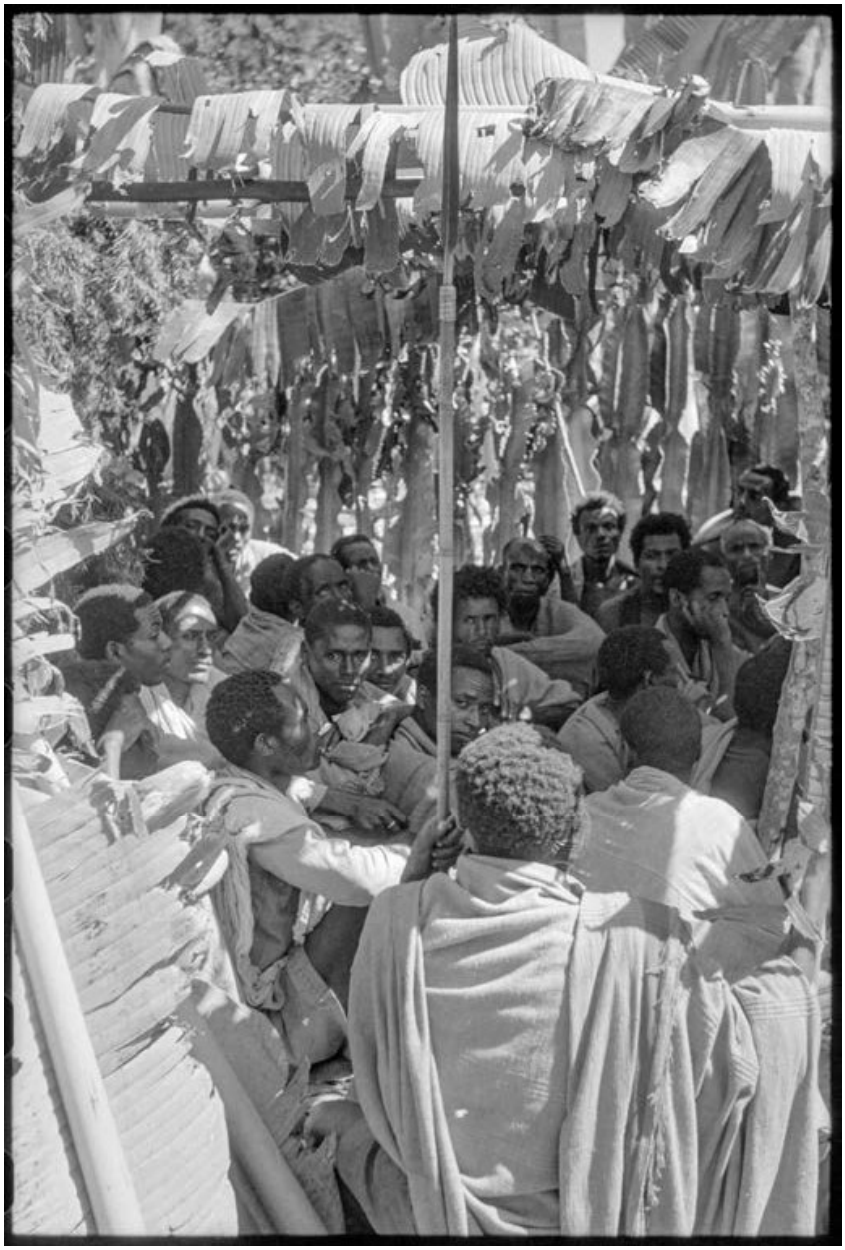

Image 57: Visitors in front of the hut of a circumcised man are served and sing to him

built in a plantation of ensete adjacent to the holy place, where both dignitaries live in strict seclusion and are looked after by four servants. They leave the hut only to make sacrifices. Since no one is allowed to see or speak to them, all conversations are mediated by the servants. The other initiates build themselves low, elongated huts, which in their appearance and construction cannot be compared to the usual stately round huts of the Sidaama. The initiates wear cotton capes, staring at dirt and black with blood and butter, for a year. They never wash themselves and constantly anoint their heads with butter while wearing their hair in the typical women's hairstyle, which is otherwise never seen on men. They are less strict in their initiation rules, but women are never allowed to enter Daramancho Square. The women are only allowed to see their men from a distance and must

leave any food they bring with them at the edge of the square. The initiates are not allowed to eat cabbage during their stay in Qawaado, otherwise the cattle will die and the cabbage no longer thrive.

The age mates gathered in Daramancho Square elect three so-called *murrichcha* from among their number, who act as a kind of steward and have to prevent riots. Among their duties, they must cut out the rings of fur from the skins of the sacrificial animals for their comrades and hand over to each of them, without quarrelling or fighting, the portion of the sacrificial meat to which they are entitled. Under the leadership of the *murrichcha,* the initiates roam the country and visit the members of the previous class, in front of whose huts they dance and sing. As a reward, each father of the family gives them cattle, food and money. The *murrichcha* have to take care that the collected gifts are not embezzled, but handed over to the *ja'laaba.* Only sheep may be slaughtered and eaten on the spot. During the stay on the Daramancho Square, the normal slaughtering is carried out by a classmate who has been designated as suitable for the killing function by the shamanistic priest on the basis of a divination from animal intestines.

The first major sacrifice, carried out by the *gadaana* with the assistance of the *ja'laaba* in the seclusion square, consists of three young bulls, the first of which must have a brown coat, the second a reddish coat and the third a black coat with a blaze on the forehead. The *gadaana* draws with the blood on his own forhead and that of the *ja'laaba*, while the other participants in the celebration do the blood stroking themselves. Rings are cut from the skins of the animals, and these are worn on the upper arm by the participants throughout their stay in Daramancho Square. If the *gadaana* falls ill during the seclusion period, a cow with a blaze on its forehead is presented, and the *gadaana* places his head on its skull in order to regain his health and have a secure and long life. The animal may not be slaughtered after this ceremony and will die a natural death.

At the end of the one-year seclusion period in Daramancho Square, all members of the age class smear their foreheads with red earth paint and, under the guidance of their *gadaana,* walk to a hill called Kotana, which lies about five hours west of Qawaado and on which once stood mighty trees (*cordia abyssinica*) that were later felled by the Amhara owner of the area. Tradition has it that a *gadaana* from Alatta was once slain on this hill by the *haadiiwo*. At the time of this killing, the *haadiiwo* did not yet know the office and dignity of a *gadaana* and they decided to choose a *gadaana* for the Haadiichcho region. This tradition is perhaps an indication that the Haadiichcho adopted the *luwa* only secondarily from their northern Sidaama neighbours. On Kotana Hill, the initiates meet with members of the previous class, who are considered the 'fathers' of the new age class living in Daramancho Square. The *luwa* initiated eight years ago bring a lot of mirabelle-sized, poisonous yellow fruits from the *umboi* shrub (a solanum species), which they address as 'cows' and heap up into a large pile. The yellow fruit of the *umboi* shrub, which is found particularly in pastures and in the light

bush up to an altitude of about 2,300 m, is considered by many southern Ethiopian peoples to be an animal-like creature and is often used as a substitute for an animal in sacrificial ceremonies. A miniature cattle kraal is erected for the fruits, and both parties face each other armed with shields and spears ready for battle. They insult and threaten each other and perform a combat pantomime. The object of dispute is the yellow *umboi* fruit, which the old class calls 'our cows' and which the new class tries to take by force. After endless toing and froing, the new class finally succeeds in taking the fruit from the previous class and they return to Daramancho Square in a triumphal procession. Every initiate has to hold an *umboi* fruit in his hand on his return. This ceremony has the character of a substitute action and has obviously taken the place of a former raid, in which the new *luwa* class had to chase away the cattle herds of the old.

After the men return to the initiation site, another sacrifice is made, during which the *ja'laaba* dabs the *gadaana* on the forehead with sacrificial blood, while the rest of the festival participants throw themselves on the carcass like savages, treading around in the sacrificial blood, drawing with it on the forehead and trying to tear a rag out of the animal's fur, which they then place in a ring around the upper arm. Those who only catch a small strip of fur wrap it around their finger. The *murrichcha* do not take action during this sacrificial ceremony, so all order breaks down. Before the occupation of southern Ethiopia by the Amhara, the one-year initiation period ended in a great war. Today, however, the initiates leave Daramancho Square after the last sacrifice and escort the *gadaana*, decorated with leopard skin and ivory arm rings and armed with shield and spear, to his home district. They also carry weapons and hang the fur capes around their shoulders. They surround the *gadaana* like a wall and try to keep him out of the eyes of curious people by holding up their shields. When the *gadaana* is returned, he is dressed anew, and a new wife is sought. His age mates build a new hut for him and plant a young ensete. All the work is henceforth carried out for him by members of his age group, while he himself only has to mediate in disputes within the class and maintain peace and order. He is a highly honoured person, no one is allowed to sit opposite him, the women fall on their knees with averted faces at his sight or kiss the floor three times when entering his hut.

During my time in the Haadiichcho region in the months of January and February 1955, the *hirboora* class of the *gadaana* Betosi were in seclusion on the Daramancho Square. During a visit to Qawaado, to my great surprise, I found out that there were only about ten age mates in Daramancho Square, although according to all the natives questioned, the number of initiates in the *hirboora* class was about 400 men. Already before that, I had often met initiates – immediately recognisable by their female hairstyle – on my hikes. It turned out that the choice of the *gadaana* Betosi had not been a fair one, and that the *gadaana* therefore had not the slightest authority and had to watch powerlessly as his age mates gradually left Daramancho Square and returned to their families. The *gadaana* was accused

of having bribed the astrological men and the shamanistic priest, and his election was therefore null and void from a religious point of view. The *gadaana* of the previous class, Margi Mogisha, could not forgive his young colleague for the alleged problems with the election and stubbornly refused to hand over the tuft of grass needed to light the sacred fire. His refusal blocked the course of the ceremonial acts. The *gadaana* did not have his dignity marks, nor had he offered the prescribed cattle sacrifices, and it was not clear at the time how this crisis would be overcome.

Finally, there is an exception, created especially for large families, which stipulates that in families with several sons, only one of the brothers must undergo the entire one-year initiation cycle; the others are available to the parents as workers and only have to participate in the last days of the ceremonies. On the other hand, if a family has only one son, this provision cannot come into force, and the son must spend his initiation period in Daramancho Square. However, since the customs have already become much more relaxed, and it is possible for the initiates to leave the seclusion several times during the initiation year and return to work for a longer period of time, the economic hardship caused by the one-year absence of the men has been noticeably alleviated for the families concerned. If the initiate is still an infant, which is not uncommon, the mother must spend the first year with the child in Daramancho Square and can be present at all ceremonies as a woman.

The circumcision

A very essential part of the *luwa* order is circumcision, which is usually performed twenty-seven years after entering the system, i.e., five years before the class of sons is initiated in Daramancho Square and enters the system. The father must already be circumcised by the time the son makes his way to Shiisho Square for the election of the age-group leader. Since the circumcision ceremonies require great financial expenditure, and the circumcised person is not available as a worker during the healing period of several weeks, poorer families try to postpone the circumcision as long as possible and circumcise only shortly before the sons leave for Qawaado. Although it is considered embarrassing to let the fixed date pass, I experienced the irregular circumcision of men of the class *hanke fullaasa* at a time when their sons had already spent several months on the seclusion place as members of the class *betosi hirboora*. The *gadaana* is always the last of his class to be circumcised and receives a fee of three Maria Theresa thalers from each circumcised class member. If a boy is born after the initiation year of his class, he is still circumcised with his classmates. The completion of the initiation year in Daramancho Square is therefore not a precondition for circumcision. Whoever evades circumcision has to reckon with insult and disgrace, because no circumcised person will speak with a *katela* (the name for a man who has avoided circumcision), and all women will spurn him as a man.

With circumcision, the *luwa* attains the degree of *cimeessa* (old man), with which the permission and ability to kill animals is connected. Not only blood sacrifices but also all profane slaughtering can basically only be carried out by the circumcised. In ancient times, non-ritual slaughtering for the purpose of obtaining meat were the exception, because even today the *haadiiwo* show a conspicuous shyness towards profane slaughtering and almost always have it carried out by Amhara or foreigners. The *cimeessa* are always entitled to the kidneys and thighs of the animals, which can only be eaten by them. Political leadership lies in the hands of the *cimeessa*; they direct the fate of the tribe and represent the interests of the general public. Every *cimeessa* must lead an exemplary and morally impeccable life. After circumcision, they must cease free sexual intercourse and give up the unrestrained and unbridled life of their *luwa* period. They have the privilege of wearing a large cotton cape and the wide, black, white and red patterned cotton trousers (*gomfa*) reaching below the knees. The degree higher than *cimeessa* is that of *woma*, into which one moves up after another thirty-two years, when one's own son is circumcised. The few holders of this degree are highly respected people, who act as presiding judges and are heard first in the council of old men. The highest attainable degree is that of an *aduma*, which requires that a man must experience the circumcision of his grandson. Since an *aduma* must be 65 years old at the youngest – possible only if a man was circumcised as a one-year-old infant – holders of this rank are among the rarest.

The date of circumcision is set by three *ayyaanto* who are adept in the art of circumcision. The members of a clan are always circumcised together. The operation is carried out by a professional circumciser, whose art is usually inherited by his sons and who may never be a member of the Sidaama people, but is usually a Guji-Oromo or a Wolaitta. In the Haadiichcho region at the time of my presence, only one circumciser was still alive. Circumcision takes place under a protective roof in the candidate's ensete plantation. The candidate sits with spread legs on a small stool and is held by his circumcision godfather while the circumciser, wrapped in a wide cotton cape and with greasy hair, squats in front of him. The foreskin is tied in two places by the son of the circumciser and then cut between the tying places. The candidate may not watch the operation. The cut foreskin and the blood coming out of the wound, which must not drip to the ground under any circumstances, are kept in a hollowed out ensete leaf stalk and placed under the circumcised person's resting bed. After a few days, when the foreskin has dried out, the leaf stalk is buried. The wound must never come into contact with water and is only cleaned with ensete juice. The circumcised person spends his healing time in a round hut built inside the homestead from grass, twigs and ensete leaves. This seclusion hut is divided by a bamboo wall into two rooms, each with an exit. One room is used to receive guests and perform sacrifices; the other is reserved for the circumcised person alone and may not be entered by anyone except the circumcision godfather. During the period of seclusion, the circumcised person

may not wash himself, nor cut his fingernails or hair, which is rubbed with butter day after day. During the healing time, he can only talk to his visitors, who take a seat in the other part of the hut, through the partition wall; and only the circumcision godfather, the most important person besides the circumcised man, can see him. The godfather who helps the circumcised person is called *jaala* (friend) and is selected according to the following criteria: he must be younger than the circumcised person; he must not have done too much with women in his previous life; and one must be convinced that he will be sexually abstinent during his godfathership, otherwise he would endanger the life of the circumcised person.

After the operation, the circumcised person's friends, acquaintances and relatives celebrate at the first big party in front of the circumcision hut. A *cimeessa*, assisted by the *djula,* kills a ram with reddish-brown fur inside the hut, but the meat is not allowed to be eaten by the circumcised person. He is only given a piece of fur, called *indjidja*, for tying around his right ankle. The circumcised must drink the fresh blood of all the slaughtered animals mixed with salt and butter before it thickens. The guests and visitors bring the circumcised person festive gifts called *gumaata* (gifts), but it is expected that the circumcised person compensates these gifts with counter gifts of equal value when the donor or one of his relatives is circumcised. The fact that these are only exchange or loan gifts, the return of which constitutes an obligation, is clear from the rapporteurs' answers to my question about what would happen if the circumcised person refused to return them: "Then we drag him to the police station and charge him with theft!"

While he lives in the circumcision hut, members of his family go hunting for a bird called *wolliimma* (*turacus donaldsoni*, see Simoni 1939:54), whose blue and red tail feathers are carried for a year by successful big game hunters and freshly circumcised people. The *jaala* puts one of these feathers above each ear in the ensete bast bandage on the circumcised person's head to prevent the liquid butter smeared in his hair from running into his face. The *jaala* must ensure that dirty and damaged feathers are replaced immediately. The unused feathers of the bird are hidden in a bamboo cane, which is then buried in a damp place, on the riverbank or in a strip of swamp. Another bamboo stick serves as a support for the circumcised. After the wound has healed, the circumcised person is led to a stream before sunrise, where he throws the bamboo stick. He is washed and his hair and fingernails are cut. During the washing, the *jaala* wears the two feathers of the circumcised person for a short time in the hair at the back of his head. A feast concludes the time of circumcision. The relatives again appear with gifts and are generously entertained. Gifts of money are placed in the pots in which the food is offered to the relatives. Only the *jaala* is authorized to give this money to the circumcised person. The bond between the circumcised person and the godfather is for life, and the *jaala* is entitled to one rib side from each animal that the circumcised person slaughters throughout his life.

War and killing

Before the occupation of the country by the Amhara, the borderline of the Haadi-ichcho region was divided into five sections, each called 'gate'. Each section was under the command of a hereditary war leader responsible for the defence of its border who bore the title *gadaana*, the emphasis of which is on the second syllable and which should not be confused with the official title of the age-group leader, which is emphasized on the first syllable. The names of the last five war leaders of the *haadiiwo*, who all fell in battle to the invading troops of the *dejjazmach* Lulsegged, are Dubbe Maandoyye, Hempate Maleko, Damara Duki, Debo Maleko and Chore Ja'laba.

The traditional enemies of the *haadiiwo* were the neighbouring Guji and Gedeo and the inhabitants of Alatta, the Sidaama region north of the Haadiichcho region. Before they set out to fight, each *gadaana* slaughtered a billy goat on his large shield of hippopotamus hide. The blood of the billy goat was drawn on the forehead, and narrow stripes were cut out of its fur, which each warrior put around his right wrist as a ring. This sacrifice was the only one in which a goat was used as a sacrificial animal. The *gadaana* then inspected the viscera. If there were no auspicious signs, a ram with reddish-brown fur was sacrificed, in order to be able to deduce from its entrails the success or failure of the campaign. If the results of the inspection were again negative, they abandoned their plan and returned to their families.

On war campaigns, the warriors wore the cotton trousers called *gomfa* with black, white and red stripes, the *falcho* fur belt; they carried a shield and spear and the short slasher with a broad blade bent at a right angle at the tip. On the shield arm, they wore their marching rations, wrapped in ensete leaves.

The custom of emasculating killed enemies, which is missing only among the *Altvölker* but is otherwise widespread throughout Ethiopia, is also practised by the *haadiiwo*. Young warriors who have killed their first enemy cannot carry out the mutilation on their own but must accept the help of a trained older warrior. The victorious warrior attaches the genitals cut off from the enemy to his lance or shield, takes the clothes of the killed and returns triumphantly and singing loudly. His song reads roughly as follows: "The colour of my cows' fur is like that of the leopard. I myself am a leopard. I kill my enemies like a leopard. I cut off their genitals and bring them to my wife, who will put butter on my head!" The returning warrior will be greeted with rejoicing, his wife will anoint his head with butter, and a bull will be slaughtered at a great feast, with whose blood the killer and his friends will smear their foreheads.

The successful warrior has the right to wear a leopard skin and the feathers of the hornbill (*bucorvus abyssinicus*), the *wolliimma* bird (*turacus donaldsoni*) and a water bird called *shaallo* (pelican) in his hair during festivities. The trophies brought home are kept for five to six years in the killer's hut and then thrown

away. Even the killing of big game brings fame and honour to the successful hunter, who is picked up in the forest or bush by his friends and relatives and led home. Besides the feathers and the leopard skin, hunters of a lion or leopard wear a small brass ring in the left earlobe, while elephant hunters put rings through both ears and cut an ivory arm ring out of the captured teeth. The high esteem in which manslayers and big game hunters are held is also expressed in the special marking of their graves, which is intended to immortalize the fame of the slayer or hunter and make it visible to every tribe member.

Neighbourhood assistance

In each district, the men are organized into aid groups called *seera* or *ollaa*, the number and strength of which depend on the number of inhabitants in the district. The average number of members is thirty, but there are also stronger communities, which are usually divided into sub-groups. At the head of each *seera* is a young and always uncircumcised man who holds the office of *murrichcha* and is elected by the *çimesa* of the community. When it is time for his circumcision, he must resign, as circumcised persons are generally excluded from this office. The reason given for this inversion of the given ranks was that a young uncircumcised man is faster and more agile than a worthy *cimeessa*, and is better able to cope with the physical demands placed on him. The aid groups of the *haadiiwo* are not as strictly locally bound as those of other peoples. The only decisive factor is that one must belong to one of the many aid communities existing in the Haadiichcho area, since non-organized persons [i.e. those who are not members of a *seera*] cannot be buried; the informants put them on the same level as robbers and criminals. The two most important tasks of the *seera* are mutual assistance in building houses and the preparation and organization of funeral ceremonies for deceased community members. When building a house, the members not only provide help with the work but also bring the building materials with them. When a member of a *seera* dies, the others carry the corpse to the burial place, dig the grave, erect the deciduous hut for the mourners, cut down and put up the death tree, and contribute firewood and food to the hospitality of the many mourners. Without the support of the *seera* members, it would be impossible to hold a festival for the dead. When a member of a *seera* is circumcised, his comrades build him the seclusion hut and donate a cow to the *cimeessa* present. The community work in the fields of the *seera* members. This is one of the essential tasks of the working communities among the majority of the southern Ethiopian peoples but is strangely relegated to the background in the Haadiichcho region: only sick members are given assistance with field work.

Other ceremonies and celebrations

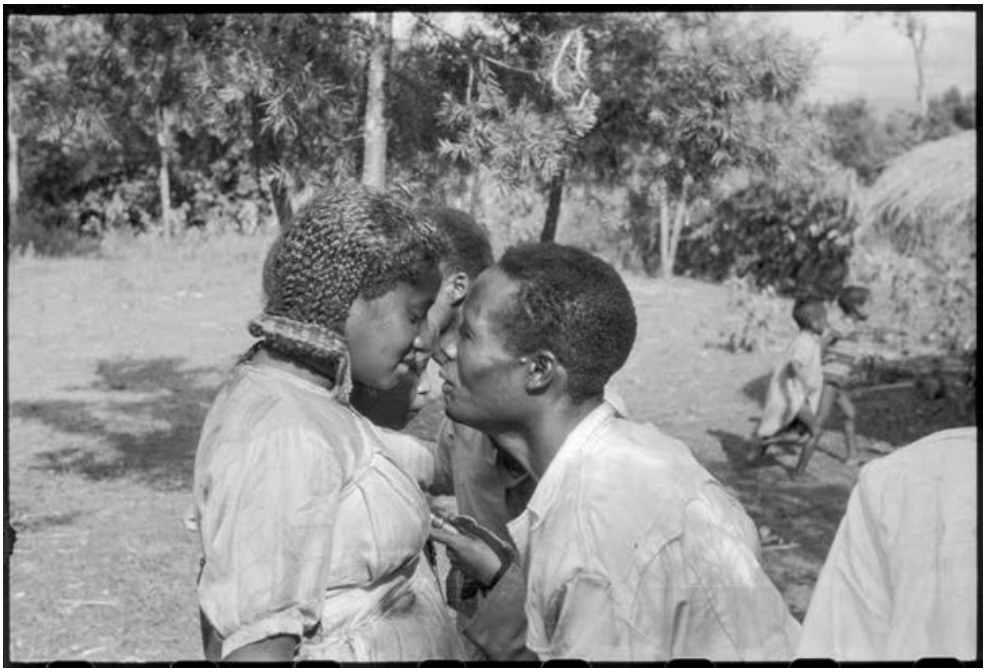

Image 58 und 59: Typical dance of the youth, where girls and boys face each other in two rows

One of the most important festivals of the *haadiiwo* before the occupation of the country by the Amhara was the *fichchee-cambalaalla* festival, which was celebrated in the first half of September at the time of the new moon and which has now been completely superseded by the Amhara *masqala* (Feast of the Cross) festival, which is held on 14 September. According to tradition, the legendary Micho had once made his travelling companion Mente the lord of the *fichchee-*

cambalaalla festival. After his death, a man named Gada from the Chamure clan was commissioned by the people to prepare the annual festival and ensure that it was held. Since Mente was the founder and first leader of the clan Chamure, it is to be assumed that Gada was his successor in the clan-leader office, since all other functionaries of the *fichchee-cambalaalla* festival also hold the rank of a clan leader.

The festival always began on the first day of the market week in Qawaado and was opened in *gudumaale* square by Gada, and later by his eldest son, standing in the market square, holding up a staff with a black sheepskin attached to it and asking the people to donate a ram and a sheep of reddish-brown fur with a blaze on its forehead as sacrificial animals. They were then slaughtered in the usual manner by the leader of the Afadda clan under a podocarpus tree in the old common fairground of the entire Haadiichcho region. The skulls of the animals were decorated with grass, then they were thrown onto their left side and killed with a spear. While the leader of the Afadda clan and all *woma* present drew blood on each other's foreheads, all other participants of the festival dabbed their foreheads or throat with the sacrificial blood. Afterwards the leader of the Afadda clan sprinkled the gathered tribesmen with a tuft of leaves dipped in the blood, and after the end of the pre-tasting ceremony, the sacrificial meat was brought to his hut. The people then celebrated with dancing and singing in *gudumaale* square until dusk fell.

On the following three days of the market week, the festival is held one after the other in the market and *gudumaale* squares in Abeerra (Qawaalanka), Deela and Tafari-Keella (Dikko). The sacrificial ceremony is performed at each *gudumaale* square by the clan leader with jurisdiction over the sacred square. In contrast to the first sacrifice in Qawaado, only one sheep is slaughtered, and the meat is eaten together by the participants. On the first day of the new market week, the fifth feast day, each father of the family gathers his family around him, lifts a pot filled with ensete flour, throws small flour gifts in all four directions, to the sky and on the earth and then asks the sky god *Magano* for his blessing. The members of the family consume the contents of the pot and then return to Qawaado to begin the festive cycle again, but without sacrificial ceremonies. The festival ends on the eighth day with an invocation of God and the *cimeessa* present blessing the gathered people.

Another important ceremony, in which all members of the *haadiiwo* people take part, is performed by the Afadda clan leader during a long period of drought to implore *Magano* for rain. As sacrificial animals, a black bull and a black cow with a blaze on its forehead, as well as three rams with fur coloured black, brown and reddish-brown are slaughtered at the *gudumaale* square of the Afadda clan according to the usual sacrificial ritual. The participants colour their foreheads with the blood and smear it mixed with butter on the holy podocarpus cedar standing on the square. According to other sources, this rain sacrifice takes place along a

river, and the sacrificial blood is poured into the flowing water. The meat of the animals is ritually pre-cooked by the leader of the Afadda clan and then consumed by all participants. The skin and bones are burned, and when the smoke rises to the sky under the invocations of the leader of the Afadda clan, the first raindrops begin to fall.

In addition to these large tribal sacrifices, which also include the clan sacrifices, there are a number of small sacrificial ceremonies, all of which are held within the family and performed by the head of the family in the forecourt of the hut. If the head of the family dies, the ability to kill is passed on to the eldest brother of the deceased, who must of course be circumcised as a precondition. For example, the shamanic priest often recommends that people seeking advice should offer a sheep sacrifice. Since the petitioners often live in poor circumstances and have no sheep at their disposal, they can cut through the yellow fruits of the *umboi* bush and drip the juice onto their foreheads in place of the sacrificial blood as a fully valid substitute act. The sheep sacrifice can then be made at a later date. The shamanistic priests, who are immediately recognizable by their long hair, are held in high esteem by the *haadiiwo*. Several times during the night, I heard the singing of men and women who marched in small processions in the light of torches to a shamanistic priest. They carried bundles of wood, ensete flour and milk as gifts. Unfortunately, it was impossible to get in contact with one of these priests. The informants could not give any valid information either, and so I only learned, as a big secret, that a particularly powerful and important priest, in whose possession is a holy python fed only with butter, is said to live in the Yanaase region.

From the multitude of family sacrifices, I pick out a ceremony that deals with a very important concern of the people, namely the blessing of children, and is therefore often performed. If a woman has waited two years in vain for pregnancy, the husband's father slaughters a black sheep in the front yard of the hut, to the right of the hut entrance. He cuts its throat with a knife while the husband holds the animal. The blood is smeared on the forehead of the man and on the body of the woman. The husband's father performs a divination with the viscera, the outcome of which determines whether the sacrifice must be repeated. The slaughter continues until the signs of child blessing appear in the entrails of the animal. When the oracle's prophecy has come true and a child has been born, a bull is slaughtered at the grave of the child's great-grandfather. The blood, mixed with honey, is poured into a drinking horn, and a piece of each part of the animal's body is roasted and wrapped in the net fat [the thin membrane surrounding the animal's internal organs]. The drinking horn and the netting fat are then placed on the burial mound, and the rest of the meat is eaten by the family. The intestines of the sacrificial animals are never eaten.

The *haadiiwo* live in constant fear of the many magical people who are a constant threat to them. The so-called *gojaamo* magicians are considered to be particularly powerful and sinister. Simoni also reports that they are far more dan-

gerous than people with the 'evil eye' (Amh.: *buda*; Sidaama: *budakko*) feared throughout Ethiopia, and that even the gods are powerless against them (Simoni 1959:77f).

Even the shamanistic *qaallichcha* priest must be wary of *gojaamo* sorcerers, and ordinary *haadiiwo* men are defencelessly against their doom-filled magic practices. Only women who fall ill as a result of a spell can be helped by a sacrifice. The husband turns to a *qaallichcha*, who indicates the type of animal to be sacrificed; the animal is then slaughtered in the hut in front of the sick woman's eyes, and her body is completely rubbed with the sacrificial blood. Although this sacrifice brings about the recovery of the woman, she remains infertile for the rest of her life.

Gojaamo wizards usually remain unknown for a long time until one day, before performing an evil spell, they fall down and writhe on the floor in epileptic convulsions, revealing their true nature. The *haadiiwo* then try to destroy the *gojaamo* by a counter spell; they dig a hole between two watercourses at dusk and the next morning, before they have spit out and excreted for the first time, they throw a handful of salt into the hole with the words "*gojaamo* die". Men and women try to protect themselves against the evil spell by wearing iron or copper rings or by knotting pieces of iron into the ends of their cotton wrappers. Small pieces of iron also play a role in the magic practices of the *gojaamo*. They have a special liking for killing lizards, frogs and other reptiles, and hide these animal carcasses with pieces of iron in people's homes or bury them in the fields, the owners of which will die as a result of the spell, while their family members become seriously ill.

The name *gojaamo* is derived from the northern Ethiopian provincial name Gojjam and belongs to the relics of an early Amhara–north Ethiopian colonization epoch, which is still alive in the consciousness of the Sidaama. In the fifteenth century, the kingdom of Bale, which at that time was probably politically controlled by parts of the Sidaama people, was part of the Ethiopian Empire as an Amhara protectorate with an Amhara governor at its head (Cerulli 1938:27). The inhabitants of the province of Gojjam are still considered particularly effective and dangerous magicians, who can transform themselves into hyenas and other were-animals. Among the Dorze in the highlands of Gamu on the western side of the Great Lakes, the descendants of Gojjamite immigrants, who according to tradition advanced south from northern Ethiopia before the Gragn Wars, are also greatly feared as powerful and evil sorcerers.

Curriculum vitae

Birth and kinship terms

Birth takes place in the hut in the presence of an old, experienced woman who acts as midwife. On the day of the birth, the husband goes into the woods and cuts the wood from a shrub called *boolima*, with which the woman who has recently given birth has to smoke herself for three days before she is allowed to have intercourse with her husband again. The naming takes place on the fourth day for a boy and on the third day for a girl. All the men in the neighbourhood are present for boys, and all the women in the neighbourhood are present for girls. When I asked why a girl receives her name on the third day and a boy on the fourth, a very open-minded informant, who usually lamented the decline of the old customs, gave me a somewhat astonishing answer. He pointed out that although four coffee beans could be divided into two equal halves, this equal division was not possible with three beans, and women were therefore inferior creatures.

After the naming, the man slaughters a sheep – or a bull if the family is wealthy – at the camp of the woman who has recently given birth; the animal's blood is splashed around the hut and used to mark the child on the forehead. The woman who has recently given birth is given the rest mixed with milk to drink. The coat is used to make a sleeping mat for the couple, on which the woman can sit during the next birth. The skins resulting from further births are worn by the mother as clothing. The women breastfeed the children until they are 4 years old. When the first incisors appear in the upper jaw of an infant, the father immediately sacrifices a ram and dabs the blood on his own forehead and that of the child, as it is believed that the irregular breaking of the first teeth in the upper jaw is a sign of bad luck.

Boys and girls used to run around completely naked and did not get a small shoulder skin called *lande* until they were 4 years old. When the girls' breasts begin to develop, they wear the women's leather skirt (*tubba*), which reaches down to the ankles, and a leather cape (*gorfa*), the edges of which are bordered with leather fringes. When the girls go dancing for the first time, they wear a necklace (*doka*), given to them by their parents, consisting of a long leather band that often reaches to the navel and on which small brass rings and blue pearls are strung. Under the leather cloak, the women often wear a cotton shirt with black, white

and red stripes. The larger boys wrap a loincloth (*hafare*) around their hips and cover their upper body with a small cotton cape (*darbatta*). The young men, on the other hand, wear a large cotton cloak, which does not reach the dimensions of the circumcised men's cloth cloaks, and cotton trousers (*gomfa*), whose legs they do not wear but put around their hips like a loincloth, so that two broad tails of fabric fall down at the front and back, covering the buttocks and genitals. The *gomfa* trousers may only be worn as trousers by a *cimeessa.*

Kinship terms[66]

Father	*anna*
Father-Brother	*wosiila*
Father-Brother (older than the father)	*addee*
Father-brother-son (term only applies to older cousins)	*awuuto*
Father-sister (paternal aunt)	*adaada*
Father-sister-son (term only applies to older cousins)	*addee*
Father-sister-daughter (term only applies to older base)	*baba*
Grandfather (paternal and maternal side)	*ahaaho*
Mother	*ama*
Stepmother (younger than the stepchild)	*holgite*
Mother-Brother	*awuyya*
Mother-brother-son (term only applies to older cousins)	*addee*
Mother-brother-daughter (term only applies to older base)	*baba*
Maternity nurse	*lalo*
Mother-sister-son (term only applies to older cousins)	*addee*
Mother-daughter (term only applies to older base)	*baba*
Grandmother (paternal and maternal side)	*ahaahe*

Marriage

Marriage negotiations are conducted by both parents according to economic and social considerations. The young people are not asked about their wishes and have no influence in shaping their future lives. Once the parents have reached an agreement and the groom's father has handed over the bride price, which today consists of money, the groom's father asks a man with knowledge in astrology for a

[66] For a list of Sidaama kinship terms according to today's standardized form, see Sidaama list of kinship terms in the appendix.

favourable date for the wedding, which of course can only be celebrated on an *adula* or *dullatte day*. The groom goes with his friends to the bride's parents' homestead, where he is festively entertained by them. While he dines with his friends, the bride sits alone in a separate room, and her father anoints her head with butter. The only dowry she receives is a leather skirt and a leather cape. When the meal is over, she leaves the room and sits down on her sleeping place to the left of the groom, whose hair is now also smeared with butter and who is warmly asked by his parents-in-law to treat his wife decently in future. Then the groom leads his wife to his farmstead. Accompanying the couple are the groom's friends, an elderly woman and a young girl, who spend the first night with the young couple and have to make sure that the groom does not visit his wife. The following day the bride is circumcised by a circumciser and, if it is discovered that the bride is still untouched, the groom gives the older woman and the young girl a sheep, in addition to a gift of money, with which they return to the parents-in-law's farm to proclaim the good news of the daughter's virginity. After circumcision, the bride spends a month or two in a room separated by a curtain, which only the groom's mother and sister are allowed to enter. Visitors can talk to the bride but are not allowed to see her. The groom can only see her after the wound has healed. Seclusion lasts for one to two months, but the period depends largely on the man's economic circumstances.

In some cases, on the advice of the *qaallichcha,* the groom's father slaughters a sheep at the door of the hut, with whose blood the groom's forehead and the bride's throat are marked. The couple walk over the animal carcass and only then enter the hut, which is sprayed with sacrificial blood.

In ancient times there was a strange custom called *addawaana* which allowed girls to force a man of their choice to marry them. A girl in love cut a stick called a *siqqo* out of the wood of the *aroreessa* bush and threw it over the fence hedge into the man's farm; he could then no longer avoid marriage. The *haadiiwo*, who often became a husband against his will, then had to have her circumcised and send two *cimeessa* with the usual bride price to the girl's parents.

Between the husband on the one hand and his mother-in-law and the older sisters of his wife on the other hand, there is a strictly observed principle of avoidance. If the husband is visiting his parents-in-law, he must enter the hut through the door at the back while the mother-in-law and the older sisters of his wife stay in a separate room at the front of the hut. If the hut has only one entrance, which is the case in the majority of cases, the mother-in-law and the elder sisters cannot leave the room while the son-in-law is present. The informants thought that only stupid people who could not think ahead would fail to provide the hut with two exits. In the event of accidental encounters in the markets or on the paths, the person that sees the other one first must run away immediately. It is worth noting that the principle of avoidance also applies to the woman's older sisters. The special importance which is apparently always accorded to the older relatives of one's

own generation is also expressed in the terms of kinship. A further avoidance rule also exists between the young woman and her father-in-law. Since the son often lives in a hut with his parents after marriage, a partition must be put up to prevent father-in-law and daughter-in-law from meeting in the first six months after the marriage. After half a year, the rule of avoiding in-laws can be lifted by a special ceremony, in which the woman's mother and the man's father spray milk over the young couple with their mouths.

Death and burial

The *haadiiwo* know three mythical tales in which the origin of death is told. One of these tales belongs to a type of myth which is particularly widespread in South and East Africa and which was given the keyword "the failed message of immortality" by Baumann (1936:268). In the centre is the snake that was once sent to earth by the sky god Mangano to tell people that they were immortal. But the snake lied to the people and told them that God had said that only the snakes would have eternal life and that the people would have to die. God did not correct the false impression of his concept of order, but he cut off the legs of the serpent as punishment for its mendacity, so that it has had to crawl on its belly since that time. According to another version, at a time when the sky was still close above his wife, the earth (Baatto), God wandered unrecognized through the lands and met two women who were going to fetch water at a stream. He asked one, the mother of the human race, for a cool drink, but she cut him off. Thereupon, he turned with the same request to the other woman, who was the ancestral mother of snakes and who immediately fulfilled his wish. The human ancestral mother's refusal had to be paid for with mortality, while the snakes became immortal at God's behest. Simoni adds to this myth of the origin of death by stating that, according to the natives, the snakes will multiply to such an extent that one day they will break the earth's crust and destroy the guilty human race (Simoni 1939:64-66).

In a third story it is told that, in ancient times, God took people whose lives were over and buried them in heaven. One day, when he wanted to ask the husband of a young married woman to follow him to heaven, he was begged by the wife to come back later and let her husband stay with her for a while. God consented and returned after some days. In the meantime, the wife had slaughtered a sheep which she wanted to offer God as a replacement for her husband. When God saw the sheepskin stretched out to dry in front of the hut, he saw the woman's intention, became angry about this attempt to influence him and killed the man. The people buried him on the earth, and since then all people in this world are buried.

The natives believe that, when a person dies, the soul escapes from the body through the mouth and goes to heaven, where the deceased lead a completely worldly life, as on earth, in their huts surrounded by plantations. A different fate

befalls 'evil' people, whose souls are held in layers in the fire and dipped in ice-cold water. This idea goes back to Muslim influences.

While the *haadiiwo* are often buried within the fencing of the few Christian churches today, the graves used to be basically laid out on the land of the dead near the homestead. The rectangular grave, oriented east–west, has a side niche, the size of which depends on the rank of the deceased. A conical mound of earth is piled up above the grave, the height of which also corresponds to the rank of the deceased. If the deceased is a *cimeessa*, *woma* or *aduma*, a *madaada* is erected, which consists of dense bamboo netting surrounding the mound in a ring shape. Above the approximately 1.2-metre-high woven bamboo ring, untwisted 3-metre-long bamboo sticks rise up. A low bamboo fence runs around the mound and the bamboo netting at intervals of about 4 m, with a gate on both the east and west sides. The grave gates of the *madaada* are called *frucho* (threshold wood). Behind the fence is a small ditch which ends at the gate boards of both entrances. Fence, ditch and bamboo netting form the actual *madaada*, and are only accorded to a deceased *cimeessa*, *woma* or *aduma.* The wives of these three ranks can claim the bamboo netting surrounding the mound at death, but not the fence and trench. The graves of the uncircumcised, women and the children are either surrounded by a 2-metre-high fence consisting of split podocarpus branches or enclosed by a hedge of euphorbia.

The bodies of the deceased are laid out in the hut for five (*woma*), three (*cimeessa*) or one to three days, depending on their rank. The nostrils, the oral cavity and the ears are smeared with butter; the thumbs of the palms of the hands and the big toes of the outstretched legs are tied together; and the corpse is wrapped in several cotton cloths. The friends and relatives, who have rushed to the scene and find shelter in an elongated deciduous hut for the duration of the festival, carry the dead to the grave to the sound of drums. The women stay away from the funeral procession and join in the lamentation. They pull each other's hair, scratch their faces bloody and make wounds on their foreheads with a hair knife. After the eldest son of the deceased has symbolically picked up some earth, the grave is dug by the members of the neighbourhood community (*seera*) to which the deceased belonged. The body is then placed in the niche, padded with podocarpus twigs, so that the feet face the west gate and the head faces the east gate. Men lie on their left side, women on their right. Before the grave is filled in, the eldest son throws three handfuls of earth on the body.

For wealthy families, the mourning congregation is divided into two groups: one carries the deceased to the burial ground and buries them; the other begins preparations for the first funeral feast, which can then take place the following day. Poorer families have to wait several weeks or even several months before the very costly Feast of the Dead can take place. Unfortunately, I was not able to participate in one of these glamorous funeral ceremonies, called *wi'la*, during

my stay in the Haadiichcho region, so the following report is based only on the statements of my informants.

The festival takes place on a lawn near the grave, where the members of the deceased's *seera* erect a podocarpus tree felled in the forest, which is called *doore* and corresponds to the funerary puppets and frames of other southern Ethiopian peoples. The size of the tree again depends on the rank of the deceased. While the large *doore* trees of an *aduma*, *woma* or *cimeessa* are completely stripped of their bark and stripped of all but a few leaves that remain on the branch ends, the appearance of the small death poles of the uncircumcised is not changed; they are neither barked nor defoliated. At the funeral feast of a *woma* or *aduma,* the tufts of leaves on the tips of the twigs are often also cut off, and cattle horns are put over the ends. No *doore* tree is erected for a deceased woman; only a primitive burial puppet is erected, consisting of a stick rammed into the ground, a clay pot placed over it and a cotton cloth hung over the pot. The festivities are limited to the ceremonial walks around the *doore* tree and in the dances in which the men dance around the women sitting in the centre of the circle and beating the drum. All the mourners present march in measured steps around the *doore* tree, beating drums and singing; and, in their raised hands, both men and women hold drinking horns from which they caroused with the deceased during his or her lifetime and many other household items.

The design and shape of the tomb and the *doore* tree not only indicate the rank the deceased held within the *luwa* system, but also show at first glance whether the deceased was a successful big game hunter or a victorious manslayer. In any case, the deceased's social rank, be that within the age-class system or acquired through hunting and killing successes, is emphasized. For example, for big game hunters and manslayers, the *doore* tree and the lower part of the bamboo grave fence are dyed red earth colour, and four large bamboo poles are rammed into the fence. When the deceased has killed a human being, replicas of human genitals made of ensete bast are hung in the branches of the tree, the shield and spear of the man are rubbed with red paint and placed under the *doore* tree, and wooden replicas of all those spears that were thrown at him during his life are leaned against it. Small leopard figures made of ensete nodules are placed under the *doore* tree when a leopard hunter dies, and when a lion or elephant is killed, the prey's skin or an ox skin is attached to the branches of the tree as a dummy. During the festivities, moving hunting pantomimes are performed which depict the shooting of the game by the deceased. The wives of dead big game hunters and manslayers appear dressed in a leopard skin or an ivory arm ring and wearing a feather from the hornbill and a white water bird (pelican) called a *shaallo* over each ear.

The *wi'la* festival ends with a sacrificial ceremony in which a bull is slaughtered near the *doore* tree by a circumcised brother or the circumcised eldest son of the dead man. However, this sacrifice is not made if the father of the deceased is still alive. The moment the blood stream comes out of the wound of the sacrificial

animal, the *doore* tree is overturned. The meat is not to be eaten by any member of the Sidaama people; it is thrown to dogs and birds or given to foreign Gedeo or Guji-Oromo. When asked why the Sidaama were not allowed to eat the meat sacrificed, the informants replied with shock and indignation: "How can we eat human flesh when it is the deceased himself!" After the tree has fallen, the sister of the deceased, who has made a sleeping pad from the animal's fur, goes to a nearby stream to fetch water, which is then sprinkled over the mourners and the *doore* tree lying on the ground. After the end of the *wi'la* festival, the *cimeessa* who are present devote themselves to the game of *duqqo*, also commonly known as *sadeeqa* in southern Ethiopia, in order to allegedly distract the bereaved from their pain and grief. The eldest son of the deceased goes to the grave, opens the hitherto closed western gate of the fence and pours some honey on the burial mound. At the end of the Feast of the Dead, the relatives of the deceased again return the greetings of the other members of the people, which they were previously forbidden to do. All the bereaved shave their hair and refrain from anointing their hair with butter for several weeks. The widow is not allowed to cut her hair, shorten her nails or wash her body and clothes for a year.

After one year, a second festival (called *faashsho*) is held, at which all the relatives and good friends of the deceased appear. The eldest son sacrifices a bull in front of the open western gate of the *madaada*, the blood of which is mixed with honey and laid down in a drinking horn on the grave mound. Furthermore, pieces of meat are taken from all parts of the animal's body, wrapped in ensete leaves and placed on the grave by the eldest son. He then goes around the ring-shaped bamboo netting inside the fence and now opens the east gate, which was closed until then. He leaves the fence again through the west gate.

At the subsequent sacrificial banquet, in which all the men present take part, strict attention is paid to the observance of the order of precedence. The *cimeessa* and *woma* are given the bull's front legs as preferred pieces and sit separately from the uncircumcised men, who are only entitled to the hind legs. The youths have to make do with the ribs of the animal. The fat hump of the zebu, which is considered a special treat, is divided equally between the three groups. The tongue on the other hand is only available to the relatives of the deceased, and each member of the family must be allocated a piece. After the sacrificial meal, the eldest son of the deceased goes back to the grave and pours some honey on the hill. This ceremonial act was compared by the informants to washing their hands. The sacrifice called *faashsho* can be repeated every year at the grave if the eldest son is in possession of a sufficiently large herd, because the ritual prescribes that the sacrificial animals may only come from the family herd. The purchase of sacrificial bulls is prohibited.

Appendix

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List of illustrations

Glossary

All terms, unless otherwise indicated, are in Sidaama language.

Explanations in [] could neither be confirmed on the basis of the works mentioned in the editorial notes nor on the basis of enquiries with today's Sidaama elite.

abboo	title for a person to be honoured extraordinarily; [according to Jensen: leader of the evil, disease-causing spirits]	62, 124
abelami	king's herdsmen (Amharic); it is a variant of *abä lam* (literally 'father of cow')	57
adaada	father-sister (paternal aunt); [according to Straube: father-brother-daughter]	230
adbar	Amharic for *gudumaale* (*adbar* is a pl. of *däbr* 'mountain' and is from Geez)	121
adbaare	holy place where blood sacrifices are made (from Amharic *adbar*)	103, 121
addawaana	custom, which allowed girls to marry whom they loved	231, 242, 249
addee	sir; you; term of address for an honorable person not belonging to one's family	230
ado	best ensete variety; milk	172, 173
adoleessa	[according to Jensen: large bird that is seen in July in Ethiopia] (Afaan Oromo)	126
adula	the 20th and 21st days beginning from *argaa-jjimma* (i.e., the first day in Sidaama astrology); auspicious days for sowing, building, and banquets	89, 93, 119, 122, 126, 127, 129, 135, 205, 212, 230, 260
aduma	chief elected on the occasion of *luwa* ceremony; [according to Jensen: highest possible age class entrered when one's own grandson is circumcised]	220, 233, 234
agana	moon	130
ahaahe	grandmother (paternal and maternal side)	230
ahaaho	grandfather (paternal and maternal side)	230
aimino	[according to Jensen: the time in which a star is not visible at all because of the passage of the sun]	128
alba	face, forehead	135
albisa	best man	135
ale	east; up; orient	130
ama	mother	230, 260
anna	father	5, 230
anni'ya ayaanto	my father's grace	120
araddisa	sieving *waasa* with a thread to remove *haanxe* i.e., small fibre particles	181

araddisame waasa	flour cleaned of all *haanxe* i.e., small fibre particles	180
arba	first day following the *argaajjima*; day of the elephant	127, 260
arfaasa	month that approximately corresponds to January; red flower that blossoms in this month; the fourth (Afaan Oromo)	126
argaajjima	first day of the month	127, 128, 129, 260
aroreessa	shrub, needed for *addawaana*	231
arrishsho	sun	130
atse	emperor (Amharic)	57, 59
awaado	tanners, blacksmiths and leather workers	40, 50, 65, 69, 88, 103, 104, 105, 146, 153
awachcho	tanner, blacksmith and leather worker	40, 49, 50, 94, 103, 104, 105, 147, 149, 150, 152, 153, 203, 204, 207, 208
awuuto	term of address for elder sister by younger brother or sister; [according to Straube: father-brother-son]	230
awuyya	term of address for mother's brother (*abbo*)	230
ayyaana	holy day of the month; feast day	211
ayyaantichcha	a wise man	94, 97, 103
ayyaanto	astrologers; wise people	88, 89, 93, 98, 99, 122, 127, 128, 129, 205, 211, 212, 214
ayyoo	synonymous with *ama* 'mother' and used only in special occasions such as wedding and funeral songs	124
baabba	title for respected woman; Mrs.; [according to Straube: father-sister-daughter, mother-brother-daughter, mother-sister-daughter]	5
baaqula	pumpkin	197
badala	maize	198
bakka	[according to Jensen: smallpox and the spirit that causes it]	124
bakkalcha	morning star; Venus	130
balabbat	a notable tribal leader (from Amharic: *balä abbat*)	49, 50, 54, 189, 201, 202, 210
balambarras	lowest ranking title during the monarchy (from Amharic: *balä amba ras*)	18, 21, 23, 24, 41, 44, 47, 50, 54, 64, 67, 71, 84, 189, 190
bale	ditch; pit; well	124, 175
banqo	thunder	77, 131
bara	[according to Jensen: spirit, that makes the person insensitive to fire]	124
barcima	a three-legged stool (Amharic: *bärc'uma*); circumcision ceremony	94
bashanqa	sorghum; Indian millet (Amharic: *mashɔlla*)	198
bassa	chase out (2nd pers. pl.) (Afaan Oromo)	127

bɔrr	silver; Ethiopian paper currency	172
bɔsanna	a temperate zone tree (*croton macrostachyus*, from Amharic: *bɔsanna*) whose leaves or bark are used as anthelmintic	78
beto	[according to Straube: small meadow flower]	202
bila jannate	Bila's paradise	126
bilo	[according to Jensen: *wolawichcho* on whose land a *haadiichcho* family lives]	72, 102, 103
birra	clear time after the rainy season; October	126, 172
bita	magic, spell; sorcery; unlucky day	128, 129, 260
bixiichcho	small loaf of *waasa* bread	181, 182
bola	pit (Afaan Oromo)	127
boolima	shrub that plays a role in birth rituals	229
bonkooyye	hairstyle of a newly married woman or a woman after birth	133
borbodhdho	yellow berries	150
budakko	dreaded people with the 'evil eye' (Amharic: *buda*)	160, 162, 227
budeena	flatbread; (Amharic: *ɔnjära*)	198
bukkichcha	hairstyle with afro i.e., long hair; [according to Jensen also: forest; bush; name of the hairstyle of the *cimeessa*]	59, 164
bul'a	the best quality of *waasa*	178, 179, 182, 196
bulbula	dissolving honey in water in order to prepare a mead	95, 120, 212
bulukko	heavy handmade cotton blanket (Amharic)	101, 159
busurte holino	[according to Jensen: ceremony which marks the end of the mourning period for the widow]	120
buurisame	best variety of *waasa* dish soaked in purified butter	136
buusa	bridge; a constellation of stars that Sidaama astrologers view to decide the feast of the new year i.e., *fichchee-cambalaalla*	130
buusano	cough	124
cacco	variety of ensete	50, 104, 152
caffa	a large plain for cattle pasture; large swamp	39, 47, 65, 105
cansa	what stops the rain (Afaan Oromo)	126
chulatte	[according to Jensen: old (f.)]	127
cimeessa	circumsized elder wise man	95, 116, 118, 119, 158, 159, 164, 174, 175, 212, 213, 220, 221, 223, 225, 230, 231, 233, 235
cuma	intestinal contents	60
cuunjuma	pipe tube	170
daammu anna	lower millstone (the big one)	168

daficho	[according to Jensen: stick, which is supposed to protect the circumcised person while he or she is in the circumcision hut]	96
dannawa	almende; common land	202, 211
daraara	class in the *luwa* system	88, 213
daraaro	flower	88
darbatta	rectangular cotton cloth consisting of two panels about 3 metres long and 70 cm wide	230
dassa	arm	60
dee	social working group (Amharic: *däbo*)	180
deela	name of a fourth market day	122
dejjazmach	was a military title used by district administrators and the like during the imperial regime	45, 190, 222
deleqe	low-quality fibrous *weese* flour	178, 179, 182
derbata	rectangular cloth consisting of two panels about 3 metres long and 70 cm wide, usually with an interwoven red stripe and short fringes	159
dhadhdhaama	ceremonially roasted pieces of meat (Afaan Oromo)	212
dibate	[according to Jensen: fire (for smoking)]	74
dibbe	drum	145
diimmichcho	string, a nerve thread	77
dindo	[according to Straube: slingshot; buzzing wood]	201
dirima	abyss	61
djalile	a type of millet/sorghum (Amharic: *zengada*)	138
dogga	sticks used during *wi'la* festival	118
doowiro	vultures	122
doore	a podocarpus or pine tree erected for a dead during his funeral ceremony	97, 98, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 234, 235
dubbiyye	special bird	96
dufurre	[according to Jensen: special sort of grass]	73, 77, 78
dullatte	the eight and 24th day in Sidaama astrology; is considered to be an auspicious day	89, 93, 119, 122, 127, 129, 135, 205, 212, 230
dullo	[according to Jensen: war]	86
duna	(to) pour	120
duna	day/ceremony date from which the deceased may no longer be mourned	120
duqqo	a pebble game with 12 holes in the ground. If the game is played on a wooden board it is known as *sadeeqa*. The pebble itself is is also known as *sadeeqa*	235
dureette	rich (f.); the seventh day in Sidaama astrology	127, 260
durriisa	satan; devil; (*durriisu bubbe* = whirlwind)	110, 124
durriisa weese	wild ensete variety	110, 197
duugaancho	tool for scraping of the upper layer of the leather side of cattle skin	147, 152
duumo	red	127

duuwancho	tree for the extraction of coal (*syzygium guineense*)	204
ejersa	olive tree	214
eresa	similar to *guresha* (Afaan Oromo)	90
faashsho	a practice whereby an elder son pours honey and milk on his father's grave	120, 203, 235
fala	to feed animals; to purify	153
falcho	best quality traditional women's dress made of skin	90, 214, 222
farsho	local beer	198
fichchee-cambalaalla	Sidaama New Year festival	12, 100, 122, 123, 210, 214, 215, 224, 225
finiincho	small clay jug for milk; [according to Jensen: also used for water]	69
fitawrari	military title (lit. "the commander of the vanguard")	45, 46, 189
fooqa	monthly leap day; in Afaan Oromo: 'to rub with force' (scrubbing) and in Sidaama: 'overhanging' or 'hanging in the air'	127, 128, 129, 205, 260
frucho	[according to Jensen: threshold wood, tomb gates of the *madaada*]	233
fullaasa	a class in the *luwa* system	88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 96, 213, 219
fumfatta	[according to Jensen: bullroarer]	133
furfura	(to) cut up low-quality *waasa*	182
furfuraame	low-quality fibrous *waasa*	182
gaasha	land that is 40 hectares or 98 acres in size (Amharic: *gashsha*)	46
gaayya	water pipe for inhalation of tobacco smoke	170
gaayya kincho	clay pipe bowl to which a water pipe is attached	170
gadaana	honorific position of a leader of a *luwa* class	76, 89, 90, 91, 97, 113, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222
gambaaychcho	medium container for liquids	169
gana	strike; prepare; [according to Jensen: a man who is entitled to make sacrifices for the clan in Holloo]	102
ganta	[according to Pauli: ragged]	172
ganticho	most productive and strongest ensete variety	172, 173
garbabbo	type of grass kept on a pole to keep away people and cattle from a field/farm	77
gardaama	oats (*triticum durum*)	198
garre	clan	51, 211
gedeinsi	[according to Jensen: the last]	127
gingilaate	a type of xylophone	145
gobba	country; area	76, 86

golgolla	[according to Jensen: spirit which can afflict a *kiilancho*]	124
golla	[according to Jensen: spirit which can afflict a *kiilancho*]	124
golo	wooden screen that separates *hadiro* from *ale*	167
gombo	smaller jugs like *midaancho* (Afaan Oromo)	169
gomfa	black-white-red patterned cotton pants	134, 157, 158, 159, 220, 222, 230
gondooro	covenant; adoption ceremony	102
gonsho	[according to Straube: edible pumpkins]	197
gorfa	dress or frock made of skin	150, 151, 152, 161, 202, 229
gosa	clan	
gowachcho	a tree (*maesa lancemia*), which is needed for the *luwa* festival	90, 214, 215
grazmach	second lowest title used during the Imperial regime (lit. “commander of the left wing”)	44
gudja	lower part	127
gudumaale	open place or square for assembly; [according to Jensen: also a site used for blood sacrifices]	121, 209, 212, 214, 225
gumaata	dowry given to a mother in-law; food brought by people to a woman who recently gave birth	94, 101, 159, 221
gura	left; also designates west	130
gurda	knot; [according to Jensen: also a protective amulet]	78
guresha	[according to Jensen: grass which is piled up at the *luwa* festival]	90
gutto	[according to Pauli: girls’ hairstyle]	165
gu’umati	[according to Pauli: tool to free skin from all unevenness and roughened it]	149
haadiichcho	potter	189, 190, 192, 203, 207ff
haadiiwo	potters	40, 49, 65, 69, 72, 73, 78, 86, 87, 88, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 119, 146, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207ff
hadabo	bush, which is needed for *luwa* festival	91
hafare	loincloth	134, 158, 230
haisso	grass	172
halalca	God’s creating and creative activity (Arabic)	205
hallale	rule of truth	9
hambabalate	whirlwind	124
ha’nashsho	mint	125, 181, 182
harcho	rectangular frame for cattle skins	147
harkumme	syphilis	66
haruxa	adoption ceremony (Arsi)	102

hassa	[according to Pauli: large fermentation tub when it is full]	175
hawusa	a loathsome and disagreeable person; spirits causing typhoid and similar diseases	124
hayxe	barley	5, 198
hayyiichcha	wise man, scholar (its pl. form is *hayyoole*)	90, 91, 99
hayyoole	elected for the duration of the *luwa* festival, and available to the *gadaana* and the *djellaba* as messengers and advisers	99, 103
hirboora	ivory bracelet; award for killer of an elephant; class in the *luwa* system	88,89, 91, 92, 95, 101, 213, 218, 219
hirborchcho	ivory arm ring	58, 99
hobobe	[according to Pauli: flour of the lowest quality class]	196
holgite	stepmother (younger than the stepchild)	230
homba	[according to Pauli: women's capes]	150, 152, 160, 161
honkoolo	small hoe; hook	175
honse	nine	126
humo	clumsy black bird	100
indjidja	[according to Jensen: a piece of fur that is tied around the right ankle during the circumcision ceremony]	221
injichcho	strip of meat tied to hand as talisman during *luwa*	91
ireechchaa	a thanksgiving holiday celebrated by the Oromo whereby festival-goers immerse freshly cut green grass and the flowers in sacred lakes; [according to Jensen also: holy places where slaughter is not carried out]	90, 121, 212
jaala	friend; [according to Jensen also: circumcision godfather]	93, 94, 96, 221, 222
ja'laaba	deputy of the *gadaana*	214, 216, 217, 218
kakkalo	blood sacrifice	121
kalakino	[according to Straube: he created, scoop]	205
kalaqama	creation; creature	107
kara	new; lace (Afaan Oromo)	127
katama	settlement (Amharic)	190
katela	a man evading circumcision	97, 220
kato	[according to Pauli: large hoop]	168
kiilancho	fortune teller, magical priest	88, 89, 93, 103, 109, 111, 124, 125
kincho	pipe bowl and stone	170, 180
konyara	hack knife	118, 119, 133, 157, 177
kooso	remedy against tapeworms	140
koqotta	[according to Jensen: branches used like a *xaare*]	79
koroncho	undefined tree species	122

kukucho	[according to Pauli: small ball flute]	146
lako	[according to Jensen: the spirits that cause typhoid and similar diseases]	124
lalo	[according to Straube: maternity nurse]	230
lalunte	undefined plant species	77
läm	fertile, arable land (taxed at 58.50 Ethiopian $ per year per *gaasha*)	46
läm-t'äf	half fertile land and half pastureland (e.g. at Lake Hawaasa; taxed at 40 Ethiopian $ per year)	40
lamala	seven	75, 107, 126
lame	two	6, 107, 126
lande	women's dress made of hide	229
lee	six	126
leemmiichcho	bamboo	96, 172
lekka	leg; foot	158
liqi'mi assa	to swallow up; devour	5, 72
liko	[according to Jensen: large cotton cloths of first quality; a two-metre-long stick]	101, 134, 136, 159
lolloqa	ritual sticks from the *qitilmancho* tree	90, 91, 215
loogo	rite performed on a married woman to make her a legal wife	135
lubbo	human soul	121
luko hafare	worn as trousers; in the current use it refers to trousers	158
luwa	man who has entered the *luwa* system; class; and designation of the eight-year period between two *luwa* festivals	13, 48, 46, 76, 87ff, 207, 210, 213ff
luwa festival	initiation ceremonies that last for one year	see luwa
luwa system	rigid and systematized age classification system	see luwa
luwaanna	[according to Straube: age-group leader]	213
luwu gecho	[according to Jensen: sacred podocarpus trees in Goidda square (= tree of the Luba)]	90
maatawa	thin necklace worn by Ethiopian Orthodox Christians (Amharic: *matäb*)	161, 162
madaada	dense bamboo netting surrounding a grave of an elderly person	95, 114, 115, 116, 119, 155, 233, 235
magalaale	small knife used for circumcision and shaving	94
mamate	[according to Pauli: hearth stone]	168
mancho	man	215
masincha	a special tree (Croton macrostachyus; Amharic: *bɔsanna*)	78, 104
masqala	Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church church festival held on Mäskäräm 17 ("The finding of the true cross"; Amharic: *mäsqäl*)	12, 122, 225
meemmo	screen; sieve	156, 180
mice	[according to Jensen: medicine against insanity]	111, 125, 195

midaancho	pot; it is used as a doll during a *wi'la* festival for women	116, 118, 162, 169
midaano	plural of *midaancho*	see midaancho
midaqo	dik-dik antelope (Amharic)	72
mite	one	126
mittigo	miserable animal (bull) used in *wi'la* festival	118, 119
mixe	belt made of leather stripes	118, 133
moga	[according to Jensen: wingman]	88
moggisa	class in the *luwa* system	88
mootichcha	former title of leader of the Afadda clan, today also leader of other clans *moti* king (Afaan Oromo)	49, 210, 211, 212
mundiraro	ensete variety with reddish fruit juice	197
murrichcha	steward during the *luwa* festival, leader of a *seera* or *ollaa*	90, 91, 217, 218, 223
muta mura	cutting off the testicles	94
nafara	fenced meadow in front of the house	61, 113
naanno	women's hairstyle	165
ofollanno	he will sit	94
ollaa	neighbourhood; aid association	223
onte	five	126
qaallichcha	shamanistic priest (Afaan Oromo)	103, 201, 211, 214, 227
qamade	wheat	198
qarxa	liquid of pressed *waasa*	180
qeho	shoulder blade of animal	179
qiniite	right; also designates south	130
qitilmancho	[according to Jensen: tree from which *lolloqa* sticks are made]	90, 215
qolcooma	a root vegetable with edible tubers	197
qont'olo	smaller cape made of calfskin	160
qooncho	long-necked calabash	170
qorke	large antelope	60
qorro	sub-chief	57
qote	shoulders	60
qu'ne	perfume obtained from a certain type of grass	57
rako	ceremony which is supposed to bless the marriage with children (Afaan Oromo)	135
ras	royal title immediately below king (Amharic)	45
rauua	[according to Jensen: uncircumcised man]	95, 97, 117, 119
risa	falcon	80
saatticho	palm; one of two trees on top of Garamba Mountain	122
sadaasa	the 10th month of Sidaama; the third (Afaan Oromo)	126

sadde	name for the three belt stars of Orion (Afaan Oromo)	130
sadeeqa	game, also called *duqqo*	235
sadeso	[according to Jensen: elected servant for *gadaana* and *ja'laaba* during *luwa* festival]	90, 91
sagara	[according to Jensen: smoking rack, used by women for their clothes]	74, 168
sase	three	126
seemma	a special *bulukko*	159
seera	aid association	90, 223, 233, 234
sette	eight	126
shaallo	pelican; egret	223, 224
shaana	cabbage	197
shale	[according to Jensen: wing of a big bird (warriors ornament)]	58
shekkere	malaria; [according to Jensen also: the spirit which causes malaria]	124
shoole	four	126
sifaarcho	a pot (*midaancho*) with accessories that resembles a head	118
siqqo	stick from the wood of the *aroreessa* bush, needed for *addawaana*	231
sircho	seed	61
so'ichcho	a tree (*ocotea kenyensis*); its crushed leaves treat tapeworms	166
songo	presiding council of elders	9
sorsa	red earth and name of the last day in month	58, 115, 128, 129, 260
suusulle	Sidaama reed flute	146
tala	[according to Jensen: a fragrant grass species]	104, 153
tambo	tobacco	197
t'äf	primeval forest, dry steppe (Amharic)	46
tona lame	twelve	126
tona mite	eleven	126
tonne	ten	126
tubba	leather skirt reaching down to the ankles	152, 160, 202, 229
udde	second quality flour	178, 179, 182, 196
umboi	[according to Straube: shrub, a solanum species, fruit is considered to be an animal-like creature]	217, 218, 226
waata	collective term for those who practice despised professions	192
waasa	medium quality ensete flour	175, 178, 179, 180, 182, 196
wawaasa	fearless one; a class in the *luwa* system	88, 89, 213
weese	ensete plant	110, 172, 196, 197
wi'la	lament; splendid feast for the dead	98, 114, 118, 119, 120, 233, 234
wocawaaro	seventh Sidaama month of brief showers	122, 126

wolawichcho	free man; farmer, sg.	
wolawo	free man; farmer, pl.	40, 50, 65, 72, 74, 86, 103, 105, 118, 146, 153, 183, 191, 192, 202, 203, 207, 208
wolliimma	bird (*turacus donaldsoni*), with blue-red tail feathers	96, 97, 221, 222
woma	degree accorded to *cimeessa,* entered if one's own son is circumcised; in some clans the clan leader is called *woma*	9, 57, 62, 76, 89, 91, 97, 98, 100, 112, 116, 118, 119, 212, 220, 225, 233, 234, 235
womaasha	bent iron bars that served as money	205
woraamo	bull	119
worime	a broad knife used for the preparation of *waasa*	133
woro	down; lower; designates west	
wosiila	uncle (father's brother)	130
waanje	a small bird (it is mentioned in Sidaama folk-tales)	96
wocawaaro	[according to Jensen: short shower]	122, 126
woxa	sound (Afaan Oromo)	126
xaare	prohibition sign to protect farm plants	78, 79, 201
xalatichcho	an outsider who lives on the land of another	66, 75
xalta	flat cakes baked on the girddle	182
xewerrakko	a tree type (*bersama abyssinica*), whose wood is of low value	78
xilte	clay bowl for serving *waasa*	169, 181, 182
xu'nayyichcho	a plant (*solanum nigrum*) that grows during the rainy season (its collective form is *xu'nayye*)	214
zäle	kind of cattle plague	108

Name index

Baddaame	district in the Haadiichcho region	45, 187, 188, 211
Badhdheessa	the first Sidaama month; March	126, 129
Badira	river which borders the Haadiichcho region	187, 188
Baguda	a sub-clan of the Awachcho	211, 214
Baka	sub-group of the Aari	54, 55, 119, 173, 174
Balcha	*dejjazmach*, moved the governor's residence to Hagere Selam	190
Banna	ethnic group in southern Ethiopia	100
Banqaano	sub-clan of Waa'eno	76, 77, 78, 79, 95
Bantihuata	[according to Straube: northern district of Haadiichcho, also called Ree'ra]	189
Baraaso Tirrol	chief of Asaraado district	44
Barjaanto	sub-group of Hoyye sub-clan	84
Bedäye	a settlement near Daarimo	146, 150, 151, 152
Beera	main camp of Jensen's expedition in Alatta, a district and a town	18, 21, 22, 40, 46, 47, 90, 117, 130, 139, 140, 174, 193
Bide	sub-group of Hoyye sub-clan	75, 84
Bido	older brother of Ene	52
Bii'no	former Alatta chief	44, 50, 52, 54, 56, 102, 146
Bila	a very famous *kiilancho*	125, 139
Bilaatte	river that borders western Sidaama	43, 44, 45, 101, 102
Bilisso	former market town Wolaitta	101
Billate	[according to Jensen: sub-group of Faqisa]	71, 84
Billishe	sub-clan, which goes back to Bushshee	75
Billisso	oldest brother of Alemayehu	56, 93
Birbiro	[according to Jensen: clan]	57, 75, 84
Birra	the 8th Sidaama month; October	126, 172
Borana	southern Ethiopian province and an ethnic group	39, 45, 61, 67, 71, 72, 87, 126
Borijjo	person from the tale of the Haadiichcho	208
Borooda	import area for wheat and maize	102, 198
Boshala	son of Micho	210
Buda	son of Daada and sub-clan of Gissa	51
Bukulo	sub-clan of Womereera	61
Buna	river	105
Bushshee	one of the two mythical ancestors of the Sidaama	9, 12, 13, 49, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 86, 103, 104, 106, 135, 208
Caamure	a sub-clan of the Haadiichcho	6, 210, 211

Diishsho	sub-clan of Garbichcho	75
Dikko	name for market day and market place	129, 204, 205, 225
Dilkaaso	man from the sub-clan Aguddo	57, 83, 84, 86
Dilla	Ged'eo town with market and valley	43, 188, 189, 190, 205
Dokko	a sub-clan of the Haadiichcho	211
Dole	area near the Bilaatte River, slavemarket in earlier times	102
Doolimma	a sub-clan of Alatta	75, 79, 80, 108, 209
Dongoora	town which is visited during *luwa* festival	90
Doorande	earlier settlers in the Sidaama area	86
Dorze	ethnic group in southern Ethiopia	148, 157, 227
Dossa	place in Holloo	62
Dotteessa	the 2nd Sidaama month; April	126
Du'a	a sub-clan of the Haadiichcho, which can erect field signs to prevent theft; a mythological personality	49, 50, 51, 61, 62, 72, 78, 201, 207, 209, 211
Dubba	town, where Muyeedo's grave is	71
Dubbe Maandoyye	one of the last five war leaders	222
Dufurre	child of a woman and man of the sub-clan Daama; a special grass, see *dufurre*	50, 51, 54
Dullo	chief in Shabbadiino during Jensen's research	86
Dullo Bonoyya	person from the tale of the Haadiichcho	208, 209
Ebbicha	[according to Jensen: sub-group of Faqisa]	71
Ela	the 4th Sidaama month; June	126
Elelcho	sub-clan founded by Sanga	51, 62, 76, 77
Ene	younger brother of Bido	52, 53, 54
Fantaye Waaqayyo	daughter of the late Chief Waaqayyo Baallichcha in Shabbadiino	44, 56, 57, 71
Faqisa	region where *ayyaanto* live; clan	57, 61, 70, 71, 205
Foqone	a sub-clan of Haadiichcho	211
Furra	15th century legendary queen of the Sidaama	56, 59, 60
Gada Boona	*balambarras* of Malga district	44
Gadawo	first Sidaama, who married an Amhara woman	6, 57, 58
Gadira	father of Gadawo [according to Jensen: son and successor of Gadawo]	6, 57, 58
Gadissa Sufa	informant of Jensen	22, 41, 79, 80, 86
Gado	son of Gadawo [according to Jensen: so of Gadira]	58

Gololcha Orde	descendant of Ne'a	60
Gomorro	mountain range	205
Gona	a group within the sub-clan of Garsaano	61, 71, 211
Gonowa	a sub-clan of Xummaano	57, 76
Goosaluwa	a sub-clan of Holloo	75
Gosarre	former chief in Alatta	93
Gudicho	a sub-clan of Holloo	75
Guji-Oromo	ethnic group from which the circumcisers of the Haadiichcho come	11, 43, 44, 46, 53, 76, 86, 87, 92, 122, 128, 162, 187, 192, 205, 207, 220, 222, 235
Gundo	[according to Jensen: place in the very west of Alatta, is visited during *luwa* festival]	90
Gunufa	a group within a sub-clan	62
Gurage	ethnic group in southern Ethiopia	12, 172, 179
Gure	found near the market town of Deela	108, 209
Gushala	[according to Jensen: forest in eastern Alatta; place where Daada landed]	49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62, 209
Gushulo	sub-clan of Haadiichcho	210
Gutano	[according to Jensen: sub-clan of Yemerechcho and Holloo]	75
Guto	[according to Jensen: founded the sub-clan Maqeto with Shuna]	80
Haadiichcho	region in the Sidaama settlement area and its inhabitants, endogamic group of the Sidaama	10, 13, 14, 40, 41, 44, 47, 50, 51, 55, 62, 72, 73, 94, 103, 105, 147, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 233
Hadiya	ethnic group in southern Ethiopia	27
Hagawo	earlier settlers in the Sidaama area	86
Hagere Selam	seat of the governor's residence	39, 190
Haigako	the man who is entitled to make sacrifices for the clan Daama in Alatta	102
Haile	from Birbiro clan, reigns in Haweela	12, 18, 57
Haittaalla	a sub-clan of Alatta	62, 64, 75, 76, 78, 83, 84, 103

Kaye	close relative of Haile	57
Kebede Mekonnen	*fitawrari,* representative of *ras* Adefris	45
Kinante	festival place in Holloo	88
Kirre	husband of Maqeto	80
Kisho Atara	from Faqisa clan, sub-chief of Shabbadiino	57
Koyra	ethnic group in southern Ethiopia	71, 73, 102
Kolishsho	sub-group of Hondoowa from which the *gadaana* can be chosen	75, 76
Konso	ethnic group in southern Ethiopia	30, 41, 87, 90, 95
Koroso Looggita	chief of Qeweena District	44
Korotsha	grave of Mente	210
Kotana	hill five hours west of Qawaado, is visited during seclusion time	217
Kussai	son of Sidaama	74, 86
Kutale	a sub-clan of Dafina	6, 211
Lagadara	river which borders the Haadiichcho region	187, 189, 191
Lakko	market town	74
Lamala	a sub-clan of Alatta	75, 82, 102, 139
Lebna Dengal	Ethiopian king (1508-1540)	57
Leenjishsho	Sidaama policeman and informant of Jensen	23, 24, 28, 153, 154
Lulsegged	*dejjazmach*, came to the Haadiichcho and killed the last five war leaders	190, 222
Luqullo	sub-group of Womereera from which the *gadaana* can be chosen	61, 76
Maaldeya	one of the mythical ancestors of the Sidaama	9, 12, 13, 49, 50, 57, 60, 61, 62, 67, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 84, 86, 123, 135
Magano	God of heaven	9, 51, 55, 91, 113, 131, 137, 138, 174, 225
Male	ethnic group in Ethiopia	161
Malga	region in the east of Arbegoona with wild ensete	44, 66, 110, 197
Malge	one of the five Bushshee clans	58
Mana Waaqa	holy place in Shabbadiino (Afaan Oromo for ‘House of God’)	76, 122
Manche	Sidaama settlement	47, 116, 174
Manino	a sub-group of Faqisa sub-clan	71, 76
Maqeto	group of the sub-clan Hoyye; wife of Kirre	80

Russa Daalachcha	informant of Jensen	22, 41
Sada	a sub-clan of the Haadiichcho	211, 213
Sadaasa	the 10th Sidaama month; December	89, 126, 127
Safa	district west of Wondo-Dilla with rich clay deposits	188, 189, 195, 201, 202
Saamanna	sub-clan of Womereera in Arsi	61
Sanga	son of Daada; founder of the sub-clan Elelcho	51
Sankawa	earlier settlers in the Sidaama area	86
Saawoola	Sidaama district, chief: Gimbo Baashsha	44, 66, 67, 73, 80, 111, 139, 154
Selema	father of Bushshee	67, 103
Shaba	a group of the Haittaalla sub-clan from which the *gadaana* can be chosen	75, 76
Shabbadiino	region in the north of the present Sidaama settlement area	18, 21, 26, 41, 43, 44, 47, 51, 52, 56, 57, 60, 61, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 86, 87, 88, 93, 100, 101, 103, 111, 122, 135, 156, 174, 191, 192, 205, 207, 209
Shabbadiino Yanaase	Sidaama district, chief: Fantaye Waaqayyo	44, 57, 66
Shabbe	Sidaama district	191, 205
Shaffik	interpreter of Pauli	23, 26, 152, 153
Sheello	area, where the split-off Guji groups live	44
Shiisho	market town in Arsi	101
Shiisho Square	in Qawaado next to the old *gudumaale* square, place for *luwa* festival	214, 215, 219
Shila Arqa	chief of Holloo District	44
Shontorre	a sub-clan of Holloo	75
Shuna	founded the sub-clan Maqeto with Guto	80
Sidda Baallichcha	clan leader and informant of Jensen	62, 63, 100
Sidaama-Borana	southern Ethiopian province	45
Silimato	a sub-clan of the Haadiichcho	211
Sudduwo	a sub-clan of the Haadiichcho	211
Tademme Zelleqe	*dejjazmach*, responsible for the sub-province of Sidaama	45
Tafari	*dejjazmach*, emperor at the time of research and before that governor of the province of Sidaama	190

Yanaase	region in the north of the present Sidaama settlement area	44, 57, 66, 76, 100, 101, 125, 205, 207, 208, 209, 226
Yem	ethnic group in Ethiopia	12, 169
Yemerechcho	member of the Yemereero super-clan that subsumes numerous clans	56, 57, 61, 66, 67, 71, 75, 76, 98, 102, 103, 135
Yirga Alem	capital of the southern Ethiopian province of Sidaama-Borana	18, 39, 40, 65, 75
Zala	ethnic group in southern Ethiopia	161
Zar'a Yakob	Ethiopian king (1434-68)	59, 86

Current list of Sidaama day names

1. *argaajjima*
2. *arba*
3. *bolla*
4. *basa ama* (*ama* ‘mother’)
5. *basa beetto* (*beetto* ‘daughter’)
6. *carrawa*
7. *dureette*
8. *dureette beetto*
9. *bidirsa*
10. *deette beetto*
11. *karawichcha*
12. *gardaaduma*
13. *sonsa*
14. *rurruma*
15. *lumaasa*
16. *gidaada*
17. *ruuda*
18. *ereere ama*
19. *ereere beetto*
20. *adula ama*
21. *adula beetto*
22. *harfatto*
23. *deette ama*
24. *deette beetto*
25. *bita*
26. *ciico*
27. *sorsa*
28. *fooqa*

List of Sidaama kinship terms

Father	*anna*
Father-brother	*wosiila*
Father-brother (older than the father)	*wosiila*
Father-brother-son (term only applies to older cousins)	*wosiilu beetti*
Father-sister (paternal aunt)	*ada*
Father-sister-son (term only applies to older cousins)	*addate beetti*
Father-sister-daughter (term only applies to older base)	*addate beetto*
Grandfather (paternal and maternal side)	*ahaaho*
Mother	*ama*
Stepmother (younger than the stepchild)	*holgite*
Mother-brother	*abbo*
Mother-brother-son (term only applies to older cousins)	*abbu beetti*
Mother-brother-daughter (term only applies to older base)	*abbu beetto*
Maternity nurse	*lalo*
Mother-sister-son (term only applies to older cousins)	*la'lamate beetti*
Mother-daughter (term only applies to older base)	*amate beetto*
Grandmother (paternal and maternal side)	*ahaahe*

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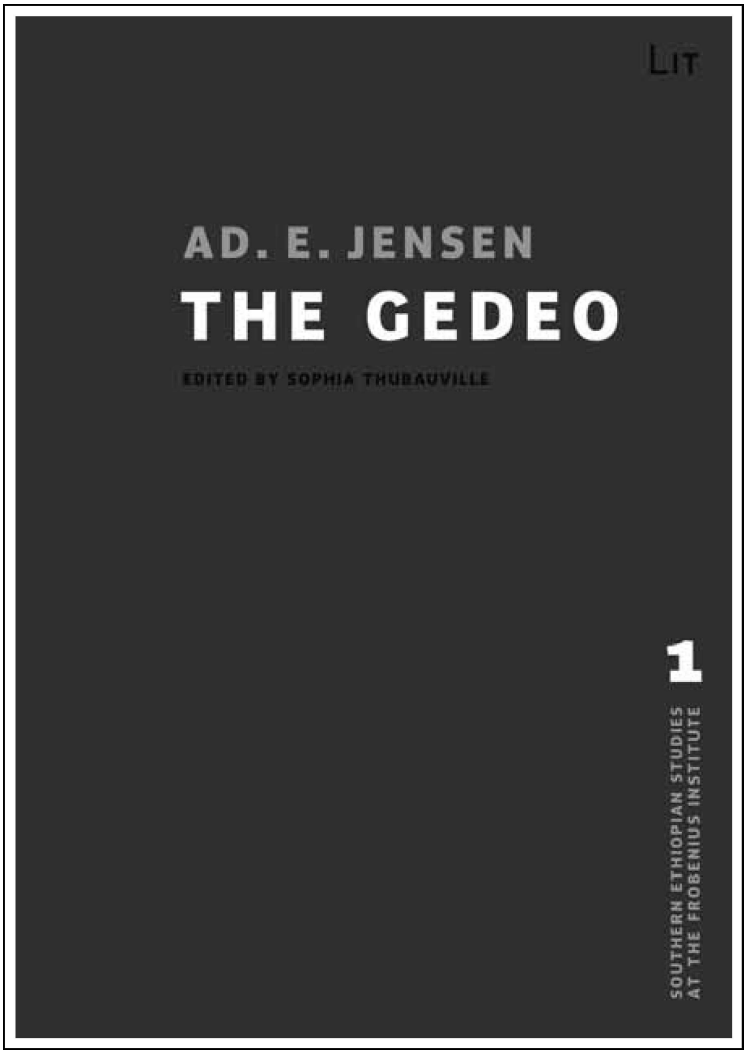

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