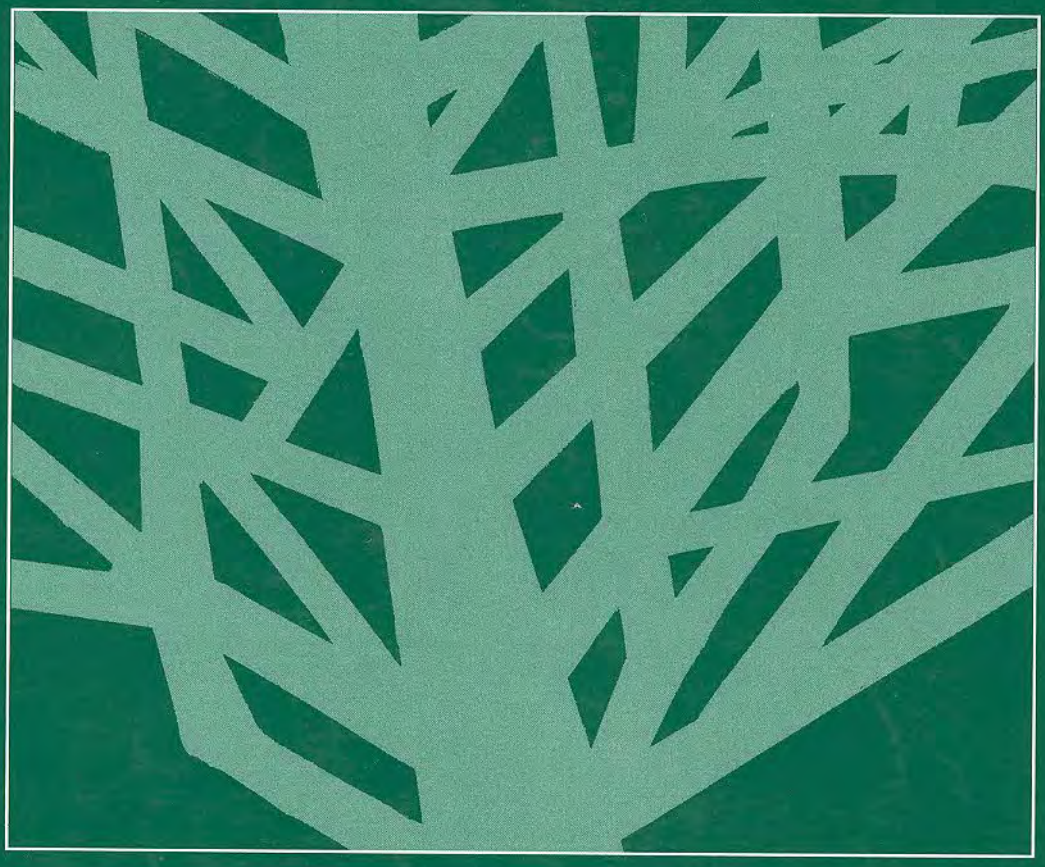
I.M. LEWIS

PEOPLES of the HORN OF AFRICA

SOMALI, AFAR AND SAHO



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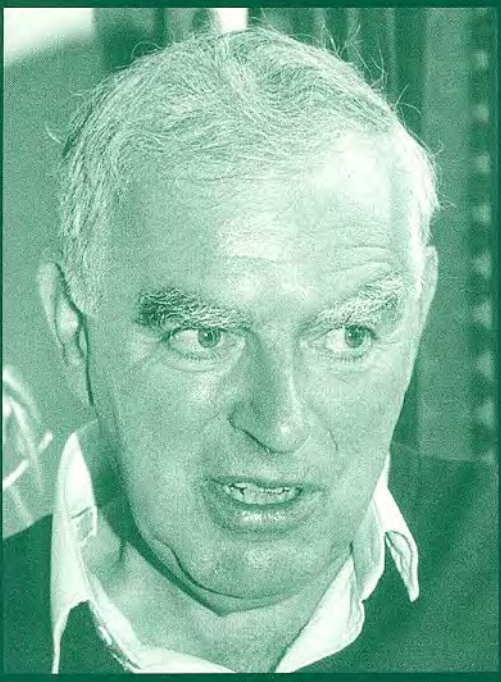

Ioan Myrddin Lewis was born in Scotland in 1930. He studied Chemistry at Glasgow University before converting to anthropology, which he read at Oxford. After finishing field work in Somalia, under the supervision of Evans-Pritchard, in 1957 he went to teach African Studies at what is now the University of Zimbabwe, then taught Anthropology at Glasgow University and at University College, London. In 1969 he moved to the London School of Economics as Professor of Anthropology where he has remained to the present time.

His research has concentrated on the social and political institutions of the peoples of the Horn of Africa, and he has visited the region regularly since 1955. His books and writings have appeared in many languages.

He has lectured and broadcast extensively in the United States, Europe and Asia, as well as in Africa. He was Director of the International African Institute from 1982-1988, and continues to be a consultative director. He is also currently Chairman of the Africa Educational Trust.

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PEOPLES OF THE HORN OF AFRICA

SOMALI, AFAR AND SAHO

I.M. LEWIS

NEW EDITION 1994

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NORTH EASTERN AFRICA

PART I

PEOPLES OF THE HORN OF AFRICA

SOMALI, AFAR AND SAHO

BY

I.M. LEWIS

New Edition

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FOREWORD

THE preparation and publication of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa began in 1945. Proposals for a survey of this kind had been considered by the Council of the Institute before the war and a memorandum setting out the contributions that an authoritative series of concise and comprehensive ethnographic studies could make in connection with the prospects for development, education and research in Africa was presented on behalf of the Institute to the British Colonial Office in 1944. Grants from the British Colonial Development and Welfare Fund allocated on the recommendation of the British Colonial Social Science Council in 1945 made it possible to initiate this work. A committee set up under the Chairmanship of Professor Radcliffe-Brown considered the detailed proposals for its scope and organisation which had been prepared by the Director who undertook to direct and edit the Survey. It endorsed the main objective, namely to provide in readily comprehensive form an outline of available knowledge concerning the peoples of Africa in a series of short systematic studies of the location, environment, economy, crafts, social systems, political organisation and religious beliefs of each people or group of related peoples. Publication was planned in a continuing series of separate Parts to be grouped within broad regions, each of which would conform to a general scheme of coverage envisaged for the Survey as a whole and would include a comprehensive bibliography and an ethnographic map. The generous collaboration of a number of research institutions and of officials in Europe and in Africa was secured as well as the services of senior anthropologists who were good enough to supervise and amplify the drafts.

While the available published sources have usually provided the basis for the Survey, authors have in many cases been able to use unpublished reports and records in government files and in the archives of missionary societies as well as field notes and special communications from anthropologists and others which have been generously made available. Increasingly, as the work of the Survey has progressed, it has been possible to obtain contributions from field workers who have been recently engaged in research among the peoples concerned. Such volumes have accordingly provided a first short account of the results of new studies.

In addition to the initial British grants, which have been subsequently continued by the Department of Technical Co-operation and the Ministry of Overseas Development, contributions towards the preparation and publication of volumes relating to Francophone Africa were generously made by the governments of Afrique Occidentale Française, the Cameroons and Afrique Equatorial Française through the good offices of the Ministère de la France d'Outre Mer and the Institut Française de l'Afrique Noire. The late Professor M. Griaule, Professor Th. Monod, Mme. G. Dieterlen and Professor H. Deschamps have greatly assisted the Survey in securing the services and guiding the work of the French ethnologists who have contributed these volumes.

The Commission d'Ethnologie of the Institut Royal Colonial Belge and the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale, which were established after the war, cooperated in the preparation of earlier Parts relating to the Congo at the Centre de Documentation of the Musée du Congo Belge, under the direction of Professor Olbrechts and Mlle. Boone. The Institute is indebted to the Museum for its continued collaboration in the publication of further parts in association with their series of Monographies Ethnographiques.

Over fifty Parts of the Survey have so far been published, but considerable areas and a number of important peoples remain to be covered. Meanwhile the first editions of the earlier Parts have in many cases gone out of print. Since it has often been difficult to arrange for revised editions which would incorporate more recent research, they have sometimes been reprinted without change, with the addition of supple-

mentary bibliographies, as a record of the earlier ethnographic information on the people described and provide a background for subsequent studies.

We are especially grateful for help given in the preparation of the present volume to Mr. B. W. Andrzejewski and Mr. Musa Haji Ismail Galaal of the School of Oriental and African Studies, to Dr. J. C. Trevor of Cambridge, and to Dr. P. T. W. Baxter and Professor V. L. Grottanelli. We are also indebted to the Directorate of Military Survey, the War Office, London, for permission to use the Tribal Map of Somalia and British Somaliland (1945) as a base for the map which appears at the end of this volume. The author wishes to acknowledge a special debt to the late Dr. F. B. Steiner under whose supervision he carried out his first Somali studies.

A list of sections already published will be found on pp. 203–4 of this volume.

Note To 1969 Reprint

The text of this section of the Survey is an unchanged reprint of that of 1955. We are grateful to Dr. I. M. Lewis for providing a new preface and a supplementary bibliography of major sources down to 1969.

Daryll Forde,
Director,
International African Institute.

ORTHOGRAPHY

It is not possible to vouch for the accuracy of transliteration of Somali, Afar and Saho words since the majority have been recorded by observers with no training in linguistic methods. The spelling given by English writers has been retained. Words from Italian and French sources have been "anglicized" as far as possible. Arabic words which have remained unchanged in the Mohammedanism of the peoples with whom we are concerned (Somali, Afar, Saho) are transliterated according to standard English usage.

The transcription of Somali words in the new Appendices follows, in most cases the conventional anglicised spelling, rather than the official Somali orthography adopted in 1972; in this way the reader unfamiliar with the latter is better able to achieve an approximation of the pronunciation.

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PREFACE TO 1969 REPRINT

MUCH has happened in the Horn of Africa since this book first appeared in 1955. What were then the British Somaliland Protectorate and the United Nations Trust territory of Somalia (administered by Italy) are now the northern and southern regions of the Somali Republic, formed by the union of these countries when they became independent in the summer of 1960. Since that date there have been many changes of government and two general elections with a plethora of competing political parties. Throughout these political upheavals the Somali Republic has maintained high standards of parliamentary democracy and of personal freedom. This unusual degree of political tolerance—which, of course, does not mean the complete lack of nepotism or corruption, nor the total absence of social and economic stagnation, reflects the ethnic and cultural homogeneity upon which the Republic is founded. It is this which gives the new state an enviable degree of national solidarity and which has enabled the two distinct and sometimes mutually incompatible colonial legacies of its component parts to be assimilated and successfully merged within the life of the nation.

This is not to say that the process of substantive unification in all spheres of public and private activity has proceeded without rivalry or rancour. There has inevitably been considerable competition between the English-speaking northern Somali and their southern, Italian-oriented countrymen. But, although the latter began with the benefits of a longer period of preparation for independence, richer economic resources, a larger investment of foreign aid, and a simple demographic advantage in weight of numbers, this situation has now, in many respects, been redressed. The northerners have shown remarkable agility and zest in thrusting themselves forward in all the significant avenues of the southern-based life of the Republic. English is rapidly becoming the favoured foreign language and is even challenging the position of Arabic—all the more remarkable in a society that is thoroughly Muslim and in a state which is formally Islamic. The fullest political expression of this trend to date was the appointment in 1967 of Mr. Mohammad Haji Ibrahim Egal as the first northern Prime Minister of the Republic.

This satisfying record of internal political progress in the welding together of the two regions of the state, not unfortunately accompanied by comparable achievements in economic development, has until recently been bought at the price of hostile relations with the neighbouring states of Ethiopia and Kenya. If, unlike so many other African states, the Somali Republic is a nation in the full sense rather than a state in search of national solidarity, its statehood is incomplete in the sense that there still remain large Somali communities outside its frontiers in the adjoining regions of Ethiopia, Kenya, and French Somaliland. Since, moreover, the Republic is founded on the premise of Somali identity, its nationalism does not stop conveniently at its arbitrary and contested boundaries, but extends into the adjacent Somali regions for whose peoples it claims the same right to self-, and in effect, to Somali-determination. Naturally, the pluralist states of Ethiopia and Kenya have been as reluctant to meet these claims as the Somali have been anxious to press them.

For the first seven years of the Republic's life these apparently irreconcilable positions led to constant tension between the three states, occasional eruptions of war between Ethiopia and Somalia, and a continuous and costly guerilla campaign by Somali nationalists—the so-called "*shifta*" in northern Kenya. Since the formation of Mr. Mohammad Ibrahim Egal's government, however, the Republic has embarked on an energetic policy of direct negotiation with these powerful neighbours, and with the mediation of other African leaders, a détente has been achieved. Kenya, at least, now appears to acknowledge that as she has a case, so

also does the Somali Republic. Although negotiations with Ethiopia do not yet seem to have reached agreement at such a fundamental level, relations between the two states have recently attained an unprecedented degree of cordiality which may ultimately lead to a more profound understanding.

With Ethiopia's interest in the port of Jibuti and Somalia's concern for the well-being of her co-nationals there, French Somaliland has occupied a central place in the dispute between Ethiopia and the Republic. Largely through their concentration in Jibuti, to which they were attracted by the employment opportunities available, the Somali community in the territory has tended to be more heavily involved in its modern economy and more responsive to educational and other facilities than the more sheltered and traditionally orientated Afar (Danakil) community of the hinterland. Consequently, throughout its history until the last ten years or so, internal affairs have tended to be dominated by the thrusting and politically conscious Somali at the expense of the Afar. Thus when under the French *loi cadre* an elected legislature with some degree of internal responsibility was introduced in 1957 this predictably led to the formation of a Somali-dominated local government.

However, following the results of the 1958 referendum which rejected independence, for which the more ardently nationalist Somali leaders had campaigned unsuccessfully, the balance of power began to swing towards the Afar who, as a whole, had voted for the continuation of French rule. The Afar who in this context were clearly emerging as the more conservative and reliably pro-French community evidently saw the metropolitan power as their protectors and advocates against the Somali. Acutely conscious of the growing menace of Pan-Somali nationalism, for the territorial elections of 1963 the French authorities adjusted the voting constituencies in such a way as to maximise Afar representation and minimise that of the Somali. This produced the desired Afar majority in the local assembly and led to the formation of an Afar-led local government. The seal on this new accord between the Afar and the French was set in the further referendum of March 1967 in which the territory was again asked to choose between independence (without aid or any services from France) and a fuller degree of local autonomy in continued association with France. Following the massive deportation of Somali who were claimed to be recent immigrants from the adjoining northern regions of the Republic (and some of whom were, of course, in this category and legitimately excluded from participation), the Afar policy of a further step forward under French tutelage was endorsed by the electorate.

This led to the increased entrenchment of Afar power with a militant Afar-dominated government which embarked on a policy of replacing Somali employees in the public services. The new authorities also changed the by now acutely embarrassing name of the territory to its present title—the French territory of the Afar and Issa (the Issa, or Esa, being the dominant indigenous Somali clan). The intention here is, of course, to seek more completely to assert the territory's particularity and to insulate it from the heady tides of Pan-Somali nationalism, and to a lesser extent of Ethiopian influence, emanating from its powerful neighbours. The results of the referendum and the further endorsement of French over-rule are claimed, perhaps rightly, in official metropolitan circles to have at least prevented a major military confrontation between Ethiopia and Somalia. They will, it is argued, provide for the local population a breathing space in which to receive a fuller, and more dynamically directed preparation for autonomy than has been available in the past. Recent external events seem also to be working in the same direction. For the closure of the Suez canal has reduced Jibuti's traffic to a quarter of its normal level, and while the internal implications of this are that the Afar have gained control of a sadly reduced economic kingdom, the long-term effect must surely be to encourage Ethiopia to intensify her policy of developing her own independent ports in Eritrea and the communications leading to them. It is more difficult to forecast how this will affect

the rival interests of the Somali Republic which are primarily political. At the time of writing, at least, the Republic is pursuing a similar policy of peaceful negotiation with France—as with Ethiopia and Kenya, and seeking an intensification of cultural and economic links with all these countries.

These far-reaching developments in the political circumstances of the peoples dealt with in this book have helped to stimulate the growth of scholarly interest in the area. As a result there is now a much more substantial body of data, collected in the main by professional scholars, on the ethnography, linguistics, sociology, and politics of the Somali (and to a lesser extent on the Afar) than was the case in 1955 when this study was originally published. Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to revise the original text in the light of this new information, but an additional bibliography has been included which indicates the more significant results of this new research. In the sources listed there the reader will be able to find the latest available information on subjects which are treated here on the basis of the older literature.

It may be useful to conclude this brief introduction by indicating some of the main achievements in research since 1955 and some of the more glaring lacunae which at least in my view still exist and urgently require attention. It is pleasing to record that the distinguished Italian scholar, Enrico Cerulli, has now published three new volumes (Cerulli, 1957, 1959, 1964) which collect together his many scattered writings on Somali ethnography and language and also include previously unpublished material, particularly on the Hawiye and Southern Somali. This new data collected over forty years ago is of special interest since important new sociological research on the Hawiye has recently been carried out by Dr. Frank Mahony. When Dr. Mahony publishes his findings it will be possible to claim a fairly complete ethnographic coverage for the northern Somali pastoralists as a whole. And in conjunction with the results of my own field research begun in 1955 (after this book was written) amongst the Dir, Ishaak, and northern Darod groups of clans, it should be possible to begin more detailed and subtle analyses of the interplay between variations in northern Somali social institutions and those in terrain and economy. The picture for the northern Somali is all the fuller now that we have material also on the Issa of the extreme north-west of the Republic and of the Territory of the Afar and Issa from my own work (Lewis, 1961) and from recent French publicatons (e.g. Albospeyre *et al*, 1959) This latter source is, in fact, more valuable on the adjoining Afar, of whom we are also beginning to have much better knowledge from the very full and detailed studies of Colonel E. Chedeville, of which alas so little has yet been published (Chedeville, 1966).

No similar corpus of published material is yet available on the southern Somali (Digil and Rahanweyn), but the position should soon improve. Following my own briefer research in this area (Lewis, 1969), my colleague Virginia Luling has made a detailed sociological study at Afgoi which is now being prepared for publication. While this new material will greatly augment our understanding of the similarities and differences between the northern and southern branches of the Somali nation, there is still abundant scope for further research in the south. There have been no modern sociological studies in any depth of the Digil group, nor of the riverine communities which are of part-Swahili origin and which are today being in all senses thoroughly Somalicised. There is also an outstanding need for a concentrated study of urbanisation which would examine in detail the structure of the growing multi-clan towns of the south. Here research into the social structure of such specialised urban communities as the Rer Hamar of Mogadishu and other essentially urban groups of this sort would yield valuable results.

This brings us back to the related fields of politics and economics. Although a host of official studies have been made by international and other agencies on various aspects of Somali economics, there is only one analysis so far published in book form by an academic economist which deals with both the traditional and modern sectors of the economy (Karp, 1960). Here clearly there is room for much further work.

Politics and particularly Somali nationalism have, understandibly enough, received much more attention. In addition to my own work which is largely a by-product of more general sociological research (Lewis, 1961, 1965, etc.), the most penetrating studies to date are those made by Professor Al Castagno of Boston (Castagno, 1964). Again, although we have fairly good coverage on the general scope and significance of internal party politics, and in external relations of the Pan-Somali movement and its problems (Touval, 1963; Drysdale, 1964), there is still much to accomplish. We have as yet no full and systematic account of the origins of Somali nationalism although a valuable record of the history of the Somali Youth League party has been published in Arabic by the indefatiguable local historian Sheikh Jama Umar Isa. There is plenty of scope also for more detailed analyses of the workings of Somali political parties and of the relations between their leaders and their rural followers. Again, there is need, practical as well as academic, for a thorough appraisal of the structure and functioning of local government both in rural and urban areas. Outside the Republic, in the French territory, we have still much to learn in all these respects although the recent publication by Thompson and Adloff (1968) goes far to fill out the picture.

Coming now to linguistics, a subject which in Somalia at least is far from devoid of political implications, it is gratifying to record that substantial advances have been achieved since this book was written. Here pride of place must be assigned to the devoted labours of B. W. Andrzejewski (1955 *et seq.*) who almost single-handed has put Somali linguistic studies very firmly on the linguist's map (as well as contributing substantially on Galla and other Custitic languages). His outstanding research into most aspects of the speech of the northern Somali and into the extensive oral prose and poetry of the area (see Galaal and Andrzejewski, 1956; Andrzejewski and Lewis, 1964), leaves only the various southern dialects (some of which have been charted by Moreno 1955) to be equally fully explored and analysed. In the absence to date of any fuller work, I must also record the importance of the long-delayed publication of the late R. C. Abraham's dictionary (Abraham, 1964).

In what may appear to be a rather disjointed exposé, I have left until last the topic of archaeological research which remains in many respects at once the most challenging and the least-well explored field in studies of the Horn of Africa. Somaliland (by which I mean the whole Somali area), like Ethiopia, abounds in striking physical evidence of earlier times, offering archaeological sites which cry out for excavation and which, despite the pioneering efforts of Dr. Graziosi and Dr. Desmond Clark, are still very far from being satisfactorily exploited. These two distinguished archaeologists have laid the foundation for fuller studies in the early and pre-historic periods. But the historic sites of the ancient cities on the coast and hinterland retain their secrets. As long ago as 1937 Major Curle made a valuable survey of many of the sites in the north collecting evidence which indicated that the majority of these often quite large settlements flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, thus coinciding with the period of Islamic military and political ascendancy in the long history of conflict with Christian Ethiopia. Yet despite the obvious relevance of more intensive examination of these neglected sites for the history not only of Somalia, but also of Ethiopia and a wider area, not one has yet been professionally excavated.

Finally, it seems appropriate to conclude this brief survey of more recent research by paying tribute to the work of the small but devoted band of local scholars in the Somali Republic—Mr. Muse Galal, Sheikh Jama Umar Isa, Mr. Shirre Jama, Dr. Yusuf Osman Kenadid, and Dr. Michele Pirone, as well as others in Jibuti—who have patiently collected material on local history, literature, and language and actively promoted public interest in the value of this work. It is to be hoped tht their initiative will soon be followed by an efflorescence of further research by younger, professionally trained, local scholars. Perhaps, too, this is the place to advertise the fact that, since independence in 1960, successive Somali governments have shown a lively interest in accepting and encouraging research on local questions by foreign

scholars to whom they have offered generous facilities and received with traditional Somali hospitality. Although the Republic can as yet boast no counterpart to the excellent Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa, there can be few countries where the foreign researcher is more welcome or given greater freedom to carry out his work without let or hindrance. That at least is my experience.

London: April 1969. I. M. LEWIS

PREFACE TO 1994 EDITION

The disintegration of the Somali Republic in the internal conflicts of the 1990s seems to have added to the demand for this book which has now been out of print for some years. This new edition departs from previous editions (the first edition of 1955 and the revised edition of 1969) in including a report on the population, social organisation, and land holding situation in the Inter-Riverine Area of southern Somalia which was written for FAO in 1964 (Appendices I, II, and III). Unlike the rest of the book which was based solely on library research undertaken prior to my own anthropological fieldwork (beginning in 1955), this new material is based on field research which I carried out in the region in 1957, 1962, and 1964. Although much has happened in Somalia since then, the groups described are still the main protagonists in the region and this account of their relationships and patterns of land use may help in planning the region's reconstruction when conditions permit.

This edition includes the 1969 bibliography. For additional information on the Somali and Afar subsequent to that date, the reader is referred to M.W. DeLancey et al., *Somalia, World Bibliographical series*, vol.92 and P.J. Schraeder, *Djibouti, World Bibliographical series*, vol.118. For further references see the annual *Africa Bibliography* of the International African Institute.

I.M. Lewis
London School of Economics
July 1994.

THE SOMALI, AFAR (DANAKIL) AND SAHO

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that the Somali, Afar, and Saho are very closely related; according to Cerulli they belong, with the Galla and Beja, to the Southern Cushitic peoples. The Somali and Afar, and the Afar and Saho have traditions of common origin in the north-west corner of the Horn of Africa. All three peoples exhibit what is basically a common culture, the material culture being almost uniform, with differences among the Saho to be attributed to Ethiopian influence. Variations in ecology are also partly responsible for slight differences. Nomadism is the basic economy with the camel as burden animal, though among the Saho and in some parts of southern Somalia, camels are few and oxen replace them as beasts of burden. Cultivation is practised by some of the Saho, by very few Afar, but extensively in southern Somalia.

Of the three languages, Somali is closely related to Afar and Saho, which are practically identical. All three peoples are Mohammedan, the Somali and Saho being particularly devout and orthodox, although some Christian tribes are found among the Saho. The form of Islam followed—Sufism (Islamic mysticism)—reflects the syncretism of Mohammedanism with the common Cushitic religion of the peoples before their conversion to the new religion.

In physical type the three peoples are closely similar, with differences among the Saho again probably attributable to Abyssinian influence. Although generally culturally similar, there are certainly considerable variations in social structure, but they are variations on a common theme. The Somali, Saho, and Afar all depend for their social cohesion and organization upon a lineage system. This is particularly clear in the case of the Somali, who are, comparatively, a very large-scale highly integrated society. No competent studies have yet been made of the social structure of either the Afar or Saho, but the scanty information available indicates the existence of an agnatic lineage system in each. There appear, however, to be important differences between the three systems.

All three peoples are extremely individualistic and this is consistent with their segmentary political structure. Each order of tribal segmentation has its representative head, so that the power and authority with which particular chiefs are invested is a function of the segments involved in any given situation. There is generally no overriding centralized political organization although exceptions are found in the sultanates which have arisen in some parts of Dankalia and Somaliland. More typically, however, the office of chieftaincy approximates to the type of the Arab sheik. In essence the tribal chief is a representative figure with powers limited by the council which he convenes. Frequently, though not always, there is a division between hereditary ritual authority and political leadership.

LANGUAGE

The Somali language is classified as a Single Unit[1] within which are three main dialectal divisions, each comprising a number of variants. Of these no complete survey has been made to date and much further research is required. The tentative division shown is that of Andrzejewski. The dialects have no separate names and are distinguished overleaf according to the tribal affiliations of their speakers.

[1] Bryan and Tucker, *Handbook of African Languages*, vol. III (in press).

Dialect Clusters:

1. Spoken by the following tribal-families: Ishaak; Darod; Dir (Gadabursi and Esa); Hawiya.
2. Spoken by: Rahanwein; The Jiddu and Tunni may be classified here, although there is as yet very little reliable information on their speech.
3. Spoken by: Benadir, the largely detribalized inhabitants of the coastal towns of Somalia (the area being often referred to as the Benadir Coast). This dialect is somewhere intermediate between 1 and 2.

Arabic is used throughout the Somali area in much the same way as was Latin in Mediæval Europe (i.e., for all official and religious documents, etc.). Somali is unwritten, although the Ismanya (Osmania) script[2] also known as "Somali writing" has recently assumed some importance and is used for dialects 1 and 3; dialect 2 is completely unwritten. More recently still a new script has been proposed.[3]

There is a vast quantity of oral literature in Somali,[4] particularly in dialect 1. The literary language is highly stylized, and differs widely from the spoken language. Literature in printed form is almost non-existent: some parts of the Bible and other religious works have been produced by Europeans, but these are not popularly read, not only because they belong to Christianity, but also because their language and style do not conform to the literary traditions of the Somali.

Afar (Danakil) and Saho constitute a Language Group. It is not known whether there are dialectal variants of Afar, although the speech of the Dahlak Archipelago has been described as divergent. In Saho there are minor local variants, but the language may be regarded as uniform. The speech of the Asaorta and Hazu, and of the inhabitants of Irob district, have been recorded.

[2] Maino, 1951, pp. 108–21.
[3] Galaal, 1954.
[4] M. Laurence, *A Tree for Poverty: Somali Prose and Verse*, 1954.

I. THE SOMALI

TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

Location: Neighbouring Tribes

The Somali inhabit an area of approximately 1,000 by 500 square miles in the Horn of Africa, running from 2° latitude south to 12° latitude north, confined to the east by the Indian Ocean, and to the west and south-west by Ethiopia and Kenya.

Neighbouring tribes are: to the north and north-west the Afar; to the west the Galla—Itu, Ala, Aniya, Arussi, and Boran; and to the south, the Wardai Galla. The Somali country extends over some 320,000 square miles, and is divided politically among the Colonial Powers into: French Somaliland, 5,790 sq. miles[1]; British Somaliland, 68,000 sq. miles; the United Nations Trusteeship Territory of Somalia, administered by Italy, 200,000 sq. miles; and Ethiopian territory.[2] This vast region is occupied by an unevenly distributed population of about two million Somali. Terrain and climate present a gradual progression from the extreme aridity and heat of the north-west corner, which lies in French territory, through the relatively less barren lands and milder conditions of British Somaliland, to the comparatively arable soils and more temperate climate of the Italian Trusteeship, in which the richest country of Somaliland is to be found. The barren northern regions provide grazing for camels, sheep, and goats, and in some of the richer pastures of the plains cattle-husbandry is increasing. Here, permanent cultivation is impossible, for arable land only occurs in exiguous patches, although where the ecology is favourable, temporary cultivation is practised by the nomadic tribesmen of the region. Cultivation, as a whole, is of little direct importance compared with stock-raising.

In the southern territories of the Italian Trusteeship, where great expanses of arable land, bordered by rich pastures, stretch across the undulating plains, cattle abound and large settlements of sedentary cultivators are found. The development of the agricultural resources of the country almost enabled the Italian Administration to achieve its aim of a self-supporting colony exporting cotton, tropical fruits, and other produce, to the home-country.

Nomenclature

In classical times the Somali were known as "Berbers,"[3] a designation which survives in the name of the town of Berbera. This usage runs through the writing of the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages, who describe the inhabitants of the southern part of the Horn as "Zengi." The Zengi are to be identified with the pre-Cushitic Negroid precursors of the Hamitic Galla and Somali. The word "Somali" first appears in an Ethiopic hymn celebrating the victories of the Abyssinian Negus Yeshaq (1414–29)[4] against the State of Ifat (which later became the State of Adal), and occurs frequently in the Futuh al-Habasha (1540–50). Various attempts have been made to establish the origin of the word "Somali": it has been suggested that it is a combination of *so* (go) and *mal* (milk) referring to their pastoral economy. Burton, quoting from the Kamus, says that "Samai" was the nickname given to a tribal chieftain who had thrust out (*samala*) his brother's eye.[5]

[1] Excluding the remaining and larger part of French Somaliland inhabited by the Afar (Danakil).

[2] See Hamilton, 1911, p. 11; *British Somaliland*, Col. Rep. 1949, p. 4; Deschamps, 1948, p. 4; U.N. Report, 1952, p. 1.

[3] See Ferrand, 1903, pp. 24–6; Drake-Brockman, 1912, pp. 1–20; Guillain, 1856, vol. I.

[4] Guidi, 1889.

[5] Burton, 1894, I, p. 72.

Wright suggests that " Somali " derives from the epithet " Soumahe " (heathens) bestowed upon the Somali after the campaigns of Ahmed Grañ in the 16th century.[6] The 1945 Military Report derives " Somali " from Soma bin Tersoma Nagashi, " who was governor of the country from Zeilah to Hafun."[7] Such a derivation is substantiated by the genealogies of Drake-Brockman,[8] and Hunt,[9] in which Samale Ram Nag (–ashi ?) figures as the son of Ram Nag (–ashi ?) who is currently represented as having been an immigrant Hindu.[10] While Cushitic philologists have not yet succeeded in establishing the etymology of the word " Somali," it seems extremely likely that its use to designate the noble inhabitants of Somaliland derives from its being the name of a tribal chieftain or patriarch. This is certainly how the Somali themselves view it, and the practice of tribal groups ascribing their origin to eponymous ancestors is a regular feature of Somali society. In seeking to characterize this complex process, one has to attempt to discriminate between the historically valid component of tradition, and the sociological rationalization which operates upon it. On the one hand, there is no doubt that there has been a continuous tradition of immigrant Arabs who have become local chieftains, and on the other, it is a general principle of Somali society to express contemporary group solidarity by postulating descent from an eponymous ancestor. Many of the immigrant sheiks to whom the Somali trace descent cannot be shown to have been historical personages, but they are nonetheless the type of historical figures, and while individual ancestors cannot be shown to have existed or to have left Arabia and settled in Somaliland at determined dates acceptable to the criteria of historical veracity, history shows that there has been a constant movement of this kind. Somali tribes have often become powerful through alliance with immigrant Arab sheiks, of whom in retrospect they consider themselves the descendants.

Terminology

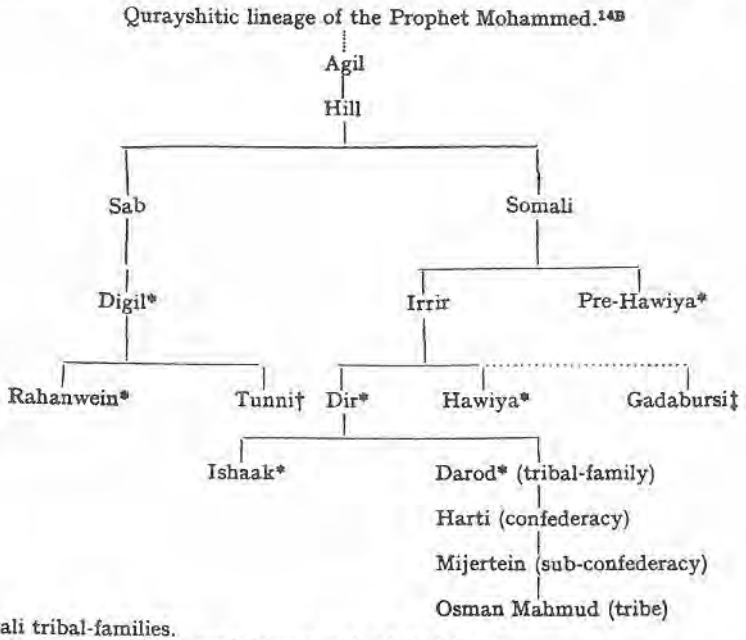
The Somali people comprise a vast system of segmented groups which it is convenient to call nation, tribal-family, confederacy, sub-confederacy, and tribe. To avoid confusion, it is essential to define the Somali concept of " tribe."[11] A Somali tribe is a highly segmented group, with its own specific name and tribal mark (*sumad*), traditions and sentiments. It occupies a common territory within which it considers itself, and is considered by others, to be the land-holding unit. The ecology of the region occupied imposes certain characteristic economic traits. The tribe has a segmented political organization, normally culminating in a tribal chief, whose power is restricted to matters concerning the tribe as a whole. In other words, the tribal chief is a figure who figures significantly only when all the sections into which the tribe is divided unite in a situation calling for tribal unity. He is approached through the political organization of the segments. Tribal unity appears in the joint conduct of war, cattle-raiding against other tribes, and in the settlement of feuds within the tribe by payment of blood-compensation. The tribe acts as a unit in the adoption of strangers as clients (*arifa*) into the common tribal structure. Solidarity in marriage is associated with unity in war ; the tribe seems to be largely exogamous. The tribe also acts generally as a corporate unit in religious observance and the performance of ritual. Each of the tribal characteristics enumerated here will be considered in detail below.[12]

[6] Wright, 1943, p. 84.
[7] Military Report, 1945, p. 7.
[8] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 273.
[9] Hunt, 1951, p. 125.
[10] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 71.
[11] See Cucinotta, 1921, p. 15.
[12] See below, pp. 88–112.

THE SOMALI AND SAB; TRIBAL-FAMILIES AND CONFEDERACIES

The Somali nation is composed of two parts, the Somali and the Sab.[13] Strictly, the word "Somali" does not apply to the Sab, who say themselves that they are "Sab," and are so described and distinguished by the "Somali"; nor is the Sab group subsumed under the name "Somali" in the total genealogy of the Somali nation. The Sab stand opposed to the Somali,[14] and are grouped with them only

CONDENSED GENEALOGY OF THE SOMALI NATION, REPRESENTING SEGMENTATION INTO SOCIAL GROUPS,[14A] WITH SPECIMEN SEGMENTATION OF ONE TRIBAL FAMILY, THE DAROD



* Somali tribal-families.
† The Tunni are a tribal confederacy, not a tribal-family.
‡ The Gadabursi are a tribe of uncertain affiliation; they may belong to the Dir tribal-family.

at a higher genealogical level, when the two ancestors Sab and Somali, are traced back to Arabian origins, in the total genealogy of the inhabitants of Somaliland.

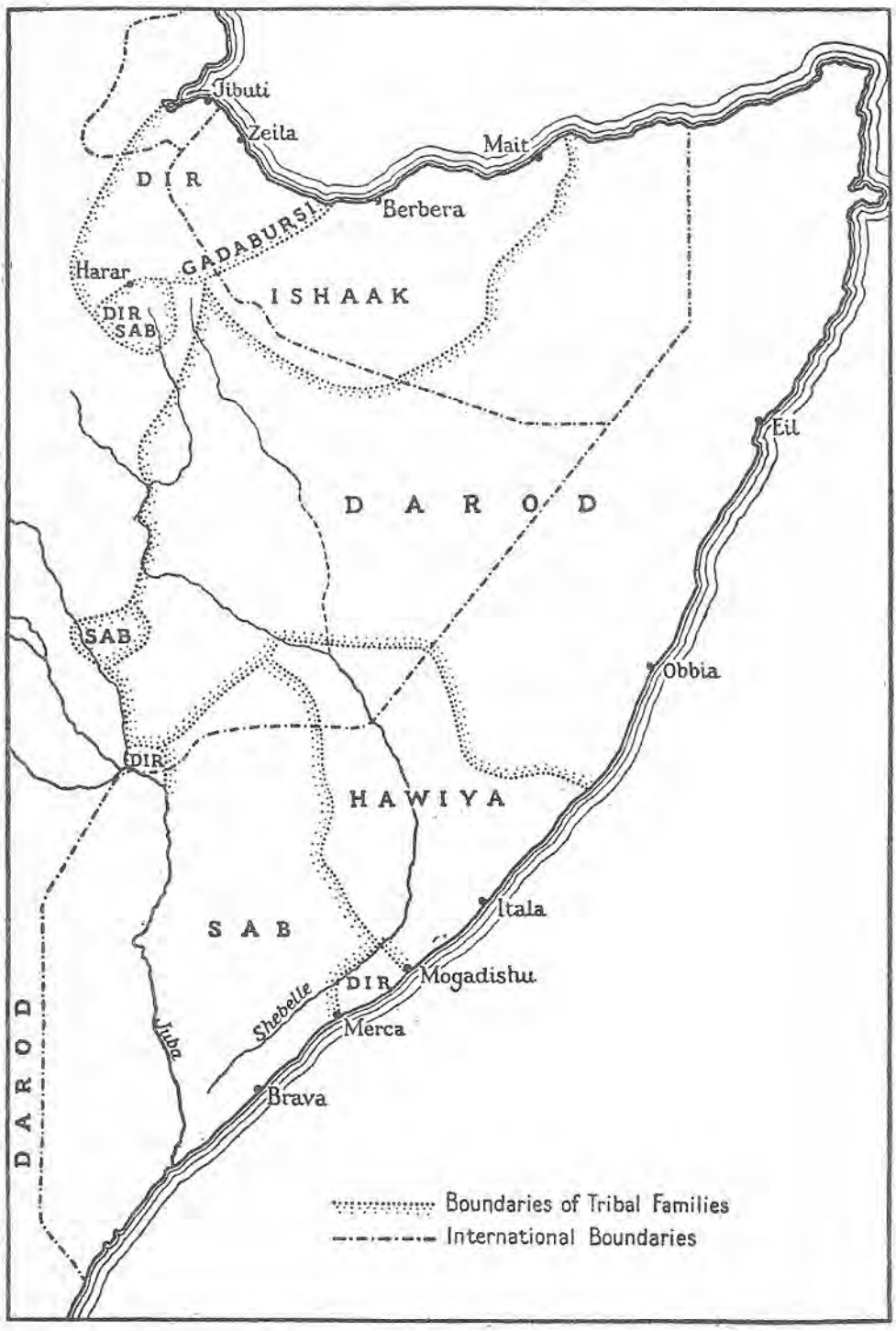
The Somali proper, numbering well over a million and a half, are the predominantly nomadic pastoralists of northern Somaliland; their most southerly representatives are the Hawiya of Somalia and the trans-Juba Darod. These are numerically the most important divisions of the Somali. The Hawiya are collaterally descended with the Dir, a relatively small group, from a common ancestor, Irrir, brother of the ancestor of the pre-Hawiya. The largest autonomous group representative of the Dir family are the Esa of British and French Somaliland. The relation of the Gadabursi to the other tribal-families is not clear, but they seem genealogically

[13] I use Sab to designate the autonomous Digil tribal confederacies of Somalia, and *sab* to indicate the dispersed outcaste peoples of northern Somaliland.

[14] See chart.

[14A] Collated from: Hunt, 1951, p. 125; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 273; Colucci, 1924, pp. 90–110; Caniglia, 1922, p. 36; Barile, 1935, p. 26; Zoli, 1927, p. 262; Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 385; Paulitschke, 1880, p. 7; Wright, MS. etc.

[14B] See Wustenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien.* Gottingen, 1853.


Jibuti
Zeila
Mait
DIR
Berbera
GADABURSI
Harar
ISHAAK
DIR
SAB
Eil
D A R O D
SAB
Obbia
DIR
HAWIYA
Itala
S A B
DIR
Mogadishu
Shebelle
Merca
Juba
Brava
D A R O D
Boundaries of Tribal Families
International Boundaries

to stand with the Dir and Hawiya, although ethnically and culturally they seem more closely to resemble the Sab of Somalia, and are said to be despised by the other northern Somali.[15] The Dir are generally considered the oldest of the Somali[16] and, like the pre-Hawiya, have almost disappeared as a strong autonomous tribal-family: apart from the Esa mentioned above, a small group of tribes survives in Somalia between Merca, Mogadishu, and the Shebelle. The ancestor of the Dir is more important, however, in having given rise, through the intermarriage of his daughters with immigrant Arabs, to the large and important Ishaak and Darod tribal-families. Traditions of descent from eponymous Arabian ancestors are particularly strong among the Ishaak and Darod, but are shared, in their own right, by the Hawiya and Dir. At a higher level of inclusiveness, all the Somali peoples, both Somali and Sab, trace descent to the Qurayshitic lineage of the Prophet Mohammed. Somali genealogies are extrapolated to the Prophet and Founder of Islam. "Haagi" and "Hashya" are titles signifying, "of noble lineage," which are sometimes applied to the whole Somali group, sometimes to tribal-families, such as the Darod and Ishaak, within it. These words occur frequently, and sometimes appear as the names of ancestors in genealogies: they always refer to descent, putative or real, from immigrant Arab sheiks. The use of "Haagi" and its variants in this context has caused much obscurity in the literature, and has never been satisfactorily elucidated. There can be no doubt, however, that "Haagi" here has the obvious connotation of holiness applied to a Mohammedan who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and refers to descent from Arabian sheiks who are supposed to have fulfilled this duty. It is important to note that "Haagi" and "Somali" are not coterminous in meaning; many of the Sab tribes have traditions of Arabian descent as good as their northern Somali neighbours who hold them in contempt. The cleavage between noble Somali and despised Sab is not expressed in terms of a distinction between "Haagi" and Sab, and it is interesting that Islam has not been invoked to provide a rationalization of the Somali/Sab division in terms of the ascription of the first to the Qurayshitic lineage of the Prophet at the expense of the second.

The Sab, who number about a quarter of a million, are found in Somalia south of the Hawiya, mainly along the Juba river. They are segmented into three families: the Digil, Rahanwein, and Tunni, of which the last two are numerically the most important. The Rahanwein and Tunni derive from the Digil who, although they have been superseded in strength, still survive as a small independent confederacy.

The Agnatic Structure of the Somali and Sab

We have referred above to the position of the principal tribal-families in the total genealogical tree of the Somali people and spoken of the relationships between these groups as those between their eponymous ancestors. This is the outcome, at the highest structural level, of a principle which runs through the entire Somali social structure, and which will be generally referred to as the agnatic basis of Somali society, where community of social relations is expressed genealogically. This introduces the concept of clan which, in Somaliland, is a highly segmented group of agnates tracing descent from a common eponymous ancestor.

The tribes of the Somali group generally have a well-defined patrilineal genealogical structure; clan and tribe are identical, and tribal sections correspond to clan segments (lineages), which are politically important since tribal relations are expressed genealogically in terms of clanship. The relations between the different units of

[15] Burton, 1894, I, pp. 167–8 reports that the Gadabursi show Negroid affinity and are despised by the other Somali. The Military Governor's Report of British Somaliland for 1945 (p. 5) describes them as cultivating mainly in Ethiopian territory. Cf. Clifford, 1936, p. 289. This appears to suggest that they might be classed as Sab; further information is required.

[16] Burton, op. cit., p. 73; Francolini, 1938, p. 1,122; Colucci, 1924, p. 88.

tribal structure, from the smallest temporary settlement of the nomadic Somali to the inclusive tribal-family, are consistently expressed genealogically.

Among the primarily sedentary cultivating Sab the basic social unit tends to become the mixed-village, which has a heterogeneous clan composition and consists of men of various origins and provenance aggregated to a central agnatic descent-group which gives the assemblage its structure. The tribe here has a dominant clan structure; it is identified with a particular clan, whose name it takes, but may contain a majority of men of foreign clans. The clan is no longer a territorial group and, where political relations are expressed genealogically, they are identified with the dispersed dominant clan. In many cases, however, the dominant clan no longer represents the territorial distribution of the tribal sections, and political relations in this sense are regulated otherwise than genealogically. The agnatic political structure has often completely disintegrated. Frequently, however, among the Sab, the relations between tribes or tribal confederacies are still expressed genealogically, while the relations of the smaller constituent sections are ordered independently and according to different principles. Sometimes again among the Sab, while the lineages of dominant clans still represent the territorial distribution of arable land, the genealogical ordering of political relations is transcended at a higher structural level and gives place to unions defined by common occupancy of land. Thus one finds territorial coalitions of tribes as tribal-clusters, in which the unity of the group is not expressed genealogically, coexisting with a division of the land according to lineage affiliation among the sections of the constituent tribes. In general, the Sab may be said to be in a state of transition from the dominant clan structure, in which a tribe is identified with a particular clan and its relations expressed in terms of it, towards territorially defined units, where the land is divided independently of the lineage affiliation of tribesmen. The mixed-village is emerging as the stable political unit and has lost the trappings of clanship.

In what follows, an attempt will be made to give a general account of the various Somali and Sab tribal-families, confederacies, and component tribes, which will also indicate the numerous lacunæ which mar the presentation of a satisfactory account of this subject.

The Darod

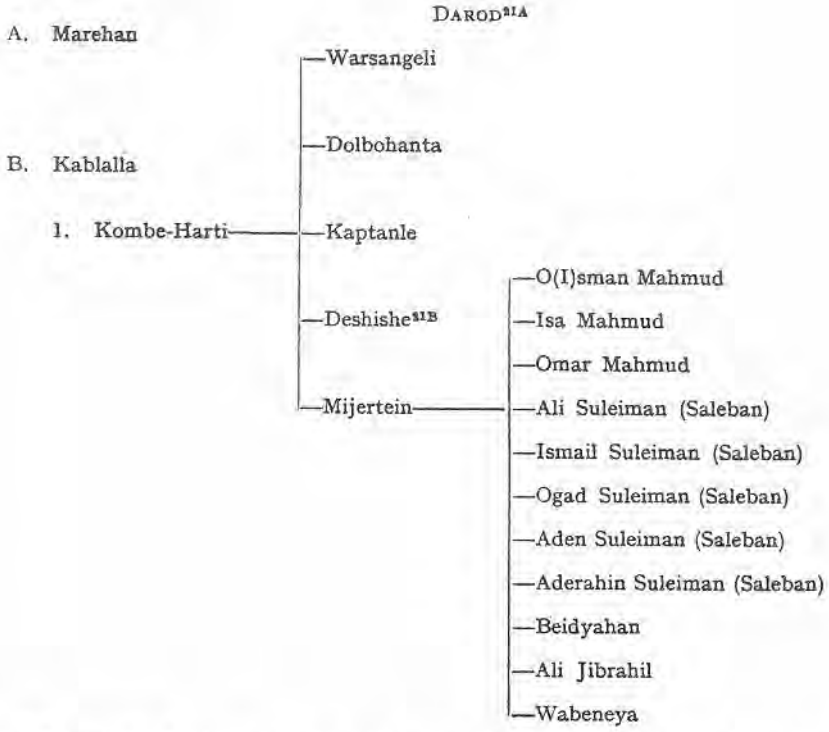
The Darod family of tribes trace descent from an immigrant Arabian culture-hero, Jibarti ibn Ismail, whose tomb in the Hadaftimo Mountains is a place of frequent pilgrimage. This sheik married Dir's daughter, Donbirra, and the issue of the marriage gave rise to the Darod tribes. In some traditions Darod is described as the father who married Donbirra, while in others he is represented as the principal son of the union. Darod's arrival on the Somali coast is given various dates between the Hejira and the 13th century,[17] though none of the proposed dates seems to have been satisfactorily substantiated. The traditions describing Darod's exodus from Arabia relate that he had refused to attend a feast given by his uncle, who was a sultan, on the grounds that the meat prepared for the guests was contaminated with human flesh and had been served by a menstruating woman. When the Sultan enquired into these charges he was assured by his servants that they were true, and to his further embarrassment his mother took this opportunity to tell him that he was her illegitimate son.[18] In these circumstances, Darod was driven from Arabia and sought refuge on the Somali coast, in the territory occupied by the Dir. Here he dug a well beside a large tree into the branches of which he would climb in the hope of descrying some signs of habitation. One day Dir's daughter, Donbirra, who was

[17] The date given by Révoil, 1882, p. 316, is the 75th year of the Hejira; Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 378, records the 8th century; Desmond Clark, suggests 600–700 A.D.; Hunt, 1951, p. 151, *c.* 1200 A.D.; Zoli, 1927, p. 139, 1249 A.D.

[18] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 72.

driving her father's flocks, came upon the well and met Darod. This was the beginning of regular visits. Dir, surprised at the fatness of his stock, followed his daughter on one of her visits to Darod and discovered Darod and the well. Darod quickly closed the well with a stone and climbed into the upper branches of the tree. After unsuccessful attempts to reopen the well, Dir and his followers sought Darod's aid, which he refused until they agreed to give him Donbirra in marriage in return for the right to use the well. Darod then descended, opened the well, and married Donbirra, their children forming the beginning of the Darod tribal-family.

This legend is typical of those describing the origins of immigrant Arabian sheiks who settled among the Somali as chiefs and are viewed retrospectively as the eponymous ancestors and culture-heroes of the noble Somali. In these, descent from the arms of a tree is a recurring motif, representing the gesture of submission made by the Somali autochthones to the immigrant Arabs whom they accepted as leaders.[19] As indicated above,[20] there is a strong historically valid component in these legends which, in the case of the Darod, is confirmed in the current practice of a Dir representative officiating at the ceremony of installation of the chief of the Darod family.[21]



[19] Frequently the immigrant patriarch is described as having descended on to the shoulders of those who accept him as their leader.

[20] See above, p. 14.

[21] See below, p. 101.

[21A] *Sources :* Cerulli, 1, 1919, p. 46 ; Colucci, 1924, p. 100 ; Puccioni, 1937, p. 30 ; Hunt, 1951, p. 146 ; Zoli, 1927, p. 273 ; Guillain, 1856, II, p. 400 ; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 120–43 ; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 273 ; Francolini, 1936, p. 43. For small groups not shown in these tables see especially Francolini and Drake-Brockman.

No attempt has been made to reproduce the full segmentation of the Darod family in these charts but only to group tribes according to the principal divisions of tribal confederacies and sub-confederacies.

[21B] Discisciu, Colucci and Cerulli.

The Darod are divided primarily into the Marehan and Kablalla; the first split into two groups, one north of the Shebelle and the other south of the Juba. The Marehan are nomads, with camels, sheep, goats, and some cattle, especially in the south where they are in contact with riverine cultivators along the Juba. They have a hereditary paramount chief, called *ugas*, appointed from Darod's lineage.[23]

The Kablalla are extremely numerous and in their segmentation comprise all the Darod confederacies, sub-confederacies and tribes with the sole exception of the Marehan mentioned above. They are divided into the Kombe-Harti and Kumade confederacies. The Kombe-Harti comprise the Mijertein sub-confederacy, and the Warsangeli, Dolbohanta and Deshishe tribes. The Mijertein have in the course of time absorbed other Harti tribes which have become incapable of a continued independent existence, and are an extremely closely integrated body. Their original habitat (and that of the Harti collectively) is in the nothern regions of Somalia, where there is virtually no permanent cultivation [23] and only temporary cultivation of durra practised, where possible, by the nomads of the region.[24] The nomadic economy depends on animal husbandry, camels, sheep, and goats, and some cattle, supplemented by the aromatic resources of the region. Incense-bearing trees are abundant. These and their produce, as well as ostrich feathers, are traded in the coastal ports which export dried fish, mother-of-pearl, and salt. The nomad's lot is to some slight extent alleviated by date-palm cultivation, not, however, very extensive, and the gathering of bush fruits which are fairly plentiful. Of a total population of 82,653 for the Mijertein region, 59,554 are pastoralist, 5,297 agriculturist-pastoralist, 920 sedentary cultivators, 9,692 fishermen and sailors, and 3,097 merchants.[25] The Mijertein region extends for some 30,080 sq. miles,[26] which, reckoning an interior population of nomads and semi-nomads of 64,850, gives a resultant population density of two per sq. mile. This figure gives some idea of the nature of the country and, for present ecological conditions, appears to indicate a maximum density, since the Darod tribes have been driven continuously southwards in search of new land.

The great movements which carried many of the Darod tribes into Jubaland seem to have begun in the 18th and 19th centuries when large numbers of Darod tribesmen had been admitted as clients among the Rahanwein. By the middle of the 19th century these had acquired sufficient strength to break free from their patrons and establish the strong and growing Darod tribes which are found to-day in trans-Juba. Here nomadism is still the dominant response, although more favourable conditions in the central and southern regions permit extensive cattle-breeding, the Boran breed of Zebu[27] being characteristic. Although themselves pastoralists, some of the trans-Juba tribes are economically interdependent with Negroid and Hawiya agriculturists established along the Juba. Alliances are concluded which allow the nomads to utilize the riverine grazing of their neighbours and to bring down their stock for watering through the riverine plantations.[28] The trans-Juba Darod tribes are particularly interesting as showing some peculiar cultural features which seem to have been borrowed from the Galla, whom they had met and overcome in their advance across the Juba. In this region blood is drawn from the necks of stock and, especially in cold weather, forms an important part of the diet.[29] The political

[22] Wright, MS.

[23] Cruttenden, 1849, p. 65 records that white jowari is cultivated along the banks of the Nogal.

[24] Guillain, 1856, II, pp. 397–471; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 127–43; Cerulli, 1919.

[25] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 270.

[26] Caraci, *R.G.I.*, 34, 1927, p. 121; the population was then estimated at only 43,700.

[27] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 111.

[28] Ferrandi, 1903; Wright, MS.; Cerulli, 22, 1943.

[29] Powell-Cotton, MSS.

structure is related to a military organization based on age-grades, adopted, apparently, as an aid to fighting the Galla.[30]

Both the northern and southern Kombe-Harti tribes have preserved a very high degree of cohesion, associated with the establishment, by a dynasty of immigrant Arabs, of a rudimentary sultanate, closely connected with trade to Arabia. This Arabian sultanate seems to have arisen in the 17th century and to have been grafted on to an already flourishing hereditary lineage of Harti chiefs.[31] The chiefly lineage of the Harti confederacy is particularly associated with the Osman Mahmud tribe of northern Somalia, for the chief of this tribe is automatically chief of the whole confederacy. At his installation representatives of all Harti tribes attend.[32] Whenever a marriage is contracted between members of two tribes, representatives of all the tribes of the confederacy are invited to the bridal feast and take part in ceremonies which emphasise at once their integrity as separate tribes and their union as members of the Harti confederacy.[33]

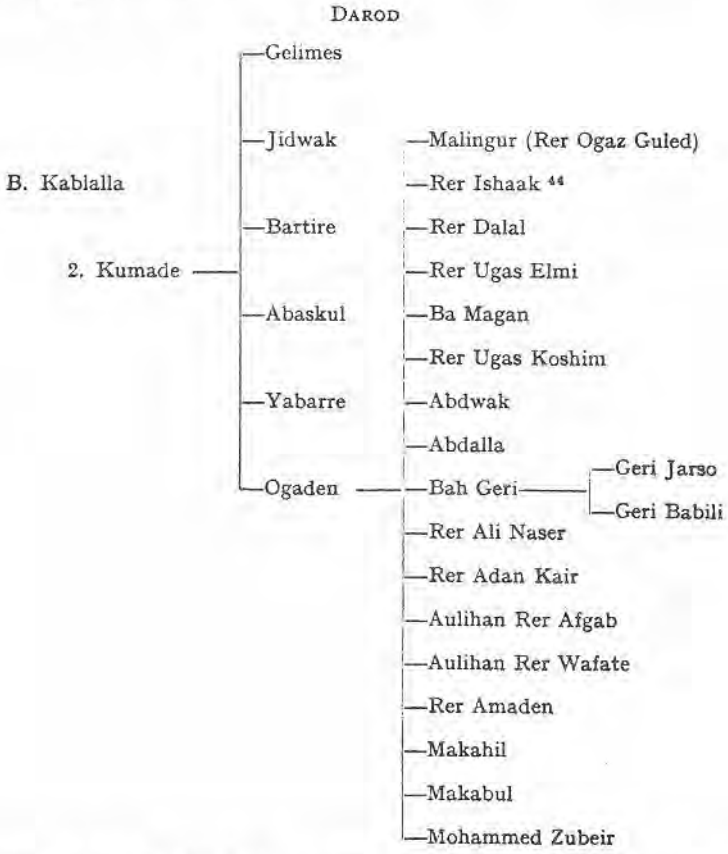
The remaining tribes of the Kombe-Harti confederacy are the Warsangeli, Dolbohanta, and Deshishe. The Deshishe are found in the north-west corner of Somalia among the Mijertein. The Warsangeli and Dolbohanta, pastoralists occupying the north-eastern corner of the British Protectorate, have in addition to the livestock common to the other members of the Harti confederacy considerable numbers of horses on which their warriors ride in battle. The name Warsangeli means, according to a popular etymology, " bringer of good news."[34] The tribe's grazing extends far south and sometimes reaches Taleh.[35] Of the several clan-territorial groups into which the tribe is divided, the most important are the Gerad Abdullah, from which the chief (*gerad*) is appointed, and the Dubeis, a hunting section using bows and arrows.[36] They have thus cultural and occupational features in common with the outcaste *sab* and their relations to the other Warsangeli sections would repay further study. The Warsangeli are much given to seafaring and compose the bulk of the crews manning the dhows which ply between Aden and Somaliland; along the coast are small settlements engaged almost exclusively in the gum trade.[37]

The two main divisions of the Dolbohanta are the Mahmud Gerad and the Farah Gerad, both with hereditary chiefs (*gerad*). The head of the Farah Gerad lives in the Nogal area, that of the Mahmud Gerad to the north-east round Erigavo, although the majority of his people graze their cattle in the Nogal valley. The Farah Gerad graze from the Ain valley up to Wal-Wal and Wardair.[38] Groups of both the Warsangeli and Dolbohanta have moved south across the Juba into Jubaland.

The second primary division of the Kablalla, the Kumade, are more highly segmented than the Kombe-Harti. Very little is known about the sub-confederacies and tribes of this division who number over half a million persons, and represent numerically the most important Darod confederacy.[39] The Kumade comprise the Gelimes, Ogaden, Jidwak, Bartire, Abaskul, and Yabarre. The Ogaden are by far the most numerous of these and I shall return to them after saying something of the others. The Gelimes are found on the Shebelle below the Hawiya Karanle. It is not clear whether the Jidwak still survive as a separate tribe or whether Jidwak is simply a collective name for the Bartire and Abaskul, as the genealogy collected

[30] Cerulli, 16, 1931, pp. 155–7; Zoli, 1927, pp. 189–93.
[31] See Guillain, 1856, vols. I and II; " Somalia," Ufficio Storico, Min. della Guerra, pp. 29 ff.; and Lewis, MS., pp. 121–4.
[32] Zoli, op. cit., p. 185. Guillain considers that the sultanate was founded in 1420.
[33] Cerulli, 1919, pp. 70–7; see also p. 137 below.
[34] Cruttenden, 1849, p. 72.
[35] Military Report, " British Somaliland, and its tribes," 1945, p. 4; Hunt, 1951, p. 166.
[36] Cruttenden, loc. cit.; Guillain, op. cit., p. 471.
[37] Military Report, p. 4; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 120–5.
[38] Military Report, loc. cit.; Hunt, op. cit., pp. 165–6.
[39] Puccioni (1937, p. 33) dismisses them in one page.

by Drake-Brockman seems to suggest.[40] At any rate, the Bartire are found to the east of Harar, where they were formerly pastoralists but are now cultivating Indian corn.[41] The Abaskul (also apparently known as Roble) are reputed to number 50,000, but little is known of them except that they are pastoral nomads living to the south-east of Harar, whither they are said to have come some three hundred years ago, abandoning the Ogaden in their search for new pastures.[42] The Yabarre of Jigjiga, numbering some 25,000, are stationed to the north of the Bartire and are exclusively agriculturist.[43]



The tribes of the Ogaden sub-confederacy, who occupy the region of the same name, are principally pastoralist, although some jowari cultivation is done along the freshets and ephemeral streams which traverse this vast area.[45] Hunting is an important activity and its products—ivory, skins, and ostrich feathers—are traded to coastal merchants.[46] There is a strong tradition of religious communities of sheiks in the Ogaden, to whom the reputation for intransigence and hostility, which Ogaden tribesmen have earned, is often attributed. There are in fact firm grounds for associat-

[40] 1912, p. 273.
[41] Francolini, 1938, p. 1,126.
[42] Ibid., p. 1,127.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Not to be confused with the Ishaak of British Somaliland.
[45] Hamilton, 1911, pp. 32–6.
[46] Ferrand, 1903, pp. 149–56 Puccioni, 1937, p. 33.

ing belligerency and anti-European sentiments with Islamic proselytizers and this is particularly so among the Ogaden. Here, as elsewhere, agriculture is associated with such communities.[47]

The hereditary chief of the Rer Ugas Elmi tribe is recognised as paramount chief of the Ogaden, but is a religious rather than a political figure.[48] Important Ogaden tribes who have moved south into trans-Juba, are the Aulihan, Mohammed Zubeir, Makabul and Talamoje[49] (i.e., the Abdwak and Abdalla).

We have mentioned briefly above Kumade tribes not belonging to the Ogaden sub-confederacy, who are found to-day in the region of Harar, whither they were probably driven in the 16th-century campaigns waged by Ahmed Grañ in the wars against Abyssinia. The Bah Geri, who are supposed to have entered the Harar region at this time either in the wake of Grañ's army or as part of it, do, however, belong to the Ogaden division and merit a more detailed description. After some time the Geri who were acting as hosts to two groups of immigrant Galla, the Babile to the south-west and the Jarso to the north-west and north-east, joined with these and split into two new fractions, the Geri Babili and the Geri Jarso. In each of these amalgamations the Geri are dominant, but the Geri Jarso are Galla-speaking.[50] The Geri Jarso inhabit the mountainous zone between Kondudo, Abdulla, Sarerta and Mila, and are nearly all cultivators. The Geri Babili occupy the region bounded by Areo, El Obo, Galashi, Mogor, and the Dailota plain. They are part nomadic and part agriculturist. The total Geri population is estimated at 200,000 tribesmen.[51] As for the Harar tribes generally and indeed for all the Kumade, there is virtually no information on their culture or social organization which might well show interesting similarities to the social structure of the adjacent Galla.

The Ishaak

The Ishaak, traditionally the descendants of an Arab sheik, Ishaak ibn Ahmed, who reached Somaliland between the 11th and 15th centuries,[52] comprise the bulk of the population of British Somaliland, and are almost entirely nomadic stock-owners. Ishaak's tomb, which is a celebrated place of pilgrimage and the coveted burial-ground of the devout, is at Mait. In some traditions Ishaak is supposed to have accompanied Darod; in others to have succeeded him after several centuries. On his arrival, Ishaak made an alliance with the Dir,[53] whom he found occupying the coastal regions, and married successively two daughters of a man called Magadle; but an Abyssinian slave-woman was the mother of his first-born children. The families stemming from Ishaak's children grew in strength and gradually displaced the Dir. He is said to have had eight sons: Awal, Ayub, Gerhajis, Arab, Toljaala, Sambur, Ibran, and Musa, the eponymous ancestors of the corresponding tribes. The Ibran and Sambur, small tribes hardly strong enough to exist independently, form part of the Habr Toljaala confederacy; the Ayub, for similar reasons, are allied with the Awal in the Habr Awal confederacy. The Habr Awal and Habr Gerhajis derive from the children of Magadle's daughters, while the Mohammed Abokr, Musa Abokr, and Omar, collectively the Habr Toljaala confederacy, are descended from the sons of Ishaak's Abyssinian wife. The Habr Awal is the most numerous confederacy

[47] Ferrand, op. cit., p. 151; Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, pp. 472, 480; Bottego, 1895, pp. 45–79; James, 1885, pp. 632–40; Swayne, 1903, pp. 4–7, viii.

[48] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., pp. 472, 480, genealogy; James, op. cit., p. 640; Cruttenden, 1849, p. 66.

[49] Zoli, 1927, pp. 267–72.

[50] Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 144–7; Burton, 1894, vol. I, p. 192; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 274, describes the Geri as divided into the Geri Ad and the Geri Babili.

[51] Francolini, 1938, pp. 1,127–9.

[52] Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 378, 10th century; Hunt, 1951, p. 151, 13th; Burton, I, p. 73, 15th; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 19, 15th.

[53] Burton considers that Ishaak's hosts were Galla.

ISHAAK[53A].

- Habr Awal
  - Saad Musa Awal
  - Issa Musa Awal
  - Ayub
- Habr Gerhajis
  - Habr Yunis
  - Aidagalla
  - Arab
- Habr Toljaala (Habr Habushed)
  - Mohammed Abokr (Ibran)
  - Ibrahim (Sambur)
  - Musa Abokr (Jaalo)
  - Ahmed (Toljaalo)[54]

of British Somaliland, and is composed of two tribes, the Saad Musa and the Issa Musa, as well as the Ayub mentioned above. Territorially the tribes are distributed along the coast between Berbera and Bulhar and in Hargeisa District, with grazing extending into Somalia and the Reserved Area of Ogaden as far south as Jigjiga. The Esa Musa of the Berbera District are the principal suppliers of burden camels in the Protectorate. In Hargeisa District agriculture has been adopted to some slight extent. The Habr Awal as a whole are a rich people, mainly thanks to the trade passing through the port of Berbera which lies in the territory of the Saad Musa. The confederacy has a chief (*gerad*) appointed from the Rer Ahmed Abdullah lineage of the Saad Musa tribe.[55]

The Habr Gerhajis are nomadic pastoralists with extensive herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats. They comprise three tribes: the Habr Yunis, Aidagalla, and the formerly depleted but now resurgent Arab. The most important, the Habr Yunis, is divided into numerous fractions distributed as follows: Musa Ismail Gadwein, Saad Yunis, and some Musa Arreh, inhabit Erigavo District; Musa Abdullah live in Berbera District; Habr Yunis Ishaak in Hargeisa District between Hargeisa and Berbera. The largest section is found round Burao.[56] Although they do not always recognize a common hereditary chief,[57] they are constantly at war with the Ogaden, towards whose territory their far grazing extends.

The Aidagalla of Hargeisa District have a hereditary chief.[58] The Arab, the smallest of the principal Ishaak tribes, share pastureland with the Habr Yunis and Aidagalla, and move out into the Haud as far south as the Rer Ishaak tribe of the Ogaden family, with whom many of the Arab have intermarried. They were formerly very dependent on the Aidagalla, but are growing in strength to such an extent that they now have an independent chief recognized by the Administration.[59]

[53A] *Sources:* Hunt, op. cit., pp. 129–39; Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 107–20; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., pp. 272–6; Taschdjian, 1938, pp. 114–17; Wright, 1943, pp. 62–101.

[54] Toljaala's proper name, according to Drake-Brockman, is Abdullah.

[55] Walker, MS., pp. 7–9; Military Report, p. 5; Hunt, op. cit., pp. 161–2; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 66; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 107–14, gives the chief's title as *ogaz* (p. 111); Burton, 1894, II, p. 52.

[56] Military Report, loc. cit.

[57] Ibid.; see however Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 275, where the chiefly lineage is given; Burton, loc. cit.; Swayne, 1903, p. 20.

[58] Burton, op. cit., p. 68; Military Report, p. 5; Walker MS., p. 11.

[59] Walker, MS., pp. 12–13; Military Report, 1945, p. 5; Hunt, op. cit., p. 162.

The Habr Toljaala[60] comprise three tribes: the Mohammed Abukr, Musa Abukr, and Omar; the first are richest in livestock, but the others are compensated by the wealth produced by their frankincense plantations along the coast from Heis to Karin.[61] The confederacy is highly segmented and is not united under a common chief.[62]

THE DIR

The Dir family, generally recognized as the oldest Somali stock, have been greatly dispersed and so reduced that only three main tribes survive. These are the Esa, Gadabursi, and Bimal. The Esa and Gadabursi are found to the north-west of British Somaliland, with some Esa in French Somaliland and some Gadabursi in Abyssinian territory which is the traditional Dir country. The warriors of both tribes are distinguished from those of other Somali by the characteristic vertical scars they bear on the cheeks or forehead; in addition to the normal Somali weapons, they have strong and dangerous slings.[63] The Esa, among the richest camel-owners in the Protectorate, are pastoral nomads and probably the most warlike and unsubdued of all Somali. The titles "Black" and "White," which are applied to the Esa, seem to refer simply to geographical habitat. The Esa living to the north and seawards of the line of hills running from Jibuti to Harar are known as the "White," while those to the west of this line are the "Black."[64] The three primary divisions of the Esa are the Abgal, Dallol, and Wardik, from the last of which the Esa chief, called *Robli* and apparently a rainmaker, is drawn.[65] Circumcision appears to be a rite of initiation into an age-grade organization of warriors,[66] although further information on this, as well as on the nature and functions of the Esa chief (*Robli*), is required. The Esa have an outstanding reputation for fighting and are said to seek trophies of their valour by the emasculation of the slain.

DIR		
Bajumal	Madeluk	Gadabursi
Dabrui	Madawini	
Gorajno	Esa	
Bimal	Bursuk	

This list of the Dir tribes[66A] does not show the segmentation of the tribal-family, although the tribes are grouped according to its genealogical divisions. In the present state of knowledge it is not possible to say with certainty that the Gadabursi are Dir, but they seem to be, and are always classified as such by Italian authorities.

The Gadabursi are the traditional enemies of their neighbours, the Esa, but are less warlike. They have large herds of stock and a few horses, and cultivate jowari to a notable extent. This may be one of the grounds for the contempt in which they are held by the Esa.[67] There are two main fractions, the Habr Afan and Habr Makadur, formerly united under a common hereditary chief (*ogaz*). When the present Anglo-Ethiopian boundaries were established, the territory occupied by Gadabursi was split in two, leaving the best grazing in Ethiopia, and each section now has its

[60] Also known as the Habr Habushed, referring to their Abyssinian ancestress, Ishaak's wife.
[61] Military Report, p. 5; Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 107–19; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 76; Hunt, op. cit., pp. 138–9, 164–5.
[62] Military Report, loc. cit., 1 Walker, MS., p. 15.
[63] Paulitschke, 1880, p. 24; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 85–102; Walker, MS., p. 21.
[64] Cox, 1894; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 77.
[65] Burton, 1894, I, pp. 121–5; Ferrand, op. cit., p. 90, calls the chief *ogaz*; Taschdjian, 1938, pp. 114–15; Hunt, 1951, pp. 125–7; Military Report, p. 5.
[66] Deschamps, 1948, pp. 32 ff.; de la Rue, 1937, *passim*.
[66A] *Sources:* Colucci, 1924, p. 99; Barile, 1935, p. 26; Puccioni, 1937, pp. 27–9; Tadschdjian, 1938, p. 115; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 98 ff.; Deschamps, 1948, p. 22; Cox and Abud, 1896; Wright, MS.; Zoli, 1927, p. 262.
[67] Burton, 1894, p. 167; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 102–6.

own chief.[68] The chiefs' title of *Robli*[69] seems to indicate that he is a rainmaker, but again we have no satisfactory ethnographic documentation on his functions. Drake-Brockman justifies his view that the Gadabursi are a heterogeneous tribal aggregate, by deriving the tribe's name from a defensive union (*gashanbur*).[70] Ferrand more plausibly suggests that the etymology is from *gada* (people) and *bur* (mountain), giving Gadabursi as " the people of the mountains."[71]

The Bursuk are a small Dir tribe to the east of Harar and are mainly cultivators. According to Burton,[72] payment of blood-compensation is unknown amongst them and fighting does not give rise to the interminable feuds characteristic of the nomadic Somali.

The most important southerly representatives of the Dir family are the Bimal of Somalia who are found in two regions—one on the Shebelle centred round Merca and the other between the Juba River and the Tunni of Brava. At Merca, where the Administration has encouraged cultivation by constructing irrigation canals, maize, durra, beans, sesame, tobacco, and water-melons are grown.[73] The Bimal as a whole, however, are essentially pastoral nomads with large herds of camels, and are among the most closely integrated of the tribes of Somalia. Attempts at detribalization, at least partially successful in other cases, have left their tribal organization intact. There are four fractions: the Daud, Soliman, Yasmin, and Saad.[74] The office of tribal chief is hereditary in the Boras lineage of the Yasmin section, and that of " high priest " [75] (*ogaz*) is vested in a lineage of the Saad. As with the Esa, the chief's genealogy, and with it that of the Bimal tribe, goes back to the Qurayshitic lineage of the Prophet. The Bimal reached their present territory towards the close of the 18th century in the course of the general movement of the Somali from north to south.[76]

Other Dir groups, which have not succeeded in maintaining their tribal autonomy so successfully as the Bimal in their dispersal from the north, are the Dabrui living among the Bimal of Merca, the Bajumal among the Shebelle Negroids, the Gorajno with the Gerra, the Madaweni among the WaGosha and in Abyssinia, and the Madeluk found among the Ogaden, Helai, Shebelle, in Jubaland and at Serenlei and Margherita.[77]

The Pre-Hawiya

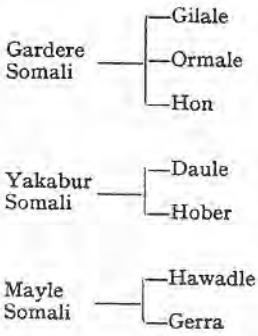
The pre-Hawiya, a much reduced tribal-family, trace descent from an ancestor collateral to Irrir, and are accordingly genealogically anterior to the Hawiya. Their traditions show them to have preceded the Hawiya in the general expansion of the northern Somali towards the south. For these reasons Colucci has coined the term " pre-Hawiya " to distinguish them from the Hawiya to whom they are closely related. The family comprises the Gilale, Ormale, Hon, Daule, Hober, Hawadle, and Gerra (or Garre).

The Gilale survive in small groups in the Doi and the Afgoi-Geledi valley. The Ormale have traditions of movement from the region of the Badi-Addo. Some are found along the Juba among the WaGosha, but most are Helai clients. The Hon have representatives among the Harien. The Daule occur in small groups in the

[68] Military Report, p. 5 ; Walker, MS., p. 19.
[69] Burton, op. cit., p. 168.
[70] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 78.
[71] Ferrand, op. cit., p. 102.
[72] Burton, op. cit., p. 193.
[73] Barile, 1935, pp. 142–3 ; Pantano, 1910.
[74] For the territorial distribution, see Puccioni, p. 29 and " Somalia," vol. I, map 19, Min. della Guerra.
[75] Barile, op. cit., p. 133 ; Guillain, 1856, p. 147.
[76] Guillain, op. cit., p. 142 ; Barile, op. cit., pp. 65–98.
[77] Colucci, 1924, p. 99.

hill-country between the Shebelle and Juba rivers. Their traditions, which are typical of the pre-Hawiya, record conquest by the Digil.[77A] The Hober formerly occupied the present territory of the Hadama near Hodur, whence they were dispersed

PRE-HAWIYA[78]



by Digil invaders after a series of wars with the Rahanwein Sagal, Hadama, Luwai, Gelidle and Jelible. They were finally defeated by the magical powers of the sheik of the Geledi.[79] They are now found in the Doi as pastoral nomads and in Afgoi District as cultivators associated with the Shan Dafet tribal cluster.[80]

The Hawadle are an important tribe of nomadic pastoralists, living north of the Abgal and along the Shebelle, where the fertile riverine lands are cultivated by their freedmen.[81]

The Gerra are the most important tribe of the pre-Hawiya family. They occur in four large autonomous groups: on the lower reaches of the Shebelle in Audegle District, around Dolo on the upper Juba, between the Webi Gestro and the Webi Mana in contact and to some extent intermixed with the Arussi Galla, and to the south-west between the Ajuran and Digodia Somali and the Boran Galla of the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya. The northernmost group adjacent to the Galla Arussi have acquired some features of Galla culture; Galla and Somali are both spoken. Galla Arussi villages are intermixed with those of the Gerra (called Gurra by Bottego)[82] but are kept separate from those of the Somali. The Gerra of this region have traditions similar to those of the other Gerra groups and consider themselves Somali rather than Galla.[83] Gerra traditions generally recount movement southwards from the north-west corner of British Somaliland.[84] Many small groups occur as clients among the Galjaal and Rahanwein. As a whole, the Gerra are nomadic pastoralists with large numbers of camels, sheep, goats, and, where the habitat is suitable, cattle.

[77A] Colucci, op. cit., p. 91; Guillain, op. cit., pp. 140 ff.

[78] *Sources:* Colucci, 1924, pp. 90–1; Caniglia, 1922, p. 36; Barile, 1935, p. 26; Zoli, 1927, p. 262; Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 34–6; Wright, MS.; Minnis, MS.; Powell-Cotton, MS.

[79] Colucci, loc. cit.; Barile, 1935, p. 111; Guillain, op. cit., pp. 34 ff. and pp. 140 ff.

[80] Barile, loc. cit.; Colucci, loc. cit., and p. 112; Puccioni, op cit., p. 35. The Shan Dafet comprise the Hober, Herdo, Ifmoje, Barbaro, and Jiambelul.

[81] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 35.

[82] 1895, pp. 105–12.

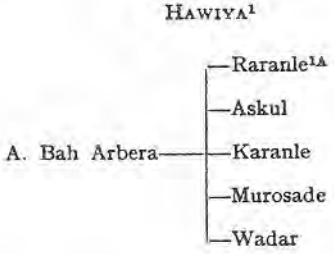
[83] *P.R.G.S.*, 6, 1884, p. 263; Ferrandi, 1903, p. 316; Vanutelli e Citerni, 1900, *passim*; Barile, op. cit., pp. 111–17, pp. 32–3; Colucci, op. cit., pp. 113–14.

[84] Barile, op. cit., p. 116; Colucci, op. cit., p. 114.

The Hawiya

The Hawiya, descended from Irrir, are the largest and most important noble Somali family of southern Somalia. Centred around and along the Shebelle, where they come into contact with subject Negroid cultivators, they stretch northwards towards the Darod. Agriculture begins to play an appreciable part in the economy, often indirectly through the cultivation practised by the Negroid vassals of the Hawiya, although, towards the coast, the Hawiya themselves, under the stimulus of Administrative encouragement, are becoming increasingly agrarian. Their economy is intermediate between the nomadic pastoralism dominant among the Darod to the north and the relatively intensive cultivation practised by the Rahanwein to the south. Some tribes however are purely nomadic.

The Hawiya are composed of two primary divisions: the Bah Arbera and the Bah Girei. Almost all the present Hawiya tribes and tribal confederacies belong to the Bah Girei fraction, which is in turn divided into three main groups: the Gurgate, Jiambelle and Gogondovo. The chart in which these sub-divisions are



shown has the typical appearance of those of the noble Somali tribal-families. It presents a regular system in which segmentation of successive bifurcations gives rise to a proliferation of tribes derived from earlier tribes which, in their turn, through segmentation and growth, become confederacies in relation to their fractions when these become tribes in their own right. What was originally a tribe continues to exist as the group name for a confederacy of tribes which have stemmed from it. Some tribes remain static or decay and do not continue growing and bifurcating. Sometimes the parent tribe, from which stems a proliferation of new tribes, continues to exist as a tribe in its own right, although probably on the wane and only really important as a confederacy name for its more active offshoots.

Traditionally [2] the Bah Arbera are the progeny of an Arab woman, and the Bah Girei of a Galla mother whose bride-price included a spotted cow (*girei*). Of the Bah Arbera, the Karanle,[3] situated in the upper valley of the Shebelle, are transhumant, cultivating the fertile riverine land in the dry season and moving with their stock to new pastures on the surrounding hills when the heavy rains begin. The Murosade, who have become detached in the process of tribal movement, are found in small groups in the region of Merca and, in a larger body, below the Shebelle around

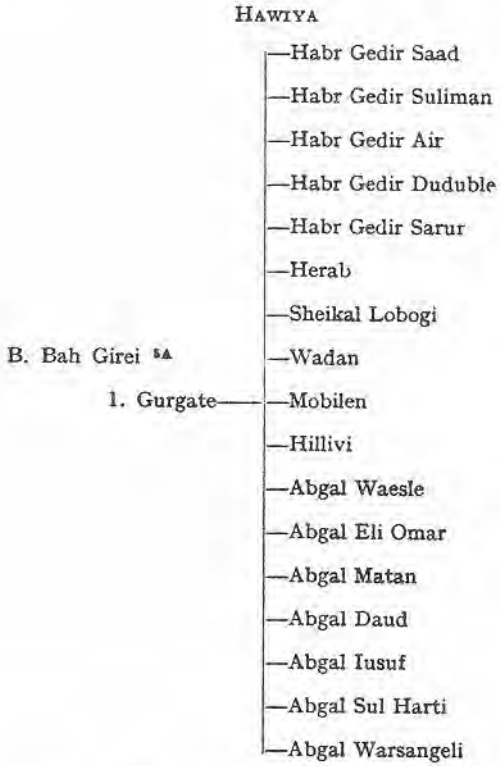
[1] *Sources:* Colucci, pp. 92 ff.; Puccioni, p. 37; Caniglia, p. 36; Cerulli, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, 4, pp. 485 ff.; Robecchi-Bricchetti, p. 385; Barile, p. 26, and pp. 368–70 where very full information on the genealogy of the Hawiya is to be found; Ferrand, pp. 157–66 is particularly ill-informed on the Hawiya as, indeed, on the tribes of the south in general.

[1A] Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 385, Barile, op. cit., p. 26 and Caniglia, op. cit., p. 36, write Rarane for Raranle.

[2] Colucci, 1924, p. 94.

[3] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 36.

Afgoi. They are essentially pastoralists although they practise some cultivation, and in the Merca region are engaged in the caravan trade.[4] The Raranle, formerly of the Baj-Argan region,[5] were driven thence by the Digil; a nucleus still survives among the Rahanwein Garuale.



The largest of the three Bah Girei sub-confederacies is the Gurgate, whose descendants through Dame-Herab are the most numerous. The legend reported by Colucci[6] runs that on the birth of Mane, the last of Gurgate's seven sons, the largest birthday gift was given by his brother Dame, and this caused their father Gurgate to prophesy that Dame would have many descendants. Most of the tribes descended from the other seven brothers have disappeared or are scattered as dependants among the Rahanwein.[7] The most important tribes or tribal confederacies derived from Dame-Herab are: the Abgal, the strongest and most numerous Hawiya group, the Habr Gedir, the Sheikal Lobogi, the Wadan, the Hillivi, the Herab, and the Mobilen. The Abgal, who are mainly nomadic pastoralists, practise some cultivation in suitable regions near the coast, and extend inland from the coast between Mogadishu and El Dere.[8] They played a prominent part in the history of Mogadishu, and their incursions into the town were largely responsible for the overthrow of the Muzaffar

[4] Barile, 1935, p. 135; Meregazzi, 1929, p. 34; there is also a large Murosade group south of Obbia.

[5] See below, pp. 35–6.

[5A] Miss Powell-Cotton's classification, which in other respects corresponds exactly with that shown here, places the Tunni with the Jiambelle. MS. cit.

[6] Colucci, loc. cit.

[7] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 39.

[8] Ibid., p. 43; Barile, 1935, p. 135; Colucci, 1924, pp. 116–17.

dynasty of sultans.[9] They are divided into at least seven tribes. The Habr Gedir are mainly pastoralists, although one of their five tribes, the Habr Gedir Sarur at Harardere, cultivates beans, millet, water-melons, and cotton as well as possessing herds of camels, cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats.[10] A Habr Gedir Sarur group is found also in the region of Harar, on the left bank of the Webi Jestro, but through mixing with other peoples it has lost most of its Somali characteristics.[11] The Sheikal Lobogi are a priestly group scattered among the Hawiya generally, sometimes appearing as autonomous sections in other tribes, as for instance in the Herab.[12] They are pastoralists, particularly given to caravan trading.[13] The Wadan are allied to the Geledi and are under their tutelage.[14] The Hillivi are federated with the Abgal Daud under a common chief.[15] The Herab are dependants of the Tunni and Rahanwein.[16] The Mobilen are allied to the Shidle Negroid group of the Shebelle.[17]

2. Jiambelle
- Ajuran (Alemo-Ajuran)[18]
- Hintere
- Garure[19]
- Arure[19]
- Olagir[19]

The Jiambelle, the second primary division of the Bah Girei Hawiya, traditionally derive from the marriage of their eponymous ancestor's daughter to an immigrant Arab called Balad who, like the Arabian eponymous patriarchs of the nothern Somali tribes,[20] was discovered in the branches of a tree. His descendants form the Shanta Balad (the five Balad).[21] The most important tribes issuing from this union are the Ajuran and the Hintere, the first of very great antiquity, and apparently connected with the obscure and almost legendary Madinle, to whom many old ruins and wells with stone-works are commonly attributed. The Ajuran, as we shall see, formerly dominated the territory to-day occupied by the Rahanwein and Hawiya.[22] Ajuran are found in independent nuclei on the upper Shebelle, in the Doi and between Moyale and Wajir in the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya, at Anole on the Shebelle and between Afgoi and Wadegle, mixed with their freedmen the Erible.[23] They are mainly nomadic pastoralists and are particularly interesting because they have adopted the Galla Boran practice of drawing blood from cattle, a non-Somali trait which they share with the trans-Juba Darod.[24] The Hintere are found among the Jiddu of the Doi, on the upper Shebelle in the Shebelle Negroid region, and in the Afgoi region of the lower Shebelle where they live with their freedmen, the Urguma.[25] The other three Jiambelle tribes seem to have disappeared or lost all tribal identity.

[9] See below, p. 47; Guillain, 1856, II, p. 524.
[10] *P.R.G.S.*, 6, 1886, p. 260; Meregazzi, loc. cit.
[11] Francolini, 1938, p. 1,130.
[12] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 42.
[13] Barile, op. cit., p. 135.
[14] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 42.
[15] Ibid., p. 43.
[16] Ibid., p. 39.
[17] Ibid., p. 43.
[18] Associated with the obscure Madinle, see Colucci, p. 96.
[19] These three can hardly be said to enjoy tribal status.
[20] See above, p. 23.
[21] Colucci, 1924, p. 96; Meregazzi, 1929; Puccioni, pp. 39–40.
[22] See below, p. 47.
[23] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 40.
[24] Powell-Cotton, MS. cit.; see above, p. 20.
[25] Puccioni, loc. cit.

3. Gogondovo
- Jidle
- Jajele
- Jibide
- Molcal
- Badi-Addo
- Galjaal [26]
- Digodia

Of the third division of the Bah Girei, the Gogondovo, the Jidle occur in Abyssinia[27] and on the Webi among the Shebelle and Molcal.[28] The Jibide are in trans-Juba, and the Jajele nomads who derive from them are found among the Rahanwein and in Abyssinia.[29] The principal centre of the Molcal, who also derive from the Jibide, is the village of Mansur, where they live with their freedmen the Kavole. From the Molcal descend the more important and thriving Galjaal, Digodia, and Badi-Addo. The Galjaal are nomadic pastoralists occupying the country to the south of the Badi-Addo where they have retained command of the system of wells. Their movements bring them into frequent conflict with the adjacent Gerra.[30] A nucleus of the tribe is stationed in Harar territory north of Burca.[31] The Badi-Addo, who extend along the Shebelle between the Makanne and Kabole, are cultivators and pastoralists and presumably have a cycle of movement to and from the river, similar to that of Karanle described above.[32] Badi-Addo occur also at Javalo near Harar.[33] The Digodia occupy principally a very extensive tract of territory spanning the Webi Gestro and the Ganale Doria and stretching south-west to Wajir in trans-Juba. They are in contact with the Galla Boran and the Gerra as well as with the Gasar Gudda with whom there is frequent strife. On the Dawa, Ganale, and Webi some cultivation is practised[34] by an associated Negroid group, the Garreh Murrah, although the Digodia are essentially nomadic pastoralists. This tribe seems to have been only slightly Islamized for it has a rain-making cult centred round the chief (*Wobur*) and, according to Wright,[35] there is no standard blood-compensation payment but in its place the custom of plundering the murderer's kin (*muroduc*) prevails. Digodia are also found at Burca in Harar district.[36]

The Sab

We have been concerned so far with the noble tribes descended from Somali, as opposed to the despised descendants of Sab. The Sab are held in contempt for their lowly origins, stemming from Sab as opposed to Somali, for their heterogeneous composition which includes Negroid elements, for their lack of a clear, politically significant genealogical structure, and, more important perhaps, because they are predominantly cultivators.[37] According to tradition, Sab was an Arab, expelled from

[26] Several Galjaal sub-tribes are not shown here, see Colucci, pp. 97–8, and Puccioni, p. 37.
[27] Francolini, 1938, p. 1,130.
[28] Colucci, p. 97.
[29] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 40–1.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Francolini, loc. cit.
[32] Puccioni, loc. cit.
[33] Francolini, loc. cit., p. 1,130.
[34] Vannutelli e Citerni, 1900, pp. 114–31, describe them as nomadic pastoralists with camels, cattle, sheep, and goats, and some horses. See especially p. 123.
[35] Wright, MS., " Degodia headmen," in the author's possession.
[36] Francolini, loc. cit.
[37] As in the case of the Afar Asaimara/Adoimara cleavage the division refers partly to the superimposition of conquering tribes upon earlier populations, but the Somali/Sab division is now purely territorial.

Arabia for failure to pay tithes, who settled in French Somaliland and made an alliance with a Galla sultan. His descendant, Jeraoo Subuje broke away from the Galla, thereby earning the name " Gobron " (the greater chief), and established his lineage as the hereditary chiefs of the Sab. Gobron was the ancestor of the Geledi, the chiefly tribe of the Sab family.[38] Cerulli has suggested that the name Sab has some connection with the *Sabo* moiety of the Galla Boran who contributed extensively to the present Sab population.[39] Indeed, until quite recently the Sab tribesmen spoke Galla as well as Somali.[40]

The Sab occupy the fertile lands between the Shebelle and the Juba, and are bounded to the north by the Darod and to the south-east by the Indian Ocean. In this region where cultivation has largely replaced nomadism and the basic social unit is generally the mixed-village, large herds of stock are still bred, in fact those of the Jiddu are among the most famous of Somalia.

The Digil,[41] the parent family of the Sab, comprise the Rahanwein, Dabarre, Dubdere, Irole, Dagine, Osman, Jiddu, Dube, and Tunni. The Rahanwein, which is by far the most important and numerous cluster of tribes, bears the same relationship to the Digil as does the Hawiya to the pre-Hawiya.[42] The Rahanwein are an off-shoot of the Digil who have come to eclipse their parent stock in number and importance. They will be discussed separately below.

The Dabarre are a large tribe or tribal confederacy, mainly pastoralists but with cultivation near Mount Egerta.[43] North of the Tunni they stretch along the Shebelle some distance beyond Dinsor and are bounded to the west by the WaGosha, Ajuran, and Aurmale, and to the east, where they extend into the Doi pastures, by the Helai and other Rahanwein tribes. The tribe contains many aggregates of foreign origin, especially Jiddu, and is divided into two primary divisions : the Dirmedo, descended from a Negro mother, and the Ieran.[44] The Irole and Dabarre trace descent from a common ancestor, Matai, nicknamed Dabarre, but seem now to be two independent tribes. Puccioni,[45] however, refers to the Dabarre Irole, and it is not really clear to what extent the two groups are still associated. The Irole are pre-eminently pastoralists with extensive grazing in the Doi.[46] The Dubdere are found in small groups among the Harien and Dabarre.[47] The Dagine, who live among the Shebelle of the upper Webi, are not an important group.[48] The Osman survive still in the Harar district, but do not appear to be found elsewhere.[49] The Jiddu are ascribed by Colucci to an ancestor Ali, whose brothers, Mohammed and Omar, are the ancestors of the remaining Digil, but Barile[50] derives the whole Digil non-Rahanwein family from Ali in opposition to the Rahanwein ancestor Mohammed. The tribe is bounded to the north by the Gerra and Shan Dafet, and stretches along the Shebelle towards the Irole ; to the north-west its grazing extends into the Doi. The Jiddu are mainly pastoralists and are renowned for their fine breed of cattle of which they have some

[38] Barile, 1935, p. 78.
[39] Cerulli, 10, 1926, p. 160.
[40] Cerulli, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, pp. 483–8.
[41] Colucci, 1924, pp. 102 ff.; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 46 ; Caniglia, 1922, p. 36 ; Barile, 1935, p. 25 ; Cerulli, loc. cit.; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 166–81. Ferrand does not distinguish between the Digil and Rahanwein, writing at a time when little was known of the tribes of Somalia.
[42] Colucci, op. cit., p. 102 ; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 44.
[43] Ferrand, 1903, p. 136 ; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 45.
[44] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 119–20.
[45] There are Dabarre also in Harar District (Francolini, 1938, p. 1,130).
[46] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 45.
[47] Colucci, op. cit., p. 120.
[48] Ibid. ; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 47.
[49] Colucci, loc. cit.
[50] Barile, 1935, p. 25 ; for the genealogy see Barile, p. 29 ; Colucci, op. cit., p. 121.

80,000 head[51]; they own few camels.[52] They have a special dialect quite distinct from Digil[53] and certain peculiar cultural features which would repay further investigation.

The Dube, who live at Imi[54] on the upper Shebelle, are classed by Colucci and Puccioni[55] as Digil, but, according to Cerulli,[56] are a Negroid group federated to the Somali Karanle. Another Dube group classified by Francolini as Digil[57] occurs in Harar district.

The Tunni are given by Colucci as a distinct group independent of the Digil, but are classed with them by Cerulli and Barile.[58] They are a large tribe numbering 20,000,[59] i.e., about half as many as the rest of the Digil; they are settled along the coast between the sea and the Webi to the north-east and the Juba to the south-west, their territory being bisected by the Webi Gofca (the Dry River). They have a mixed cattle-cultivation economy; permanent villages of cultivators alternate with the temporary settlements of pastoralists who are transhumant along the dunes and towards the hinterland.[60] The pastoralists move out to the coast with their stock, cattle and camels, in May–August.[61] Crops, which include durra, beans, sesame and melons, are cultivated by Tunni freedmen.[62] The Tunni were at one time stationed on the Juba beside the Gasar Gudda, but left this region in the 10th or 11th century as a result of tribal wars. Moving south-west they reached the coast and settled in Kismayu and Lamu. Later they crossed the rivers and, turning northward, established themselves at Brava. In the course of these movements they divided into two groups—the Seddida Rer Egen (known as the three *rer* of the red-land because of their occupancy of the dune and Doi region) and the Lammadi Rer Heb (the two *rer* of the sea) who had crossed the Juba near its mouth. The Rer Egen are traditionally held to have acquired the name Tunni by submitting to a man who beat (*tun*) them before he would allow them to cross the Shebelle.[63] From Brava they joined with the Jiddu to defeat the Ajuran and divided the conquered land between them. With Galla aid they then defeated the Jiddu at Ballei and attacked the Bimal, driving them to Merca. The Galla in their turn were disposed of with the help of Darod tribes and driven into Kenya. The alliance with the Darod did not last long, however, and the struggle which arose over territorial encroachments continued into the 19th century, where it ended with the total defeat of the Darod.[64] The segmentation of the Tunni tribe is discussed and examined in relation to its territorial distribution below.[65] The Tunni Torre, a group of Negroes, are federated to the Tunni of Brava as their vassals.[66]

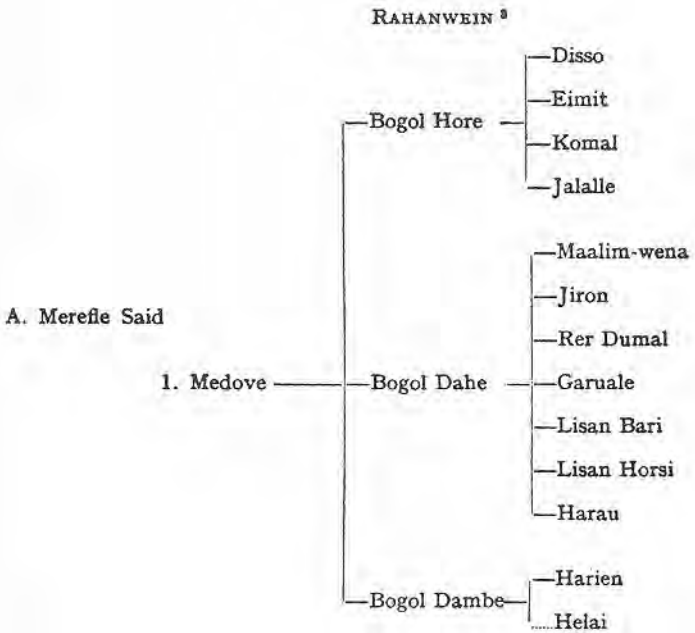
The Begeda, engaged in sedentary cultivation in Afgoi district, are classed by Colucci with the Digil. They align themselves sometimes with the Digil and sometimes with the Rahanwein.[67] Their composition is extremely heterogeneous and they include many people of servile origin. Of the four sections, one formerly enjoyed considerable power in the region through supporting the sultan of the Geledi in his campaigns against Bardera.[68] This pact was broken when the Geledi attacked the Jiddu, and since then the Begeda have reverted to submission to the Geledi. Indian corn and sesame are grown in Gu,[69] and durra in Haga and Dhair.[70]

[51] Barile, op. cit., p. 19; see also pp. 149–50.
[52] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 46.
[53] See Mareno, *R.S.E.*, 10, 1951, pp. 99–107.
[54] See Swayne, 1903, pp. 206–12.
[55] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 47.
[56] 1934, p. 3.
[57] Francolini, 1938, p. 1,130.
[58] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 67, does not regard the Tunni as Somali.
[59] See the statistics below p. 50.
[60] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 186–9.
[61] Ferrandi, 1903.
[62] Barile, op. cit., pp. 20, 39, 129.
[63] Colucci, op. cit., p. 109.
[64] Barile, op. cit., pp. 123–4.
[65] See below, pp. 93–4.
[66] See below, pp. 41–2.
[67] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 47; according to Cucinotta (p. 405) they are Digil.
[68] See below, p. 152.
[69] See calendar chart, p. 62 below.
[70] Barile, op. cit., pp. 117–19, tribal segmentation.

The Rahanwein

Rahanwein tribes are aggregates of many diverse clans attached to a small original nucleus of Rahanwein, who form the dominant eponymous clan and provide the skeletal framework in each tribe. In many cases, however, this type of organization, dependent for its structure on a dominant clan, is superseded by a system of territorial groups whose political relations are not expressed genealogically. In the Rahanwein family itself there are only three orders of segmentation between the group-name and ancestor Rahanwein, and the individual tribes which constitute the family. The Rahanwein chart thus presents a marked contrast to those of the noble Somali we have considered, in which there is always an elaborate system of segmentation with a very high degree of differentiation. The Rahanwein consist not so much of groups which derive from preceding groups in an extensive hierarchy of segmentation, as simply of large collateral coalitions. The name " Rahanwein " (" large crowd "[1]) is itself suggestive of federation.

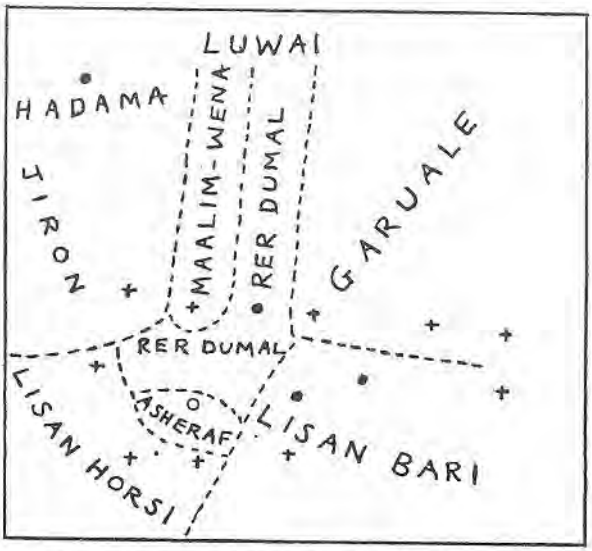
The Rahanwein are divided into two large coalitions, the Said (the eight) and the Sagal (the nine). The origins of this division are obscure and, while tradition seeks to explain it genealogically by ascribing the Said to an ancestor Merefle, and the Sagal to Alemo, it more probably corresponds to the territorial order which the various groups assumed in their first entry into the territory and in successive occupations.[2] According to tradition, when the Rahanwein left Bur Hawaro in the Shebelle region, they separated into two parties, each following a different route. Eight men under the command of Merefle took one path, and nine under Alemo took another. Later when both groups met, Merefle said " I am he of the eight " and Alemo replied " I



[1] Cerulli, 1, 1918, p. 866 ; Colucci, 1924, p. 104. An alternative derivation is from *Rahan*—grindstone ; Rahanwein, " the large grindstone," referring to their cultivating economy.
[2] Colucci, op. cit., p. 58.
[3] *Sources :* Colucci, op. cit., p. 103 ; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 48 ; Barile, 1935, p. 25 ; Caniglia, 1942, p. 36 ; Cerulli, loc. cit. ; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 166–81.

am he of the nine." They then separated again and, when they finally reunited, maintained the autonomy of the two fractions into which they had divided during their migrations. Now, however, traditions are so confused that it is impossible to establish accurately which tribes belonged to each of the original divisions.[3A]

The Rahanwein Said are divided into two groups: the Leik Au Edda, "the six of the white father," and the Medove, "the blacks." The Medove group is in turn composed of the Bogol Hore, "the first hundred," the Bogol Dahe, "the second hundred," and the Bogol Dambe, "the last hundred." These tribal names refer to the order in which the Medove entered their territory; the first group settled south of Tijiejlo, the second south of Hoddur-Wegit-Lugh and north of Baidoa, and the last east of the second around Bur Hakaba.[4] The Bogol Hore comprise the Disso, Eimit, Komal, and Jalalle tribes; the Bogol Dahe, the Maalim-wena, Jiron, Rer Dumal, Garuale (four tribes forming collectively the territorial cluster Rer Baj, "the people of Baj"), Lisan Bari, Lisan Horsi, and Harau. The last three form the *Rer Argan* territorial cluster.[5] The Bogol Dambe contains the Harien only.[6]



DISTRIBUTION OF SARAMAN TRIBAL CLUSTER [7]

---- approximate boundaries
● villages
\+ wells
O Saraman

The Baj-Argan cluster, centred on Saraman, is a group of cultivating tribes whose large herds of cattle are sent out to graze in the surrounding pastureland to the west.[8] The present formation is the outcome of a series of struggles and alliances

[3A] Colucci, op. cit., p. 105.
[4] Ibid.; Minnis, MS. in the author's possession.
[5] Colucci, op. cit., p. 105.
[6] According to Puccioni, op. cit., p. 50, the Helai do not form part of the Bogol Dambe, and stand independently within the Rahanwein Said Medove. Cf. Colucci, p. 103.
[7] Colucci, 1924, p. 182.
[8] See Colucci, op. cit., pp. 181 ff.

with the earlier inhabitants of the Saraman region, then with the Digil, and finally within the cluster itself. In the course of these, the Lisan defeated the Harau, forcing them to withdraw towards the Helai, and themselves divided into two autonomous fractions, the Lisan Horsi (the western Lisan) and the Lisan Bari (the eastern Lisan). About this time, through political intrigue and intra-tribal mediation, a group of sheiks assumed prominence and formed the Asheraf tribe,[9] situated round the wells of Saraman in the centre of the territory occupied by the cluster. Colucci considers that the six tribes[10] comprised in the cluster have developed by various processes from what were originally several collateral sections of the same tribe.[11] Although each tribe is a distinct unit in respect of ownership of arable land and wells, the surrounding pasture is common to all the Saraman tribes and some grazing is shared with other Rahanwein tribes.[12] The arable land of Saraman is, except where several tribes overlap, divided according to tribes. But within the tribe the land is not generally divided according to clan lineage; in the villages, which are the units of cultivation, lineages are not found as distinct territorial groups; instead the village land is divided indiscriminately among its members irrespective of the lineages to which they belong.[13]

The Harien are a pastoralist-cultivating tribe centred round Molimat, north of Isha Baidoa. They contain a nucleus of Digil tribesmen as well as various foreign components, notably of pre-Hawiya origin.[14]

The Helai[15] of Bur Hakaba are the largest and most important of the Rahanwein tribes. Wright[16] estimates their numbers as 80,500, and says of them: "They are nearly all agriculturalists who take some interest in pasturage, and they have by their labours transformed the region round Bur Hakaba into a fertile zone of arable and pastureland. They are richest in cattle, but have also many camels of which they form great caravans, and produce ghee on a large scale. They are rich also in sheep, which supply milk, butter, and meat."[17] The tribe is composed of three primary sections called *gember*; the Bohorad, Nassie, and Gedafade. These in turn comprise some 30 secondary sections, each represented on the tribal council of 30 elders (*gobwin*).[18] Priestly sections associated with the Helai were the Walamoje and the celebrated Rer Sheik Mumin.[19] The Helai have a typical Rahanwein dominant clan structure; the present tribe is an aggregate of people of widely different genealogical origin attached to the Helai clan nucleus. Each tribal section has a dominant Helai lineage, with which it is coordinate, and contains clients in various stages of absorption, as well as hunters and serfs (*bon*), attached in some perhaps not very stable fashion to the others. The newer clients are richest in stock whereas the older tribesmen are more given to cultivation. The tribal distribution of the Helai round Bur Hakaba corresponds fairly accurately to the segmentation of the maximal lineages, but the relation of the minor clan segments to land does not generally correspond to the territorial distribution of the corresponding tribal sections. The lineage is seldom a territorial group, and the clan and lineage systems, as is typical of the

[9] See below, p. 149; also see *P.R.G.S.*, 1884, VI, p. 266.
[10] Discounting the Asheraf.
[11] Colucci, op. cit., p. 181.
[12] Ibid., p. 243.
[13] See Colucci, op. cit., pp. 181–6, which provides the data used in the analysis presented in Lewis, MS., pp. 97–103.
[14] Colucci, op. cit., p. 130.
[15] Tribal chart, Colucci, op. cit., p. 131.
[16] "Extract from Isha Baidoa District Book," MS.
[17] Cf. *P.R.G.S.*, 1884, 6, p. 265.
[18] Wright, loc. cit.; cf. Colucci, op. cit., pp. 178–81, pp. 51 ff., pp. 157–62; Lewis MS., pp. 86–93, 252–63.
[19] Cerulli, 1934, p. 6.; Wright, loc. cit.; see below, p. 146.

Sab, increasingly cease to exercise political functions.[20] The territorial unit is no longer the dominant lineage, for this has given place to the mixed-village in which the distribution of land is independent of genealogical connection. The Helai of Isha Baidoa, whom we classify as a Negroid group,[21] are federated to the homonymous Helai of Hakaba as their serfs. They appear to have resulted from the intermixture of a small body of Helai, left behind at Hakaba, with the Eile,[22] Negroid autochthones of the region, who, in the Helai conquest of their present territory, invaded Baidoa while the main part of the Helai were engaged with the Galla at Bur Hakaba. They claim to have accompanied their noble patrons in their migrations, and their social structure is externally modelled to some extent on that of the Helai of Hakaba.[23]

2. Leik Au Edda
- Barbaro
- Yantar
- Helleda
- Waravane
- Gibile

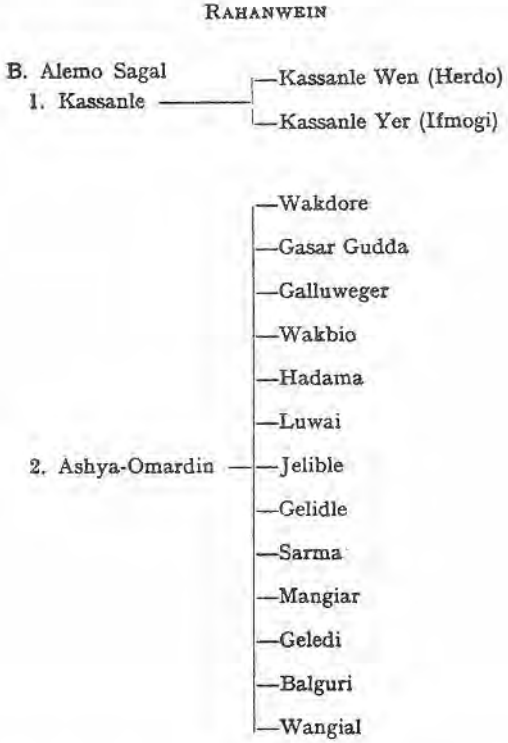
The other division of the Rahanwein Merefle, the Leik Au Edda, comprises the tribes Barabaro, Yantar, Helleda, Waravane, and Gibile.[24] The Barbaro belong to the Shan Dafet (the five Dafet), a cultivating cluster which includes the Herdo, Ifmogi, Jiambelul, and part of the Hober (pre-Hawiya). The Yantar are included by Barile[25] among the Bogol Hore, as against Colucci's classification which is followed here, and are mainly scattered as clients among the Rahanwein of the Doi, especially among the Helai. A fairly large nucleus, apparently having the status of Helai clients, is stationed between the Helai, Dabarre, and Hober.[26] There is at least one priestly section.

The Helleda are divided into the Horad (the first) and the Dambe (the second). Apart from a small nucleus of Helleda, the tribe consists largely of clients of various origins; Hawiya, Gerra, and Eile provide some of the largest elements.[27] The Waravane have disappeared as an autonomous tribe but survive in small nuclei among the Begeda of Wadegle. Similarly, the Gibile are no longer an independent tribe but fractions are found associated with the Begeda.[28]

The Alemo Sagal, the second primary division of the Rahanwein, is composed of two parts, the Kassanle and the Ashya-Omardin. The first contains two tribes only, the Kassanle Wen (the Herdo) and the Kassanle Yer (the Ifmogi). The Herdo and Ifmogi, as has been said, are allied to the Barbaro, Jiambelul, and Hober (pre-

[20] See Lewis, MS., pp. 261–3.
[21] See below, p. 42.
[22] See below, p. 42.
[23] See Colucci, op. cit., pp. 157–62 for an account of the entry of the Helai of Hakaba into their territory. The traditions recorded agree with those of the Eile; see Clark, 1953, p. 51, and Lewis, MS. pp. 252–7. For a more general discussion of analogous pairs of serf/patron tribes, see below, p. 126.
[24] The Goolcullaba, dismissed by Colucci with the remark, "secondary group," are not shown here.
[25] Barile, 1935, p. 25.
[26] Puccioni, 1937, p. 53.
[27] Colucci, 1924, pp. 133–4.
[28] Ibid., p. 105.

Hawiya) in the Shan Dafet tribal cluster. The more numerous and important Ashya-Omardin stem from the marriage of Alemo's daughter with an immigrant Arabian sheik, Omardin. Traditionally, Omardin was the son of Zuber ibn Awan of the Prophet Mohammed's tribe of Quraysh.[29] Omardin crossed from Arabia with three brothers and made his way to the Digil, at that time stationed in the Shebelle region under the chieftaincy of a sultan of the Muzaffar dynasty of Mogadishu.[30] The Sultan, believing that the Arabian immigrants were magicians, sent a servant with gifts of food and instructions to spy upon them. The woman brought the strangers some honey and a kid, and then waited to hear their remarks. One of the brothers said: "The honey has been buried in a man's tomb." Another said: "This servant



is menstruous." The third brother complained that the kid which they were offered had been suckled at the breasts of a bitch. And the last sheik said: "The Sultan of this country is illegitimate." The woman retailed these comments to her master, who questioned her closely, only to discover that what the Arabs had said of the honey, the kid, and of her condition, was perfectly true. The Sultan then summoned his mother, saying: "These men have told me three truths, but I cannot decide on the fourth; am I not your legitimate son?" His mother then explained that, although her husband had been noble and rich, he had not been able to beget a son. Whereupon the Sultan summoned the four sheiks and invited them to enter his

[29] Colucci, op. cit., p. 106; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 35–6.
[30] See below, p. 147.

service. Omardin married the Sultan's daughter Ashya and was made chief. Tradition claims that the lineage in which the office of Digil chief is hereditary derives from Omardin's union with Ashya. Omardin's lineage is closely connected with the Gobron (Jeraoo Subuje) section of the Geledi tribe,[31] who at the beginning of the 19th century[32] were dominant among the Rahanwein, their influence extending to the coastal towns. They are still the most important tribe of the Rahanwein Sagal.[33]

It is sufficient here to point out that this legend describes the transfer of Rahanwein leadership from the Muzaffar dynasty of Mogadishu to the descendants of Omardin, and may be contemporaneous with the collapse of the Muzaffar dynasty in the 16th century.[34] It is important to note also that, from the tradition, the Rahanwein Ashya-Omardin have as good a claim to Arabian ancestry as the noble northern Somali tribes. Of the constituent tribes of the Ashya-Omardin group, the Wakdore, who survive now only in small nuclei among the Hadama, Galjaal, and Helai, were formerly an influential tribe (or priestly section) providing the chief of the Digil. Later the chieftaincy passed to the Rer Direlli (Haagi Mad Eredle ?)[35] who were given the name " Gasar Gudda," because under the new leadership, the Digil were enabled to defeat their enemies and the Rer Direlli were said " to have delivered judgment "—" *Gasar gudda.*"[36] The Gasar Gudda, a small tribe of herdsmen and agriculturists, occupy the region round Lugh, on the Juba.[37] Considering themselves superior to the Rahanwein and rejecting the appelation " Sab," they do not engage directly in the degrading task of cultivation, leaving this to serfs and clients.[38] Although the Somali noble tribes regard them as Rahanwein, they acknowledge that they occupy a unique position and are superior to the other Sab.[39] Like the Ashya-Omardin of which they are a fraction, the Gasar Gudda have strong traditions of Arabian origin, but apparently quite independently of any connection with Omardin. The impressive genealogy collected by Wright,[40] traces descent from Noah through the Qurayshitic lineage of the Prophet down to names which are of Somali origin. The genealogy, like its analogues for the noble Somali, has the appearance of a Somali-Cushitic genealogy which has been extrapolated to the Prophet. The Gasar Gudda are called *doula* (noble) by the other Rahanwein and, as well as being shown many marks of respect which distinguish them from the rest of the Rahanwein, are greeted with the title *au* (chief).[41] The tribe is in fact a fairly heterogeneous assembly coordinate with the Gasar Gudda dominant clan, which contains seven lineages. Within six of these the office of chief (*gerad, daffalan*) rotates, while the seventh lineage, from which the chief is never drawn, is invested with the office of Islamic *qadi*. The Gasar Gudda are the best documented of all Somali tribes,[42] although they have never been studied by a professional ethnographer. The Gobawein, a Negroid group, are federated to them as serfs, and have copied some features of Gasar Gudda social structure.[43] The relations between the two are analagous to similar vassalage relationships of which several examples have already

[31] Barile, 1935, pp. 65–98, 110, 38.
[32] Guillain, 1856, iii, pp. 35–40.
[33] Barile, loc. cit.; Puccioni, 1937, p. 58.
[34] The Gobron genealogy furnished by Guillain, p. 35, is in agreement with this date.
[35] The founding ancestor of the Gasar Gudda, Ferrandi, 1903, p. 209.
[36] Colucci, 1924, p. 134; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 56.
[37] In 1903 they numbered 830 persons; Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 213.
[38] Ibid., p. 209.
[39] Ibid.; Cerulli's Marehan texts describe the Gasar Gudda as the " nobles " of the Rahanwein; 2, 1918, p. 869.
[40] MS., " Extract from Lugh District Book."
[41] Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 209, 233.
[42] See Ferrandi, 1903; Bottego, 1895; Wright, MS.; these sources are subsumed in Lewis, MS., pp. 272–301.
[43] Lewis, MS., pp. 287 ff.

been given and which will be considered in more detail later.[44] The Galluweger have lost their tribal status and survive in small groups among the Jelible and Gelidle.[45] The Wakbio, similarly, are no longer found as an independent tribe but are scattered among the Rahanwein. The Wakbio living among the Shidle Negroid cultivators of the Shebelle were formerly their slaves.[46] The Hadama, a fairly large tribe stationed above Hodur between the Shebelle and the Juba, according to some traditions contains Dir and Darod elements, accreted to a group, of Digil origin,[47] called Hassan ; a detached nucleus of the tribe is found among the Tunni Torre. The Luwai, who are a similar mixture with a high proportion of Darod tribesmen, are allied to the Hadama and situated to the east of them.[48] They also have some connection with the Tunni Torre.[49] The Jelible are quite an important tribe with a chiefly lineage and are divided into six primary sections. The Gelidle are split into two territorially separated groups ; the Bari (western) and the Horsi (eastern). They have been driven down towards the Helai and Eile into the Doi as a result of pressure from the north during the Mahdi Mohammed Abdullah's struggle for independence.[50] The Sarma, who no longer constitute a tribe, are found among the Hadama. They have traditions of Darod origin, but became debased (so tradition holds) through the intermarriage of their ancestors with Negroes.[51] The Mangiar are found as groups among the Jelible and Gelidle but not as an autonomous tribe.[52] Similarly the Balguri only survive as a group attached to the Geledi of the Shebelle.[53]

The Geledi are the most important Rahanwein Sagal tribe, stationed on the Shebelle, and are indeed the chiefly tribe of the Rahanwein. After defeating the Gurgate[54] with the aid of the Wadan they extended their authority to Lugh and Brava. Like the Gasar Gudda, they have strong traditions of Arabian descent. As the descendants of Zuber ibn Awan, they are the chiefly clan (dominant) within the Ashya-Omardin fraction of the Alemo-Sagal Rahanwein. They constitute the genealogical nucleus of the whole Alemo confederacy of tribes. As we saw above,[55] their accession to power seems to have been associated with the fall of the Muzaffar dynasty of Mogadishu in the 16th century.

The Jiambelul, who stand neither with the Alemo Sagal nor with the Merefle Said, and who are not shown in the foregoing charts, are nevertheless Rahanwein and form part of the Shan Dafet tribal cluster.[56]

The origin of the Wangial is uncertain ; Colucci suggests that they may be pre-Hawiya who remained behind among the Rahanwein in the Digil conquests of this region.[57] Their main site is near Baidoa, where they are clients of the Helai ; they seem to contain Darod nuclei as well as despised people of possibly Negroid origin with whom the other Wangial do not intermarry.[58]

[44] See below, p. 126.
[45] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 107–7 ; Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 56–7.
[46] Puccioni, loc. cit., Colucci, op. cit., pp. 135–6.
[47] Puccioni, loc. cit.
[48] Puccioni, loc. cit.; Colucci, op. cit., p. 136.
[49] A Negroid group, see below.
[50] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 53 ; for the Mahdiate see below, p. 142.
[51] Colucci, op. cit., p. 107 ; Puccioni, loc. cit.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] See above, p. 29.
[55] P. 39 ; for the Geledi see Guillain, 1856, III, pp. 35–40 ; Barile, 1935. pp. 110, 38, 65–98 ; Colucci, op. cit., pp. 138–9.
[56] See above, p. 27.
[57] Colucci, op. cit., p. 139.
[58] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 59.

Negroid and Other Extraneous Peoples

Some mention must be made of the Negroid populations of Somaliland, who in many respects form an integral part of the total Somali social structure. These communities today consist in part of original nuclei of pre-Cushitic Negroid inhabitants of Somaliland (the Zengi), and in part of freed slaves of varying provenance. Very little is known of their social organization and customs which have been studied even less than those of the Somali. They are located mainly along the fertile banks of the two rivers and in the hinterland between them.

The principal groups on the Webi Shebelle are: the Shidle, Kabole (Kavole), Rer Issa, Makanne, and Shebelle. These, it is to be noted, are not tribal names, but the names given to them by the Somali. According to Cerulli,[1] the Shebelle Negroes call the Somali "Gabar"; he suggests that this is derived from the name "Gabaro" given by the Galla predecessors of the Somali to small nuclei of Somali who settled among them before the general Somali advance and Galla withdrawal. The Shidle are extremely heterogeneous in composition and comprise a complex federation of agricultural villages, united in "full equality with the Somali Mobilen, whose hereditary chief they recognise."[2] Colucci[3] gives the sub-divisions and derives the name from the grindstone (*shid*) characteristic of their cultivating economy. The Kabole are thought to be descended with the Makanne from a Hawiya Molcal slave called Kabole. This is not surprising, since the Kabole are federated to the Molcal.[4] The Makanne are aggregated to the Somali Badi-Addo.[5] The Rer Issa, Ajuran freedmen, are found among the Shebelle of the upper Webi, among the Makanne and Kabole, and among the Shidle.[6] The Shebelle are a confederacy recognizing the authority of a lineage of the Somali Ajuran for the purpose of electing their chief.[7] The Dube, according to Cerulli,[8] are a similar community federated with the Somali Karanle of the upper Webi Shebelle.

On the Juba are the WaGosha, Boni (WaBoni), and Gobawein. The WaGosha are also known as *Oji* and *Dalgolet* (people of the forest), but call themselves *Mahawai*, according to Powell-Cotton.[9] They numbered about 30,000 in 1922[10] and are a mixed population, predominantly Swahili.[11] The name "Gosha" has no ethnic connotation and simply means those who inhabit the bush (*gosha* in Somali). The WaBoni, essentially a hunting and fishing people, are increasingly adopting cultivation. They are scattered through Jubaland with principal centres on the lower Juba from Jelib to Margherita, in trans-Juba between Anole, Baddada and Bur Gao, and between the Shebelle and Juba in the region of Hawai. Elliot,[12] in 1913, estimated their numbers at 1,000. According to Puccioni,[13] they have pygmoid features and resemble hunters of the central African forests. The Gobawein are a group of Negroid hunters and cultivators attached to the Gasar Gudda of Lugh.[14]

[1] 1934, p. 6.
[2] Ibid., p. 3; Puccioni op. cit., p. 65.
[3] Colucci, 1924, pp. 142–3; 189–92; account of land tenure, p. 197.
[4] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 65.
[5] Colucci, op. cit., p. 63; Puccioni, loc. cit.
[6] Colucci, loc. cit., and pp. 189–90; Puccioni, loc. cit.
[7] Cerulli, 1934, p. 3; Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 419; Puccioni, loc. cit.
[8] Cerulli, loc. cit., but see above, p. 33.
[9] Powell-Cotton, MS.
[10] Caniglia, 1922, p. 155.
[11] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 66; for a list of tribes, see Powell-Cotton; Colucci, op. cit., p. 148; Elliot, 1913, pp. 554–61; Ferrari, 1910, pp. 82–3; Ruggero, 1940, pp. 462–8, Grottanelli, 1953, pp. 249–60, and Caniglia, op. cit., pp. 153–5; Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 209. See also Zoli, 1927, pp. 181–2 and 187 ff.
[12] Elliot, op. cit., p. 557.
[13] Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 71–3; Colucci, op. cit., p. 66.
[14] Ferrandi, 1903, *passim*, especially pp. 207–313.

Cerulli considers that the present Bantu populations of the Juba are largely a residue of the 12 tribes of the Wanyika,[15] described in the *Book of Zengi* (an Arab manuscript), which records the Imam of Oman's colonization of the African coast. According to Cerulli, the site of Shungwaya, the capital of the Wanyika tribes, is on the Juba. Prins,[16] however, identifies Shungwaya with Port Durnford on the coast, which the Wanyika left more than three centuries ago. This site has not yet been excavated,[17] but it is extremely important for the reconstruction of the history of Somaliland and the testing of Cerulli's hypothesis that the pre-Cushitic inhabitants were Bantu, that an investigation should be undertaken.[18]

The remaining Negroid peoples inhabit the hinterland between the rivers; the Eile, the Helai of Baidoa, and the Tunni Torre. The Eile of Bur Eibe have dogs for hunting and seem to have acquired their name from the word for dog (*ei*). They cultivate during the rains and hunt in the dry season. Both the Hawiya and Digil despise them, and there seems good reason to regard them as a pre-Cushitic aboriginal population. They comprise three primary sections, one of which appears to be related to a dynasty of chiefs who ruled the Bur region before, and for some time during, the Helai and Helleda invasions. Smaller Eile groups are found at Dafet, on the lower and mid-Shebelle, and among the Shidle.[19]

The Helai of Baidoa claim to have accompanied the Helai of Hakaba in their invasion of the region. This is probably largely a fiction, similar to that maintained by the Gobawein in relation to the Gasar Gudda. When their patrons, the Helai of Bur Hakaba, moved to Hakaba, they remained behind at Baidoa. Their two primary divisions reproduce the names of two of the three primary sections of the Helai of Hakaba, and the absence of the third is accounted for in a legend.[20]

The Tunni Torre are a federation of peoples of various origins, situated in the north-east part of the territory of the Tunni of Brava. Like their patrons, they are divided into five sections. One section claims Ajuran origin, another Helai, a third Gerra, a fourth Hadama, and the fifth Galjaal. Each group is affiliated to a particular section of the Tunni of Brava as subject or client.[21]

Pairs of Somali/Negroid coalitions bound in patronage are a general phenomenon in Somaliland and are discussed below.[22]

Finally, mention must be made of dispersed groups of Negroid hunters, generally called Ribi or WaRibi, found particularly in Jubaland, and often temporarily attached to stable tribes as hunters, *bon*. These are probably ethnically and racially similar to the WaBoni described above.

Swahili-speaking Coastal Peoples

The Amarani are an autonomous community found at Brava and in Merca, Mogadishu, and Afghoi. They appear, in part, to have come from south Arabia, and may perhaps be descendants of an Israelite group which fled from Arabia at the time of the first expansion of Islam. Physically, they resemble the Ethiopic type

[15] The Wanyika are now found mainly in Kenya; see Prins, 1952.
[16] Personal communication.
[17] Cerulli, 1934, pp. 1–3.
[18] Grottanelli tells me that the site will be difficult to excavate.
[19] See Colucci, 1924, pp. 146–7; Wright, "Extract from Lugh District Notebook, MS.; Clark, 1953, pp. 49 ff.; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 66.
[20] See Colucci, op. cit., pp. 144 ff.; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 67; Cerulli, op. cit., p. 6.
[21] See Colucci, op. cit., p. 145; Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 67–8; Barile, 1935, pp. 39, 124; Lewis, MS., pp. 269–71.
[22] See below, pp. 126–7.

but have more developed Caucasoid affinities. Most Amarani are merchants and sailors and, incongruously enough, speak a Swahili dialect, Hamarani (Chimbelazi).[23] Cerulli compares this Brava city language to the Semitic city language of Harar; its isolated occurrence demonstrates, he considers, the presence of Bantu in this region at an early date. Their relations with the Arab and Somali settlers who followed them is, however, obscure.[24]

The Bajuni, fishermen and sea-traders, occupying the town of Kismayu and the islands parallel to the coast, are known locally as the Wa-Tiku.[25] Puccioni divides them into two groups: the sea-Bajuni, and the land-Bajuni.[26] It seems likely that the Nofalle Arabs, who inhabited the coast and islands about 1660, and to whom local tombs and ruins are attributed, exerted considerable influence on the formation of the present-day characteristics of the Bajuni. The Nofalle were routed by the Somali Gerra whom the Bajuni claim as ancestors—perhaps they were at one time Gerra clients. They are interesting in that they display a number of Indonesian elements in their culture, which has attracted general attention[27] and has led to the suggestion that racially they are partly of Indonesian origin. This theory has recently been thoroughly, though not conclusively, investigated by Parenti.[28] He considers that while the Bajuni may show signs of Indonesian influence in their physical characteristics, they resemble most closely Yemenite Arabs, and Indonesian influence has yet to be satisfactorily demonstrated.[29]

The Rendile of the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya, are camel nomads, of mixed origin, possibly derived from the Samburu Masai. They have been to some extent Somalized, but all trace of Islam, if it ever influenced them, has disappeared.

The Delimitation of Territory: Tribal Boundaries

The limits to the extent of pasture-land are indicated by tribal marks (*sumad*) cut in the bark of trees.[30] Where nomadism prevails, however, there are never any static boundaries; tribal territory is always in a state of dynamic equilibrium among the various forces exerted by neighbouring tribes in their spheres of influence. The pastures of one tribe shade into those of another and are constantly under dispute. Effective occupation is the sole criterion of ownership and property rights. The concept of property rights entailed by nomadism applies to the exploitation of land and not simply to land *qua* land. The continual pressure of movements in search of fresh pasture and water makes it generally inpossible to define tribal boundaries by points and lines. The centres of effective population and the zones of cultivation (where the land is arable) and pasturage are the determinants. The only limit to the free extension of pasture-land is that the herdsman may find himself grazing his beasts on land where his presence is considered an infringement of territorial rights, and may be too far from home to defend his person and stock against attack.[31]

[23] Puccioni, p. 68.
[24] 1934, p. 7; see Barile, 1935, pp. 125–7; Parenti, 1947, pp. 209–46.
[25] Elliot, op. cit., p. 556.
[26] Puccioni, 5, 1937, pp. 1–4.
[27] Puccioni, 5, 1937, pp. 69–71; Elliot, J. A. S., 1925–26; Haywood, 1933, pp. 59–64, Zoli, 1927, pp. 16–19.
[28] Parenti, 1946, pp. 156–90.
[29] Grottanelli has recently concluded an extensive study of the Bajuni and is in process of publishing his results. They will also be fully treated in a forthcoming section of the Ethnographic Survey on the Swahili, by A. H. J. Prins.
[30] Puccioni, 2, 1936, p. 61.
[31] Colucci, 1924, p. 167.

Sedentary cultivation, however, entails the curtailment of movement and leads to the formation of stable boundaries. Fixed cultivation, indeed, may be regarded as the most effective exploitation of territory, since it represents the densest concentration of population.[32]

Exceptions to the general absence of stable boundaries appear where natural barriers intervene between the territories of tribes and impose rigid limits to tribal expansion.

As an example of the occurrence of fixed boundaries where cultivation is practised and their absence where nomadism prevails, we may take the case of the Bimal tribe belonging to the Dir tribal-family.[33] The Bimal are surrounded by pre-Hawiya, Hawiya, and Digil tribes. Their north-western boundary is unsettled and is disputed by the Jiddu, although rigidly determined in the cultivating zone; to the north-east they are separated from the agricultural Begeda by the Shebelle river, and boundaries are fixed. On the right bank of the Shebelle, however, their frontier is challenged by nomadic tribes although settled with the Wadan. To the south-west again, where the lands of the Begeda and Tunni pastoralists meet, there are no definite frontiers and disputes are frequent. Similarly, higher up the Shebelle, the nomadic Abgal and Hawadle are continually at arms over movements which each considers a territorial infringement by the other. The influence of cultivation in setting limits to tribal territory is very evident. The same effect results from the penetration of small groups of alien cultivators into arable regions among pastoral tribes.[34] We may take the Helai and surrounding tribes as an example. The extent of Helai land is clearly defined to the north where it adjoins the fields of the cultivating Helleda and Eile, but to the south it shades into the grazing of the Gerra without fixed boundaries. However, Harien farmers infiltrated into the region between the Helleda and Helai setting up a chain of agricultural villages. The consequent dispute over boundaries was referred to the Administration, and agreement was reached legitimizing the wedge of Harien farms and the resultant fixed boundaries between the Helleda and Harien.

In the vast pasture region, the Doi, between the two rivers of Somalia, new social units are constantly building up from clan and tribal groups of extraneous origin. The process of detribalization is here most active. Under constant pressure from the north and the attraction of arable land, here most abundant, earlier arrivals admit alien tribesmen as clients (*arifa, sheget*), who with increasing immigration often develop into strong communities and seek autonomy. The question of settlement of boundaries arises and the Administration has to intervene. This is one aspect of the new type of territorial association which evolves in these conditions. Farming communities develop in which it is impossible to distinguish land-holding units according to tribal affiliation. Sometimes, it is true, this process has not developed so far, and in some groups the land is still divided on a lineage basis. Both cases are typical of the situation among the Digil and Rahanwein tribes, and there is a strong tendency towards the formation of the mixed village, in which lineages are no longer politically important and political relations are ordered territorially, and not expressed in genealogical idiom. Among the Sab (the Digil and Rahanwein) as was indicated above, often within a tribe or confederacy genealogically structured according to the segmentation of the founding clan, new types of association appear in which groups are united in sharing land. Thus within the Rahanwein confederacy, the Shan Dafet (the five Dafet) is a territorial cluster of the Herdo, Ifmogi, Barbaro, Jiambelul and the Hober (pre-Hawiya).

[32] This statement applies only to sedentary cultivation considered in relation to nomadism.
[33] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 162–8; see also p. 25 above.
[34] Ibid., p. 172.

History of Tribal Movement[35]

1. The Arabian Component

Relations between Somaliland and Arabia are of great antiquity and their continuance within Islam is intimately bound up with the general movement of the Somali people from the north to the south at the expense of earlier populations. Arab groups in various degrees of assimilation among the Somali are reported in the earliest travel records, and in a few cases we have detailed information on the process of absorption.[36] Along the coast and at some points on the inter-section of caravan routes in the interior, small trading states were established, in association with which nomadic tribes gained ascendancy over more isolated neighbouring tribes. The authority and prestige attached to such relations depended mainly upon the superior military organization of the Arabs, upon their wealth as traders of Somali goods, and, above all, within Islam upon the superior grade of Mohammedan knowledge which they possessed. Frequently, indeed, it is impossible to separate the spiritual character of Somali Mohammedanism from its economic aspects, since proselytizing and trade are inextricably intermingled in the history of Arabian immigration. Important examples of states founded by Arabs are Zeila in the north and Mogadishu in the south. In both cases satisfactory historical documentation is fortunately available.[37] Arabian immigration provides, as already pointed out (p. 14 above), the historically valid component of Arabicized Somali genealogies.

2. Racial History

Three phases appear in the history of racial groups in Somaliland. Most of the country, certainly the southern part, was peopled by Negroes, who seem to have constituted the aboriginal population. These survive in Somalia, as we have seen, along the Juba and Shebelle rivers and in the hinterland between them. They were conquered and displaced by the Galla, the first wave of Hamitic colonizers. Later came the Somali, driving from the north as the second main wave of Hamites, displacing the Galla, and giving rise to the present distribution of the three peoples.

The Negroid population is that referred to by medieval Arab writers as the *Zengi* (blacks), a designation which has no definite ethnic connotation. They seem to have consisted of two distinct racial types; (*a*) hunters, often possessing dogs, established in the bush and fishing along the rivers and (*b*) sedentary agriculturists, settled mainly along the rivers where they had cleared the bush and developed extensive cultivation in organized societies of a relatively complex political structure.[38] The hunting people seem to be most appropriately classified with hunters of the central equatorial forest,[39] while the second group belong to the Swahili-speaking

[35] This account is drawn from the following sources: Cerulli, 8, 1924; 9, 1926; 10, 1926; 11, 1927; 16, 1931; 18, 1934; 19, 1935; 21, 1943; 22, 1943, and his article on "Somaliland" in *Encyclopædia of Islam*. The traditions of tribal movement which are described in the first of these are collaborated by Colucci, 1924, *passim*, and especially pp. 85–148. See also the more confused account by Barile, 1935, pp. 65–98, and Minnis, MS. Notes (in the author's possession). For the Negroid populations useful sources are Powell-Cotton, MS., Grottanelli, 1953, and for the Eile of Bur Eibe, Clark, 1953. An excellent survey of the information contained in the accounts of the Arab geographers and later travellers is given in Guillain, 1856, vol. I, and tribal traditions vols. II and III *passim*. See also Ferrand, 1903, pp. 14–72 and *passim*. Subsidiary sources are: Zoli, 1927, pp. 136–45; Puccioni, 1937, pp. 8–24, which contains a good summary of Cerulli's and Colucci's researches; Elliot, 1913, pp. 554–61. A report of an archæological survey made by Mathew is published in *Antiquity*, Dec. 1953. The information contained in this paper corresponds very well with the general synthesis which emerges from the sources cited above and corroborates the history of the Arab trading towns along the coast of Somalia which has been reconstructed from inscriptions and other sources, mainly by Cerulli.

[36] E.g. Cerulli, 9, 1926, pp. 25–6.

[37] See below, p. 140, for a brief indication, and Lewis, MS., pp. 302–13.

[38] See Cerulli, 1934, pp. 1–8; 10, 1926, pp. 151–7.

[39] Puccioni, 5, 1937, p. 73; cf. Lewis, MS., pp. 200 ff.

Bantu, typically represented to-day by the north-eastern Bantu[40] of Kenya. Both peoples seem to have been economically interdependent in Somaliland before the Hamitic invasions, and still to-day one finds groups of hunters attached to Negroid tribes like the Helai cultivators of Isha Baidoa.[41] The bulk of the Negroid (partly Bantu) population was dispersed southwards towards the Tana River and into Kenya, by Galla migrations from the north-west at some time before the 16th century. Bantu and other Negroid tribes still survive, however, along the Juba and Shebelle rivers and in the hinterland between them.[41A] There is disagreement as to the extent to which such communities owe their present composition to actual residual populations, since there can be no doubt that the repression of slavery enabled great numbers of Negroid freedmen to seek asylum among them. Former slaves from Zanzibar and Kenya, as well as freedmen from northern Somaliland, made their way in considerable numbers to the riverine settlements.[42] There are too many Negroid communities along the rivers for any generalization on their origins to be made from the study of the traditions of only one; detailed study of the entire population will be necessary before an estimate can be made of the extent to which it consists of peoples enclaved in the Hamitic conquest.

3. The Galla and Somali

The Galla invaders were soon under pressure from the Somali. The fermentation which led to this second Hamitic invasion was perhaps stimulated by increasing Arab immigration entailing the Imam Ahmed Gran's celebrated conquest of Abyssinia in the 1530s, in which the Darod and Ishaak Somali expanded southwards expelling the Galla from the Ogaden and Benadir. Harar was laid waste and most of Abyssinia occupied.[43] With the restoration of Abyssinian power and the conclusive defeat and disintegration of the petty Mohammedan states including Adal (later called Zeila), in the succeeding hundred years, the gateway to westward expansion through Abyssinia was closed. Somali expansion was now constricted within the Horn of Africa and directed towards the south.[44] However, the Galla were not all driven out at once, but survived in considerable numbers along the Juba in the 19th century, turning continually to harry the advancing Somali. Indeed the Galla left an indelible impression upon the Somali in more ways than one. The Sab tribal-family of the Digil and Rahanwein, until recently still Galla-speaking, arose from the intermixture of south-driving Somali with the rearguard of the Galla occupying most of the lower reaches of the Juba.

4. The Somali

In their expansion to the south the Somali have always followed two routes along which an almost continuous water-supply exists. They descended either down the river valleys from the north-west to the north-east, or followed the series of sub-coastal wells of the Indian Ocean littoral from the south-east to the south-west. Tribal traditions invariably record movement in one of these paths. Supporting evidence comes from the distribution of the tombs of founding-ancestors[45] and the testimony of Arabian and Portuguese travellers.

The first Somali to reach the south were the Jiddu (Digil), who settled on the Shebelle near Kalafo and then, crossing the river, fought their way south against

[40] See Prins, 1952; other Bantu cultural groups are also represented.

[41] See above, p. 42.

[41A] See above, pp. 41–3.

[42] See below, pp. 125–8.

[43] For the route taken by the Galla in their withdrawal before the advancing Somali, see Conti Rossini, 1937, p. 327.

[44] Perhaps the Mahdi Mohammed Abdullah's rebellion at the beginning of this century was an attempt to reopen the traditional western fields of Mohammedan conquest.

[45] Documented for the Mijertein by Cerulli, 16, 1931.

the resisting Galla, finally taking up a position on the coast near Merca. Meanwhile from the north-east other Somali tribes had penetrated along the coastal route, to the extent that by the close of the 14th century, the coast between Itala and Merca was occupied by the Hawiya and related tribes. Towards the interior and farther south, the belt of red land which extends as far as the Shebelle, was now occupied by the Jiddu, but the land on their western flank, along the Shebelle valley and between the rivers, was still in the hands of the Galla.

The origin of the ascendancy of the Ajuran,[46] who next dominated these regions, appears to be closely connected with the foundation of the market-towns of Brava and Mogadishu. The Sultanate of Mogadishu developed through the immigration of Emozeidi Arabs whose presence is recorded from as early as the 10th (and perhaps the 9th) century.[47] During the 15th century, the Ajuran extended their territory at the expense of the Jiddu and Galla. The Jiddu were driven south-west as the Ajuran advanced to Kalafo on the Shebelle, where they founded the capital of their state. From Kalafo the Ajuran moved out in strength and forced the inter-riverine Galla to retire to Bur Hakaba. The region between the Shebelle and Isha Baidoa was left in the hands of the Madinle, a tribe of whom little more is known than that they were allied to the Ajuran. The Ajuran influence was considerable and the pressure which they exerted to the south-east contributed to the collapse of the Muzaffar dynasty of Mogadishu.

Other tribes of the Hawiya family now began to appear in the south. The Herab and Murosade defeated the Ajuran and settled along the Shebelle. The attempt of the Gogondovo and Gajaal Hawiya to reach the river in the district of Mahaddei was successfully countered by the Ajuran. But the Ajuran were in turn defeated by the Badi-Addo, Molcal, and Digodia (all Hawiya), who swept through Meregh and settled between Mahaddei and Afgoi. This drove the Ajuran to divide; one fraction remained at the traditional capital of Kalafo, a second on the lower Shebelle, a third settled along the Juba and in the Doi, while the fourth moved south into Kenya. South of Bur Hakaba, the zone between the rivers was still in the hands of the Galla, but by the first quarter of the 17th century a new tribal-family made their appearance. The Rahanwein had followed the time-honoured route from the north through Kalafo and along the Shebelle. They defeated the Madinle and moved into the Baidoa plateau, which they used as a base for subsequent expansion to the north. The Helai (Rahanwein) cleared the Galla from Bur Hakaba, driving them across the Doi and over the Juba to settle on the southern bank.

Tribes of the Dir family now made their first appearance in the south. Under pressure from the rapidly expanding Ishaak and Darod of northern Somaliland, the Bimal gained the upper reaches of the Shebelle and, crossing the country between the two rivers, descended towards Merca. Here they were met by the Jiddu and forced to turn south-west. One fraction of the Bimal remained at Merca, while another crossed to the northern side of the Juba. The Jiddu then moved out to join the Helai. The next arrivals in the south were the Tunni (Digil) and the Gerra (pre-Hawiya) who traversed the head-waters of the Shebelle and made their way down the Juba to their present positions.

In the north the Darod extended in two directions. Pressing to the west, they drove the Gadabursi and Esa (Dir) towards the Gulf of Tajura. To the east, they forced the Hawiya to move southwards to the Shebelle. Their further expansion to the south, however, was for long arrested by the Hawiya, at this time stationed

[46] The Ajuran are Hawiya.

[47] Mogadishu as a Mohammedan trading colony dates from the 9th or 10th century. Until the mid-13th it was purely Arab in population, but subsequently developed into an Arab-Somali federation under the Muzaffar dynasty. Throughout the 16th century Somali influence increased as the sultanate declined, and a Somali Imam became ruler in the second half of the 18th century. See Lewis, MS., pp. 304–7.

along the curve of the Shebelle and under the hegemony of the Ajuran. Eventually the Ogaden Darod reached the Juba and combined with the Galla against the Digil. This alliance was purely a matter of convenience, for, when reinforcements from the north had concentrated in strength, the Galla were overcome and driven over the Juba towards the Tana. Following in the wake of the Galla, the Darod moved into the land south of the Juba between 1842 and 1848. By 1909, the Talamoje had driven as far south as the Tana River, where they were halted by the establishment of fixed grazing areas.[48] To the north-west, the Galla who had remained behind among the Gerra (Hawiya, Somali) between the tributaries of the head-waters of the Juba, were forced to withdraw in face of pressure from the Ogaden Darod, and their territory was occupied by the Digodia (Hawiya) and Marehan (Darod), tribes which had recently crossed the Juba.

Demography

Although Western Colonial Administration has temporarily arrested large-scale tribal movement by enforcing fixed boundaries, there is still a continuous undercurrent of migration along the two traditional routes. If the foregoing account is substantially true, and I consider this to be the case, it is obvious that the total Somali population has increased very much over the past 500 years.

The population estimates for British Somaliland are unsatisfactory for the purposes of comparison. Up to 1937,[49] the figure of 345,000 is given ; more recently it has been estimated at 500,000[50] and disputed by various critics. Hunt (1951)[51] gives the population as 640,000, and this seems to be now accepted as the official figure. Clearly the population is not decreasing.

The population estimates for Somalia cover the period 1929–52, and are more illuminating although probably no more accurate. They are not strictly comparable, however, since the extent of territory to which they refer has varied during the 23 years. Still, they may safely be considered as illustrating a definite trend towards increase in population.

Population of Somalia[52] (Somali) :

1929	..	Government Estimate	1,028,895
1931	..	Central Institute of Statistics ..	1,019,904
1940	..	Government Estimate	1,028,000
1950	..	Administrative Estimate ..	1,242,199
1952	..	Administrative Estimate ..	1,275,584

A clear increase in population is indicated in the figures up to 1950. The Italian Administration attributes the difference between the 1950 and 1952 Census figures to the different method followed in the enquiry in each case. The 1950 estimate was made by " conducting an enquiry into the number of dwellings, classed according to type, in each town or village, taking into consideration the characteristics of the occupying families and the average size of each family. Information furnished by Residents, chiefs, and notables, on the nomadic population has been taken into account." The 1952 Census employed a different technique in an attempt to establish

[48] *Handbook of Kenya Colony*, 1920, p. 234.
[49] See Colonial Reports up to 1937.
[50] Colonial Report, 1949, p. 5.
[51] 1951, p. 122.
[52] U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 267–9.

the accuracy of the previous enquiry. It was conducted " according to the agnatic groups, economic category, and number of stock owned, directed by Commissioners and executed by Residents assisted by chiefs and notables."

The Somali population seems to be still increasing but it is not clear to what extent this is related to ecological change or economy. The northern regions in their present state would seem to be at subsistence level, and there is a pronounced drift towards the arable land of the south, where Administrative economic development obviously must exert considerable influence. One has to remember, too, that the Somali eco-system is not closed, and immigration from and emigration to Arabia must also be taken into account.

Population Statistics[53]

1. French Somaliland (1948)

Esa[54]	Dallol Abgal Wardik		15,000

There are also some 10,000 " urbanized Somali " living in the town of Jibuti, the capital of Côte des Somalis.

Total	25,000

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2. British Somaliland (1950)[55]

Darod	Dolbohanta ..			100,000
	Warsangeli ..			20,000
Ishaak ..	Habr Awal	Habr Awal ..		100,000
		Saad Musa ..		—
		Habr Awal ..		—
		Issa Musa ..		30,000
	Habr Gerhajis ..	Arab		20,000
		Aidagalla ..		40,000
		Habr Yunis ..		130,000
	Habr Toljaala ..	Mohd Abokr ..		60,000
		Musa Abokr and Omar ..		40,000
Esa				55,000
Gadabursi				45,000
Total Somali population				640,000

[53] *Source :* Deschamps, (ed.), 1948, p. 22.

[54] In these lists major tribal-families are given in italics on the left, while the tribes and tribal confederacies into which they are segmented are shown on the right.

[55] *Source :* Hunt, 1951, p. 122.

3. Harar Territories[56] (1938)

Darod	Yabarre ..	25,000
	Abaskul ..	50,000
	Bartire ..	?
	Geri	200,000
Hawiya	Tribes of the Bah Girei and Bah Arbera confederacies	?
Digil	Dabarre ..	?
Total Somali tribal population	.. ..	350,000

The city of Harar contains a floating population of about 1,000 Somali.

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4. Somalia (1939)

Darod (233,268)[57]	Mijertein ..	292,450
	Ogaden ..	235,900
	Others ..	102,400
Dir	22,179[58] ..	32,600
Hawiya	299,717[58] ..	490,856[57]
Digil	23,569[58] ..	42,500
Rahanwein	254,020[58] ..	197,175
Tunni	16,141[58] ..	19,300
Somali-Arab tribes		23,525
Total		1,436,706

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5. Northern Frontier Province of Kenya (1948)[59]

Somali population	66,500

Total for the five territories	2,519,206
or taking the latest estimate for Somalia	2,358,084

It seems likely that this figure is an over-estimate since some of the constituent totals overlap and also because it includes the Negroid populations of Somalia whose numbers do not seem to be known.

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[56] *Source* : Francolini, 1938.

[57] The last digits are not to be taken seriously. This estimate, made for the British Military Administration (from Italian sources ?), appears to include the Negroid groups although they are not explicitly mentioned, for the Italian estimate for 1952, which does, gives a total " autochthonous " population of 1,275,584. (*Rapport du Gouvernement italien à l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies sur l'Administration de Tutelle de la Somalie*, 1952, p. 269.)

[58] 1931 Italian Census figures.

[59] East African Population Census, 1948.

Non-Territorial Groups

The Outcaste Sab[1]

The word *sab* (lowcaste) is used by the Ishaak and Darod[2] to designate three main groups of people: the Tumal[3] (also called Tum-tum[4]), the Yibir, and the Midgan, who are found under the same names among the Darod of Somalia[5] and trans-Juba,[6] the Hawiya,[7] and scattered among the Somali of the south generally, where they are called collectively *bon*, lowcaste[8] (or *gum*, according to Robecchi-Bricchetti, as opposed to *gob* " noble "[9]). The word *bon* comes into use among the Digil tribes who refer to themselves as Sab, tracing descent from an ancestor Sab; but the outcaste peoples of the Somali, Ishaak, Darod, Dir, Hawiya, etc., do not postulate any relation with the Sab Digil and Rahanwein confederacies. They never appear in genealogies as the children of Sab.[10] They have no tribal organization of their own, and are known as " the people without brothers " which has the sense of without agnatic kin.[11] They are attached to noble tribes through patronage and perform specific duties for their masters in return for which they are paid and allowed to remain in the territory of the tribe of attachment.[12] The three main categories represent essentially an occupational classification, or as the Report to the United Nations aptly puts it, constitute " those who practise a trade."[13] It seems fairly clear that the names given to these outcaste people relate to occupational characteristics and are devoid of ethnic significance,[14] but within the dynamic clan system of the Somali any such group thinks of itself as an agnatic clan segment and expresses its relations to other similar groups in a genealogical idiom, highly fictitious as this may be. Similarly the *sab* attached to a noble tribe through their patron's clan identify themselves with it in relation to other tribes. This is analogous to the use of the word *rer*[15] which, while denoting essentially an agnatic segment within a total genealogical system, has become debased to apply often to groups which are entirely devoid of agnatic basis.

The Tumal are blacksmiths, making spears, knives, arrow-heads, swords, horse-bits, and other metal objects, as well as prophylactic amulets and charms. The Yibir and Midgan are both hunters and leather-workers, making ornaments, straps, amulets, prayer-mats, and saddles.[16] They hunt with bow and arrow poisoned with an alkaloidal extract (*wabayo*) obtained from a species of euphorbia.[17] Similar occupational groups are the *Yibir* of Obbia, *Ga'ansibir* ironsmiths attached to the

[1] I write *sab* when referring to these scattered outcaste peoples, and Sab when referring to the great confederacies of the Digil and Rahanwein tribes.

[2] Kirk, 1905, p. 184; Wright, 1943, p. 66.

[3] Colucci, 1924, p. 109, suggests that " Tumal " contains the root *tun* or *tum*, signifying beating (to beat).

[4] Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 215.

[5] Cerulli, 1919, pp. 31 ff.

[6] Zoli, 1927, pp. 193 ff.

[7] Meregazzi, 1929, p. 35; Wickham, " Tomal of Gurreh District," MS. (in the author's possession).

[8] Puccioni, 1937, p. 63; Colucci, op. cit., p. 177.

[9] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 214; cf. Cerulli, op. cit. p. 32.

[10] At least in none seen by me.

[11] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 33.

[12] Ibid.; Kirk, op. cit., p. 184; Wright, loc. cit.

[13] Italian Administration's Report to U.N., 1952, p. 8.

[14] Cf. Cerulli, 1922, p. 213.

[15] See below.

[16] Kirk, loc. cit.; Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., pp. 215–19; Cerulli, 1919; and 2, 1918, pp. 863 ff.; Bottego, 1895, pp. 374 ff.; Wright, loc. cit.

[17] Drake-Brockman, *passim*; Neuville, 1916, pp. 369–86.

trans-Juba Marehan, *Musa Deryo* basket-makers attached to the Rahanwein, *Ribi* hunters of the Rahanwein, *Musa Deryo* of the Habr Awal, and the *Rer Wardere* hunters of the Ogaden.[18] The Midgan and Yibir have " secret " dialects which have been recorded by Kirk[19] and reported also by Schleicher [20] and Paulitschke,[21] although they also speak the dialect of the Somali to whom they are attached. Kirk's summary analysis does not show any particular " connection " with Galla.[22] The study which Cerulli has made of the dialects which he calls " gergo " of the southern occupational groups mentioned above leads to the conclusion that these show no particular or regular affinity to languages other than Somali. This confirms the hypothesis suggested by Cerulli, which I also favour, that, while the Somali themselves[23] and various writers[24] consider these outcaste peoples to be the remnants of previous populations indigenous to Somaliland whom the Hamites conquered, they have no common cultural or physical features other than those they possess in virtue of occupying a similar position in the total Somali social structure, and that whatever cultural traits they now share are to be ascribed to the action of common historical processes rather than to common racial origin. They are evidently ethnically much intermixed. Unfortunately no extensive physical anthropological investigation has yet been made and one might expect that blood-group research would yield interesting results.

There are no population figures for these outcaste groups but, according to Robecchi-Bricchetti,[25] the Midgan are the most numerous. The *sab*, as we have said, are not land-owning groups, and for this and other reasons it is quite erroneous to describe them as " tribes," as all the English writers have so far done.[26] They only appear in Somali social relations through the Somali clans and clan segments, into which they are adopted, at first, on a markedly inferior footing, although later often becoming completely absorbed into the noble clans to which they are attached.[27] Through their patrons they stand with the clan of attachment in relation to other tribes, but are distinguished from noble free-born Somali within the segment to which they are attached. *Sab* have no recognised genealogy of their own and can only have relations with noble Somali by courtesy, through their respective patrons, from whom they are sharply distinguished in jural procedure, having no right to claim compensation for homicide from Somali nobles except through the patron to whom they are attached.[28] They cannot contract legitimate marriage with Somali.[29] The child of a union between a Somali and a *sab* woman takes the caste of his mother unless his father recognizes him, thereby forfeiting his right to contract legal marriage with a free-born Somali woman. The child of a *sab* father and Somali woman is killed at birth. *Sab* cannot own cattle or horses, noble possessions, and are entitled to keep only donkeys and sheep.[30] Cerulli wrote thus in 1919, but it is clear that since then such restrictions are being relaxed and perhaps gradually disappearing altogether.[31] This gradual closing of the *sab*/noble cleavage can be readily seen to be the result of several factors. From the side of the Somali it represents the gradual spread of the tenets of Islam and more particularly the Shariah, opposed to caste distinction, into the customary procedure of the Somali. It is associated also with the opening

[18] Cerulli, 12, 1927.
[19] op. cit., pp. 184–214.
[20] 1892, p. 10.
[21] 1893, p. 78.
[22] Kirk, op. cit., p. 188.
[23] Neuville, op. cit., p. 375.
[24] Cerulli, 1919, p. 32 ; Wickham, loc. cit.; Walker MS.; Zoli, op. cit., pp. 134 ff.
[25] Loc. cit., p. 216.
[26] E.g., Wright, Kirk, Drake-Brockman, none of whom, it may be said in mitigation, has any understanding of Somali social structure.
[27] Wickham says that *sab* " may rise to Somali in a generation or two."
[28] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 35.
[29] Ibid., p. 34.
[30] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 35 ; cf. Cerulli, 2, 1918.
[31] Wickham, and Walker, loc. cit.; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 211 ; Wright, op. cit., p. 66.

up of the country to Western influence and the eclipse, at least to some slight extent, of tribalism by a growing consciousness of a Somali nation united within Islam in world relations. It has also been greatly influenced by a Western Administration imbued with ideas of the " rights of man," especially since Somalia came under the nominal " tutelage " of the United Nations.[32] In addition to the stigma which attaches to *sab* and appears in jural relations,[33] their practice of ignoble and debasing activities, their willingness to eat " dead meat " as the Somali call the head, tripe, and claws (or hooves), portions never touched by free-born Somali, keep them in a condition of perpetual ritual impurity (*najiasi*)[34] in the Mohammedan sense although, of course, this is quite unorthodox in Islam.

We have mentioned that the *sab* make amulets ; this they do in virtue of their reputed skill in witchcraft and magic. Of the Midgan, Burton[35] says : " He is accused of maliciousness and the twanging of his [bow-] string will put to flight a whole village." The operation of infibulation[36] which all Somali women undergo in childhood, is traditionally performed by a Midgan woman who may be called in to undo her work at marriage if the husband requires assistance.[37] The Yibir are despised by all Somali, who never speak to them if they can avoid doing so, and are feared for their skill in witchcraft. Whenever a son is born to a noble Somali the first Yibir who approaches the family has the right to a gift, *samanyo*[38] (Mijertein, *sabanyo* [39] ; Marehan, *karama*[40]) consisting usually of a piece of cotton, or a sheep or goat, in exchange for which he blesses the child and presents it with a charm, *makharam*.[41] At marriage also the Yibir is given a gift in return for an amulet presented to the bride. Yibir sing and act as clowns at feasts, receiving the parts of the meat which the Somali consider impure—a practice which earns them the title of *bakhti uno*, corpse-eaters.[42] The gifts made to them are represented as the blood-compensation owing to the Yibir for the murder of their ancestor by the Somali.[43] We shall discuss this later (p. 55).

Traditions of Origin of the Sab

In contrast to the proud traditions of Arabic origin vaunted by the noble Somali, in which descent is in the last analysis and most inclusive situation traced to the family of the Prophet of Quraysh, the outcaste *sab* usually claim, when questioned closely, that their ancestor or ancestors were discovered in the bush by the Somali tribe or section to which they are attached. Their inferiority, and the necessity of establishing a connection with the tribe of patronage, may be expressed also in other ways. Thus some Midgan trace descent from Gowedi a " younger son " of Ishaak.[44] More typically the Esa describe how they met a couple of people of unknown origin (Midgan) in the bush and incorporated them into the tribe.[45] The Warebeyu

[32] With respect to the *sab* the Italian Report to U.N. says : " It goes without saying that no discrimination is made by the Administration towards these people." Report, 1952, p. 8.

[33] The *sab* have their own *qadis* administering the Shariah among them in internal relations between *sab*.

[34] Cerulli, 1919, p. 33 ; Zoli, loc. cit., p. 193.

[35] Burton, 1894, I, p. 25.

[36] See below.

[37] Cerulli, 1919, p. 33 ; Deschamps, 1948, p. 30 ; Kirk, 1904, p. 97 ; Cucinotta, 1921, p. 444.

[38] Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 219 ; Kirk, op. cit., p. 95.

[39] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 33.

[40] Cerulli, 2, 1918, p. 863.

[41] Kirk, loc. cit.; Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 219, gives *macran* ; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 216, gives *makram* or *kudumo*.

[42] Cerulli, 1919, p. 33.

[43] Ibid.; Kirk, op. cit., p. 98 ; Drake-Brockman, loc. cit.

[44] Kirk, 1904, p. 102, e.g., the Yibir legend.

[45] Neuville, 1916, p. 375.

(hyenas),[46] a group of smiths among the Gerra of El Wak, are traditionally descended from Warabeyu Abdi, a Somali child who was lost and reared by hyenas. One day a Somali of the Harti Dolbohanta, finding him in a hyena's hole, pulled him out and took him home. The Warebeyu claim that the lost Abdi was probably a Dolbohanta child and trace descent through their adopted father up to the eponymous ancestor of the Dolbohanta.[47] As far as the Warabeyu are concerned this provides a satisfactory attachment to the Dolbohanta, while maintaining a certain distance and the inferiority of dependence in the eyes of the Dolbohanta patrons. In Jubaland, where the Tumal, Yibir, and Midgan are called collectively *Gaan-Walal*, the Somali say that the first Yibir was born of a woman who had two husbands, sleeping with one by day and the other by night. Both died at the same time and the woman gave birth to a son of uncertain parentage, who was possessed by a demon and went to live in the bush where he was found by Somali.[48] From this, say the Yibir, derive their powers of sorcery and their right to gifts when they come to the marriage feast or to greet the newly born son whom they exorcise and whose parents they bless.

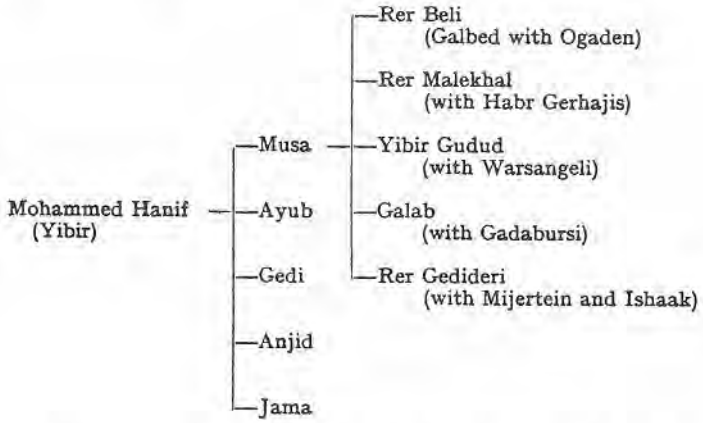
The fullest and most interesting records which we have of *sab* traditions are those of the Yibir attached to the Ishaak in northern Somaliland. They claim descent from Mohammed Hanif, a legendary figure connected with Sheik Ishaak, founder of the Ishaak confederacy. When Sheik Ishaak arrived at Mait on his prayer-rug from Arabia the inhabitants of northern Somaliland were Dir or Galla and were ruled by two sultans: Berber at Berbera, and Somal at Aik, now in ruins. At this time Mohammed Hanif was priest to Sultan Somal. Ishaak questioned his powers and provoked Mohammed to justify his reputation for magic by passing through a mound from one side to the other. Au-Barkadle[49] was summoned to deal with Mohammed and tempted him to display his powers again, and then through his stronger magic imprisoned him within the mound. No doubt the common saying that a dead Yibir has never been seen is connected with this miraculous disappearance.[50] Hanifili, Hanif's wife, is believed also to have disappeared miraculously and her tomb is at Adari (Harar) where there is a grove of sacred trees from the bark of which Yibir amulets are made. Parties, usually of about twelve, make their way to the shrine and, after a libation of fat or ghee has been poured on the ground, each cuts a piece of wood, puts it into a leather bag, and the pilgrims depart. Before they have left the shrine far behind, however, they are caught by a whirlwind which blinds them with sand and dust. In the confusion one of the party is carried off; the survivors reassemble and take the lost man's bag back to his relatives.[51] The same association of the Yibir with a mysterious wind occurs in a Habr Awal text collected by Cerulli: "A man marries a woman, a Yibir comes and if the man gives him nothing he wrongs his wife. The man gives the Yibir a couple of skins and his wife gives birth to a child. Then the Yibir comes again, saying 'Give me something.' If the father gives nothing the child is born an idiot or dies, for the Yibir has cursed him saying 'May Hanfelo carry you away.' If the father is wise he gives the Yibir a gift and secures his blessing on his issue. Hanfelo is a magic wind which takes the Yibir and throws him in a spring for the Yibir do not die."[52]

We have mentioned that the prestations made to Yibir are represented as blood-compensation owing in perpetuity for the ritual murder of their ancestor by

[46] The hyena, which the Somali fear and despise, epitomizes their atitude towards the *sab*.
[47] Wickham, loc. cit.
[48] Zoli, loc. cit., p. 194.
[49] Cerulli, 15, 1931, p. 67, has suggested that Saint Au Barkadle (Au-Bakhardi), whose tomb at the eponymous site is an important place of pilgrimage of the Habr Awal, may be identified with Yusuf Barkatla ancestor of Umar Walashma, founder of the Ifat dynasty; for the tomb's site, see Drake-Brockman, loc. cit.
[50] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 217; Kirk, 1904, p. 101.
[51] Kirk, 1904, p. 101.
[52] Cerulli, 1920–21, p. 136.

Au-Barkadle, a relation of Sheik Ishaak,[53] founder of the Ishaak confederacy of tribes, in circumstances in which both Ishaak and Barkadle are represented as strangers competing with the Yibir ancestor for the favour of "Sultan Somal," who apparently represents the indigenous inhabitants. To some extent the tradition is at variance with customary jural procedure, for compensation is paid for the homicide of a Yibir only when he is attached to a Somali clan, and then not to the dependants of the dead man but to his Somali master. It appears that the Somali are aware of this inconsistency, for Drake-Brockman[54] records "that when the Sheik [Barkadle] instituted this rule [the customary prestations to Yibir] the Yibir objected that at his death the Somali were sure to object to this *diat* (blood-compensation) whereupon the Sheik cursed for future generations all marriages and the male issue of all those who refused to comply." Cerulli considers that this is a symbolic representation of the institution of prestations to Yibir.[55] The attribution of the Yibir among the Ishaak to an origin connected with their culture-hero Sheik Ishaak illustrates the way in which the ambivalence of good and evil, of religion and sorcery, reverence and fear, is often overtly recognized in myth and legend. In the story the Yibir ancestor appears as an outcaste associate of Ishaak, symbol of Mohammedanism, the religion of the Somali, and it is significant that what the Ishaak fear and what they revere should be brought together in a common source in which sorcery is represented as a fall from grace.

According to Kirk,[56] the Tumal are said to be descended from Hayak, a son of Darod, and to have become degraded only through intermarriage with Midgan and Yibir; this tradition of Somali origin debased by intermarriage with *sab* runs through the English writing.[57] According to Kirk[58] the majority of the Yibir live among the Mijertein. They have the following genealogy which appears to correspond to their internal social relations.



Although it is not expressly stated by Kirk, these putative clan segments probably refer to the groups of Yibir attached to various Somali clans where these are organized on the segmentary lineage pattern of the Somali.

[53] Kirk, op. cit., p. 98, describes them as cousins.
[54] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 219.
[55] 1919, p. 33.
[56] 1904, p. 93.
[57] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 219, writes that any Somali who marries a Midgan woman becomes outcaste and is called Tumal; cf. Kroeber, article on "caste" in *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*.
[58] Op. cit., p. 96.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Relief[1]

If we start in the north-west corner of the region and trace the distribution of mountain ranges which ring the littoral periphery of the north, we find a broken horse-shoe series of ranges surrounding the Gulf of Tajura and standing far enough back from the sea to enclose the sterile salt-lake of Assal in the " Côte des Somalis."[2] Near Jibuti the ranges retreat from the sea, gathering together into the formidable land-mass which constitutes the Harar Highlands, whose peaks stand 9,000 ft. above sea-level, and, leaving a fairly wide littoral plain and foothills, extend irregularly from Jibuti almost as far as Karin where the mountains again skirt the sea. Here they form a lofty maritime range running ever closer to the shore until near Candala where it breaks up and turns south into the high south-eastern plateau country. This, beginning at about 6,000 ft., descends gradually towards the south and is intersected by lower-lying plains and valleys and occasional mountain peaks. The rugged sea-board range drops into a maritime plain, widest in the north-west corner and narrowing as it draws closer to the sea towards the north-east, and breaks up some hundred miles short of Cape Gardafui, the north-east tip of the country. The range is intersected by a series of precipitate valleys down which ephemeral torrents rush in the wet season and along which a system of permanent wells remains even in the height of the drought when the pastoralists drive their flocks up the valleys in search of fresh pasture and relief from the torrid heat of the maritime plains. The range is irregular and not continuous in its extension; wide valleys of pasture-land cut across it at intervals all along its length.

In the south the mountain relief is quite different; the maritime range parallel to the northern coast gives place to a series of high plateaux and plains running from the Harar Highlands, some 9,000 ft. above sea-level, to the coast of the south-east and south. The highland slopes gradually and fairly regularly from the north-west, although intersected by low-lying plains and valleys which are here much more widely separated than in the precipitous north. Of these the Webi Shebelle and Webi Juba contain water at all times of the year and constitute the main river system of the whole region. Interacting with this south-south-eastern gradient, there is also the south-south-western tilt imposed on the land-mass by the northern mountain range, which gives the land-mass a gentle gradient in this direction. Thus from the maritime peaks of the north a range of gently sloping plains descends from the inner foothills to the south. The region as a whole is dominated by the Harar Highlands, the main mountain feature, which, running along the periphery of the northern country constitutes a formidable barrier to the interior which is accessible only along the valleys and occasional plains which intersect it. In the south, however, the country is much more open and a series of rising plains connects the littoral and maritime plains to the central Harar Highlands in which the rivers of the south take their sources.

Somaliland can therefore be divided into three main zones.[3]

1. The maritime plains between the mountains and the sea.
2. The maritime range itself, in the north parallel to the coast and intersected by inland plains.

[1] This account is based largely on E.A.F. maps, Nos. 1204, 1206, and 1208 (scale 1 : 2,000,000).

[2] The geography of the Northern Regions is described in Deschamps, 1948, pp. 3–12, de la Rue, 1937 and in works on the Afar (see bibliography).

[3] In this description I have drawn largely upon the excellent although incomplete account of the geography of Somaliland in *Somaliland*, by A. Hamilton. The maps appended to Hunt's *Survey* are also very useful.

3. The raised southern plateaux, with subsidiary lines of hills running along the intersecting valleys.

DRAINAGE SYSTEM

There are three principal lines of drainage :

1. The seaward slopes of the maritime range and main plateau.
2. The inner slopes of the plateau.
3. The valleys descending from the Harar Highlands.

These will be discussed geographically, distinguishing two regions : a northern (*a*) and a southern (*b*).

(*a*) *Northern Drainage System*

A succession of watercourses (*tug*), desiccated rock-strewn valleys, save for occasional pools, in the dry season, ephemeral torrents after heavy rain, drain the northern highlands from the north-western corner of British Somaliland to Cape Gardafui. Their direction is from south to north. They rise in the main plateaux and flow through the inland plains in broad sandy beds, then dash headlong down narrow boulder-strewn channels through the maritime ranges into the plains where their waters are lost in the sand-dunes lining the coast. The most important in the west is the Issutugan, which rises in the neighbourhood of Hargeisa and, running through the high plains and coastal mountains, loses itself in the sands east of Bulhar. These are the valleys up which the tribes move from the grazing of the coastal plains, when this becomes exhausted and completely desiccated in the dry season, into the richer pastures of the interior. At this time of the year their representation on the map has the appearance of a series of points—those pools which always contain water—which when joined up form a graph of the course which the torrents take in the wet season.

(*b*) *Southern Drainage System*

The highland to the east is similarly drained by a series of watercourses which, corresponding to the gentleness of their gradient, are much more widely separated than those of the north. Their frequency decreases from the north to the south along the east coast. The most important are the Darror and the Nogal which, rising in the interior highlands, flow south-east into the Indian Ocean. The Darror, the more northerly, extends for a distance of some two hundred miles from the foot of the Aroru Hills to the Bay of Hafun ; its higher reaches are dry except after heavy rain, but in its lower reaches there is always water, and here the banks are covered with a " vivid green vegetation of tall trees, date and dum palms, which present a striking contrast to the brown sterile undulating plains and hills above."[4] In the upper courses of the valley there are however extensive pastures.

The Nogal Valley, which has a greater length, develops out of its main tributary the Tug Der ; already of considerable size by the time it reaches Burao in British Somaliland, it flows along the edges of the Haud, separated from it by the mountains which form its own valley, and enters the Indian Ocean at Eile in Negro Bay. The head-waters are characterized by excellent pastureland, which in some parts becomes densely vegetated swamp in the rainy season. The Nogal plain, as the upper reaches are called, is covered with trees and bushes, never, however, very dense, and east of the Shilemadu Hills are groves of figs and dates. In the lower reaches the banks are lost in green jungle which extends up the sides of the valley ; near the sea the Nogal contains water all the year round.[5] To the north the valley abuts on the

[4] Hamilton, 1911, p. 24.
[5] Ibid., p. 25 ; Caraci, 1927, p. 119.

Sawl Haud, an area of rich and varied pasture similar to, but smaller than, its southern counterpart (the Haud). The region through which these two rivers flow is the richest area of the north, suited particularly to cattle and horse-rearing, but supporting no extensive cultivation.

The two largest rivers in Somaliland are the Webi Shebelle and the Juba, which flow all the year round and provide in the rich alluvial soil which surrounds them the arable land which makes the south the centre of cultivation. The principal catchment areas of both are in the Ethiopian Highlands where the rainfall almost completely controls their flow,[6] although they are dependent subsidiarily upon affluents which join them in their course through Somalia, and thus to some extent affected by local rainfall. The Ethiopian period of heavy rain is from 15th June to 15th September.[7] which coincides with the dry season of Haga in Somalia,[8] and this no doubt is why these rivers never entirely dry up. Vegetation is prolific along their banks, high trees are especially abundant and long stretches are lined with sycamore.[9] Both flow south down the valleys which cut the foothills and high plains of the Harar Highlands as they descend gently to the south-east.

The Shebelle has a length of 1,250 miles and is never so rapid or strong as the Juba. Low water is from January to April; there are two periods of flood, one in June and a greater one in September, when the river has a portage of 180 cubic metres per second at Abruzzi, and 100 at Genale. Between the two peaks the average portage is 25–30 cusecs, while during *Jilal* its bed is almost completely dry save for stagnant pools.[10] Professor Dainelli,[11] in spite of what has been said of the dependence of the two rivers upon rainfall in the Ethiopian Highlands, considers that the Shebelle is hardly affected at all by rain in this region and that the " regime pluviometrico somalo " extends much farther inland than has hitherto been supposed. The Shebelle's principal tributary is the Tug Fafan which joins it half-way through its course. At Balad, some 20 miles from the sea, the river changes course, turning south-west and running parallel to the coast towards the Juba which, in periods of heavy rain, it sometimes meets some distance above Margherita; more generally, however, it loses itself in sand-flats before reaching the Juba and has no direct outlet to the sea.[12]

The Juba which is the largest and only navigable river in Somaliland, has a length of 1,030 miles and flows south of, and almost parallel to, the Shebelle, entering the Indian Ocean at Kismayu. The river is low from the end of December until mid-April, when the first floods swell its volume. The head diminishes from June to October and then reaches a secondary maximum in the period from the middle of October till the middle of December.[13] The maximum portage attained is between 800 and 1,000 cubic metres per second, while between the two peaks its average portage is 150–200 cusecs, reaching a minimum of 15–20 in the height of *Jilal*.[14] Cultivation is found along the banks of both rivers, and the land between them, watered by several freshets, is for cultivation and stock-breeding among the richest in Somaliland. Pastoralists are, however, forced to avoid certain swamp regions near the rivers in which tsetse fly are prevalent, and are content to abandon these to the cultivators. It is in these regions that the residual groups of Negroid populations are found.

[6] Cerulli, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, pp. 483 ff.
[7] Ibid.
[8] See below, " The Seasons."
[9] For full details of the courses of both rivers see Corni, 1937–38, pp. 106–20, and for their vegetation, pp. 135–202. See also U.N. Report, cit., *passim*.
[10] U.N. Report, p. 90.
[11] *Africa Orientale*, 1935, ed. Zoli, p. 182.
[12] The middle stretches of the river where the banks are flat or slightly inclined offer excellent conditions for irrigation. See U.N. Report, p. 90.
[13] Zoli, 1927, p. 70; Corni, op. cit., p. 476.
[14] U.N. Report, p. 91.

ECOLOGY

(*a*) *Northern Region*

The maritime plains and coastal dunes are generally arid and afford pasture for the few months of the year during and immediately after the rains. With the arid ridges behind them, they are classed by the Somali as *guban*, burnt land. In spite of such barren conditions there is a line of permanent wells along the coast dependent on an extensive underground water-system, and salt licks are fairly plentiful. The maritime range is known in its wooded northern crest as *golis*, and in its southern slopes, where it meets the raised central plateau-land, as *ogo* ; a region of grassy downs and thorn-covered wilderness where there is often extensive pasture leading into the rich pastures of the central plains of the Haud and Sawl Haud, the main grazing areas of northern Somaliland. The Haud, the " waterless Haud " as it is often called, is only so in the dry season when the tribes who have been there for the summer grazing begin to retire to their home wells, for there are extremely few permanent wells in the Haud.[15] The Haud is a country of often impenetrable thorn jungle with an undergrowth of aloes ; it is broken by shallow watercourses which drain into its centre from the surrounding hills, only to evaporate in the sun. Such drainage is typical of the inland plains into which the streams draining the southern faces of the northern ranges flow after rain. The Haud is a high undulating plateau with wide rolling grass plains, which provide excellent grazing, alternating with regions of semi-desert, especially in the south-east. The vegetation includes euphorbia, acacia thorn bush and mimosa. The best grasses are : *durr*, 5 ft., *daremo*, 15 ins., and *dihe*, 4 ins. high.[16] Ant and termite hills are particularly common and have replaced scrub destroyed by fire. Grass is plentiful in the wet season although unobtainable in the dry, but camel grazing can be found throughout the year. The Haud, the largest area of its kind in the north, extends for many thousands of square miles and its vegetation seems fairly typical of the high plains of the north.[17] Its southern counterpart is the Doi.

(*b*) *Southern Regions*

In the less arid raised southern plateaux the Somali distinguish five zones[18]:

(*a*) *Ba'ad* : the shifting sand-banks lying along the shore, corresponding to the *guban* of the north.

(*b*) *Arra'ad* : the white land of hills and short plains of consolidated sand, which continues the first zone inland.

(*c*) *Arra gudud* : the red flinty sand steppe, covered mainly with acacias.

(*d*) *Arra mado* : the black alluvial soil rich in humus lying along the rivers.

(*e*) *Doi* : a vast zone of red land many thousands of square miles between the Juba and the lower bend of the Shebelle, providing the richest pastures of Somalia. Across this region from north to south-west runs a range of granite hills stretching from the Shebelle basin to Bur Meldak on the Juba valley. North-west and farther inland behind the Doi are the fertile regions of black

[15] See the drainage map prepared by Hunt, attached with other excellent sketch maps to his *General Survey of the Somaliland Protectorate*, 1951.
[16] Hamilton, 1911, p. 29.
[17] Swayne, 1903, pp. 375 ff., gives good descriptions of the plains of the north.
[18] Cerulli, loc. cit., cf. *Missione Stefanini-Paoli*, pp. 29–30, quoted in Colucci, 1924, p. 13.

soil of Bur Hakaba and the Baidoa plateau—both centres of extensive cultivation and the seat of sedentary and semi-sedentary cultivating tribes and of residual Negroid populations.

Climate

1. British Somaliland[19]

Hunt[20] describes the climate as follows: "The climate appears to depend firstly on the fact that the sun passes vertically overhead twice in the year, with the resultant N.E. Monsoon when the sun is in the south, and S.W. Monsoon when it is north of the Protectorate. The hot season is from April to September when the sun is north of the equator. . . . Roughly the area of highest rainfall (10–20 inches) is the area over 4,000 ft. above sea-level, consisting of the Harar Plateau in the west, the Golis, Wogr and Ashararet Ranges in the central Protectorate, and the Al Hills of the north-east. This area is the Main Watershed of the country. These areas get some rain in most months, and do particularly well in the period between the main rains of April to June and the short rains of October-November, when many areas are drying up in the desiccating Kharif (Haga), S.W. Monsoon wind. South of this plateau belt the rains tend to fall mostly in April to June and October to November, any other minor rains falling mostly on the ribs of land extending south-westward from the main plateau. North of the Main Watershed, and on the east coast of Somalia, there are more frequently sporadic rains during the dry season from December to March, presumably due to the upward deflection of the N.E. Monsoon by the Main Watershed mountains, the steep scarps of which face the Gulf of Aden. . . . Between the end of the N.E. Monsoon and the beginning of the S.W. Monsoon is a calm, windless period in April [*Kalil*]. In April the main 'Gu' rains should begin in the south and west: in the south because the season is naturally earlier in the south whence the sun has come, and in the west because of the altitude of the Harar Plateau. This 'Gu' rain spreads to the north and east during April (sometimes delayed until May). In a good year it generally rains every day (most often in the afternoon) for three or four days running, followed by a period of two or three days without rain, during April and the first half of May. By June the rain has usually become less and the dry S.W. Monsoon definitely unpleasant. In July there is usually not very much rain, and south-west gales are not unusual. The highest temperatures of the year are recorded in July and August though owing to the wind the heat is less oppressive than in the *Kalil* calm periods of April and September. Usually in the second half of July rain starts again at the higher altitudes and continues along the Main Watershed . . . until the calm *Kalil* of September, when the S.W. Monsoon drops. In October the N.E. Monsoon period should start, and there is nearly always widespread rain (though not so much as in the 'Gu' main rains). In November there should be more of this 'Dhair' rain in the first half of the month. By November, however, the N.E. Monsoon should be blowing quite strongly, and in an average year there is little rain in the second half of November, or in December and January, though in some years the scarps of the Main Watershed facing the Gulf of Aden get quite good rain in these months. In February there are usually rains in the west and in isolated parts of the Watershed, very often in the mornings. In March there is usually increasing rain in the west (Harar Plateau), and sometimes over the whole Watershed area and the high ribs of land. In the west this rain often runs right on into the main 'Gu' rains of April again."

[19] It is convenient to describe French Somaliland with reference to British and Italian Somalilands, and this is accordingly left to the end of the account.

[20] 1951, pp. 54–5.

2. Somalia[21]

In the south the south-west monsoon blows from June till September, the north-east monsoon from December till March. These winds blow almost parallel to the coast and exert little direct influence on the climate of the hinterland. When the north-east wind blows itself out a depression is left which attracts a south-east wind from the Indian Ocean and this with the rising temperature is a rain-bearing current; when the S.W. Monsoon subsides a depression is left which entails the rain-laden winds of the Oriental Complex.[22]

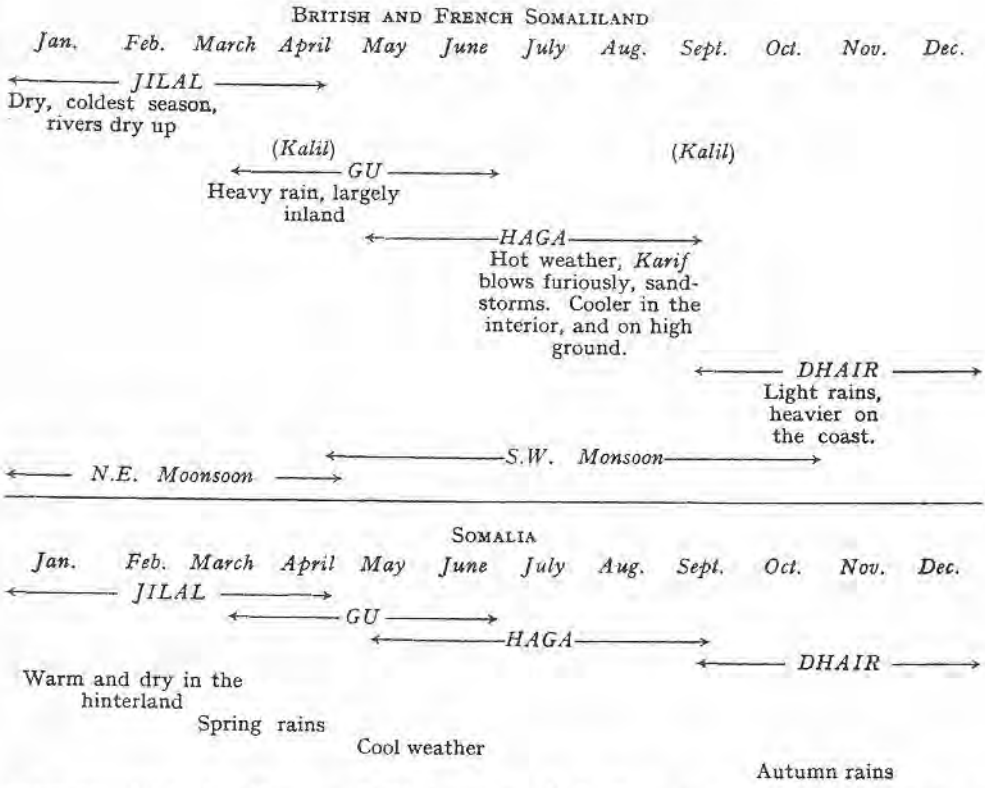
Along the coast and for a few miles inland mean temperatures are about 82° F., with oscillations of no more than 35° F. about the monthly mean, between the hottest (April) and coldest (August) periods of the year; daily variations in the mean for the year are less than 41° F. and maximum and minimum temperatures differ by about 53°. Humidity varies directly with temperature throughout the year. The total annual rainfall is 350–500 mm. (13–20 ins.) and is concentrated in the two main wet periods of April–May and October–November. There is usually a subsidiary wet period of slighter rain from June to September when the fall, though less intense, is distributed over about the same number of days as in the main rains. The dry period from December to March is almost completely without rain, and has slightly higher temperatures and lower humidity than the rest of the year. It is the period which emerges from the complex conditions of the other seasons as the hot dry quarter.

In the interior the mean temperature is a little higher, about 84° F., and oscillates through slightly wider limits; e.g., through about 40° F. between the mean for the hottest month (March) and the coldest (July) but with daily variations from the annual mean of as much as 62° F., which is much greater than along the coast, and with a gap of about 86° F. between the maximum and minimum temperatures, again considerably exceeding the coastal values. The total rainfall of between 400 and 450 mm. (16–18 ins.) is similar to the coastal system with maxima in April–May and October–November, but as might be expected the humidity is slightly less than on the coast. Isha Baidoa is the region of highest rainfall and humidity, but lowest temperature, of the interior. The influence of the monsoons does not extend much farther inland than this point, for Hoddur, which lies on higher ground, has less rain than Isha Baidoa.

On the whole the average rainfall in the north (British Somaliland) is much less than in Somalia, only reaching comparable figures along the tops of the main watershed, over 4,000 ft. above sea-level. In both regions, however, the wet seasons coincide—April–June and October–November; but whereas the heaviest falls in the north are in the earlier period, some parts of the south (e.g., Isha Baidoa) have heavier rain in the latter period. The greatest disparity, however, lies in the temperature variations, for in the north the coldest months are December and January, the hottest May–September; in the south the coldest months are August on the coast, and July in the interior, and the hottest, April on the coast, and March in the interior. In spite of these striking differences in the distribution of heat between the two regions, the monsoon periods, and the wet and dry seasons associated with them, are similar. The accompanying chart shows the general character of the four main

[21] This account is drawn from Dainelli's essay on the climate of Somalia, in *Africa Orientale*, pp. 140–51, where a short bibliography of Italian works on the climate of Somalia is given. There is a more formalized but less descriptive summary of climatic conditions in Somalia in the U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 3–5. The chart shown is collated from the following sources: Swayne, 1903, pp. 35–40; Barile, 1935, pp. 14 ff.; Burton, 1894, 1, p. 142; Ferrandi, 1903, pp. 373–86; Paulitschke, 1893, pp. 10–21; Hunt, 1951, pp. 53–90, where there are detailed tables of rainfall and its distribution over the northern regions as well as excellent illustrative maps; Cerulli, *Encyclopædia*, loc. cit.; Robecchi-Bricchetti, *passim*; Bottego, *passim*; et al. The U.N. Report reproduces a useful rainfall map for the Horn of Africa, by Fantoli, 1939, Report, 1952, p. 95.

[22] *Africa Orientale*, p. 140; see map of rainfall p. 144.



quarters—*Jilal, Gu, Haga,* and *Dhair*—into which the year is divided. The chart represents a generalization, sufficiently accurate for the ensuing description of agriculture and seasonal movements, for British and Italian Somaliland and shows the monsoon seasons and the corresponding dry and wet periods with the associated hot and cold seasons. The hot and cold seasons of French Somaliland correspond fairly well, but here there is no real alternation of wet and dry seasons, for the rainfall is characterized by extreme infrequency and great variability in its times of fall.[23] The character of the seasons based on the periodicity of the monsoons, rain, and temperature, is easily understood but the same cannot be said of the finer details of the calendar or calendars current in Somaliland.[24]

Time-reckoning

The Somali have a lunar and a solar calendar. The latter is used to calculate the date of the two annual wet seasons, knowledge of which is equally important to the cultivators of the south who order their sowing accordingly, and to the northern nomads in the regulation of stock-movements to new pasture. The beginning of the solar year is celebrated in the fire-feast of *dabshid*.[25] There are two methods of

[23] Deschamps, 1948, pp. 13–16.

[24] The following description is based upon Cerulli: 1929, 16, 1931, and 1923. There is also a more confused account and tables of correspondences between the Somali calendars, the Mohammedan lunar calendar and the Gregorian calendar in Hunt, 1951, pp. 8–13.

[25] *Dabshid* is probably of Persian origin and is known alternatively as the feast of Neirus, see Ferrandi, pp. 292 ff.; Hunt, op. cit., p. 9; Burton, I, p. 81. Among the Islamized Bantu of Afgoi its popular name is *id-faraun*, the Pharaonic Feast, which also suggests pre-Islamic origin, see Barile, p. 114. Other Persian influences are indicated by the name of the night between the last two days of the first half of the solar year, which is called *mihragan*, Cerulli, 16, 1931, p. 77.

calculating *dabshid*, one approximate and dependent upon the lunar calendar[26] and the other, accurate and esoteric, based on observation of the occultation of Spica, the α-Virginis (Somali : *dirir*). The solar year among the Mijertein has two divisions : *dayr* (*dhair*), the dry season of little rain lasting 180 days and divided into six 30-day periods, and *todoba-di dirir*, divided into seven sub-periods determined in the accurate method of standardization by the occultation of *dirir*. This, the Mijertein claim, occurs two nights earlier each lunation, so that if the occultation marking the beginning of the month of *lekhor*[27] is on the 21st day of the lunation, then the following occultation, which marks the beginning of *todob*,[27] falls on the 19th day of the next lunation. The occultation of *lekhor*, which begins the second half of the year, occurs always between the 19th, 20th and 21st days of the corresponding lunation, which permits the first day of the second half of the solar year to be determined by observation of Spica at this period of the corresponding Mohammedan month. The divisions of the solar year are set out in the accompanying chart. This degree of precision in reckoning

THE SOLAR YEAR[28]

DHAIR (180 days)	Habar-ari (30 days) Dira-go (30 days) Himir (30 days) Ahal (30 days) Musaremo (30 days) Lifatto (30 days)	End of spring
Todoba-di[29] Dirir (The Seven Dirir)	Lekhor Todob Amminla Fusadi Gu-sore Samulad Dirir Sagaro	Beginning of heavy rain

by the stars is only known to the *wadad* (ritual and stellar expert) while in daily usage dates are fixed within the solar year by reference to lunations which generally have Somali names and correspond to the Islamic calendar. Thus within the solar year running from one fire-festival (*dabshid*) to the next, the fifth day of *musaremo* or the seventh day of *fusadi* are referred to as the fifth and fourth of the lunar months of *sidetal* and *dago* respectively.[30]

The Somali lunar calendar is the ancient Arabic system of lunar stations. Stations of the moon are called *manajil*. Astrology[31] caused a division by ecliptic through lunar stations of equal length and divided into 28 stations, which are comprised in the signs of the Zodiac. It is said that there are 30 stations (stellar positions), of which two are hidden from man's eyes[32] ; among the Mijertein the remaining 28 are divided into four groups of seven, each group (configuration) corresponding to one of the four seasons of the year. The four seasons among the Mijertein are *Dira*, *Haga*, *Dayr* and *Gu*, and the corresponding lunar stations are as follows :

1. *Dira* : depend on *fara'i* and are called the seven *fara'i* : *fara'i*, *listan*, *laho*, *adad*, *lo-a-da* (the cow), *nugusi*, and *afagal*.

[26] While the Somali names for the months of the lunar calendar are still used by ritual experts (*wadad*), the Arabic equivalents are becoming increasingly adopted by holy men trained in the Mohammedan communities (*tariqa*).

[27] Solar divisions, see chart.

[28] After Cerulli, R.S.O., 13, pp. 76–84.

[29] This series corresponds to the occultations of Spica (Dirir).

[30] These are months in the Arab-Somali lunar calendar.

[31] Cerulli, 1929, p. 71.

[32] Cerulli, 17, 1931, p. 80 ; the list which follows is taken from this source with slight alterations to Cerulli's transcriptions.

2. *Haga*: depend on *naf*: *naf adda, naf madobe* (black *naf*), *afqays, kuhdin hore, kuhdin dambe, dirrir-day, dirrir.*
3. *Dayr*: depend on *dalalla*: *garbo, gudban, lib 'assa, hor damer, hor adda, marega-dere, bah.*
4. *Gu*: depend on *'irir*; *faruryo, gid gabarra, gid ga'anla, gid diriqla, rab hore gog madobe, rab dambe.*

On the Shebelle *dayr* is divided into 10-day periods, *Gu* into periods of 20 days. Within these limits sub-divisions are named after the economic activities which correspond to the dates. Thus the days of *Gu* from the 31st to the 50th are called " the leading to the wells," and from the 71st to the 90th " sheep-flocks."[33] These four groups each have a " chief " who provides the group's name. Thus " the seven *fara'i*," etc., corresponding to *Dira* and similarly for the other configurations. Danakil also call the reference points of stellar positions " chiefs."[34] The Ishaak[35] Somali divide the 28 lunar stations into six " tribes," although there are in fact at least eight principal " tribes " in the Ishaak confederacy. One of these " tribes " is called the " sons of *naf*."[36] All these constellations have astrological significance but there is much variation in the naming among the different tribal groups, and sometimes the same names refer to different stellar positions. The 13th position *dirir-day*, is held by the Mijertein to be highly auspicious and the name seems to mean " he whom luck blesses." The Ogaden call it " camel's breast," the Hawiya use the expression to wish " Good-luck," and the Ishaak call it " the sign of friendship." *Dirir* means luck and is universally associated in Somaliland with war. *Gog-madobe*, black *gog*, is ominous and the Hawiya refer to it as " thousands are not nourished by it."

The name of each lunar station is related to each of the 29 days of the lunation, and for each day the effects of the movements of the heavenly bodies[37] on marriage, birth, and economic activities dependent on rainfall, etc., are determined.[38] The lunar calendar supplies the approximate method of calculating the date of the solar new year, *dabshid*. Each new year begins in the same lunar month, but 10 days later than the preceding year. Thus if one new year falls on the third day of the Mohammedan lunar month of *ragab*, the next solar year begins on the 13th day of that month. The lunar month in which the new year falls is conventionally defined to last 30 days. This method is sufficiently accurate for the seasonal movements of the nomads when they are out of touch with their stellar expert (*wadad*) who can make the accurate calculation based on observations of the occultation of Spica. Thus the Somali solar year which is used for practical purposes depends upon the Mohammedan lunar calendar for its standardization and orientation.[39]

Years[40] are united in seven-year cycles named after the day of the week in which they began. The first year of the cycle is the Sabbatic year and the last the Friday year. Cycles are remembered and named after important events which occurred in the course of them. For example, *isnin orrah-madon*, the Monday year of the black sun, evidently refers to an eclipse; *hamista Sidla-gur*, the Thursday year of the migration of the Shidle (slaves). The day of the new year, *dabshid* or *neirus*, is celebrated both in the interior and all along the East African coast with feasts. In the interior it is a family feast; a great fire is kindled over which the head of the family leaps from side to side, sometimes driving his spear into the flames; dancing

[33] Cerulli, 1923, p. 10.
[34] Cerulli, 1929, p. 78.
[35] Ibid., pp. 76, and 17, 1931, p. 80.
[36] Cerulli, 17, 1931, p. 80.
[37] That this is the correct way to describe them and not an external importation, will be seen below in the section on " Religion."
[38] Cerulli, 1929, p. 77.
[39] 17, 1931, p. 76.
[40] Cerulli, 1923, p. 11.

and feasting last for several days and warriors dance through the villages singing songs composed for the occasion. At Lugh,[41] fires are kindled before the hut of Neirus, and ox-horns filled with butter are borne by horsemen through the surrounding country. On the coast *dabshid* is celebrated by an aquatic battle.

Soils

More competent writing on the geology of Somaliland has appeared than on any other aspect of the country or its people. References to standard authorities are given in Hunt's bibliography.[42] We have discussed above[43] the main characteristics of the five zones into which the Somali divide the country and soils of Somalia.

French Somaliland

With the progressive desiccation of the lakes, the following deposits have been laid down in the plains: calcareous mud, clay, sand, gypsum, and salt. The relative importance of these mineral resources can be gauged from the fact that the main export is salt.[44]

British Somaliland

"Most of the soil is calcareous and, in the East and South-East, gypseous. In the South and South-West the soil is more sandy and tends to be somewhat less calcareous; it is therefore better drained, and as this area also has a more constant fair rainfall it tends to form more humus, and produce a generally better soil than farther East.

"In the last century the balance was naturally adjusted to preserve the soil on which the nomadic tribes grazed their stock. Development and invention have upset this balance and protection of the scanty soil must be part of every developmental programme, whether it be agricultural, the cutting of roads, increased use of motor vehicles in watering stock, or any other factor which is bound to upset the nicely adjusted balance of soil productivity in a semi-desert area inhabited by nomadic stock-herders."[45]

Vegetation

French Somaliland

In the stony deserts clad with low thorn scrub which make up the largest part of the country, there are mimosas, acacias, gums, some grass after the rains, and small euphorbias. Along the valleys of ephemeral streams, mimosas and acacias are more prolific, and tamarinds, euphorbias, and castor-oil plants also grow. In certain favourable spots such as the valley of the Gobad, or the low-lying regions north of Henle, dum and date palms occur. On some of the mountains, euphorbias, dracænae, jujubes, palms, bow-trees and *ficus* give abundant shade, while the Dai plateau and the slopes north of Gouda above 4,000 ft., are forest—clad with giant junipers, box, and a few *ficus* and wild olives.[46]

British Somaliland[47]

The vegetation pattern corresponds to two main areas: saline and non-saline. Along the salty sea-coast *Hadun* bush (*Suædia fr.*) predominates; in the lower parts of the gypseous valleys *Daran* (*Limonium spp. Statice cyl.*) abounds. The greatest

[41] Ferrandi, 1903, pp. 291–4.
[42] Hunt, 1951, pp. 187–92.
[43] Above, p. 59.
[44] Deschamps, 1948, p. 7.
[45] Hunt, 1951, p. 105.
[46] Deschamps, op. cit., pp. 17–19.
[47] Hunt, op. cit., pp. 107–12. See also Drake-Brockman, 1912, pp. 282–323; Swayne, 1903, *passim*.

and most important extent of vegetation, however, lies in the non-saline areas. The most important trees are: *Galol* (*Acacia bussei*), *Sugsug* (*Acacia etbaica*, Wait-a-bit thorn), *Daib* (*Juniperus procera*), and *Dosok* (*Buxus hildebrandtii*). *Galol* is probably the most important tree in the British Protectorate. Its long flexible roots are used for making the framework of the nomad's hut. Camel-mats, water-vessels, and ropes are made from its bark. It is used in tanning, for firewood, and for charcoal-burning. The young green and the ripened red bean fruit is used to some extent as fodder, and the leaves and young branches are browsed by stock. *Galol* generally favours altitudes between 3,000 and 5,000 ft. and will not grow on gypseous or saline soils. Within these limits *Galol* can survive in areas of rainfall varying between one and twenty inches. *Sugsug* grows generally between 4,000 and 7,000 ft. although occasionally at lower levels, and thus favours high rainfall. Unlike *Galol*, or *Bil'il* it will grow on gypsum or non-saline soil indiscriminately. *Daib*, the Lebanon "cedar," occurs in isolated forest remnants usually above 5,000 ft., and some specimens reach 70 ft. in height. *Dosok* grows mostly on the steeper north-facing slopes of the main scarp down to about 2,500 ft. *Bil'il* with its flat broad pods is found in non-saline soil up to 4,000 ft., but is only really common below 3,200 ft., in regions of annual rainfall of two to ten inches. It shows preference for the rich red, ferruginous, sandy, calcareous soils of the Haud and Sawl Haud. Other trees and shrubs are: *Marah* (*Acacia arabica*), with its margaritic pods, flourishes in similar conditions, but usually between 3,000 and 5,000 ft.; *Qoda* (*Acacia spirocarpa*) is a collective name for several sub-species of acacia *spirocarpa*; its spiral green pods (*damel*) which turn yellow, are collected as fodder for stock; *Kulan* (*Balanites glabra*) is found in the lowland *Guban* towards the Gulf of Aden; its fruit is shelled, boiled and eaten; *Ye'eb* (*Cordeauxia edulis*) grows in slightly gypseous soil at about 2,000 ft. in the eastern corner of Ethiopia; its nut is an important food; gum trees, providing trade gums and incense, are found in the north-eastern corner of the country; *Daar* (*Aloe spp.*), found in almost all soils above 2,000 ft., is used in dyeing grass and palm fronds.

The best-known grasses are the following: *Daremo* (*Chrysopogon aucheri*) growing in the *Galol* belt is a favourite grazing; *Dihe* (*Sporobolus spp.*) with a wider altitude range than *Daremo* is a popular grass especially for sheep and goats; *Gugangub* (*Eragrostis haræensis*) is widespread in the Sawl Haud and coastal belt; *Jilab* (*Indigofera sparteola*) is one of the most important of a number of small plants providing stock browsing.

Somalia

According to Chiovenda[48] there are eight types of vegetation in Somalia, of which the chief are the following:

1. Bush vegetation extending over almost the whole of the region between the Juba and Shebelle and stretching into Mijerteinia, the most important constituents being *Comiphora* and acacia of different species and some euphorbia.
2. Sub-hygrophilic formation near the rivers with *Rizophora*, *Avicennia* and *Ficus sycomorus*. Some galleried forests also occur, especially beside the Juba, with a greater variety of tree vegetation.
3. Steppe covering the zones cleared of bush, carrying cypress, euphorbias, and grasses.
4. High-grass savanna which is very frequent.
5. Rock vegetation, the most important of which is in the north.
6. Coastal vegetation which holds the shifting dunes in position.

[48] Chiovenda, 1929, 1932.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

LIVESTOCK[1]

Animal husbandry is the basis of the economy even among sedentary cultivators who almost always have stock, leaving the task of cultivation wherever possible to slaves and dependants. Wealth and status are reckoned in stock, above all in horses (of which there are few) which can never be owned by slaves or *sab*. Cattle, or camels, with sheep and goats, supply the milk and milk products on which the Somali primarily depend. In the bush the pastoralist will subsist on three meals of milk a day, and little else, although porridge (*sor*) made from durra flour forms part of the diet and *bun* coffee beans roasted in butter are indispensable. Sometimes meat is added[2] and slaughter of animals seems fairly frequent[3]; blood-letting is practised by the trans-Juba Dir and Darod tribes.[4] Blood is drawn from the jugular vein of both cattle and camels by slipping a cord round the beast's neck and tightening it until the vein swells sufficiently to be readily pierced by a small arrow fired from a miniature bow. In the rains, when suffering from damp and cold, men drink straight from the beast's neck without first collecting the blood in a bowl and decanting the serum as they do at other times. Blood is often drunk mixed with milk or alone with honey, and while rich stock-owners avail themselves of it as often as they desire, others reserve it for the sick; it is given to women after childbirth and drunk by warriors preparing for a raid.

Camels

In the north, and in certain parts of the south among the nomads, camels are the most important animals in the internal economy. They are the principal means of transport among nomads, for, although they are not usually ridden,[5] the nomad's hut along with all his possessions is loaded on to their backs and the nomadic group consists of a caravan of camels accompanied by the men riding horses, if they have any, or mules, and the flocks driven along by the women and children; only enough camels to move the *rer* form the nomadic group; the rest are out in the green pastures under the care of the young men. A rich stock-owner may have as many as a hundred camels in his herd,[6] although 10 to 20 will suffice to support and transport an "average well-to-do family"[7]; an exceptionally rich man may have as many as a thousand beasts in his herds, many of them hired out to relatives and friends of his tribe. With green grazing camels can go without water for as long as two or three months and provide the herdsmen with enough milk to sustain them when no other food is available. In the dry season, when the grazing is desiccated, they need to be watered every 14 days or so, and if they are out in salt-bush they must be watered every day. Two milch camels will support one adult solely dependent on milk, as well as their own foals.[8] Diluted with water the milk is fed to the herdsmen's ponies, and, if lacking in butter-fat content, is drunk fresh, curdled, or fermented.[9] Rancid butter

[1] Puccioni, 2, 1936, p. 62. All livestock are branded with the tribal mark, section or subsection brand, and the owner's personal sign.

[2] Nomads eat meat in the dry season particularly when milk is scarce; Burton, 1894, I, p. 124.

[3] In the south meat is eaten only at feasts, marriages, and when a sick beast has to be slaughtered; U.N. Report, 1952, p. 99.

[4] Powell-Cotton, "Notes on Italian Somaliland," MS., British Museum and Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

[5] It is usual, however, for some riding camels to be kept mainly for the use of the sick and those unable to walk.

[6] The herds are led by an old male with a wooden bell (*hor*) hanging from its neck.

[7] Hunt, 1951, p. 173; cf. Cucinotta, 1921, p. 260.

[8] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 194.

[9] Hunt, op. cit., p. 173.

is also made and exported to Zanzibar. The meat is highly prized and gelded beasts (*gawl*) grow very large and fat. The skins, which are exported, are also used internally in the manufacture of sandals; despite the size of a camel each skin provides only six pairs and when it is realized that "half the population has a new pair every nine months"[10] it will be seen what a drain on skins this represents. As well as grass, camels graze on most plants, bushes and trees, especially when grass is scarce.

In the south[11] there are three main breeds: *heur* or *godir*, *eidime* or *beras* (*biras* in the Ogaden), and *sifdar*. The last breed, which is the most numerous in Somalia, is divided into two sub-breeds—*sifdar berrudo* and *sifdar tafadere*. The strongest and finest beasts in Somalia belong to the first of these and are renowned for their high milk yields and capacity for fattening. The *tafadere* camel is very nervous and extremely difficult to deal with. Generally the *sifdar*, although particular in its choice of grazing, is an excellent trekker even in marshland. The *eidime* beast is an excellent pack animal in stony country, carrying heavy loads over long distances. It has great powers of endurance and preserves its weight and strength even during *Jilal*. The *heur* breed is a good pack animal and gives fair milk-yields, but outside its normal breeding zone has little resistance to disease.

Cattle

Cattle are on the whole more characteristic of the southern tribes—Hawiya, Rahanwein, and Digil—among whom they replace camels to some extent. Swayne,[12] writing at the turn of the century, says that they are found in the north mainly among tribes living in hill country, while Drake-Brockman (1912)[13] records that the Habr Awal "might be said to be the only tribe especially interested in cattle"; now, however, "cattle replace camels to some extent in the Harar Plateau and the main watershed region, and in other well-watered areas, such as the Zeila plain, Ain, and Nogal."[14] It will be seen from the livestock tables that they are now numerous.[15] Like camels they are the source of meat, milk, and butter, and are used for ploughing in agricultural areas but seldom as pack-animals,[16] for which purpose donkeys are generally used—two of these doing about the same work as one burden-camel. The milch camel is replaced by the cow, although many cattle-owning tribes have camels as well, even if the terrain is unsuitable for breeding. Cattle can go unwatered up to a period of four days,[17] which does not give them very great powers of endurance in the dry season when the drought takes a heavy toll. A family can live "comfortably" on 20 head of cattle and can subsist with less. Cattle are all of the Zebu (*Bos indicus*) race and in the south there are four main breeds[18]: *surco*, *gasara*, *dauara*, and *boran*. *Surco* are found only in the region to the left of the Juba among the Hawiya, Rahanwein, and Digil; they give much milk with a high fat-content and continue to be milked into *Jilal*. Their meat is of high quality and their thick skins protect them from insects and thorn in the bush. They are good trekkers and the male sometimes replaces the camel in carrying the nomad's hut, utensils, and children. The *gasara* are hardy beasts found all over Somalia and surviving in the most severe conditions. They graze among the Mijertein, along the Shebelle, in the poorer regions of the upper Juba, and along the coastal dunes.

[10] Hunt, op. cit., p. 173.

[11] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 111. According to Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 192, the Somali of the north do not have such a variety of breeds, but he is probably incorrect.

[12] 1903, p. 34.

[13] P. 302.

[14] Hunt, op. cit., p. 174.

[15] See Livestock Tables, p. 70.

[16] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 331 and Zoli, 1927, p. 326. They are sometimes used as pack animals, however, e.g., among Tunni, in Doi, and in trans-Juba.

[17] Ibid., and Puccioni, 2, 1936, p. 61.

[18] U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 110–11; cf. Barile, 1935, pp. 17–22.

Usually short-horned, their main use is milk production. The *dauara* (or *gerra* as they are called after the tribe which principally breeds them) are the finest and most famous of all Somali cattle. They are large heavy beasts but at the same time graceful and well-proportioned, with full, lustrous coats, and are usually short-horned. They are the best milch cows but, being fastidious in feeding, they suffer more than any other breed from lack of water and rapidly deteriorate if water is scarce. The *boran*[19] are mainly reared in trans-Juba by the Harti Darod tribes.

Sheep and Goats

Sheep and goats are second to camels and cattle in the internal economy of the country, providing milk, ghee, and meat, of which, in the north at least, they are the main source. The sheep are the black-headed, fat-tailed variety, known in the north as the Berbera sheep[20] and in the south as the " Somali."[21] The skin, the wool of which is never shorn, is the principal export. Sheep and goats are often shipped on the hoof to Aden and the Red Sea area. Rams are fattened and bred for meat, which is excellent in quality when they are in condition and come from the fresh green pastures. Sheep are more numerous than goats in the north,[22] while in the south they are only really important in the dune regions, along the coast, and in the Gede, Bai, and Bacol of upper Juba.[21] Goats are herded together with the sheep unless the nature of the grazing makes this impossible, and the herds are led by an old ram. When the pastures are green after the rains both can go two or three months without watering, but in the dry season only four to eight days.[23] In the north goats are short-haired and usually white,[24] differing from the Arabian varieties. In the south, as well as the Arabian, there are two indigenous varieties, the *degier* and the *deguen*.[25] The former has short ears, is small, light-weight, has great resistance to drought and is found in the most arid conditions. This breed yields a small quantity of rich milk, excellent meat, and the skin is valued in external trade for glove-manufacture. The *deguen* has larger ears, is bigger and heavier, and the white coat is sometimes spotted brown and black. This variety requires better conditions, more water and feeding.

A mother and her (three) children can subsist on a flock of 50 sheep and goats, and live " reasonably," with meals every day, on 100.[26] A family of this size cannot handle without help a flock containing more than 250 head of sheep and goats together ; ideally, in the north at least, a man should have about 20 camels, and allow a milch camel and two burden camels, with a flock of sheep and goats, to each of his wives.[27] The camels with their greater powers of endurance are much more mobile and can chase the patches of grazing which spring up after local rains in a way quite outside the mobility of the women's flocks. In large-scale movements, however, the women pack the huts quickly enough and march long distances with the children and flocks to the areas of new grazing where the huts are erected again and former cattle-pens (zariba) reoccupied or new ones built.

Donkeys are kept by cattle-owners as beasts of burden, in the proportion of about two per 100 head of cattle. Like cattle they require watering every two or three days, and are especially valuable, even to camel-owners, in difficult hill-country where

[19] Cf. Corni, 1937–38, I, pp. 380 ff., according to which *boran* is an alternative name for *gasara*.
[20] Hunt, op. cit., p. 174 ; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., pp. 204–7.
[21] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 112.
[22] See tables.
[23] Drake-Brockman, p. 207, " Whereas on the *Guban*, along the coast, they require water nearly every day." Hunt, loc. cit.; Puccioni, 2, 1936, p. 61.
[24] Drake-Brockman, p. 207.
[25] U.N. Report, p. 111.
[26] Hunt, loc. cit.
[27] Ibid.

they can manage loads in places inaccessible to camels.[28] When the *rer* is on the move donkeys carry children too heavy for their mothers' backs and too small to trek along beside the party; old women often ride them.[29] They are left to graze all night when camp has been pitched and give warning of marauding wild animals by their braying.[30] Mules, which fulfil the same purposes, are not bred in the country but imported from Ethiopia.[31] Like donkeys they can go without water for two or three days.

Horses

In the north there are two breeds of pony: the *bari* reared by the eastern tribes and the *galbed* by the western; both stand from 12–14 hands to the shoulder, the *galbed* being usually the larger, having been interbred with Abyssinian stock and being supposedly of Arab descent.[32] Hooves are hard, and unshod ponies will carry their riders over long distances, provided they are watered every day or second day; they are used by herdsmen in the Haud. Out on the pastures, if there is no water, ponies are given milk diluted with water brought in by a burden camel from the nearest source. Somali lavish as much care on their horses as on their camels,[33] although they are now few and numbers are dwindling with the increasing use of motor transport for water-carrying, and the stability of internal and external tribal relations. Horses are always used in war, when available; *dibaltig*,[34] the salute given to chiefs, is always performed on horseback. At present the tribes richest in horses are the Habr Awal and Warsangeli,[35] in the south they are still bred in the region of the Nogal valley and El Bur.[36]

LIVESTOCK PER HEAD OF THE POPULATION[37]

Tribe	*Sheep*	*Goats*	*Cattle*	*Horses*[38]	*Donkeys*[38]	*Camels*
Esa (55,000)	4·09	4·09	0·54	—	600	2·27
Gadabursi (45,000)	2·22	6·66	1·33	50	900	1·33
Habr Awal Saad Mussa (100,000) ..	3·70	1·30	1·00	200	2,000	1·25
H.A. Esa Mussa (30,000) ..	3·33	6·66	0·15	—	200	0·50
Arab (20,000)	4·00	1·50	—	—	—	2·50
Aidagalla (40,000)	4·25	1·25	—	—	—	2·50
Habr Unis Burao district (90,000) ..	3·00	1·22	—	—	—	2·33
Habr Unis other districts (40,000) ..	2·50	2·50	0·05	50	400	1·25
Habr Toljaala Mohd Abokr (60,000)	3·33	1·66	0·02	50	200	2·50
H.T. Mussa Abokr and Omar (40,000)	5·00	5·00	0·002	—	100	1·00
Dolbohanta (100,000) ..	2·70	1·30	0·20	100	200	2·40
Warsangeli (20,000)	3·50	3·50	0·25	200	500	1·25

[28] Hunt, loc. cit.
[29] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 196.
[30] Ibid., p. 197.
[31] Hunt, loc. cit.; Drake-Brockman, p. 198; U.N. Report, 1952, p. 112.
[32] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 199; Hunt, op. cit., p. 174; Puccioni, 2, 1936, p. 65.
[33] Drake-Brockman, pp. 200–1. Cf. Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 281; Vannutelli e Citerni, 1900, p. 124.
[34] Drake-Brockman, pp. 124 ff.
[35] See Livestock Tables.
[36] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 112.
[37] Table for British Somaliland compiled from Hunt's data, 1951, p. 122.
[38] Given in actual figures because of their small number.

British Somaliland[39] *1950*

Stock		*Total population : 640,000 Per head of population*
Camels	1,200,000	1·88
Cattle	223,100	0·33
Sheep	2,355,000	3·52
Goats	1,645,000	2·57

Somalia

Stock		*Total population : 1,242,200 Per head of population*
Camels	1,156,000	0·91
Cattle	1,200,000	0·96
Sheep	2,000,000	1·61
Goats	2,135,000	1·72

There are no figures for horses or donkeys in the U.N. Report on which this table is based.[40]

The produce of stock is balanced with the produce of cultivation within the total Somali economy ; nomad stock-owners exchange their milk and milk-products for grain and the other crops of cultivators. The two types of economy have always existed side by side, for even before the agricultural tribes of the south had assumed their present distribution there were cultivators in northern Somaliland, as is attested by the remains of irrigation terraces which have long since been abandoned. There is some reason to associate this with climatic changes, for the northern regions seem to be suffering progressive desiccation.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the characteristic activity of the southern Sab (Rahanwein and Digil) and also to some extent of the Hawiya (Somali), although generally associated with stock-breeding. In the north (British Somaliland) the total area cultivated is 800 sq. miles, a negligible figure within a total environment of 68,000 sq. miles. Crops are mainly millet (sorghum) with some maize and subsidiary crops.[41] In the south[42] it is reckoned that 7,500,000 hectares (about 30,000 sq. miles), that is, 15% of the total area of Somalia, is suitable for cultivation, and of this only about 400,000 hectares are at present devoted to agriculture. From the figures given it emerges that, of the cultivated areas, those along the rivers are least developed ; this is attributed to the prevalence of tsetse fly which militates against mixed farming, and shows how closely stock-rearing and cultivation are associated. Traditional crops are cereals, durra, beans, elusine, sesame, cotton, manioc, papaia, bananas and some other fruits.[43] In the black alluvial soil (*arra mado*) along the rivers, and in the areas with alluvial deposits in the high plateau region behind the Doi, such as Baidoa, Ariaga, Hakaba and Molimat, sorghum, durra and Indian corn are the main crops. In the red and white land (*arra'ad* and *arra'gudud*) durra, millet, sesame, sweet potatoes, and manioc are cultivated ; and in the European settlements and collective farms cotton and sugar cane are produced.[44] In the riverine lands cultivation depends

[39] The number of livestock in French Somaliland was estimated in 1952 as: camels 3,000; cattle, 10,000 ; sheep, 100,000 ; goats, 200,000 ; donkeys, 6,500.

[40] U.N. Report on Somalia, 1950, p. 100 ; cf. 1951 and 1952 Reports, p. 239 and p. 110, where in the latter case the number of donkeys and horses as estimated in 1951 is given as 19,100 and 250 respectively.

[41] Hunt, 1951, p. 112.

[42] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 89.

[43] Corni, 1937–38, I, pp. 353–75 ; U.N. Report, p. 95; Puccioni, 2, 1936, p. 68, mentions also sugar and tobacco. Cf. Guillain, 1856, III, p. 28.

[44] Cerulli, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, loc. cit; cf. U.N. Report, 1952, p. 95.

mainly upon the flooding of the river but also to some extent upon local rainfall, which may become the main factor if the river fails or is late in rising.[45] Durra, which best withstands the harsh conditions of the temporary cultivation practised by nomads, is favoured even by the sedentary agriculturists in the relatively rich soils of centres like Isha Baidoa, Dafet, and Itala. Sedentary cultivators make two sowings of durra: the first in May, harvested in August, and the second in September or October and harvested about four months later; the first is the main crop, but drought may necessitate resowing. The yield harvested averages from seven to nine hundredweight per acre.[46] Sesame has a three months' growth cycle, cotton is harvested eight months after planting and the plants are renewed every four years.[47] Two interesting examples of the resources and cultivating economy of mixed agriculturists of Bur Hakaba (presumably the Helai) and pure agriculturists ("Enterprise agricole") of the WaGosha are given in the Italian Report to U.N.O. Information given in the first example is based upon a study of 220 families in which the family unit consists of the head of the family under 30 years of age, a woman of similar age, a son of 13, a daughter of eight, and a relation in the care of the family.[48] Such a group owns six head of cattle, two camels, and four goats, and cultivates durra associated with beans in *Gu* to the extent of 4,000 somalos' worth of land,[49] leaving over 2,000 somalos' worth of land uncultivated. The annual production is 28 quintals[50] of durra and one quintal of beans, of which 20 quintals of durra and 0·7 quintal of beans are directly utilized by the family.

The WaGosha example applies to a typical family composed of its head (39 years old), a woman of similar age, a son of 14, a daughter of 10, and a relative in the care of the family. Here there are two sowings, that of *Gu* being made up of:

Maize associated with beans, pumpkins, and potatoes	0·2 ha.
Maize associated with cotton	0·5 ha.
Maize associated with sesame	0·4 ha.
Cotton	0·1 ha.
Area at rest	0·5 ha.

In the *Dhair* season:

Maize associated with beans, etc.	0·3 ha.
Durra	0·3 ha.
Cotton (sown in *Gu*)	0·6 ha.
Maize associated with sesame	0·3 ha.
Sesame	0·2 ha.

The total annual area cultivated annually is thus 2·9 ha.

Traditional Cultivation

The bush is cleared by firing where necessary and the earth worked as much as possible with metal-bladed digging-sticks (*jambo*).[51] Sowing is begun immediately after the rains or floods in regions subject to inundation and irrigation. Two slaves[52] go out to sow in the pans (*mos*) which have been constructed by building small earthen

[45] Corni, 1937–38, I, p. 362.
[46] Ibid., p. 368.
[47] Ibid., p. 369.
[48] U.N. Report, pp. 97–9.
[49] One *somalo* is equal to about one shilling.
[50] A quintal=220·5 lbs.
[51] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 68, and Ferrandi, 1903, pp. 26 ff., upon which most of this description is based. There is also a good account in Corni, 1937–38, pp. 364 ff. Cf. U.N. Report, pp. 95–6. Camels are often used to draw the "rollers" (*carava*) across the earth.
[52] See below, "Division of Labour." See illustration, U.N. Report, p. 146.

walls a few inches high to catch and conserve water ; the first, armed with the digging-stick, makes a furrow (*lun*) every 2 ft. or so, his companion the sower (*berei*) scatters the durra along it and covers the seed with a sideways motion of his foot as he passes along. About a week after sowing the fields are weeded and two or three shoots left in each *lun*, and from time to time earth is piled up about the roots to conserve as much moisture as possible. The durra is harvested by cutting off the heads, sometimes fairly low on the stem, and the subsidiary crop produced when the roots sprout is usually left for slaves and dependants.[53] At this stage it is frequently stored in pits before being thrashed and winnowed. Flour is obtained by pounding in wooden mortars, in the villages of the interior ; on the coast grindstones are used.[54] The whole plant is used ; apart from the heads from which the grain is produced, the leaves are given to cattle, the stalks to camels and are also used for hut-building. The roots left in the ground provide in favourable conditions a volunteer crop of pasture for flocks and herds,[55] and the extent to which this grazing is made available to other men of one's group depends upon the season. In *Gu* the cattle are out grazing in the fields of the group and are not restricted to the fields of their owner, in *Dhair*, however, when pasture is scarce the owner of each field reserves his durra-stalk pasture for his own stock. Apart from the constant threat of drought the fields are harried by birds as soon as the seeds are sown, and later on towards the harvest are attacked by rodents and other animals. Platforms are erected from which the fields are watched and the marauders driven off.[56]

The mechanization of agriculture in Somalia is described below.

Other Economic Activities

Another important part of Somali economy is that which has given to Somaliland the name Land of Spices. The aromatic region is concentrated in the north-east corner of the country although it also spreads along the north coast. The principal products are : gums, of which there are three main varieties ; myrrh, of which there are two, and frankincense of which there are again two principal varieties.[57] There are many different grades depending on the time of year and the order in which they are drawn from the trees. Trees belong to the tribal sections within whose territory they grow and are often individually owned within the *rer*.[58] Among the Mijertein, according to Guillain,[59] the gum-harvest lasts from February or March till the beginning of the September rains. The first incisions in the trees are made in February and repeated a month later ; after another month the third incisions are made and the sap is allowed to flow for 30 days ; the gum is collected in large globules and packed in baskets or goat-skin bags,[60] in which it is carried to the coast and traded for export to Aden and the world market. According to Drake-Brockman,[61] the resinous aromatic products collect in " tears " on the trees without any incision being required. As well as their importance for trade in exchange for cloth they have many uses among the Somali : myrrh (*mal-mal*) is used medicinally especially for the cicatrization of the wounds caused by infibulation and circumcision,[62] and Somali women take smoke-baths of myrrh and frankincense.[63]

[53] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 69.
[54] Ibid.; Bottego, 1895, p. 357 ; Ferrandi, 1903, p. 248.
[55] Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 28 ; Cucinotta, 1921, p. 248.
[56] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 68.
[57] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 303 ; U.N. Report, 1952, p. 105 ; Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 357; Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, pp. 598–9 ; Corni, 1937–38, *passim*.
[58] Cerulli, 1919, p. 87.
[59] 1856, p. 445.
[60] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 306.
[61] Ibid., pp. 302–24.
[62] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 5, where earlier authorities are cited ; de Villeneuve, 1937, pp. 15–32; Deschamps, 1948, p. 33.
[63] Burton, 1894, I, p. 144.

Honey is collected in the bush by hanging wooden cylinders, closed at both ends but provided with a small aperture for entry, among trees in the dry period. These are baited with a little honey to attract the bees and are full before the advent of the winter rains when they are emptied and their contents added to the food-store.[64]

Staple Foods

The staple foods are durra, bush fruits, milk and milk products, and the flesh of camels, cattle, goats, sheep and game, particular emphasis within this scheme depending on regional ecology. The nomad depends upon the produce of his stock, with small quantities of durra obtained from temporary cultivation and barter, and augmented by bush fruits and game. In the south, among the mixed agriculturists and sedentary cultivators, durra and other products of the soil become more abundant, and to those are added eggs, poultry and fish in riverine areas. Noble Somali will not eat poultry or eggs, though they are probably less strict in this than formerly.[65] Coffee beans roasted in butter (*bun*) are indispensable and universally popular in Somaliland; among nomads they are obtained by trade.[66] Tea (*shiahi*), prepared by long infusion with aromatic roots, is drunk by the nomads when it is available, and more generally by the sedentary peoples.[67]

The Italian Administration has made some attempt to define the diet and food value characteristic of the different types of economy found in Somalia. The results are as follows[68]:

Pastoral nomads: milk, often sour, from 5 pts. to 2 gallons daily; ghee (*sehen*), bush fruits when available, and meat especially for feasts and entertaining guests.[69] Calorific value 2·6–3 Kc.

Agricultural-pastoralists: milk 4–6 pts., durra or beans 1–2 lb., salt $\frac{1}{10}$ lb., meat and fruit from time to time, tea and sugar. Calorific value 3–4 Kc.

Sedentary cultivators: local bread (*mofa*) $\frac{1}{5}$ lb.; durra, maize, beans, or rice, 1–2 lbs.; sugar about $\frac{1}{4}$ lb., vegetable oil or butter about $\frac{1}{8}$ lb., milk $\frac{1}{2}$ pt., tea or coffee and bananas, dates, mangoes, etc., where these are available and from time to time eggs and poultry. The calorific value of this diet is not stated, although it is clearly superior to the preceding.

The cooking and preparation of foods are very fully described by Puccioni.[70]

Fishing

Fishing along the rivers and coast plays quite an important part in the local economy of the regions where it is possible. Fishing parties are found among the Negroid riverine tribes, for example, the WaGosha. There is no information for Somali tribes.[71]

Tunny fish and shark are caught along the northern coasts, salted and dried in the sun and buried in the hot sand for a day, after which they are ready to be sent to Mombasa and Zanzibar. Turtle and tortoise are caught and the shell of the latter is a valuable source of revenue.[72] The rivers are fished with nets. In the dry

[64] Guillain, 1856, III, p. 31; Colucci, 1924, p. 278.
[65] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 66; U.N. Report, 1952, p. 112; Hunt, 1951, p. 119.
[66] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 71.
[67] Puccioni, loc. cit., exaggerates the distribution of tea; Meregazzi (1929, p. 36) writes, "pastoralists rely on durra and beans in the dry period. Nomads often have a little rice, but no sugar or tea."
[68] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 150; cf. ibid., 1951, p. 133.
[69] Deschamps, 1948, p. 25.
[70] Op. cit., pp. 70–3; additional original sources are cited here.
[71] Colucci, op. cit., p. 277.
[72] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 59; Corni, 1937–38, pp. 411–47; U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 119–20.

season euphorbia extracts, strong enough to stun the fish, are thrown into the water.[73] Fish are not eaten by noble Somali, who despise fish-eaters[74]; the coastal sea-fishers are known as Rer Manyo, a derogatory name without any ethnic connotation, signifying common occupation.

Hunting[75]

Game is abundant and includes dik-dik, various kinds of antelope, giraffe, zebra, gazelle, hippopotamus, elephant, lion and panther. The most favoured time of year for hunting is in the dry season when game collects at water-points, round which tribes and tribal sections are crowded. Food is scarce, so that game makes a valuable addition to the diet. At this time of year caravans are infrequent, and the people, absorbed in the struggle to conserve person and stock, have little time for raiding neighbouring tribes or caravan-looting. Panthers and lions are shot with poisoned arrows as they stand drinking at the wells; other game animals are caught on the feed and killed with bow and arrow or poisoned spear. Decoys are used in hunting antelope and ostrich. Ferrand[76] describes a Gadabursi elephant hunt as follows. A party of horsemen, whose mounts' hooves are muffled in cloth, approach a herd of sleeping elephant; a rider dismounts and creeps up to an unsuspecting animal and slits its throat with a poisoned sword. The party then mounts and rides off as quickly as possible, returning the following morning to pick up its prey.

Some tribes hunt with dogs[77]; *ei* (dog) seems to be the root of the name of the Eile of Bur Eibe who follow this method.[78] Various types of snare and gin are employed in trapping,[79] and beating is general among the southern tribes; Puccioni describes the procedure used in dik-dik hunting[80] among the Hober, Iantar, and Helai. A semi-circular net supported by poles driven into the ground is set up, and starting from the periphery of a wide circle, the hunters slowly close in on the net, driving the game before them and systematically beating the bush as they advance. Once imprisoned the animals are dispatched with blows from clubs. The Warsangeli drive antelope into nets where they are brought within range of their poisoned arrows.[81]

Noble Somali do not themselves hunt. The killing of game is restricted to outcaste *sab* or adopted slaves (*bon*). The favourite weapons are the bow and arrow. Sometimes Midgan and Yibir are allowed the use of their noble patrons' horses and required to give up some of the game taken.[82] Unfortunately we do not know how hunting is organized among the outcaste peoples of northern Somaliland. In the south hunting associations (*hirin*, from *hir*—to bind)[83] are general among the tribes of the Shebelle and Juba. Their composition varies. The Tunni of Brava do not hunt according to tribal section; hunting parties are open to all tribesmen irrespective of section. A chief presides over several subsidiary grades, and entrance to the association is by initiation. The novice brings gifts to the leader (*arganti*) and provides his own feast of initiation. The rank obtained depends upon the amount

[73] Puccioni, 6, 1937, p. 76.
[74] Thus Burton, op. cit., p. 109, " speak not to me with the mouth that eateth fish," a common Somali taunt.
[75] Based mainly on Ferrand, 1903, pp. 197–9; cf. Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, *passim*; Puccioni, 2, 1936, pp. 57–9; see also Corni, op. cit., pp. 207–301; Hunt, op. cit., pp. 114–18.
[76] Ferrand, op. cit., p. 197; Burton, op. cit., p. 158.
[77] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 57.
[78] Colucci, op. cit., p. 146; Clark, 1953, p. 49.
[79] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 58; Bottego, 1895, pp. 308, 327.
[80] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 57.
[81] Révoil, 1882, p. 127.
[82] Cerulli, 1919, p. 35.
[83] Colucci, op. cit., p. 67.

paid on entrance. After the feast the novice is initiated[1]; he appears before the assembled party and is addressed by its head as follows: "Fear God; fear the Prophet; fear the unknown, what is strange; fear snakes; fear the short-bush (used in the manufacture of arrows); fear arrow-poison; fear the earth." The novice accepts these injunctions and is then asked: "Who is your father?" "You are," replies the novice. His loyalty is tried further; the chief says: "Your father is mortally ill, and your *arganti* summons you; whom do you follow?" The novice replies, "I go with my *arganti*," and is admitted to the association. He is given a bow, quiver, and ceremonial arrow (*handur*), and is presented by each member with a hunting-arrow. The initiate is now called *bonier* (little hunter) and, in the first hunt following election, must perform only the most menial tasks, and is forbidden to kill unless called upon to do so. Members are subject to the direction of the leader and cannot kill game except at his command. When summoned to the hunt all must attend or pay a fine for absence. The chief's title does not represent any position outside the association, although it is an index of prestige since it is acquired by payment of a large entrance subscription.

Hunting associations may derive from the atrophy of an age-grade association of warriors. The Digil and Rahanwein are said to have employed age-sets in their wars with the Galla, but to have lost this type of organization to the south-driving Darod, now occupying the land across the Juba.[2] With the establishment of stable inter-tribal relations among the predominantly cultivating Digil and Rahanwein, a warrior age-grade organization would serve little purpose.

Division of Labour

Livestock-pastoralism

Camels are milked by men,[3] cattle are tended by young men who do the milking, sometimes aided by girls.[3A] Cows are milked at day-break before being sent out from the cattle-pens to graze, and in the evening when they return from the pastures. They yield about two gallons of milk per day.[4] Sheep and goats are tended by girls and women who exclusively milk the first although men may milk goats.[4A]

Agriculture

Among the noble pastoralists and even among some of the mixed pastoralist-agriculturist Sab tribes, for example, the Gasar Gudda,[5] cultivation is done by slaves and dependants, never by noble Somali.[6] Among the Sab tribes generally and among the Negroid cultivators, however, agriculture is organized on a system of mutual-help work-parties composed of tribesmen and attached clients. Such associations are found where cultivation is compactly organized along the rivers and among the Rahanwein, but not among the Hawiya.[7] The most typical is that called *soddon* ("the thirty"), which is diffused along the Shebelle, from Afgoi-Geledi to Hawai, and among the WaGosha. Although in these regions men and women work together in the fields, only men take part in the *soddon*, which despite its name often comprises more or less than 30 labourers. Although generally recruited from within the village, men of one village may belong to the *soddon* of a neighbouring village and contracts between villages are not uncommon and are accompanied by

[1] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 68–70.
[2] *A.I.*, 1931, pp. 155–7; Zoli, 1927, pp. 189 ff.
[3] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 194; Hunt, op. cit., p. 173; U.N. Report, 1952, p. 116.
[3A] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 203; Hunt, op. cit., p. 174; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 60.
[4] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 245.
[4A] Hunt, loc. cit.; Deschamps, op. cit., p. 25.
[5] Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 26 ff.
[6] Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 66–7.
[7] Colucci, 1924, p. 70; Clark, "Rahanwein land tenure," MS.; Zoli, 1927, pp. 206–11.

gift-exchange. The association is presided over by a chief, to whom would-be participants come with gifts of coffee. Having been admitted to the association they are liable to appear for work at the leader's call. Absence without reasonable excuse is penalized by fining. The *soddon* works on special " work days " and cultivates the land of members and of other villagers who, in addition to feeding the party, are required to pay a fee.[8]

Similar associations are the *hirin* among the WaGosha,[9] the *wadai* (" friends ") among the Shidle, and the *daa* among the Begeda of the Shebelle. The *daa* performs heavier work such as tree-felling, hut construction, etc., and demands correspondingly higher fees. Among the Rahanwein a similar association is the *gohob*, a group of youths (*barbar*) of the village or *rer* working under the direction of two sub-chiefs (*bodan* and *galan*) and a head (*au*). Work is obligatory and absence incurs fines; the labourers are paid in food.[10] *Gamas*[11] is an association derived from membership of the minimal territorial unit within the village, with conditions of entry similar to those required for admission to the village. In contrast to the *soddon* and *hirin*, there is no formal summoning of the *gamas* and no penalty for absence. Payment usually consists in feeding the work-group, and more is demanded from strangers, when the hirer usually pays the members individually. Colucci remarks that in this case the principle of salaried labour appears, and is related to the scarcity of free land and the high density of the population.[12] The *gamas* has also certain social functions such as contributing alms, and organizing banquets, religious meetings, and funerals.[13] Clearly they represent a kind of guild system. Cucinotta's view that these associations are communistic in principle has been ably refuted by Colucci.[14] It might be reasonable to suppose, as Colucci suggests,[15] that they have arisen to meet the need created by the abolition of slave labour. On the other hand, however, according to Cucinotta,[16] the *soddon* has not replaced slavery, since it is itself a feudal serf gang led by slaves. What has happened is simply that, with the abolition of slavery, the *soddon*, from being a slave labour group, has become an organization of freedmen. The status of the labourers has changed from slavery to freedom, but the organization present before the abolition of slavery has persisted unchanged in form. On the whole, it seems more likely that Cucinotta is correct since his statement refers to actual organization, while Colucci's rests upon a hypothetical reconstruction. Historical investigation in Somaliland might settle the issue.

Where cultivation is practised, flour is ground by women.[17]

Artisan and Guild Organizations

These occur in the coastal towns of the south (there is no information for the north) and may well be the urban development of the institutions just described. A man wishing to apprentice his son to a carpenter, builder, or craftsman, takes him to the master with a gift (*faddi*). After a feast attended by apprentices at which roasted coffee is served, the lad joins the craftsman's family and remains under his authority. In return for lodging and keep, the apprentice works for his master's profit until, on reaching the status of craftsman, he desires to be independent. Then he purchases his freedom by a payment of money, a man's kerchief (*garbasar*) and a

[8] Colucci, op. cit., p. 72; Cucinotta, 1921, pp. 498 ff.
[9] Colucci, op. cit., p. 73. Cf. Barile, 1935, p. 58.
[10] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 73–4.
[11] Ibid., p. 73.
[12] Cf. Nadel, *The Nuba*, 1947, *passim*.
[13] Colucci, 1924, p. 73.
[14] Ibid., p. 76.
[15] Colucci, op. cit., p. 74.
[16] Cucinotta, 1921, pp. 498–9.
[17] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 69; U.N. Report, 1952, illustrations following p. 146.

shield (*gashan*), returning his tools. Emancipation is celebrated ritually with feasting. It appears that often, by the time the apprentice is expert, his master has died, and we are not told what happens in this case.

There are similar guilds of weavers and silver-smiths, the second forming a kind of caste probably similar to the Tumal.[18]

Trade

Internal trade for the nomad consists mainly of the exchange of livestock produce, gum, ivory, skins, etc., for the grain and cloth produced by sedentary cultivators.[19] Caravans laden with goods continually traverse the country, especially in the season of the coastal fairs, when the produce of the interior is traded for imports brought from Aden and India.[20] The modern towns of Somaliland (e.g., Berbera,[21] and Lugh-Ferrandi[22]) have developed from market villages established at the points of intersection of main caravan routes. These were probably all originally founded by Arab traders, although Indian influence is also noticeable, especially on the coast, where the towns are typical of those found along the East African coast generally.[23] Before the suppression of slavery, slave-trading was one of the main activities.

External Trade

French Somaliland.—" From the global point of view, French Somaliland is a port (Jibuti) and a railway."[24] The only important product of the colony is marine salt, of which 51,000 tons were exported in 1938, 25,700 tons in 1946, and 11,217 tons in 1952.[25] French Somaliland is, however, the port of Ethiopia and through its gates pass to the outside world, green coffee (4,300 tons in 1945), animal skins (1,000 tons in 1938), animal wax, and musk.[26]

British Somaliland

Main exports

	1947–48	*1949*
	£	£
Hides and skins	299,703	355,857
Livestock	136,570	183,533
Gums	15,624	11,257
Ghee	15,669	3,104

Small quantities of guano and mother-of-pearl are also exported, and goods valued at £489,955 originating outside the Protectorate (mainly from Ethiopia) were shipped from Protectorate ports in 1949.[27] Meat is not yet exported through lack of a factory and refrigerating plant.[28]

[18] This account is taken from Barile, 1935, p. 59.
[19] See U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 49 ff., pp. 82 ff.
[20] See particularly Swayne, Burton, and Guillain, *passim.*
[21] Drake-Brockman, 1912, pp. 31 ff.
[22] Ferrandi, 1903, *passim*; Bottego, 1895, *passim.*
[23] Population statistics are given in the U.N. Report, 1952, and for French Somaliland, by Deschamps, 1948, p. 21. For British Somaliland see the Colonial Reports.
[24] Deschamps, 1948, p. 52.
[25] Ibid., p. 59.
[26] Ibid., p. 60.
[27] " Somaliland," Colonial Report, 1949, p. 11.
[28] Ibid., p. 13.

Main imports related to indigenous economy[29]

Nature	*1948*		*1949*	
	Quantity cwts.	*Value* £	*Quantity* cwts.	*Value* £
Flour	7,060	16,133	9,718	22,940
Rice	17,173	62,163	19,388	60,503
Cereals	44	648	7,389	9,981
Dates	44,165	76,313	19,363	28,031
Sugar	51,460	156,196	76,915	173,330
Tea and preserved provisions	—	38,029	—	72,529
Grey sheeting	2,700,451	217,015	1,400,709	86,248
White longcloth	866,560	97,094	733,507	56,420
Other textiles	—	110,269	—	59,855

Other imports, which do not seem so intimately bound up with the indigenous economy, although many are implicated in its development, are not listed here but will be found in the Report from which these figures are cited.

Somalia.—It is outside the scope of a survey of this kind to give a detailed synopsis of the elaborate statistics compiled for the Italian Administration and excellently presented in the Reports to the United Nations. In these full details will be found of the total external and internal economy which we can do no more than indicate here.

Principal exports[30]

	1952	
	Quantity	*Value* So.[31]
Livestock	11,129	397,567
	Kg.	
Butter	320,551	1,451,139
Dry fish	165,242	107,479
Tunny (boxed)	244,533	377,557
Maize[32]	10,650	4,690
Durra[32]	21,718	9,284
Beans[33]	—	—
Bananas	32,029,646	15,463,183
Fruit[33]	117,800	98,059
Tortoise	641,824	134,167
Skins	1,664,920	5,666,848
Cotton	1,508,884	14,372,459
Salt	2,693,604	208,426
Ivory	13,541	424,488
Gum and incense	1,097,506	1,620,498
Oils and fats	74,873	475,072

[29] "Somaliland," Colonial Report, 1949, p. 12.
[30] U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 300–2. I have omitted important products and manufactures which derive from the Italian factories in Somalia, and to some extent also products derived directly from the Italian development of the country.
[31] 1 So. = *c.* 1s.
[32] Show a marked decrease from 1950 figs.
[33] Show a marked increase from 1950 figs.

Principal imports[34] *1952*

	Quantity	*Value*
	Kg.	So.
Maize	345,823	209,304
Rice	893,432	1,462,630
Durra	379,119	224,876
Dates	1,948,701	1,261,874
Sugar	3,933,232	6,905,851
Coffee	979,075	1,318,537
Tea	339,846	1,908,190
Tobacco	193,910	2,349,542
Oils and fats	502,338	1,437,931

As we are primarily concerned with the Somali of the interior, since there is neither space nor adequate information to give a satisfactory account of detribalized Somali, I have omitted many imports of direct benefit to the Somali developed by the Italian Administration. In this context, before giving a brief outline of the developments which have been and are being effected in Somaliland, it is revealing to compare the relative European population figures for the three countries. These are: French Somaliland[35] *c.* 3,000; Somalia[36] 4,053; British Somaliland *c.* 150.[37]

Trends of Economic Change and Development

In French Somaliland it appears that while the Administration is largely concerned with maintaining the *status quo* (the maintenance of the railway from the coast to Addis-Ababa and the port), the Service Zöotechnique, established in 1939, aims at raising the standard of meat production, and improving Somali herds and stock.[38] In British Somaliland the Administration is investigating the possibility of establishing an abattoir at Berbera, and developing the fish-canning factory of Messrs. Britson, Ltd.[39]

The Protectorate is striving to extend the area of cultivated land (at present about 51,000 acres) and experimenting with date-planting.[40] Herdsmen are being aided In the watering of their stock by the introduction of motor transport and efforts are being made to improve and preserve grazing land. Attention is being directed towards the improvement of the quality of hides and skins for export to the world market. Licences have been granted to American oil companies to search for oil and examine the mineral resources of the country. The veterinary service is concentrating on the prevention and cure of livestock diseases.

Somalia, with its milder conditions and greater agricultural potentialities, has been under extensive and intensive development ever since the Italians conceived the idea of making their former colony pay its way. But, as in the case of the British Protectorate, Somalia is heavily indebted to the metropolitan government for grants in aid. The history of the development of resources, and particularly of the collective farms and agricultural corporations, can be followed in the many exhaustive monographs which have appeared on the subject.[41] By the end of 1952,

[34] U.N. Report, cit., pp. 294–5.
[35] Deschamps, 1948, p. 67, gives the population of Jibuti as 2,000 Europeans.
[36] U.N. Report, p. 269; this figure seems astonishingly low.
[37] Colonial Office Estimate.
[38] Deschamps, op. cit., pp. 62–5.
[39] 1949 Report, p. 4.
[40] Report, 1949, p. 3.
[41] See Italian Reports, 1950, 1951, 1952, and works cited in the bibliography.

15 co-operative farms were established along the Shebelle and another 50 were planned.[42] Extensive irrigation schemes are being established along the Juba, three of which were in operation by the end of 1952.[43] In the Baidoa region pilot farms[44] have been set up, watering facilities for the dry season improved by the construction of reservoirs, and cattle husbandry facilitated by the construction of silos and byres.[45] The most important silo is at Afgoi. Native farming is aided by the work of plant pathology control and experiments in seed selection. Intensive agriculture, in which the Somali play only a small part, largely in the form of harvesting and sowing, and for which, owing to the difficulty of obtaining native labour, large capital sums have been invested in the purchase of machinery,[46] has its principal centres along the rivers at Abruzzi, Afgoi, and Genale, and along the lower reaches of the Juba. Here irrigation is chiefly by pumping and canals. The largest company involved is the Società Agricola Italo Somala (S.A.I.S.). The table below gives the location and produce of agricultural enterprises.[47]

Zone	*No. of companies*	*Area*	*Produce*
Genale	140	28,314	Bananas, cotton, groundnuts, maize, fruit, grape-fruit
Afgoi	15	2,645	Cotton, groundnuts, maize, vegetables
Juba	43	16,883	Bananas, cotton, groundnuts, maize, fruit, sisal
Abruzzi (S.A.I.S.) ..	1	25,000	Sugar-cane, cotton, maize, groundnuts, fruit

An extensive campaign has been waged against locusts with the aid of " Desert Locust Control " from Nairobi.[48] The bureau of Agriculture and Zöotechnics, whose centre is at Mogadishu, directs the following Services : " Traditional agriculture and forestry Service," " Intensive agriculture Service," and a Zootechnical Service, which studies grazing, transhumance, watering, and the propagation of modern methods of stock-breeding.[49] Important among the Administration's activities for the year ending 1952[50] is the effort to improve the quality of hides and skins for export. Attempts have been made to encourage native fishing along the Mijertein coast by the purchase and free distribution of fishing-craft (*uri*).[51] Three companies in this region have factories and fishing-fleets, but native interests are safeguarded by limiting their activity to waters outside a range of 500 yards from the coast. Various investigations of mineral resources have been made or are in progress, and licences have been granted to oil companies for mining research and exploitation.[52] The principal industries are : sugar (S.A.I.S.), alcohol, oil (vegetable and animal), preserves, food-pastes, meat and fish, mineral waters, textiles,[53] leather, furniture,[54] chemicals, mechanical construction, and electricity.

[42] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 102.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., p. 103.
[46] Ibid., p. 104.
[47] Ibid., p. 104 (the units of area are not stated but are presumably hectares).
[48] U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 105–7, see map of campaign, p. 107.
[49] Ibid., pp. 106–8
[50] Ibid., p. 117, see pp. 117–19.
[51] Ibid., p. 120.
[52] Ibid., pp. 121–3.
[53] Ibid., see pp. 124–30.
[54] Ibid., p. 127.

Press and Radio

The Italian Administration in Somalia publishes a daily newspaper, *Corriere della Somalia*, in Italian and Arabic, with a circulation of about 2,000.[1] "Radio Mogadiscio," opened in 1951, broadcasts programmes in Somali and Italian, each language receiving two hours' broadcasting per day. The Somali programmes, many of which are devoted to education, are very popular and the service has been extended.[2]

British Somaliland publishes a newspaper *War Somali Sidihi* in an English and an Arabic edition,[3] and now has its own radio station "Radio Somali" from which Somali programmes are broadcast.

Crafts

The best synthetic account of this aspect of Somali material culture is contained in Puccioni's monograph *Antropologia e Etnografia delle genti della Somalia*. This book should, however, be read with reserve as the author has a tendency to over-generalize. I shall only indicate here the general outlines of Somali technology following Puccioni, and adding supplementary information where available.

Pottery

Ceramic ware is hardly found among the nomads and its manufacture is mainly limited to the south and coastal regions. There are two types: a coastal one of Arabian origin with possible Indonesian influence,[4] and a Negroid industry developed in the Negroid centres of the south, along the rivers and in the hinterland between them.[5] The pottery of the northern nomads is generally of the Negroid type and seems to be made by the outcaste *sab*.[6] Noble Somali never make pottery.[7] The most important centres are: on the coast, in the region of Merca and farther inland; the region of Bur Hakaba, among the WaGosha, among the Eile,[8] and among the Rahanwein generally. The type of clay naturally varies from district to district and influences the quality of the ware. The Negroid pottery is coarser and often almost black in colour.

After the clay has been collected it is set aside for several days mixed in water and trodden by women. Sand and pieces of broken pot are added to the mixture. The turning is done by men on a wooden wheel (*tottoble*) rotated by the foot, and often a large shell is used for the moulding and shaping of the vessel. The pots (*tungi*) are fired in an open fireplace with a good draught, two or three days after turning.[9] Women sometimes help with the firing.[10] Typical terra-cotta products are: vessels for preparing coffee (*dal*), bottles for tea or coffee (*jelimo* or *jelimad*), urns used for charcoal fires in the rain (*iddin jikole*), incense-burners (*idin*),[11] and lamps (*musbah*[12]), in which fat is burnt to illuminate the inside of the Somali hut.

[1] U.N. Report, 1953, pp. 192–3.
[2] Ibid., pp. 193–4.
[3] See the Address given by the Governor, Sir Gerald Reece, at the opening of the 11th session of the Somaliland Advisory council, November, 1952.
[4] See Grottanelli, 1947, pp. 148 ff.
[5] Puccioni, 1936, p. 41.
[6] Ceramics of the Arabian type may of course be found here also as a result of Arab traders' activities.
[7] Powell-Cotton, MS., "Pot-making."
[8] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 39; Powell-Cotton, loc. cit., describes the Eile technique.
[9] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 40; Powell-Cotton says that 15 days elapse before firing.
[10] Puccioni, loc. cit.; Powell-Cotton, loc. cit.
[11] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 42.
[12] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 56.

Wood-work

Wood and fibre are the most important raw materials of Somali craftsmanship. Wooden objects are almost always carved from a single piece of wood. Head-rests (*barshin*) are frequently made from a piece of soft euphorbia wood, those carried by women being more ornate than the men's.[13] The nomad always carries his head-rest with him when he goes out to the pastures. In Somalia the head-rest is found only among the Hawiya and Digil tribes,[13A] but occurs again in the north-west of French Somaliland.[14] Puccioni, somewhat doubtfully, correlates the distribution of the head-rest with the occurrence of the long-haired coiffure favoured by the Hawiya and Digil.[15] Very attractive and finely carved combs are used by both men and women. Women's combs are smaller and are used by men to trim their beards.[15A]

According to Ferrandi,[16] stools (*gember*) are not much used, since men prefer to squat on the ground supported by their spears. Those in use among the Rahanwein are made wholly of wood, while among the Hawiya and Darod they are usually furnished with a leather top. The predominance among the Rahanwein of the wooden variety unadorned with leather seems to be part of the Negroid cultural-complex which is an element of Rahanwein culture.[17]

Spoons (*fandal*) are made of a hardwood, often yellowish in colour and not unlike boxwood.[17A] *Gutamaro* is a ladle used for scooping water out of pools, and consists of a wooden handle joined to a coconut receptacle with incised coloured decoration. This, according to Ferrandi, is the work of coastal Swahili.[18] Carved wooden vessels of fine workmanship, and fitted with a carrying thong, are called *calah*. Carved drinking beakers are used for coffee, water and milk. These consist of a cup standing on a conical base and vary greatly in height and width. Most bear incised designs and some are decorated with ochre.[19] Covered milk-cans (*dil*) are carved out of a single piece of light wood. The cover serves as a drinking-cup and also as a measure. To help conserve the contents, the inside of the can is fumigated with wood-smoke. Similar containers for storage and transport of butter are called *geleble*.[20] *Ubbo* are water-bottles used for drinking and ablutions, and are often ornate and of fine workmanship, especially if for ablution.[21] Plates, between a bowl and a platter in shape, are hewn from a single piece of wood and called *hero*. Large spoons are used to stir durra porridge, and wooden skewers are used in cooking meat.[22] Wooden *objets d'art* are distributed sparsely but extensively and the main centres of production are in the south, at Hakaba, on the Juba, Bender Kassim, Baidoa, Jelib, and Uddur—the best-known centre in the south where trade is mainly for the external Western market.[23] Various types of box (*sanduc*) are made, and often the best examples are made by Negroes.

Mats and Fibre Vessels

Woven goods consist of mats and cloth. According to Puccioni[24] there are at least two main types of matting—a coarse variety used for covering the back of the pack-camel and the framework of the nomad's hut, and a finer material used inside the hut as mattress and carpet. Wright[25] mentions five types: *kibit*,[26] a fluffy, dark-brown mat of chewed bark stowed under the load next the camel's back; *alol*, a stiff mat interwoven with withies and used as walling in the construction of the

[13] Puccioni, loc. cit., p. 17.
[13A] Ibid., p. 19.
[14] Chailley, 1952, p. 1,505.
[15] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 21.
[15A] Ibid, pp. 52–4.
[16] Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 53.
[17] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 23.
[17A] Ibid., p. 24.
[18] Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 54–5.
[19] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 26.
[20] Ibid., pp. 27–8.
[21] Ibid., p. 29.
[22] Ibid., p. 26.
[23] Ibid., p. 31.
[24] Ibid., p. 32.
[25] 1943, p. 84.
[26] Cf. Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 279; Burton, 1894, I, p. 149.

hut ; *dermo-dior, derin-ti,* palm-fibre mats ; *aus,*[27] the all-purpose straw mat with a plaited pattern on one side ; and various better quality mats with decorative patterns of coloured rags, silk and wool. The fibre is prepared by men, who beat the fresh leaves into long filaments with a stick and set them aside to dry in the sun. The weaving of the mat is done exclusively by women,[28] and the completion of any big mat is the occasion for a party, " the plaiting of the straw," when the women sing and the men sit round and listen and a " good deal of covert flirting is done."[29] In the south the Mijertein excel in the manufacture of gaily coloured examples.

Matting is used as plates. Water-tight vessels are made of woven fibre proofed with wax, fat, or ox-dung, and steeped in an infusion of bark. The inside is perfumed by burning a bark called *kedi* inside the container. Containers so constructed are often used in place of the wooden vessels described above. Large wicker vessels (*girbe*) are employed in the storage and transport of the family's water, and for bringing water to the homestead from the wells. Cowrie shells are frequently used in their decoration.[30]

Cloth-weaving

Weaving is particularly developed in the south along the coast, especially at Mogadishu ; the cloth produced, whether plain or striped, is always highly coloured, favourite shades being red, yellow, and blue ; it is known commercially as Benadir cotton.[31] The raw flax, either locally produced or imported, is spun into thread on a simple wooden spinning wheel operated by hand. The loom (*seref*) is stretched out with the cotton folded over two horizontal bars and bound behind and above the crouching operator.[32] The machine is worked by a pedal, and the shuttle is carved from hardwood. This technique produces lengths of cotton cloth of about 14 yds.[33] It seems that in the south at least, looms are also found in the interior.

Leather-work

Articles in leather are made by the outcaste Yibir and Midgan,[34] and are perhaps the most attractive of all the objects which constitute Somali material culture. Standard products are : prayer-mats (*massaleh*), bridles (*makamai*), shields (*gashan*), whips (*jedal*), saddles (*kora*), amulets (*gardas*), and sandals (*kab*).[35]

Iron-work

This is the especial province of the Tumal who are pre-eminently smiths. Common articles, some of which we have already mentioned in other contexts, are : bits and stirrups (*hakmai* and *rikab*), spears (*warmo*), swords (*bilawi*), knives (*abli* and *mindi*), axes (*gudimo* and *gidib*), bradawls (*mudah*), cobbler's tools (*kabohtoli*), and meat-hooks (*gabato*).

[27] Cf. Burton, loc. cit.
[28] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 33 ; Wright, loc. cit.
[29] Wright, loc. cit.
[30] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 35.
[31] Ibid., pp. 44–5 ; U.N. Report, 1952, p. 126.
[32] See the illustrations in Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, pp. 189, 193, 463, from which it appears that women spin the cotton into threads while men work the loom. Illustrations of the loom are also given by Puccioni, loc. cit.
[33] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 44.
[34] See above, p. 51.
[35] These lists are taken from Drake-Brockman, 1912, pp. 278–9 and seem to be fairly complete. The Somali terms given are those in use in British Somaliland and sometimes differ from the corresponding words in the southern dialects. Cf. Powell-Cotton, " MS. Notes on material culture," Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford ; See also Meregazzi, 1929, pp. 36–8.

HOUSE-TYPES

Corresponding to the dichotomy between sedentary cultivation and nomadism, there are two types of hut: the easily transported collapsible hut which may be packed on the nomad's camel, and the fixed cylindrical huts of the riverine agriculturists. The " bee-hive " hut, called variously *aggal*,[36] *guri-gi* (" gurgi "),[37] occurs universally in Somaliland wherever nomadism is practised. This simple structure consists essentially of only two parts; a skeletal armature of branches bound together into a semi-elliptical shape,[38] easily erected and dismantled by the women of the group and used as a pack platform on the camel's back when on the move, and the covering of straw and hide mats. The straw matting used is very compactly woven from palm-leaf filaments and keeps the hut water-tight even in the height of the wet season. It is tightly lashed to the bough frame with thick cord which is used to bind it on to the camel-packs when dismantled. In the Ogaden[39] pelts sometimes replace straw matting; usually, however, a combination of both is used. The door, which is simply a large gap in the branch framework, is closed by a hanging curtain of thick cords drawn together into a knot, or by a pelt. The interior height of the hut varies between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ yds., so that it is frequently impossible to stand upright within it.[40] Inside, the two beds[41] lie on either side of the entrance, that to the left being the man's, and between them hangs a large skin bag containing the household store of durra; round the floor are various containers for milk, water, and butter, of basket-work, wood, and terra-cotta. On either side of the door two large water-vessels stand leaning against the sides of the hut; stuck into the frame-work of the walls are a variety of smaller utensils—spoons, coffee-pots, etc. The fire-place is in front of the door and is often surrounded by a small framework of dry brushwood.[42] Often, the doorway is shaded by a small awning made by extending the mats covering the roof.[43] This provides shade from the heat of the sun and also shelters men who choose to sleep outside the hut, as often happens.[44] Huts of members of the same extended family are grouped together within a common thorn-scrub enclosure (zariba) forming a temporary village often designated by the Arabic *karia*[45] or the Somali word *rer*. The kinship settlement unit takes the form of a semi-circle of huts grouped round a central clearing partitioned into stock-pens, and surrounded by the outer zariba.[46] There is (so far as I am aware) no detailed information on the size of this kinship unit. The zariba illustrated in Puccioni[47] appears to contain about 10 huts. According to Drake-Brockman, the *rer* encampment varies between a " single large family " and a " number of families closely related, who have joined together for the sake of protection."[48] It seems, therefore, that a quaternary tribal section may occupy the same encampment within a common zariba, in which case the minimal lineage occupies a single stock-camp. In any case, the kinship structure of the smallest territorial unit is consistent with the total lineage system of Somali society.

The hut belongs to the woman[49] so that generally the head of the family is terri-

[36] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 4; Wright, 1943, p. 91, gives *aqal* as the generic word for house; cf. Colucci, 1924, p. 60.

[37] " Gurgi " is the colloquial expression used by English travellers.

[38] The shape varies considerably from district to district, cf. Puccioni, op. cit., p. 6.

[39] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 5.

[40] Puccioni, loc. cit., cf. Burton, 1894, p. 148.

[41] Ideally the Abyssinian *angareb* of mats spread upon a four-posted frame raised above the ground, sometimes simply mats without the frame.

[42] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 6.

[43] Guillain, 1856, II, p. 396.

[44] Chailley, 1952, p. 1,501.

[45] Puccioni, p. 6; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 113; Burton, 1, p. 148; Cucinotta, 1921, p. 244.

[46] Burton, 1894, 1, pp. 148–50.

[47] Loc. cit., pl. 1.

[48] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 113.

[49] Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 222; Deschamps, 1948, p. 30.

torially associated with the hut of the first wife. It is accordingly always women who attend to the erection and dismantling of the huts while men attend to the construction and fortification of the external zariba and the stock-pens.[50]

The fixed hut[51] with cylindrical walls and conical roof is characteristic of the cultivating tribes along the rivers and in the villages of semi-nomads where agriculture and animal husbandry are both practised. This hut-type is general among the mixed agricultural sedentary Rahanwein and is typical of *jama'a* religious communities. The *mondullo*[52] consists essentially of two parts: walls and roof. The base of the hut is drawn by describing a circle with a cord and stick about a chosen central point. The depression left is developed into a circular trench, round which rows of upright branches of about a finger's thickness are planted tightly together. The resultant cylinder with a space left for the door constitutes the walls. The foundations are strengthened both outside and inside by piling earth and stones round the base of the walls. At this stage the construction closely resembles a twig broom without a handle. The posts are trimmed to a uniform height of about 3 ft. and are reinforced by binding in lateral branches round the hut with fibre cord. The central pole, about 9 ft. in length, is then set upright in the middle, and securely fixed in the earth at its base. The roof is separately constructed from branches similar to those used for the walls. These are bound heavy end inwards into a cone and reinforced on the inside with a large wooden disc. This umbrella structure is fitted on to the central pole and tightly secured with cord lashing. The hanging ends are bound into the walls of the hut with fibre rope. The frame is strengthened with lateral supports radiating from the central pole to the extremities of the roof. The roof is covered with bundles of grass, and a ring of clay and sand is built up round the apex of the central pole to prevent leakage. The walls are filled in with mud, cinders, and dung. A wooden door about 3 ft. high and a little less in width is fitted in place. The total height of the finished hut is about 6 ft. to 9 ft. and the diameter varies between 7½ ft. and 15 ft. The shape varies considerably, especially as regards the roof, which is sometimes round rather than conical. Inside, the hut is divided in two by a hide curtain or branch partition meeting the walls near the door. The man sleeps on the side towards the door, leaving the darker more secluded room to his wife. The house of a chief or a rich man sometimes has out-buildings of a porch type attached to the entrance. The settlement is delimited by a zariba within which the patriarchal family is distributed among the several huts of the women; smaller huts house married sons and relations as well as slaves, and store buildings and kitchens are scattered about.[53] The unit is the extended family, but it has to be remembered that this type of hut prevails in those regions of the south where the agnatic lineage system has to a considerable extent ceased to be politically significant.

The nomadic " bee-hive " hut belongs to the Cushitic-Hamitic stratum of Somali culture; the conical fixed hut has been absorbed from the Negroid culture of the Bantu who preceded the Somali, and who still survive in important groups along the rivers and in certain fertile regions between them.[54] This correlation is clearly demonstrated in the occurrence of the fixed conical hut wherever there are stable settlements in the interior which presuppose a convenient water supply, and this is where Negroid groups are always found.[55] Again, it is common practice for the Rahanwein Somali living in stable settlements to have their houses built for them by Negroid serfs.[56]

[50] Cucinotta, 1921, p. 244; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 113.
[51] The most authoritative and exhaustive account of houses-type is to be found in Cipriani, 1940.
[52] See Ferrandi, 1903, pp. 46–52; Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 7–12; U.N. Report, 1952, illustrations.
[53] This description is taken from Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 7–12.
[54] See above, pp. 41–3.
[55] See Puccioni's map, 2, 1936, pp. 8–9.
[56] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 12; Ferrandi, 1903, p. 234.

A third type of house non-existent in the interior, except in important trading centres such as Lugh,[57] is characteristic of the coastal towns where it stands side by side with the more elaborate whitewashed Arabian dwellings. The *arish* is a rectangular building with a Λ-shaped roof, standing from 9 ft. to 12 ft. high.[58] The walls are constructed in the same way as those of the *mundullo*, and the roof is thatched with palm fronds. There are never more than two doors, and windows are rare. Inside, the house is divided into several rooms by branch walls and matting partitions. The women share a common room at the back of the house. The appointments consist of reception room, bedrooms, kitchen, store, and usually a small room for matweaving. Two-storied Arabian houses with minarets are typical of the coastal towns and the Colonial Administrations have generally followed this Arabian pattern in their constructions.

[57] Ibid., pp. 46–9.
[58] 9 × 24—15 × 45 ft. in area.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The material available does not lend itself to arrangement under the headings generally adopted in these Surveys. It is hoped that the following account, which is very general and owes much to the pioneer research of Massimo Colucci,[1] will give some idea of the way in which Somali society appears to work; it should be remembered that the picture which emerges applies in a general way to a society of some two million persons.

Introduction

As we have seen, the life of the northern nomads, that is to say, almost all the tribes of the "Somali" group[2] with the exception of the more southerly of the Hawiya confederacy depends mainly on milk, milk-products and meat, augmented by durra, when available, and game. The primary nomadic unit, consisting of the oldest male, the patriarch, his wives, children, attached close kin and stock, is so divided that each wife with her children has flocks of sheep and goats in her care and a few subsistence camels, normally the husband's concern, while the surplus camels, all that are immediately dispensable, in fact, are sent out to the best grazing in the care of the young men often far from the home stock-camp. Moving south, the terrain gradually improves and, with the more temperate climate and less arid conditions, cattle replace camels and mules and donkeys are used for transport. Cultivation, too, begins to be possible in certain favoured sites and nomadism shades into semi-nomadism. Resources increase in variety and quantity and with them the food supply. Most of the Hawiya tribes of the "Somali" group[3] are nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists, although some, like the majority of the Digil, practise sedentary cultivation where conditions make this possible. In the arable land of the south where water supplies are adequate and the soil is fertile, settlements of sedentary cultivators predominate. Cattle abound also (except in tsetse-fly regions close to the rivers), and, like camels, are in the care of the young men who take them out to the pastures, frequently some distance from the home villages. Each family group here constitutes a mixed farm, where each wife has her own fields, seeds and implements, and her husband attends to the cattle; among the noble tribes, the work of cultivating the fields is carried out by attached male slaves. Among the Negroid populations of the south and among the agricultural Rahanwein tribes of the Sab group, the fields are worked by mutual-help parties working over the fields of different owners in a settlement in turn.[4] Nomadism is characteristic of the Somali, sedentary cultivation of the Negroid autochthones. Among the Sab tribes every sort of gradation is found in the division of labour between these two extremes, to some extent corresponding to the degree of intermixture of the two racial components (Somali and Negroid) and also the extent of Galla admixture in particular tribes. Among the Rahanwein, themselves a Galla-Somali mixture, one finds a certain regular type of federated pairs of groups, on the one hand Negroid and on the other Somali Rahanwein. The relationship of the Gasar Gudda and Gobawein is probably typical of such pairs; here the latter do the bulk of the work of cultivation, leaving their masters free to devote their time to stock-raising. Among many Rahanwein tribes, however, where there is no clear division into two classes, cultivators work for themselves and not for a cattle-owning aristo-

[1] Colucci, 1924.
[2] Excluding the Sab.
[3] The nature of the Somali/Sab cleavage which divides the Somali nation is explained above, p. 15.
[4] See above, p. 76.

cracy. It is noticeable that often the most recent accretions to these tribes are those with the most cattle. Pastoralists from the north are being attracted for one reason or another to join the sedentary cultivating tribes of the south. With the characterization of the north as the country of nomadism, and the south of cultivation, and with every possible intermediate arrangement, we are now in a position to examine the social organization of both regions.

The tribe has been defined above[5] and is now discussed under the following headings:

1. The tribe as a territorial unit.
2. The tribe as a political unit.
3. The unity of the tribe in war and feud.
4. Marriage and the tribe.

I have pointed out in the introduction[6] that political relations between tribes are normally expressed genealogically, i.e., that tribe and clan are equivalent. This is generally true of nomadic Somali society but does not always hold among the cultivating tribes of the Sab family who occupy Somalia. Some Sab tribes have a mixed clan structure in which the tribe is coordinate with a dominant lineage, while others have completely lost the lineage structure characteristic of the Somali. Here the basic social units are mixed-villages, and the relations between territorial groups (tribes or tribal sections) are no longer expressed genealogically. The object of the succeeding four sections, however, is to establish the nature of the Somali tribe. Once this has been achieved I shall try to show the way in which the tribal structure of Somali society is related to the lineage system, and shall discuss the equivalence of tribe and clan, where this obtains, and its absence among the Sab.

1. The Tribe as a Territorial Unit

Introduction

Property rights in land are acquired by occupying land and sustaining the initial rights so conferred against rival claimants. Effective occupancy is the most important criterion of ownership. Each tribe has traditions of entering its territory and establishing property rights to land.[7] Land may be acquired through the peaceful occupation of unoccupied territory, through military conquest,[8] or through peaceful penetration.[9] In the third case land initially held in clientship becomes independently owned as the status of the occupiers changes from clientship to independence. Ownership of new land is signified by marking rocks and branding trees along the line of entry with the tribal mark (*sumad*).

On the whole it seems that tribal territory has usually been obtained as a result of military conquest. In fact, as we have seen, the present distribution of the Somali is the consequence of a long series of tribal wars, concluding in the victor's occupation of the land relinquished by the vanquished, and the loss of political importance of the latter. Thus, according to Colucci,[10] there is created a " state of exclusiveness which originates in, and is conserved by force." Conquest establishes traditions of sovereignty which often outlast the effective military potential of those enjoying them. Thus the Gasar Gudda, a small tribe, are regarded as owning land far in excess of that

[5] See above, p. 14.
[6] See above, pp. 17–18.
[7] Well documented examples are the Gasar Gudda (Ferrandi, 1903, *passim*), and the Helai (Colucci, 1924, pp. 156–62).
[8] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 155 ff.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Collucci, op. cit., p. 156

which they can effectively occupy, and enjoy respect among all the Rahanwein and even to some extent among the Somali[11] out of all proportion to their actual numbers. Noble Somali tribes who reached the region in the 19th century bought rights to pastureland from them. It is clear that the concept of effective occupance embodies more than simply military competence. The factor of traditional prestige due to other less tangible causes is also important.

Bearing in mind that boundaries are generally dynamic, being rigidly determined only among sedentary peoples or where suitable natural barriers supervene, we may examine what the possession of common territory entails for its occupants. The best way of discussing the distribution of tribes and sections is in terms of centres of population rather than tribal areas, since only where people are settled, either temporarily or permanently, are boundaries sharply defined.

In theory land is common tribal property, but it is owned particularly by tribal sections and their sub-divisions. " The land is of God the Creator " and accordingly is common to all tribesmen.[12] Wells and pasture utilized by individual tribal sections are often shared within the tribe and sometimes, subject to agreement, between tribes. In its full extent, tribal territory represents common grazing and is open for hunting to all tribesmen. Indeed, among the Rahanwein the entire territory is at the disposal of the huntsmen of all constituent tribes.[13]

Seasonal Movements

From our consideration of economy, ecology, and the nature of tribal boundaries, we can now discuss the territorial distribution of tribes and sections and their relation to seasonal movements. The nomads deserve first place. The centres of population are the home wells to which in *Haga* and *Dhair* tribes retire from the far grazing, and from which in *Jilal*, they move out to the new pasture after the *Gu* rains. In the dry season tribes are concentrated round the home wells which are often shared among friendly tribes. An analysis of Hunt's material[14] shows that generally collateral secondary sections (major segments of the clan) are found side by side at the water-points, although sometimes these are utilized jointly by non-collateral sections. On the whole, it is possible to project major collateral lineages on to the ground as adjacent secondary sections. The home wells represent the centre of concentration and land-ownership of each tribe, and from season to season and year to year, the tribe moves regularly in an area described about these, which in its maximum extension corresponds to the total grazing area of the tribe. Seasonal movements follow the shape of the country. The nomadic flux is from the coast into the centre, where in the north tribes congregate in the rich pastures of the Haud, and in the south in those of the Doi. Each tribe has its own region of transhumance, defined as far as possible by the situation of the home wells, natural barriers where they exist, and by the movements of neighbouring tribes. For the north, the factors affecting the extent and times of movement are placed in the following order by Hunt[15]:

1. Grazing, seasonally dependent upon rainfall.
2. Water, seasonally dependent upon rainfall.
3. Salt-grazing or " licks," regularly periodic.
4. Transport, availability of burden-camels, personal.
5. Temperature, seasonal.

[11] That is the noble " Somali " as distinct from the Sab, to which family the Gasar Gudda belong.
[12] Cerulli, 1919, p. 87; Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 246.
[13] Colucci, op. cit., p. 177.
[14] Hunt, 1951, pp. 160–7.
[15] Ibid., p. 153.

6. Inter-tribal war, variable.
7. Natural barriers to migration, permanent.
8. Stock-diseases, irregular.
9. Human diseases, irregular.
10. Administrative direction, irregular [sic].

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 9 are directly interrelated in as much as they are part of the same ecological system. As a rule, in the north, tribal sections and stock are gathered round the home wells at the beginning of *Jilal* (January and February). When rain falls outside this narrow area forays are made to the fresh grazing, but if the rains prove to be only local and not those of the wet season proper, a return is made to the home wells. When widespread rain does come at the beginning of the wet season (*Gu*) in April or May or in March on ground above 4,000 ft., sections set off to the new pasture.[16] Scouts (*gehan*) are sent out, and when they have found good grazing do their utmost to conserve the best pastures for their own people.[17] At this time a whole village (*rer*)[18] may move as much as 100 miles in 60 hours.[19] The movement in pursuit of fresh pasture continues far into the Haud where tribes remain as long as the grazing lasts. Sometimes, if the main *Gu* rains have been sufficiently extensive, tribesmen may be able to stay on through the dry season of *Haga* ; even if this is not the case, and they have withdrawn to the home wells about August, they may venture forth again if the *Dhair* rains are widespread and heavy. On the other hand, if the *Gu* rains provide exceptionally fine pasture round the home wells, there is little inducement to move farther afield and over-grazing tends to result. As the rain pools in the Haud dry up, herdsmen drive the camels closer to their base for water and salt-grazing, and may stay there until fresh rain falls in the pastures. The remainder of the group,[20] mainly women and old people with the flocks, cannot travel so quickly, and, if the Haud provides sufficient grazing will stay there until lack of pasture and water forces them to withdraw. In a good year they will be able to remain in the far pastures from the beginning of the *Gu* rains in April or May till *Dhair*, in November or December, but they are almost always compelled to return by January and often, as we have seen, in July or August. Motor-transport is now sometimes used for watering which may allow their stay to be prolonged right through the year.[21]

These are the main movements, dependent primarily upon the rain seasons, in which the tribe as a whole extends its territory and the various tribes fan out until the areas occupied interpenetrate and overlap.[22] Milk is abundant and forms the main food at this time of year. Camels are driven out to pasture by the young men and warriors and the flocks are left in the care of women and children, who sit spinning or rope-making outside the camp. In the evening the stock are brought back to the zariba for milking.[23] It is at this time of year that inter-tribal raiding and caravan-looting flourish, although the most important caravans cross the country later in the year in *Dhair*, on their way to the markets and ports of the coast. The range of raiding parties is often as much as 70 miles, each warrior carrying a supply of water and dried meat.[24]

[16] Hunt, 1951, p. 159.
[17] Ibid., p. 154 ; Swayne, 1903, pp. 35–42.
[18] I.e., a tertiary tribal section.
[19] Hunt, op. cit., p. 154 ; cf. Deschamps, 1948, p. 24.
[20] The bulk of the flocks and herds are separated from the nuclear nomadic group by being out in the far grazing.
[21] Hunt, op. cit., p. 159.
[22] See the maps given by Hunt.
[23] Burton, 1894, 1, p. 125.
[24] Swayne, 1903, pp. 39 ff.

Apart from the long-distance movements into the Haud following the *Gu* rains, there are more general smaller displacements over shorter distances, dependent upon local rainfall and the other factors outlined above, particularly temperature.[25] The coastal tribes, with grazing along the littoral in the *Guban* and among the *Golis* ranges, ascend the scarps into the higher *Ogo* country at the height of the *Haga* quarter, and return when the *Dhair* rains fall and the temperature becomes lower, in time for the trade-fairs and markets which are held along the coast at this time.[26] This movement is superimposed upon the long-range displacements into the Haud which it reinforces or with which it interacts according to the degree of correspondence among the various factors directing movement. Thus in *Haga* the Habr Awal drive up the steppe country into the *Ogo* which the Habr Gerhadjis have abandoned by retiring far into the Haud. In *Jilal*, when the Haud dries up, the Habr Gerhadjis move back to their position in the *Ogo* and the Habr Awal are thrust down into the coastal ranges.[27] The interaction of the various factors controlling tribal movement are lucidly described by Hunt[28] in a survey of tribal movements from 1944–50. In these each collateral section maintains the identity of its pastureland with respect to that of other sections of the same order. The *rer* tertiary section (minimal lineage) is the primary nomadic group, moving (generally) within the area occupied by the secondary section of which it forms part ; the secondary sections in turn hold pastureland within the primary sections and these within the tribe.[29] As regards absolute static boundaries or rights over pasture and wells, such a picture is untrue, for the equilibrium which exists between tribal sections is a dynamic one and the division of pastureland forms a corresponding dynamic system. Spheres of interest interpenetrate and give rise to disputes both within and outside the tribe ; in the former case they are usually peacefully settled by payment of compensation, in the latter this is not so.[30] Each nomadic group moves within its customary area of pasture, re-occupying old stock-pens, which are repaired each year by the men, while the women unload the huts from the camels' backs.[31] Camels are the most treasured possessions, and are placed in the centre of the enclosure, with the other stock around them, each type in separate pens, and horses are side-lined and tethered close to the owner's hut.[32]

The exiguous patches of durra planted by the nomads in natural depressions where rain-water collects are " owned " only in as much as sowing a crop confers the sole rights of harvesting it.[33] Wells for stock and man are at the disposal of the section grazing the land in which they occur, but the right to use natural wells and water-points does not belong exclusively to any particular section any more than the use of pasture. The land, grazing, vegetation and water-points belong only to the tribe as a whole.[34]

Transhumance and Cultivation

In the south transhumance and sedentary cultivation replace nomadism. Most cultivators have some stock or, if not, there are usually transhumant pastoralists attached to them as clients. In general, each tribe and section has pastureland defined at some points by settled villages. Transhumance (*gur*) consists of *two* annual

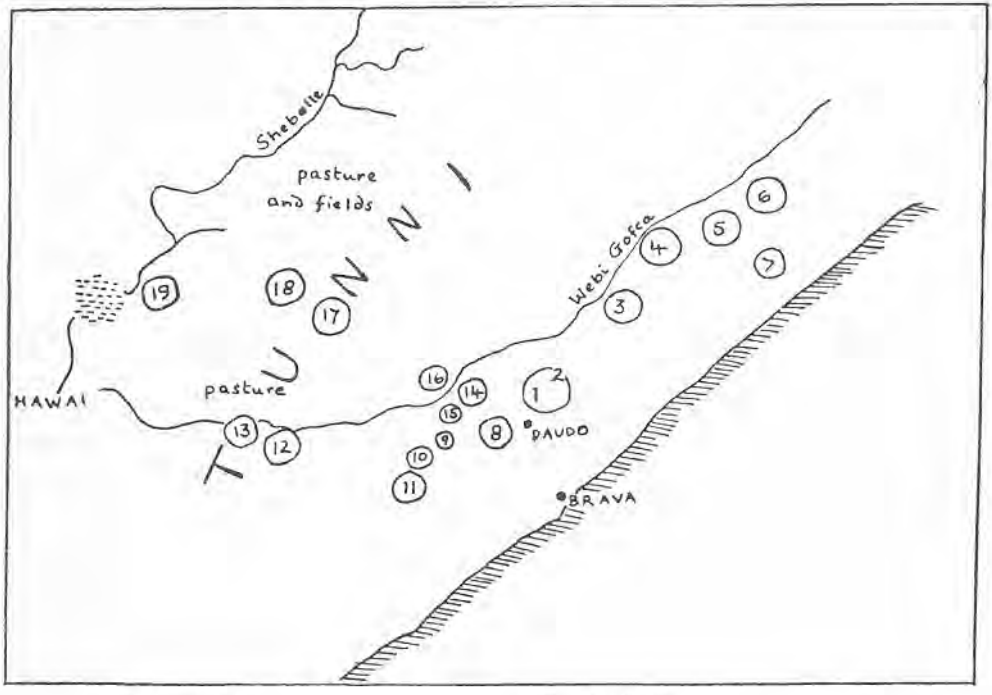
[25] Hunt, op. cit., p. 159.
[26] Swayne, op. cit., p. 38 ; Hunt, op. cit., p. 159.
[27] Swayne, op. cit., p. 38 ; Hunt, op. cit., pp. 156 ff.
[28] Op. cit., pp. 154–8.
[29] This is an over-formalization of the actual situation, but is sufficiently accurate for the level of analysis at which I write.
[30] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 20.
[31] Cucinotta, 1921, p. 244 ; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 113 ; see also p. 86 above.
[32] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 114 ; Burton, op. cit., p. 148.
[33] Colucci, 1924, p. 194 ; the produce, not the soil on which it is cultivated, is owned.
[34] Cerulli, 1919, p. 87.

movements of men and stock away from the base villages into the pastures at the end of *Jilal* when the new season's rains are expected. In those Hawiya, Rahanwein and Digil tribes surrounding the Shebelle and Juba rivers, the cycle of movement is from the dunes towards the rivers and back again when the dry season falls and the pastures are exhausted.[35] In this movement many tribes, for a few months during the dry season, are dependent upon permission to water their stock along the Shebelle in territory occupied by riverine cultivators like the Shidle.[36] Colucci offers a brilliant analysis of three typical Sab tribes—the Helai of Bur Hakaba, the Tunni of Brava, and the Baj-Argan Saraman cluster. The first two are large independent tribes and the last a confederacy of the Jiron, Maalimwena, Rer Dumal, Garuale, Lisan Horsi and Lisan Bari, united in the common occupancy of land. All have a mixed agricultural-pastoral economy typical of these regions. Space does not permit a complete description of all three and I therefore propose to illustrate Colucci's conclusions by offering a description of one, the Tunni of Brava.[37] The Tunni[38] are a large tribe, or rather tribal confederacy, who may be classed with the Digil although Colucci lists them as a separate confederacy.[39] The area of original occupation is bounded by the Shebelle and the coast of Somalia from Mungia to Giumbo. In the course of time, however, other tribes have made incursions, notably the Bimal, Tunni Torre, Sheikal Lobogi[40] and, towards the Juba, the Ogaden, Harti, Habr Gedir and Ormale. In the whole of this zone the five maximal lineages (*gamas*) into which the Tunni clan is divided—Daffarat, Werile, Aggiuwa, Dacktira and Goigal—are never found as separate autonomous groups on the ground, but occur in mixed cultivating settlements.[41] We describe only the area between Brava and El-Siama on the coast and the Shebelle inland from Hawai to Soblalla.[42] This region comprises the dune grazing and runs sloping up towards the Shebelle plain, crossed by the Gofca canal (" the dry river ") which joins the Shebelle at Hawai north of Brava, and intersected by numerous channels and ephemeral flood streams or freshets (*farta* and *billik*) which provide water for irrigation. Cultivation and pasture alternate. The far grazing bounded by the Shebelle and the Gofca is shared by all clan members and the five *gamas* are distributed in cultivating settlements in the area. Starting from Daudo, the probable Tunni centre of diffusion, and moving north-east, cultivating settlements with the following composition of maximal lineages are found.[43]

The analysis shows 13 of the 19 centres of settlement occupied singly by one Tunni maximal lineage (*gamas*). The remaining six settlements contain members of more than one maximal segment. This indicates the incipient breakdown of the lineage system as a principle of political importance and corresponds to the increasing prevalence of the mixed-village. Although the total tribal territory is open for grazing to men of any section, in the dry season of *Jilal* stock are concentrated round their owners' fields and settlements which contain grazing over which he has sole rights.[44]

Among Sab transhumant stock-owning agriculturists, of which the Tunni are typical, the wide expanse of pastureland which forms the total territory of the tribe in its widest sense is open to the stock of all tribesmen, while that bordering on the mixed cultivating villages is the property of individual land-owners. In some villages

[35] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 244.
[36] Cerulli, 22, 1943, p. 311.
[37] See above, p. 33.
[38] Colucci, 1924, principally pp. 178–85 and 244–52 ; he does not employ the same terminology and his arrangement of the material is a little different.
[39] See above, p. 33.
[40] A priestly group, see below, p. 149.
[41] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 186–9.
[42] See map.
[43] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 186–7. For the clan structure of the Tunni see below.
[44] Colucci, op. cit., p. 246.



	Settlements	*Composition*
(*a*)	1. Aula Sidi	Daffarat—Rer Arweri and Rer Geesi
	2. Amucir	Werile
	3. Amuma	Werile
	4. Avoa	Daffarat—Rer Geesi
	5. Fager	Daffarat—Rer Arweri
	6. Dalale and Beleget	Goigal—Rer Matangalle
	7. Billik Wattago	Aggiuwa

Then turning from Daudo and going westwards we have :

(*b*)	8. Arweri and Mudun	Daffarat—Rer Arweri and Rer Mudun
	9. Shiavakan	Dacktira
	10. Iak Gila	Dacktira and Goigal
	11. Dovoi Iero	Goigal
	12. Avarboda	Aggiuwa and Dacktira
	13. Billik Umcuro	Goigal

Then from Daudo to the north-west :

(*c*)	14. Malalaille	Daffarat—Rer Arweri and Rer Mudun
	15. Dondererta	Daffarat and Werile
	16. Fardera	Mainly Dacktira
	17. Govonne	Daffarat and Werile
	18. Donrega	Daffarat and Dacktira
	19. Hawalbulle	Goigal

the arable land is still divided according to the lineages to which the settlers belong, but in most of the mixed agricultural settlements typical of the Sab land is divided among individual members of the community and their families instead of according to clan segment. Different segments of the same clan and often segments of different clans occur together in the "mixed-village." The basis of individual ownership has shifted from membership of the lineage (*rer*) to membership of the mixed-village. Political relations now subsist between sedentary settlements rather than tribal sections and, deprived of their clan concomitants, are no longer expressed genealogically. From these factors stem new aggregations which replace the original tribal and clan segmentation.

It would be inapt to refer to Sab society as de-tribalized since the territorial groups with which we are concerned have the same characteristics as those of the north. The difference is not in tribal organization but in clan structure. The distinction is that, whereas among the noble Somali, the lineage is a territorial group, and lineage segmentation is coordinate with tribal structure, here this no longer obtains. Thus the territorial tribal organization of the Tunni does not correspond to the clan segmentation of the five lineages (*gamas*). In spite of this, however, in their battle-order the Tunni still preserve a division into two fractions—the Seddida Rer Egen and Lammadi Rer Heb—which corresponds to the order of entry into their territory.[45] There is thus a certain degree of inconsistency in the organization at different structural levels of the clan and tribal hierarchy, which as we have noticed is typical of the Sab. It seems probable that part of the pressure contributing to the disintegration of the traditional lineage organization and the formation of units such as the mixed-village arises from the incompatible coexistence of the two types of structure.

The aim of the preceding pages has been to show that among the Sab (typified in our argument by the Tunni) clan and lineage cease to correspond to territorial distribution and lose their political functions. The lineage structure is undergoing progressive disintegration. In a later section I shall show that this corresponds to the mixed clan constitution of the Sab.

Tribal Territory and Water-rights

Wells for supplying water for man (*el*) and for stock (*sur*) are distinguished from natural sources (*gall* in Hawiya, *saha* in Rahanwein), and from artificial basins (*war*) used for supplying water for cultivation. Property rights over *el* and *sur*[46] combine two concepts: ownership of the land in which the water is found, and maintenance of the means of utilizing it.[47] Wells belong, in the first instance, to the land-owning group and, secondly and more directly, to those within the group concerned with their maintenance. There are considerable variations in the norms regulating the use of wells. Where several tribal sections share water-rights, the first-born lineage takes precedence over the others and enjoys special privileges in connection with the reciprocal use of their home wells. Among the Galjaal, for instance, other sections can only use the home wells belonging to the first-born lineage when they are not in use through the day or at night, whereas this favoured section enjoys precedence at the home wells of collateral sections at all times.[48]

The basins in which water for cultivation collects are of two kinds. Natural depressions containing rain-water or water carried by ephemeral freshets (*gall* and *saha*) are available to all the members of the land-owning group in whose territory they occur, and are the sites of temporary cultivation in the wide pasturelands. Artificial water-traps (*war*) are found with sedentary cultivation and belong exclusively

[45] See above, p. 33.
[46] Cucinotta, 1921, p. 247.
[47] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 246–54.
[48] Ibid., p. 250.

to the farmer whose fields they water. Those who dig and maintain *war* are called *jagor* by the Rahanwein,[49] and enjoy the fruits of their labours in free access to the water which they have made available. According to Cucinotta,[50] *war* are frequently owned by individual tribal sections and their use is regulated by the headmen, as is the case with the drinking-wells and natural pools (*gall* and *saha*) of the pastoralists. Colucci[51] describes the regulation of watering at *war* by a chief (*au wared*) aided by assistants (*sagale*) who are authorized to impose penalties for the contravention of their directions. They attend to the maintenance of the *war* and organize its preparation each year before the coming of the rains. The same *jagor* dig out the depression each year. *Her sagale* is a penalty imposed for minor misdemeanours, and is exacted by the *au wared* and *sagale* feasting at the offender's expense. In graver offences the culprit is required to slaughter a three-year old bull (*her jagor*) for the benefit of all those using the well. Men who do not belong to the well-owning group can acquire permission to use it by performing the hardest and most unpleasant tasks in its maintenance. When the well is being redug, strangers who are willing to carry up the surplus earth to the surface may carry away water to their own group. Reciprocity among well-owners, without joint participation in construction and maintenance, is known as *surjid*, and water is obtained only after preliminary presents have been made.[52]

The Tribe as a Political Unit

Introduction

The distribution of political authority among the Somali corresponds to the segmentary type of society. The political structure of the smallest unit is in principle similar to that of the largest, the system of ordering and controlling political affairs being largely the same within the tertiary tribal section as within the whole tribe. There is little difference in kind between the powers of the tribal chief and those of *rer* headmen, and the position of both in the councils over which they preside is much the same. The highest political authority comprises a hierarchy of similar lesser structures from which it differs in scale and over which it presides, although its political structure is founded on the same principles as are theirs. The " vertical " organization of political relations corresponds to the lineage organization of the tribe. All the political units, tribal sections of every order, are agnatic kin units, and political relations are expressed as the relations between clans and lineages.[53] It is unfortunate that no satisfactory analysis of the clan constitution of the northern nomads (the " Somali " group, generally) comparable to Colucci's excellent studies of that of the Sab tribes has as yet been made.[54] It is therefore dangerous to make categorical statements which must be merely tentative. We can, however, say with some assurance that among the " Somali " tribes all the members of the tribe belong

[49] Colucci, op. cit., p. 254 ; Jiron use the word *fatir*.
[50] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 246.
[51] Colucci, op. cit., p. 254.
[52] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 246.
[53] When I speak of tribes in which the clan and tribal structure correspond, it is to be understood that I refer to the traditional organization of Somali society which has largely disintegrated in the south.
[54] It is particularly unfortunate that Hunt's *Survey*, in which the genealogies of the northern tribes have been painstakingly collected, is useless from this point of view, since its author has no appreciation of the relativity of the lineage organization and the relationship between it and the political structure, and it is an open question whether competent research would reveal that within the genealogies recorded are genealogies of other clans, i.e., we do not know to what extent they are fictitious and what sort of agnatic dispersion they contain ; we are not even told adequately what they represent.

to the same clan of whose eponymous ancestor they consider themselves the agnatic descendants, and the office of chief is often, but apparently not always, vested in a particular lineage. While the tribe often contains elements of different clans of origin, these seem to be few and the dispersion of agnates slight.[55] Among the southern Sab tribes the opposite is true, for here among those tribes which still preserve a clan structure, each tribe consists of a mixture of clans contained within the structural segmentation of one which gives its name to the tribe and which, in its segmentation, follows the dominant clan. The dominant clan provides a skeletal framework round which cluster the other accreted groups. When the genealogical structure is dissected the other clans fall away, revealing the dominant clan as the core of the tribe. In view of what has been said above it is not clear whether the northern "Somali" tribes have a dominant clan structure of this type; it seems likely that they generally do not, but we await adequate investigation.

We discuss the political structure of the smallest group and trace the delegation of representation and authority from it to the highest political office, that of tribal chief. In the smallest structural unit, the *rer*, which is the tertiary section of tribes whose segmentation is tripartite, and which is also a minimal lineage, the council regulating and controlling the affairs of the group is composed of the heads of the families which it comprises.[56] The council (*shir*) is open to all adult free-born males (*hubqad*) who are entitled to carry spear and shield. This excludes attached occupational-caste *sab*.[57] Any adult can speak at the deliberations of the council, but the views of family heads carry the greatest weight. The elders sitting in council (*ashiar*)[58] with their elected head (*gob*) control the relations of their own group with other sections and regulate their own internal affairs. The ultimate sanction for conforming to the decisions of the council is expulsion from the group.[59] Among the Helai, if a man absconds after committing a wrong and does not stay to face the consequences, the elders direct the systematic looting of his property, which he has forfeited by deserting the tribe.[60] Elders have fairly strong powers of compulsion for they can hand over a man guilty of homicide to the family of his victim if its members are unwilling to accept compensation.[61] It seems unlikely that this drastic course would normally be pursued, since poor tribes sometimes welcome the murder of one of their number as it means the acquisition of a hundred camels as compensation fee.[62] Fines due to the elders for infractions of customary procedure are often exacted in kind by feasting at the offender's expense. This is the way in which the Helai punish irregularities in the use of wells.[63] There is apparently no police organization in the sense of a force constitutionally concerned with bringing offenders before the council or executing its judgments. The council controls the allocation of land to its members and to other sections of the same tribe, and also to extraneous clients. The segmentary nature of Somali society is illustrated by the absence from the literature of any clear differentiation between the council of the smallest *rer* unit and those of secondary or primary sections; it is evident that the higher one goes in this hierarchy of units the more binding and influential become the decisions of the council, just as they correspond to more inclusive situations. We cannot, therefore, distinguish

[55] Cf. Cerulli, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 485.
[56] Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 230.
[57] See above, p. 51.
[58] Ciamarra, 1910–11, p. 35; Ferrand, 1903, p. 184 calls them *oddai*; Zoli, 1927, p. 183, describes a similar office as *sagale*.
[59] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 231; Wright, 1943, p. 62; Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 33, referring to expulsion from the tribe.
[60] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 20.
[61] Ibid., pp. 19–20.
[62] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 152.
[63] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 403.

satisfactorily between the councils of the various orders of segment, and what we have said of the smallest tertiary section council applies also to the councils of larger sections, secondary or primary. Through its head (*gob*—called among the Mijertein *mudan* or *ugas*[64]) the council represents the section in all disputes with other sections over land, water, grazing rights, and all other political and religious matters. In the internal council of the section a representative of the young men (*au barbar*)[65] takes part, but it is not clear whether this is always the case or only in military matters where it may be connected with an age-grade organization.[66] In matters concerning the whole tribe, the tribal council, composed of the headmen of the section councils, assembles and deliberates with the tribal chief (*boqor*,[67] among the Mijertein). Among the Mijertein, Helai,[68] Helleda,[69] and Hober,[70] each section has only one headman representing it on the tribal council; among the Gasar Gudda each has two representatives (*duk* or *gob*),[71] the tribal council for the seven sections consisting of 14 headmen and the chief (*gerad* or *daffalan*). Cucinotta describes the Helai as having village or section headmen called *germado*.[72] Among the (Negroid) Eile, however, the *germado* is an official charged by the council (*shir*) to accompany and assist chiefs in the allocation of land to tenants.[73] Among the trans-Juba Darod the heads of tribal sections were appointed from the senior "Red stone" set of the "Bone-breakers" (*laf gebis*) age grade.[74] It is not clear whether this procedure is still followed.

The Office of Chief

Although the following description applies strictly to the powers of heads of tribal sections, it is also largely true of tribal chiefs. In a segmentary society such as the Somali, the chief's power is a function of the structural situation. There is no stable hierarchy of power independent of the segmentary tribal structure.[75] The chief is a figure with authority and power corresponding to the order of segmentation involved in a particular situation.

The head of a tribal section represents his group in the full tribal council, in the adoption of strangers, and in collective ritual and religious activities. His decisions normally reflect the consensus of opinion in the council over which he presides, and to that extent are coercive. The chief is concerned with the maintenance of peaceful relations among the segments over which he has jurisdiction, and in disputes he acts as arbitrator. Penalties and fines are imposed by the elders on his authority. The sources of jural procedure are in part the canons of tribal custom (*testur*) and in part the Islamic Shariah. One of the most important functions of the chief's council is the adaptation of traditional norms to meet new situations.[76] But the chief cannot act on his own initiative in this.

It would be unusual for a chief to function as a military leader since this is an office created for the occasion, but his duties include the negotiation of treaties and peace-proposals (*semen*).[77]

[64] Cerulli, 1919, p. 47.
[65] Colucci, 1924, p. 41.
[66] See below.
[67] Cerulli, loc. cit.
[68] Wright, MS., "Extract from Isha Baidoa D.B."
[69] Ibid.
[70] Colucci, op. cit., p. 41.
[71] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 263.
[72] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 402.
[73] Colucci, op. cit., p. 196.
[74] Zoli, 1927, pp. 182 ff.
[75] The position in the rudimentary "Sultanates" is slightly different, as will be shown.
[76] Zoli, op. cit., p. 186.
[77] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 279; Cucinotta, 1921, p. 18.

It is particularly unfortunate that no really satisfactory accounts have been given of the nature of Somali chieftaincy, probably partly because in the segmentary lineage system chiefs do not wield great power and are often religious rather than political figures. At least a lack of clear distinction between ritual and political functions seems characteristic of the Cushitic Somali social order, and partly explains why immigrant Arab sheiks play such a large part in the history of the Somali. The penetration of the Islamic *tariqas* has introduced a split which may, however, have existed before their advent. The *tariqa* adopted into the tribe, at first necessarily in some respects in an inferior position, may assume political dominion through the religious power of its sheik. Since this is expressed in a genealogical idiom, the outcome is that religious and political power pass to a new lineage. There are indications, however, that the reverse process also occurs, in which an established minority loses political ascendancy but retains religious supremacy. To put this into genealogical terms, the old lineage loses its political but retains its ritual functions, and becomes a " fathers of the land " lineage. An example at the highest structural level is the ritual participation of men of the Dir tribal-family in the investiture of the sultan of the Darod.[78] Obviously, the division of power and authority in a tribe which includes a " fathers of the land " lineage with ritual functions, a politically dominant lineage, and an accreted Islamic *tariqa* with ritual and political functions, must be complex. We have no indication of what would happen in such a case and must await further research into Somali social structure.

Criteria of Appointment of the Tribal Chief

The tribal chief is elected from the council composed of the heads of tribal sections. The office may be vested in a chiefly family, but appointment is not automatic and is always subject to the council's approval.[79] Where the title is hereditary it belongs to the first-born son of the first wife. If he is not of age, his closest agnatic relative, usually the father's brother,[80] acts as regent.[81] Among the Gasar Gudda the title is held in turn by each of the six chiefly lineages of the tribe. The office of Islamic *qadi* is vested in the seventh lineage, from which the chief is never appointed.[82] The chief of the Harti tribal confederacy, with the nominal title of " Sultan "[83] belongs to the " Bah Rer "[84] of the Osman Mahmud. The title of chief of this tribe carries with it that of " Sultan " of the Mijertein sub-confederacy and of the inclusive Harti confederacy.[85] The genealogy of Mijertein sultans is shown in the table overleaf.[85A] When this is compared with that given by Hunt[86] it appears that the title is carried through the tribe from generation to generation in step with the process of segmentation into new sections and conjugate lineages. The lineage of Mijertein sultans is coordinate with the Mijertein sub-confederacy.[87]

[78] Zoli, op. cit., p. 185.
[79] Ibid., p. 184; Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 230; see my examples above, pp. 18–40.
[80] Who would in any case inherit the *patria potestas*.
[81] For the Mijertein, see Guillain, 1856, II, p. 442; Cerulli, 1919, p. 46; and for the Harti, Zoli, op. cit., pp. 184–5.
[82] Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 212–14; pp. 262–4.
[83] The title is honorific and does not indicate the existence of a true sultanate; Cerulli, op. cit., p. 46.
[84] It is not clear to which tribal section this statement refers.
[85] Zoli, op. cit., p. 184.
[85A] *Sources:* Guillain, 1856, II, p. 400; Ferrand, 1903, p. 135; Hunt, 1951, p. 146.
[86] Hunt, 1951, p. 147.
[87] Although I have suggested that the Harti " Sultanate " established by immigrant Arabs arose in the 17th century (see above, p. 21) Guillain considers that it was founded as early as 1420. This may well be the case, since it would imply association with the resurgence of Mohammedan petty-states in the 15th century (cf. Adal) which culminated in Imam Ahmad Grañ's great conquest of Abyssinia in the first half of the 16th century.

		Dir
Tribal-family..	.. ♂ = △	Darod Kablalla Kombe
Confederacy ..	..	Harti
Sub-confederacy	..	Mijertein
		Awi
		Nolis
		Walad Jebur
		Talarer
		Omad Nebi
		Jibrahil
		Ibrahim
		Mohammed I
		Saleban
		Mahmud I
		Osman I
		Yusuf I
		Mahmud II
		Omar
		Ali I
		Yusuf II
		Mahmud III
		Mohammed II
		Ali II
		Yusuf III
		Mahmud IV
		Osman II (1815–42)
		Yusuf IV (1842–44)
		Mahmud V (1844–60)
		Osman III (1861–)

Although the complete council representing the Harti confederacy or the Mijertein sub-confederacy seldom assembles under the sultan, the tribal council of the Osman Mahmud over which he presides exerts considerable influence within the confederacy.[88] Mahmud ibn Saleban, 17th in the line, divided his dominion among his three eldest sons, granting the northern part of his territory from Bender Beila to Ras Hafun, to Osman with the title of " Sultan." Osman III, who held the office in Guillain's time (*c.* 1860) lived in the interior, coming to the coast twice yearly to collect tribute from his subjects.

[88] Cerulli, 1919, p. 47.

Investiture of the Harti " Sultan "

The description which follows applies strictly only to the Harti tribes of trans-Juba, but probably holds for the northern Harti and Mijertein of Somalia.

The ceremony is attended by representatives of all tribes of the confederacy. The assembled gathering gives itself up to prayer ; then the young men and warriors execute dances and the installation commences. The candidate is set upon a cloth-covered throne[1] and, in recognition of the long tradition of alliance between the two tribal-families, a tribesman of the Dir girds his brow with the turban of chieftaincy. Chiefs and warriors approach the " Sultan," lowering their spears in homage and shouting " hail " (*mot*) over and over again. These tributes are acknowledged by the " Sultan " who pronounces blessings (*abshir, rab*) in return, and the investiture concludes with a series of festivities lasting several days.[2]

This brief account corresponds closely with Robecchi-Bricchetti's[3] description of the general procedure followed in the appointment of Somali chiefs, and closely resembles the somewhat fuller description given for the Gasar Gudda by Ferrandi.[4] Here the turban is fitted to the chief's brow by a tributary Gobawein Negro[5] and earth from the traditional home of the tribe is scattered upon the chief's throne.

The " Sultan " is assisted by an adviser[6] chosen from the council, and is " a purely representative figure exercising authority only through the council which he convenes. Sometimes the council deliberates in his absence and decisions taken are later ratified by him."[7]

The Nature of the Office.—The " Sultan's " jurisdiction in the north extends over all tribes of the Harti confederacy. His envoys collect taxes and maintain relations between their " Sultan " and the chiefs of the tribes of the confederacy.[8] At the annual *arafa* festival in the Islamic month of pilgrimage (*Dul-Higgah*) every family is required to give one sheep to the " Sultan," but this tribute is often only exacted when mercenaries are sent to collect it.[9] The harvest of aromatic trees and pearl-fishing along the coast are also taxed. The " Sultan " has prior rights to the looting of any ship wrecked on the shore, and sends his soldiers (*askari*) on such missions. When he has exacted his share any booty left may be taken by local tribesmen.[10]

According to Guillain,[11] a land-tax to the value of a twentieth part of the harvest is enforced. In the case of rented land, owner and occupier make a joint payment. Pastureland suffering from over-grazing can be declared closed (*hirmo*) at the " Sultan's " behest. Flocks driven into a closed area are slaughtered.[12] Similar powers are exercised for the preservation of woodland. Wood-cutting is forbidden by declaring trees *hayran*, and on the opening of a new season a toll seems to be paid.[13]

The " Sultan's " tax-collectors are entitled to appropriate for themselves a portion of the dues taken.[14] Since tribal chiefs enjoy their authority only as the

[1] This is the Abyssinian bed (*angareb*) the seat of the chief in council.
[2] Zoli, op. cit., pp. 184–5.
[3] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 392.
[4] Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 262–6.
[5] The Gobawein are a tribe of Negroid dependants attached to the Gasar Gudda, see above, p. 41.
[6] This again corresponds to the Gasar Gudda where there are two offices, *gerad*, and *daffalan*. Bottego (1895, pp. 387–93) describes the " Sultan " of Lugh as aided by an adviser (" Segretario ").
[7] Zoli, op. cit., p. 185.
[8] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 46 ; Guillain, 1853, II, p. 443.
[9] This is called *sikko*, Cerulli, op. cit., p. 48 ; Guillain mentions an additional camel-tax to the value of a twentieth part of those possessed, and a tenth levied on goats.
[10] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 89 ; in Révoil, 1882, p. 43, an account is given of the trial by ordeal of a man accused of looting a wrecked ship without informing the " Sultan."
[11] Op. cit., p. 443.
[12] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 88.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 48 allows a half, Guillain, op. cit., p. 444, a third.

representatives of the " Sultan," it is claimed that upon their death part of their patrimony passes to his coffers.[15] However, the extent of his possessions is considerably reduced, since it is the " Sultan's " duty to dispense aid in time of trouble and to provide hospitality for guests and strangers. Foreigners may gain admission to the confederacy through adoption (*arifato*) if they are accepted by the " Sultan." Again, in his capacity of head of the Harti confederacy, he can promote clients (*sab*) to the full status of tribesmen and this is the only way in which *sab* can acquire full tribal status.[16] Offences against his person, either in the form of verbal insults or actual damage to his property, oblige the tribes of the confederacy to combine in seeking reparation. Common honour and group loyalty are offended in any attack on the " representative figure " of the " Sultan." Expressed in genealogical idiom, this is one aspect of the Somali agnatic lineage system. The channels through which community of feeling flows are identified with the lineage system; tribal section and clan segment are equivalent. The " Sultan " is the genealogical head of the confederacy.

The position of the head of the Harti confederacy is closely similar to that of the " Sultan " of the Gasar Gudda described by Bottego.[17] In both cases we are concerned with what have once been small Islamized Somali states, in which the chief's authority is supported by some form of police organization or military bodyguard. It is by no means clear to what extent this would apply to Somali social structure in general. There are no descriptions of the position of Somali chiefs among other tribes or confederacies, but it seems that in many cases the Islamic imprint of political organization cannot be so strong, and that the " chief " is a much less developed institution, at least as regards the sanction of military force. It is extremely important that competent research should be devoted to establishing the theoretical nature of the office as well as its practical administrative functions.

The Tribal Practice of Religion

Much of what follows applies to the Cushitic substratum of Somali Mohammedanism. Islam will be treated separately (see pp. 140–54 below). When ritual is performed by the tribe as a whole it is directed by the tribal chief. Where the office is open to free election and does not descend in a particular lineage, a member of the ritually significant lineage (" fathers of the land ") presides at sacrifice directed by section headmen.[18] The members of such magico-religious lineages are called *gob* (noble) among the Hawiya.[19] The hereditary religious leader pronounces traditional benedictions after sacrifice and is supported by the recitation of Islamic litanies chanted by those present. The concession made to Mohammedanism may not amount to much more than the intonation of " Amin," punctuating each line of the chief's incantation. Blessings take the following form[20]:

> " In the midst of sweet abundance, in time of pestilence, all hail, God who watches us." " May God make milk for you." " Of the two ways, that which is right, of the two decisions, that which is good, may just God lead you to follow."

On the other hand, the ritual chief can cause misfortune by invoking maledictions. The Yusuf Abgal, once dominant in the southern territory of the Abgal,[21]

[15] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 46.
[16] Ibid.
[17] 1927, pp. 373–453; The account given by Ferrandi (1903, *passim*) gives a rather different impression.
[18] Cerulli, 1923, p. 8. I have drawn upon this stimulating article for my information, but the description I give here follows current sociological terminology and not that used by Cerulli.
[19] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 9.
[20] Ibid., p. 8.
[21] Abgal are Hawiya.

were cursed by the hereditary Abgal leader, Imam Omar Hilonle, and were compelled to emigrate. Traditions of tribal migration afford frequent examples of the ritual control exerted over the fortunes of battle by magico-religious figures.[22] The chief's blessing or curse entails prosperity or misfortune among his followers. His glance is *il kullul*, the burning eye,[23] so fraught with power that it is dangerous for two rival chiefs to look directly at each other. Among the Mobilen, a visiting chief is met, not by his opposite number, but by a relative who " cools " him by drawing off some of his power.[24] Among other tribes, when two chiefs meet they cover one eye to reduce their interaction and prevent harm falling upon either. The Hillivi consider that an encounter between their leader (*waber*) and that of the Mohammed Yunis with the same title, would be fatal. The two chiefs are accordingly never found in neighbouring districts at the same time.[25]

In the investiture of a new magico-religious chief, the leaders of Abgal tribes signify his acceptance by spitting. They then say " *wa ku gu tufray* " : " We have spat upon you." The founders of some tribes are connected in legend with animals supposed to be particularly intimately related to their descendants. The Dinla section of the Abgal Matan trace descent from an ancestor reared by a lioness and consider themselves invulnerable to attack from lions whom they address by a secret name.[26] Each tribal section has its own particular sacrificial animal. Among the Abgal Matan, the Dulay section offer a camel, the Barisa an ox, the Dinla a goat, and the Uheliya a lamb.

There are many indications that in the pre-Islamic state of Somali society[27] a vital aspect of chieftaincy in parts of north-western and southern Somaliland was the power of rainmaking.[28] Rainmaking ceremonies are still generally performed, although now with an increasingly heavy Islamic overgloss, and are called " to seek water " (*rob-dor*). They are held at special sites, probably, as Cerulli observes, the former shrines of Cushitic spirits. *Lak* is the ceremony performed at the beginning of the main rains, and is a tribal rite including prayers for rain, Koranic recitations directed by holy men (*wadad*), and sacrifices to which each section contributes. The rite may last ten days and culminates in feasting and dancing.[29] Sacrificial offerings to the Sky-God (*Waq da'il*) are made to the dead ; on a family scale to the late family ancestor, on a tribal scale (involving the tribal chief) to the founding ancestor of the tribe, and also to sheiks and Islamic saints remembered for particular benefits and powers.[30]

The Mohammedan aspect of this will be dealt with more fully in the section on Islam, but mention may be made of Saint Au Hiltir, who is regarded by the Hawiya as protector of the Shebelle river and man's defender from crocodiles, and Saint Au Mad, protector of the harvest to whom the Badi-Addo sacrifice when pests molest their fields.[31] On such occasions the sacrifice is conducted at the local tomb of the saint. This emphasizes the territorial character of these cults and their association with particular tribes and sections.

In the preceding pages we have seen how the tribe appears as a segmentary unit in the organization of political and religious authority and power. In the next section we shall see how the same segmentary principles are operative in war and feud and

[22] See for instance the history of the Helai, Colucci, 1924, pp. 156–62, 178–81.
[23] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 8.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., p. 9.
[26] Ibid., p. 7.
[27] See Lewis, MS., pp. 388–422.
[28] See above, pp. 25 ff.
[29] Zoli, 1935, p. 382.
[30] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 31.
[31] Ibid., p. 32.

in jural procedure. The social organization of the Somali can only be understood in the light of the interplay of interests among a hierarchy of segments of which the most inclusive stable unit is normally the tribe.

3. The Unity of the Tribe in War and Feud

The tribe, united against other tribes in cattle-raiding and war, consists of a number of segments among whom feud can be settled by payment of compensation. Cattle-raiding marks the external relations between tribes and is often confused with war-expeditions (*dulan*)[32] which are an almost inevitable consequence of inter-tribal cattle-theft.[33] Freedmen and adopted members of the tribe form part of the raiding party but play no part in its organization, which is left to the tribal council from which they are by their inferior status excluded. When a man wishes to initiate open hostilities against another tribe, he approaches the tribal chief and council with a gift of cloth or livestock and makes his request. The procedure adopted in war councils (*shir*)[34] is illustrated by that of the Hober (pre-Hawiya).[35] Each of the seven secondary sections confers separately with its chief (*gob*), elders (*ashiar*), and a representative of the young men (*au barbar*).[36] The three *rer* of the Heiamo primary section approach the commander (*malak*) who is seated upon the throne of the chief in council; they greet him and each makes a gift of cloth. Then the other four secondary sections, Obo Barre, Abdille, Faconle, and Frengiali, come with gifts to the *malak*. Leaving the headmen and elders of each section with the military chief and sheik, the young men withdraw to dance and sing. After the matter has been discussed by the chiefs and elders and religious officials, the *malak* summons each section and invites their view of the proposal. Having reached a decision the *malak* delivers it to the heads of the sections and sends them back to inform their own sections. The *malak* is now left alone, while the sheiks attached to the tribe assemble in a group and each section holds its own council. After this each leader conveys the opinion of his section to the *malak* who, having heard each in turn, deliberates with them until agreement is reached, when the chiefs and headmen return to their respective sections and the *malak* publicly announces the conclusions which have been reached. The company then gives itself up to prayer and sacrifice, and feasting and dancing follow. The description shows clearly that all the sections of the tribe are involved in the war-council and this again is reflected in the division of the spoils of battle which is made in aliquot portions through the hierarchy of structural segments.[37] To the council are brought proposals for the initiation of war and fighting, although not all such activity is undertaken with the initial support and agreement of the tribe as a whole. When the tension between two tribes reaches such a pitch that it can only be resolved by open warfare the question arises whether the individual or family directly involved is worthy of full tribal support. This appears more acutely in the internal relations among tribal sections where sometimes the *rer* may withhold its support from a trouble-maker and undesirable character who has killed a member of another section.[38] Hostility, covert, and often overt, characterizes the relations of tribes not of the same confederacy and as Burton[39] says every village or *rer* livestock-camp is at feud with its opposite number in the neighbouring tribe. Thus fighting is often confined to the smaller segments of the

[32] Cucinotta, 1921, p. 30; Wright, 1943, p. 100.
[33] Cucinotta, loc. cit.
[34] *Shir* also denotes a tribe mobilized for war; Cerulli 1919, p. 47.
[35] The Hober form with the Jiambelul, Herdo, Ifmogi, and Barbaro, the Shan Dafet cluster. The description follows Colucci, op. cit., pp. 41–2.
[36] This is suggestive of an age-grade organization although none is mentioned, see below.
[37] See the example of the Hadama given by Colucci, op. cit., p. 43.
[38] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 54.
[39] Burton, quoted by Ferrand, 1903, p. 197.

tribe and only in exceptional cases flares up into open inter-tribal war, as, for example, when one tribe moves to dispossess another of land. The motives for conflict, however, are much the same within the tribe as outside it, but the likelihood and extent of redress are very different, for the tribe is by definition a group within which homicide should be settled by payment of compensation. Sometimes a wider range of solidarity is embraced within a tribal alliance for joint protection and sharing of pasture and water-rights.[40] Quarrels arise most frequently over water and grazing-rights, stolen cattle, injuries moral and physical, and women.

If, after full consideration, the suggestion of a would-be instigator of hostilities is accepted, a feast is held and men go off to prepare for battle. The tribal chief usually does not himself lead the battle formation, and often that honour falls upon the proposer,[41] who is forthwith appointed *malak*, battle-commander.[42] Under him are several sub-chiefs[43] and the force is always accompanied by a ritual expert (*wadad*), often an Islamic sheik. The rank of these officers appears in the division of the loot taken, for they all receive a special portion before the general distribution which follows the tribal segmentation.[44] There is no information on the precise relation of the recruitment of the personnel of war-formations to the tribal segmentation, and this raises the question of age-grades.

Age-sets

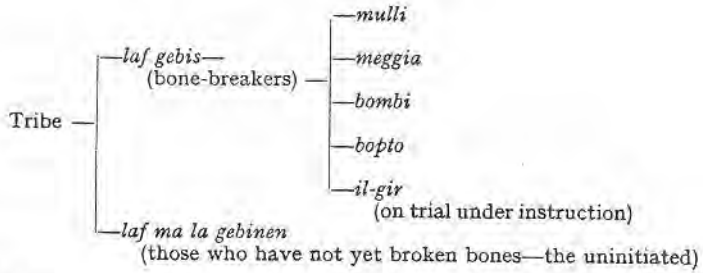
It is not clear to what extent an age-grade organization exists among the Somali. Whatever the exact method of recruitment of fighting power, it must correspond to the segmentary social structure. This, as we have seen, is reflected in the distribution of booty taken on raids. A great deal of further research is required, though it would be possible to assemble many scraps of information indicative of the possible existence of age-grades among the Somali.

Traditionally the organization was taken from the Galla system through the Rahanwein, who adopted it from them. This corresponds with the mixed origin of the Rahanwein to whom many characteristic Digil culture traits are due. The subsequent atrophy of the institution among the Digil and Rahanwein with the establishment of relatively stable inter-tribal relations, and its adoption by the south-driving Darod coming into contact with the Galla in their advance, suggests that the organization derives from contact with Galla, in the great expansion of the Somali from the north to the south.

Among the Esa circumcision appears to be a collective rite associated with an age-group.[45] Among the northern Mijertein, however, circumcision, like infibulation,[46] " does not give rise to special feasts or solemn rites," and there is no indication that it is related to age-grades.[47] Age-grades are, however, attested by both Cerulli and Zoli for the trans-Juba Darod, Harti, Ogaden and Marehan, and this is confirmed by Ferrand[48] who says that, among the trans-Juba tribes, " those circumcised during a certain period take a special name and form a generation ; each generation distinguishing itself before the next succeeds." According to Cerulli,[49] who obtained his information from a Mijertein informant who had visited trans-Juba, the system is as follows : there are five grades : *il-gir*, *bobto*, *bombi*, *muli*, and *har-ku-gif*. *Il-gir*

[40] This is the case with tribal clusters we have mentioned, and illustrates the significance of the term " confederacy."
[41] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 47 ; Ferrandi, 1903, p. 266.
[42] Ciamarra, 1910–11, p. 35.
[43] " *Gedelei* " at Lugh ; Ferrandi, loc. cit.
[44] Colucci, op. cit., p. 43 ; Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 267, where the division is made among the military party and not apparently by tribal section.
[45] Deschamps, 1948, p. 32.
[46] See below for a description of these customs.
[47] Cerulli, 1919, p. 24.
[48] Ferrand, 1903.
[49] 16, 1931, pp. 153–69.

is the first grade of initiation, presumably through circumcision, although Cerulli does not say so. Promotion to the *bobto* grade is achieved when a group of youths leave their own tribe and join another tribe, from which they send back to their own tribe for a man of the next grade to become their chief and initiate them into the *bobto* grade. There is no information as to whether the tribe where they seek asylum is hostile or friendly or as to the nature of their reception and status there. This flight bears some resemblance to certain marital institutions which are discussed below (see p. 112). *Bobto* means robber and from Cerulli's brief remarks one gathers that this is a warrior-grade probably providing the main body of personnel in raiding parties. The *bobto* and *il-gir* men are not allowed to use black-wood spears with metal decoration on the handles, to carry ivory-hilted daggers, wear finger-rings of gold or silver, or adopt the long-haired coiffure which the Mijertein call *tur*. The men of the *bobto* grade are initiated into the *bombi* by a *bombi* chief and, immediately afterwards, unite for a traditional raid on the Galla. On their return from a successful expedition they are known as *lafgabio*, bone-breakers, which confirms their promotion to the *bombi*. This suggests that *bombi* is a senior warrior-grade. *Muli* bridges the gap between active warrior-hood and old age and from this grade the tribal chief is drawn. *Har-ku-gif*, which Cerulli translates as "those who lie on dung," comprises those who are no longer active warriors, and from whom the elders are chosen. Unfortunately Cerulli's informant did not know the term of office of the various grades. Zoli[50] writes that the institution which he calls age-classes (" classes d'age ") is traditionally supposed to have been adopted from the Galla Boran and is now atrophying with the stabilization of inter-tribal relations. He reports that among the trans-Juba Harti the tribe is divided thus :



Legal Procedure

Customary procedure, or jural procedure as it may legitimately be called, cannot among the Somali be divorced from war and feud. Here as throughout Somali social structure the same segmentary principles apply. In any given situation jural relations are conditioned by the particular sectional interests concerned. The procedure adopted corresponds to the order of segmentation involved. Collateral tribal sections unite against sections of a higher order although, in the absence of external pressure, they are mutually hostile. Two tertiary sections unite as a secondary section in the face of opposition from an external secondary section, and so on, until in inter-tribal strife, the tribe emerges as the unit of solidarity. Behaviour can only be understood by reference to a dynamic framework of opposed segments. Since the tribe is normally the ultimate unit of solidarity, its representative head governs its policy. Political relations are ordered by tribal chiefs on behalf of their tribesmen. Hence the tribe is generally the largest stable jural unit defined, as I have indicated, by the settlement of homicide by payment of compensation. It follows that while inter-tribal relations may legitimately be viewed by the sociologist as simply the extension of general segmentary principles, there is in practice a clear distinction. This is seen in the

[50] 1927, pp. 189–93.

extent to which customary Somali procedure (*testur*) has been modified by the Islamic Shariah.[51] In inter-tribal relations Muslim jurisprudence exerts a negligible influence, but within the tribe, especially in family and personal relations, it has made considerable inroads. Its exponents are the *qadis* recognised by the Administrations and *wadad* (holy men) who have received Koranic training often in Egypt. In matters of tribal importance the decisions of these experts are always overridden by tribal chiefs. Among detribalized Somali and on the coast the situation is, of course, different. Here the *qadi* exerts sole jurisdiction under the Administration. The scope of the *qadi*'s power and authority is discussed more fully below.

Torts among the Somali may be divided into three categories:

1. Homicide. 2. Physical injury. 3. Moral injury.

Offences against women are included in the third category since they cannot themselves take any direct part in litigation,[52] but act through the agnatic group to which they belong by birth or marriage. The studies which have so far been made of Somali customary procedure have tended to analyse the subject matter under the categories of Western or Roman jurisprudence.[53] In the description which follows I shall relate procedure to the segmentary interests involved. We are told that no allowance is made for intention on the part of the culprit.[54] But this must be a function of the structural interests concerned, since it would be very strange indeed if, within the smallest structural unit, deliberate action were not distinguished from accident.

1. Homicide (*dill*).[55]—The basic principle activating the norms concerned with the expiation of murder is that of a life for a life: the equivalence of blood. The obligation to pursue vengeance rests primarily with the brothers of the deceased, whose duty it is to prosecute feud against the culprit and his close agnatic kin until honour has been vindicated. When the homicide involves tribes the warring groups may expand beyond the direct agnatic kin to embrace the tribe as a whole on either side. As Cerulli says, private vendetta is the basis of jural proceedings.[56] When exaction of the proper retribution would disrupt a solidarity which it is important to maintain, it goes unpunished. Within the nuclear family the murder of the family head (the father, or father's brother) does not provoke feud.[57] The standard rate of compensation for the murder of an adult free-born male is 100 camels or their equivalent, and is called *mag*.[58] Compensation varies from tribe to tribe and with the status of the persons involved; serfs or men of the occupational castes (*sab*)[59] carry a smaller price on their head. In the structural hierarchy of common sentiments and loyalties, the group which emerges with the greatest solidarity is the primary *rer* unit, the tertiary or quaternary tribal section,[60] whose members stand together in

[51] According to Cucinotta, 1921, p. 34, the sources of the Somali Shariah are the following: Nawawi's "Minhaji at-Talibin," the works of Ismail Mukri, and those of Abu Ishaak as-Shirazi. Secondary sources are: The "Fath al-Gharib" of Ibn al-Kasim al-Ghazzi; the "Fath al-Wahhab" of Abu Yahya Zakariyyah al-Ansari, and the "Ikhwa'fi hall al-Fath" of Mohammed Ash-Shirbini.

[52] Cerulli, 1919, pp. 21–2.

[53] The best account of this type is Cerulli, 1919. This is a very well documented monograph and it is quite clear that while the material is not presented in the light of sectional interests, Cerulli is well aware of the segmentary structure of Somali society. Colucci, 1924, follows the scheme I have adopted although the same terminology of tribal segmentation is not used. This excellent work is not so useful as Cerulli's for the present purpose, since in spite of its title it does not deal specifically with jural procedure.

[54] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 17.

[55] Ibid, pp. 15–17.

[56] 1919, p. 49.

[57] Ibid., p. 51.

[58] Many writers use the word *diyah* (Arabic) but Somali resent this and adhere to their own expression.

[59] The position of *sab* is elaborated elsewhere in this study, see pp. 51–5.

[60] Which Hunt calls the "*dia*-paying group."

the payment and receipt of compensation. Homicide inside this unit is most easily settled. Cucinotta describes the procedure within the same tribe or section (*qabila* or *rer*) as follows: The culprit flees to another district, returning after some time to proffer a peace-offering (*semen*) to the relatives of the deceased and to sue for pardon. The offering is usually accepted and the elders direct the offender to pay to the bereaved kinsman the amount of compensation which has been agreed upon. In fact, within the smallest unit, the elders simply remove the required number of stock from the criminal's pens and transfer them to the injured family.[61] Among the Helai, if the bereaved do not agree to grant pardon and accept compensation, the murderer is handed over by the elders to the family of the deceased. He is led to a spot near Bur Hakaba where he is killed by the dead man's closest relative, ideally with his own weapon.[62] Similarly among the Gasar Gudda of Lugh the penalty for homicide within the section is execution with the weapon used, but we have Ferrandi's word for it that this never in fact happens and that compensation is always agreed among the parties concerned.[63] If a murderer absconds and joins another tribe as client, or gains admission to an Islamic community where he enjoys immunity from the consequence of his action, the Helai elders repair to his huts and feast on his stock and produce, saying "The Helai corn is ripe."[64] The smallest structural unit bears about a third of the responsibility for its members' actions as measured in the contribution and distribution of compensation payment.[65] Wright calls this portion *jiffo* and points out that the principles guiding its division vary from secondary section to section ("*jilib*" to "*jilib*"). The remaining two-thirds, known as *gobane*, is contributed by the "outer-ring" of cousins.[66] Cerulli calls the sum contributed by members of the clan to one of their number involved in payment of compensation, *baho*.[67]

The ascending hierarchy of sectional loyalties dependent upon the situational juxtapositioning of sections appears clearly in the procedure for the adoption of clients into the tribe. The tertiary sections support each other against the secondary, the secondary against the primary, and all combine in the solidarity of the tribe when this is threatened or attacked from outside. If a member of a tertiary section is killed by a man of another tribe it falls upon all the sections to unite as a tribe and prosecute blood-vengeance on behalf of the bereaved nuclear family—the tertiary section of which it is part, the secondary sections, and so on until the tribe emerges in this situation as a united front.[68] Wright[69] describes the procedure for settlement of blood-feud between two "clans" (primary sections in our terminology) who are brought together through the overtures of the one, conducted preferably by the in-laws of "both sides"[70] or by old men. The representatives of both sides confer and, if they reach agreement, compensation is settled and paid. Compensation begins with the payment of a sheep called *budegeyo* (tail-cutting) or *shahsaffo* (fat) used to maintain the wounded until they are sufficiently recovered to appear before the councils (*gudi*) and have the appropriate damages reckoned. The amount payable is collected within the primary section according to one or other of the following principles:

[61] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 20.
[62] Ibid., p. 20.
[63] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 282.
[64] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 20.
[65] 1943, p. 65.
[66] Wright, op. cit., p. 65. One calls all men of the same section "cousin," or "uncle," according as they are of the same generation or the next senior or junior.
[67] 1919, p. 53.
[68] See Colucci, op. cit., p. 46, for the Dabarre.
[69] Op. cit., p. 64, the meeting is called *wa'ad*.
[70] Intermarriage between primary sections is common, see below, p. 111.

1. *Qoro-leh* (penis possessors) or *Qoro-tirris* (penis count); all male adults pay equally irrespective of age or wealth.
2. *Qabno* (stock-wealth); each *rer* or secondary section contributes according to its resources.[71]

It seems likely that the first of these would refer to compensation within the smallest structural unit, and the second to that between sections, although Wright gives no indication.[72]

2. Physical Injury (*gar*).[73]—The same structural principles applicable to the settlement of homicide regulate the range and substance of redress in other categories of injury.

Most of the accounts of compensation payable for physical injury refer to sentences passed by Islamic *qadis* and reflect the interaction of the Shariah and Somali tribal custom (*her* or *testur*). Leaving aside for the moment the effects of Colonial Administration, it is important to realise that these often refer to procedure in urban centres, or within the tribe, where the *qadi*'s word carries some authority. Between tribes, where the political aspect of torts becomes especially pronounced and important, the *qadi*'s authority is constantly over-ridden by that of the tribal chief. In either case, however, the form of compensation is similar although the amount varies from tribe to tribe.[74] Ferrand gives the following scale of compensation between two secondary sections, apparently of the Esa[75]:

20 camels for a broken arm or leg;
20 camels for minor injuries;
50 camels for the loss of an eye.

As he remarks, the assessment varies from tribe to tribe and in accordance with the particular situation. Cerulli[76] rates the loss of an eye among the Mijertein at 12 camels, and mentions that injuries to teeth might require the payment of a camel or two. Cucinotta[77] lists mutilation, deformation, and loss of sight as serious injuries. Emasculation is equivalent to homicide, and entails blood-feud requiring the same compensation for its settlement.[78]

3. Moral Injury.—Compensation is called *haal*[79] and may be demanded in the following situations. If a man is struck in public by another a brawl usually ensues until the combatants are separated. This is particularly offensive if delivered with a sandal or whip (traditionally used to beat women). Rape or illegitimate intercourse with an unbetrothed girl is an insult to the honour of the family, represented by its head. If the girl is engaged then it is her fiancé who is wronged. Premarital intercourse can be atoned for by marriage, and the offender may not even be required to pay the bride-price if he is considered to be too poor to meet this obligation.[80] Failure to fulfil a proposal of marriage is represented as an insult to the father of the betrothed girl on the part of the fiancé. Uninvited entry into a man's hut or conversation with his wife constitute serious breaches of etiquette and require payment of *haal*.[80A] Adultery is not very serious. If a man suspects his wife, he goes to the elders of her lover's group and asks them to warn the man to break off the liaison.

[71] Wright, op. cit., p. 64.
[72] Colucci, op. cit., p. 44, describes the division of stock taken in raiding among the Hadama (Rahanwein); in the smallest units, which he calls *rer* in the process of formation. procedure 1 is followed.
[73] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 53; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 149 gives *dafaisho*.
[74] Cf. Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 39.
[75] Ferrand, 1903, p. 196. The generic term for compensation is *mag*.
[76] 1919, p. 53.
[77] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 23.
[78] See also Drake-Brockman, op. cit., pp. 149–52.
[79] Wright, op. cit., p. 67; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., pp. 152–3.
[80] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 53.
[80A] Cf. Guillain, 1856, II, p. 429.

Should the offender persist he will be fined by his own chief. Killing in *flagrante delicto* is very rare and should the husband catch the pair he does no more than seize his wife's lover's cloak to establish his identity. The matter is then settled by payment of compensation to the husband.[1] In homicide a woman's life is valued at about half that of a man.[2]

Verbal insults (epithets such as " slave," " low-caste," " bastard," " fish-eater," etc.) require payment of *haal*.[3] It is ignominious to insult one's mother-in-law and dangerous to insult a chief.[3A] According to Cerulli *haal* in such cases stands at several head of ponies. Wright[4] corroborates this and points out that the payment of horses restores prestige and honour, since the possession of horses confers and indicates both. Theft within the group occurs seldom and is dishonourable ; no other action than to seek the restoration of the stolen article is usually taken, although the *lex talionis* still sometimes operates and one encounters men who have lost members for this reason.[5]

4. Marriage and the Tribe

Islam permits a Somali to have four wives, and the husband circulates among his wives, each of whom may have her hut and possessions in a different part of the territory of her husband's tribe. Somali society is predominantly patrilocal ; women and children belong to the tribe and clan of the husband. A man is responsible for his wife as, through him, are his brothers and agnatic kin, and, indeed, all members of his section. If his wife is murdered it falls to the husband and his agnatic kin to prosecute blood-vengeance, but if the husband is killed his wife's kin and clan will not be involved ; on the husband's death, however, the rights of the woman's clan reassert themselves to some extent inasmuch as she is then jointly protected by her own brother and the new head of the family to which she belongs by marriage. The care and interest of her own family are in truth never quite submerged, for if her husband is known to ill-treat her, her brother will come and threaten him. In spite of this, however, Cerulli[6] states that the killing of one spouse by the other never provokes feud. At a man's death it is the duty of his nearest agnate to take the widow in leviratic marriage (*dumal*[7]) and this duty usually falls upon the deceased husband's brother. If he too is dead, however, his son will be expected to marry his uncle's widow, and pressure will be put upon him by the elders of the group to ensure that this is done. On the other hand, should a married woman die, it is the duty of her clan or clan segment to provide a substitute, normally a sister, in accordance with the institution known as *higisan*.[7A] The agnatic principle stipulates that the children of brothers may not marry since they belong to the same clan, but the children of sisters are free to do so.[8]

Guillain[9] describes the tribe as exogamous ; Burton[10] writes that " connections between tribes are common, and entitle the stranger to immunity from the blood-feud." Drake-Brockman[11] assures us that " no Somali *ever* marries a girl of his own

[1] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 27.
[2] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 22 ; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 149.
[3] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 28.
[3A] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 54.
[4] Wright, op. cit., p. 67.
[5] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 53 ; Cucinotta, op. cit., pp. 28–9.
[6] Op. cit., p. 51. Marriage is discussed here only in its structural aspects, ceremonial and ritual being described below.
[7] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 80.
[7A] Ibid., p. 81.
[8] This is tending to be less adhered to with the spread of the Shariah which permits the intermarriage of both sorts of cousin.
[9] Guillain, 1856, II, p. 427.
[10] Burton, 1894, II, p. 84.
[11] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 142 ; the italics are mine.

tribe for fear of consanguinity, but goes as a rule to a neighbouring tribe for her; blood-feuds are frequently settled by one tribe marrying into another." Ferrand[12] says that while men marry often inside their own tribe, marriage within the secondary section (his " clan ") is very rare, and he points out that chiefs often marry outside the tribe thus contracting a double alliance. Clifford[13] affirms that the desire to secure additional grazing drives a man to marry as far outside the group to which he belongs as possible, since through marrying outside his own " section " he can drive his flocks into the pastures of his wife's group. Thus the affinal ties created by marriage impose reciprocal duties and obligations, perhaps the most important of which is the sharing of pasture and waterpoints; this tends to be reinforced by a man marrying a woman of his mother's primary section (" clan ").[14] Though Wright suggests here that the primary section is exogamous, it is clear from his description[14A] that marriages do take place between secondary sections which he identifies with *jilib*.[15] In Cerulli's account of marriage among the Mijertein tribes of northern Somalia it is the tribe as defined above (p. 14) which appears as the exogamous unit, although there is no clear indication that marriage within the tribe is impossible.[16] Among the Esa confederacy of the Dallol, Abgal, and Wardik tribes, the primary sections appear as the intermarrying units except where they descend directly from uterine brothers when intermarriage is forbidden.[16A] Space precludes a detailed examination of further material on the structural relations of marriage. From the foregoing discussion and other material,[17] I conclude that marriage rarely takes place inside those units which are most closely integrated in the reciprocal duties of day-to-day life, and whose solidarity is particularly affirmed in the mutual contribution, and division, of compensation paid to or received from outside groups. The primary structural unit, which is the newly constituted *rer*, epitomizes these principles and, in small tribes with tripartite segmentation, corresponds to the tertiary section. The next unit in the hierarchy is generally exogamous and intermarries with other sections of the same order. Where, however, this division is recent with respect to collateral sections, intermarriage is less likely and is forbidden for the descendants of uterine brothers, a prohibition which sometimes extends to the relations between segments of the next order. Thus among the Esa Abgal, only those primary sections which are not descended from a common mother may marry. As the greater inclusiveness of the higher segments is reached, culminating in the extension of the tribe, the degree of exogamy decreases and intermarriage between primary sections is as common as, perhaps indeed more common, by reason of greater accessibility, than marriage between tribes. In such a hierarchy of relations it is again the tertiary or smallest section which emerges with the greatest solidarity and cohesion, as we saw in the institution of feud. We shall see below that to this section corresponds the minimal segment of a clan within which the genealogical framework reflects the real kinship ties of the members of the group.

We have noticed the connection between marriage and fighting which has a double aspect, for while rape or marriage by capture can cause feud or war, marriage can heal it. Before pressing this point, we may consider several peculiar forms of marital relationship which have been reported and their relation to marriage by capture. Cucinotta[18] states that marriage by capture is common among the nomads.

[12] Ferrand, 1903, p. 185.
[13] 1936, p. 289.
[14] Wright, 1943, p. 85.
[14A] Ibid., p. 64.
[15] The significance of this term is discussed below.
[16] See Cerulli, op. cit., pp. 67–83.
[16A] See Taschdjian, 1938, p. 114.
[17] See Lewis, MS., pp. 163–82.
[18] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 452.

Colucci[19] describes this institution among the Gerra, where it is known as *bob*, and also gives an account of *nikah*, which is part of the normal form of marriage. When the bride is on the point of entering the marriage hut at the conclusion of the marriage ceremonies, she turns aside and flees to a Gerra section other than her own or that of her husband. Here she is accepted and gives herself freely to all the men who desire her until she is pregnant, when she returns to her husband's section and is welcomed in a feast called *tur*. Colucci considers this to be a survival of group marriage between the three sections and while we are not concerned with the relevance of this view, it is not at the moment clear what the social significance of the custom is. It may represent the settlement of an outstanding blood-feud by exchange marriage. Cucinotta[20] reports similar practices among the Wadan, Mursub, and Bimal. In trans-Juba[20A] simulated rape is part of the marriage ceremony: at Lugh[21] the bride and groom are separately led on horseback by their respective friends outside the territory of the village, and this seems to have the same significance as Puccioni[22] observes. Cerulli[23] writes that among the Abgal, even when the bride and groom have the full consent of their parents, it is conventional for them to " flee " a distance of three camel-marches (*masafo*). If a survey were made of marriage ceremonies it seems clear that many would be found containing customs reminiscent of, and probably symbolizing, marriage by capture. I suggest that among the Somali marriage and fighting are interrelated inasmuch as those units which exhibit the greatest degree of internal cohesion in fighting also show the greatest degree of exogamy; that as the extent of cohesion decreases in the hierarchy of structural units so intermarriage between collateral segments becomes more and more frequent. This is not simply to say that marriage causes[24] fighting or that fighting causes marriage, although this is frequently true, but that the two institutions maintain a similar interdependence at all levels of the social structure. Fighting and marriage constitute two of the main types of social relations among the Somali and provide the channels along which many others pass. Since the basis of Somali political structure is the lineage system, they both control it and are controlled by it.

The Agnatic Foundation of Somali Society

Introduction

In the preceding four sections we have examined the nature of the tribe as a territorial unit and in the majority of its social relations. Within the limitations of the available material these have been discussed structurally from the point of view of the hierarchy of segments which constitutes Somali society. Social behaviour has been described in relation to sectional interests. The functional basis of Somali society is, as we have seen, an agnatic kinship organization. The relations between all social units are in principle expressed genealogically in terms of agnatic descent from eponymous ancestors. This principle applies to the total Somali society. The primary segmentation is into the Somali and Sab, the first noble with respect to the second.[24A] Then follow the various tribal-families with their component tribal confederacies and sub-confederacies. The next unit is the tribe, the most inclusive for most practical purposes, which is divided into a series of opposed segments. At all these levels group-relationships are expressed genealogically in terms of agnatic

[19] Colucci, 1924, p. 37; cf. Barile, 1935, p. 53.
[20] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 452.
[20A] Zoli, 1927, pp. 222–34.
[21] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 255.
[22] 2, 1936, p. 101.
[23] 1923, p. 34.
[24] Strictly " follows."
[24A] See above.

descent from founding ancestors. The tribe is a clan,[25] its component sections clan segments or lineages. Among the Sab, however, clan and tribe do not always correspond. Sometimes the tribe is a heterogenous assemblage of various clan-fractions with one of which it is coordinate. In this case the tribe has a dominant clan (or dominant lineage) structure. In other cases among the Sab, the lineage structure has completely disappeared as a principle of political structure, social relations being no longer expressed genealogically. The social relations of the territorially defined mixed-village and other similar aggregates are not expressed in genealogical idiom. The reasons for the difference between the social organization of many southern tribes, particularly the Sab group, and that of the northern Somali are probably in part ecological and part racial (see above pp. 34 ff). The distinction in the north between outcaste *sab* and the noble Somali is not found to the same extent among the Sab of southern Somalia.

Terminology

Ferrand,[26] following Paulitschke,[27] states that the tribe (*tol*), equivalent to the Arabian *qabila*, is composed of sub-tribes (*rer*) segmented into clans (*kola* or *djilib*) which correspond to the Arab *fakhidza*. Wright[28] divides the tribe (*tol*) into clans (*qolo*) and these into *jilib* which he considers " the fundamental social unit." Cerulli[29] gives the same segmentation as Ferrand, but applies the term " gens " to all social units from the nuclear family to the tribal confederacy, intermediate fractions being described as " gentile " segments within the " organizzazione gentilizia." This is the sense in which " clan " is used by Colucci[30] and followed here.[31] Of the terms mentioned, *rer* has no fixed meaning. It represents a lineage which may correspond to a small tribal section but may equally be applied to a whole tribe (clan). This is discussed in detail below. The case with *jilib* and *qolo* (*kola*) might at first sight appear to be better, but there is no satisfactory indication at present as to what sort of social relations is connoted by either term. Indeed, since *jilib* occurs in the name of the Jelible tribe, it is doubtful whether it can be taken as always referring to a tribal segment. The truth seems to be that all these terms are relative and devoid of definite significance outside the segmentary structure.[32] In the present state of knowledge they may be ignored since they obscure rather than elucidate the structural exposition given here.

Terms of greater importance for the understanding of Somali social structure are *ba*, *baha*, and *habr*. These do not invariably refer to fixed units and are found in genealogies at all structural levels. They are used relatively to distinguish between collateral lineages. *Ba* (*bah*) indicates the agnatic descendants of uterine brothers.[33] Thus *bah aday* means " sons of my mother " and refers to uterine brothers.[34] *Baha* designates the agnatic descendants of several brothers, not all sons of the same mother, and takes the father's name. In the Rer Segulleh, chiefly clan of the Habr Yunis, Segulleh's two eldest sons by a Habr Awal woman left their step-brothers and their families to form the *Ba Awal*. The remaining six sons by different mothers joined together for mutual support as the *Baha Segulleh*, sons of Segulleh by various

[25] See the definition given above.
[26] 1903, p. 184.
[27] 1893, p. 41.
[28] 1943, p. 63.
[29] 1919, p. 39.
[30] Colucci, 1924, pp. 25–59.
[31] The implications of the genealogical basis of Somali society were recognized as early as 1910 by Ciamarra. (Camera dei Deputati. doc. 38, Rome, 1911.)
[32] Cf. Peters, " Sociology of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica," D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1951.
[33] Wright, 1943, p. 91.
[34] Cerulli, 1919, p. 59.

wives.[35] *Habr* is applied to a group of agnatic descendants of uterine brothers formed round the eldest brother and named after him ; it is distinguished from the *ba* group where the point of reference is the mother. *Habr* thus designates fractions within a large uterine family, where fission into separate groups of brothers occurs. This would result from disputes, perhaps particularly between senior and younger brothers. Inheritance might be a case in which these distinctions would be important. These three terms occur over and over again in genealogies of the northern tribes and are almost as common as the word *rer* itself. In the south among the Sab tribes, however, they are replaced by *dal* and *dir*. *Dal*, like *bah*, has the sense of " sons of " ; for example, *Dal Hassan*, the sons of Hassan, while *dir* has the same significance as *habr* (*habar*).[36]

All writers agree in recognizing the Somali tribe in the north as a group of people claiming descent from a common agnatically related eponymous ancestor, the basis of the tribe being a genealogical system, but this does not always represent the historical truth.[37] I express this by saying that Somali tribes consist either of a single clan segmented in the same way as the tribe—the situation among the northern noble tribes—or of a mixture of clans, as among the Digil and, to a lesser extent, the Hawiya. The furthest stage in the degradation of the segmented lineage organization is found among some of the Digil cultivators, where a unit which Colucci[38] calls the village, and which I prefer to call the mixed-village, has emerged in which the sentiments of common origin, true or fictitious, have been lost and something approaching a state-like political structure has developed. A similar organization is found in the cultivating villages of religious communities (*jama'a*), the most developed form of which is the settlement of Bardera on the Juba.[39]

" The basic structure depends upon families related by agnatic descent to a common ancestor. The family itself, bound to the father with his wives and children, while having a certain autonomy (presenting a certain relief) and being the object of particular relations and institutions, forms for many other purposes part of the larger group which the agnatic descent-organization has created in time."[40] This system, rising from generation to generation(*faa*), stems from a common eponymous ancestor. Genealogies (*abtirsinyo* ; in Rahanwein and Tunni dialect *ab-tirshi*)[41] are preserved and handed down from generation to generation, and are limited to a certain depth beyond which the " associative spirit of the members transcends the bonds of common descent."[42] In remembering and reciting genealogies, those names which differentiate clan segments (tribal sections) are remembered most readily and the interstices are filled in with names which tend to be less accurate the further removed in generation they are from the speaker. Colucci gives the following typical example volunteered by a man of the Sheikal Lobogi, a priestly section of the Herab tribe of the Hawiya confederacy. The informant traced his descent from Somali (eponymous ancestor of the Somali) giving 24 names.[43] These represent more than anything else fixed points in a vast formative process and are not always necessarily the names of persons. Among the Digil, where genealogies are still preserved, place-names and words meaning " alliance " or even " group " occur frequently in genealogies. Such genealogies are

[35] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 79.

[36] Colucci, op. cit., p. 29. It is important to realise that those terms which differentiate groups by reference to female ancestors have nothing to do with matrilineal descent ; Somali society is patrilineal and there is no question of dual descent as far as political relations are concerned.

[37] Colucci, op. cit., p. 23.

[38] Ibid., pp. 60, 66.

[39] Guillain, 1856, vol. III, pp. 35–40 ; Trimingham, 1952, p. 241. See below, p. 152.

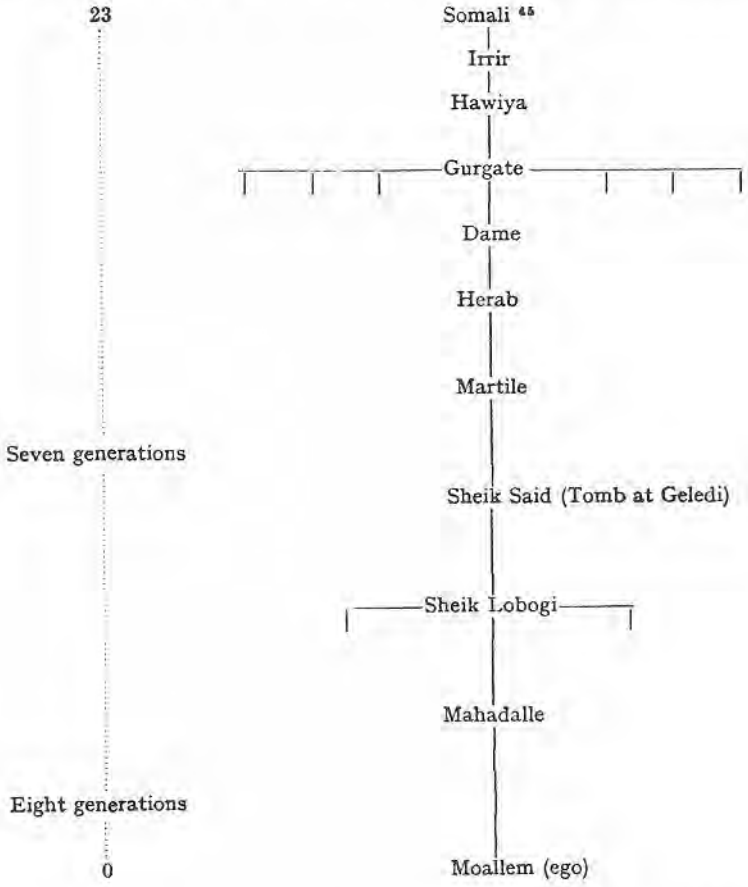
[40] Colucci, op. cit., p. 25.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., p. 24.

[43] This is about the usual number of steps (names) which suffice to connect a member of a minimal lineage to the eponymous ancestor of the Somali people.

the framework of all social groups in Somaliland from the smallest to the largest. The total genealogy of all the Somali tribes relates them to each other and to their common eponymous ancestor. As Colucci[44] aptly puts it, " they seek to supply a reason for the coexistence of the different clans within a common territory, and to embrace in a single genealogy the historical relations of all the groups." On the largest scale the segmentation of this genealogy of the Somali people corresponds



to the different tribal-families. Within each tribal confederacy the genealogical segmentation represents the separation of tribes—the next smaller units. Tribal genealogies in turn show the fractions of the tribe as agnatic patrilineal segments or lineages. All structural units in the traditional social structure which, as we have seen, has to some extent disintegrated in the south, are lineages, clans, or clan segments, and tribal membership is by virtue of inclusion in the tribal genealogy. As Cerulli[46] says, citizenship in Somali society is by virtue of membership of the clan (*gens*). The consequences of this are, on the one hand, that anyone wishing to join the tribe must be incorporated into a lineage, and on the other, that the only proof and justification of tribal membership consists in reciting one's genealogy, producing

[44] Colucci, op. cit., p. 87.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[46] 1919, p. 30.

one's genealogical ticket of entry, as it were. Neither freedmen nor serfs can take any part in the tribal assembly (*shir*), since, having no proper genealogy, they have no charter of freedom or equality in the tribe.

The cost of the hospitality shown to travellers from other clans is shared by the whole clan among whom the guest stays. He has the right to food and shelter (*daurto*) for the period of his stay and, on leaving, kills two sheep with his spear and keeps the skins. But a stranger can remain permanently only through being adopted by a patron willing to assume responsibility for him both in his own tribe and to that from which the stranger has come.[47] Through such adoption (*arifato*) the man (*arifa*)[48] has the rights of a tribesman and can marry into his host's clan. Should war break out between his own tribe and that into which he has been adopted he may choose between going home in safety or remaining.[49] Adoption of this kind soon acquires the status of blood-relationship. Marriage creates affinal ties, and these are readily translated into agnatic kinship in accordance with the principle that community of social relations implies common agnatic origin. Among the Digil, where the client is frequently of servile origin, adoption is called *shegat*.

Colucci[50] gives the following example for the Dabarre. The client approaches the tribal assembly of the two primary sections (Dirmedo and Ieran), bringing an ox, and says " I am your *shegat*. Tomorrow if there is blood-compensation or a fine to pay, I pay with you ; if there is war I fight with you, because I am Dabarre." Then the Dabarre chief and client exchange a series of questions and responses tracing the client's affiliation through the various orders of segmentation of the clan down to the minimal lineage into which the client is primarily admitted. If he commits homicide all members of his lineage of adoption are bound to support him in meeting the compensation claim, and, he likewise, must contribute to those incurred by members of his lineage. Should he be killed by a man of another tribe the Dabarre lineages combine together as the Dabarre clan and make war on the offending tribe because their client has said on entering the Dabarre, " I am Dabarre."

The Rer

Rer indicates a group of people united with respect to a determined object or activity. This may be territory, as, for example, the Rer Ganana, the riverine peoples of the Ganana river ; the Rer Brava, the people of Brava. The Rer Manyo are " the people of the sea," fishers and sailors, a coastal group united in occupation.[51] At Lugh traders are collectively designated the Rer Kofur.[52] Cerulli[53] and Colucci[54] agree, however, in maintaining that the fundamental and universal meaning of *rer* is a group of agnates, and of this there can be no doubt. *Rer* thus designates a patrilineal lineage or clan and all other uses are extensions of the term on the principle that community of social relations implies clanship. In orthodox usage the number of generations through which descent is traced varies through the range required to denote all the orders of descent-group which occur, from the small group of agnatically related families to the tribe or tribal confederacy. *Rer* is an extensible term denoting lineages of varying time-depth. There is no particular expression to designate the nuclear family which is referred to as *Mohammed ilmi is*, Mohammed and his sons. Frequently *rer* designates a tribe comprising many sections also called *rer*. The reason for the elasticity and extensibility of the term lies in the dynamic nature of

[47] Cerulli, 1919, p. 37.
[48] Ibid., p. 46.
[49] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 38 ; Wright, 1943, p. 66.
[50] Colucci, loc. cit.
[51] Colucci, op. cit., p. 30.
[52] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 284.
[53] Op. cit., p. 40.
[54] Loc. cit. ; Puccioni, 1937, p. 102.

the social structure. The clan grows with every generation and parts split off to develop into new clans in the continuous process of fission and fusion. From this it follows that any general statements which can be made about particular *rer* arise from an historical examination of the relations of the group, which must be viewed diachronically in relation to other groups. To take an example, the Rer Bokolle of the Gamas Daffarat, of the Tunni tribe, is said to be of Hawiya origin. On the death of the chief of the Rer Hejio, a section of the Wadan (Hawiya), the office was usurped by a younger son in the absence of the first-born who should have inherited the title. This so angered the elder that, on his return, he left with his family to go to Bokol in Arussi country where he acquired the name Bokolle, now used to designate his descendants. Thus the present Rer Bokolle has grown out of the small family group which detached itself from the Rer Hejio. Twelve generations later another *rer* detached itself as the Rer Avorei.[55] Succession of generations is the basis of the process of formation of *rer* and of the larger groups which in their turn split up into new *rer*. In this fission[56] the point of detachment of the new group is also the point of its attachment in the maintenance of the larger solidarity which embraces clan segments in the face of opposition from other segments of a higher order. The maintenance of solidarity along lineage channels often appears in striking fashion. The Abgal sections, although constantly fighting, unite as a clan in the face of outside hostility,[57] and this is, as we have seen, characteristic of the segmentary nature of Somali society. The Marehan north of the Shebelle split up about a hundred years ago and two groups made their way south into trans-Juba. When these rebelled against the Administration, the parent group in the north sent a party of warriors to their aid in spite of the distance separating them and the many hostile tribes which occupied the territory between them.[58]

The minimal structural unit designated *rer* has a time-depth of from seven to 12 generations, tending to include a greater number of generations among the pastoralists than among the sedentary cultivators of the south.[59] The tribal section corresponding to the clan segment, with sufficient autonomy to enjoy formal recognition as the minimal segment (*rer*) is a tertiary or quaternary section depending upon the size and degree of segmentation of the tribe. A further example from Colucci will illustrate this.[60] The Hadama of the Rahanwein confederacy divide the stock taken in raids according to the following scheme (assuming for illustration that 726 head are taken).

The first share goes to the war-leaders—

Malak	.. ..	4 head of stock
Au	.. ..	2 head of stock

The remaining 720 are divided equally among the two primary sections of the tribe :

Sedda Olier	360 head
Sedda Occurre..	360 head

These portions are then distributed in aliquot parts among the secondary sections which the primary sections comprise, and the same procedure is followed within the tertiary sections. This final division, however, is fictitious, inasmuch as it is made by a redistribution of the male personnel of the four sections so that each group contains the same number of men. Here we meet the growing point in the segmenta-

[55] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 31–2.
[56] Ibid., p. 33, " scissione."
[57] Ibid.
[58] Cerulli, 2, 1918, p. 862.
[59] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 40–1.
[60] Ibid., pp. 43–4.

tion and are concerned with groups which are on the point of becoming *rer* but have not quite attained to formal recognition as such. They are *rer* in the process of formation and represent the intermediate stage in the development of formal units which precedes their detachment as units autonomous with respect to the next larger segments. In the history of the growth of the tribe the Hassan, Kamisle, and Galborre are the three original *rer* united as the Occurre, now a primary section of the tribe. From the Kamisle the three *rer* broke away developing in their turn, through continued increase in numbers, into tertiary sections segmented into smaller fractions. The case is the same with the other primary section and its segments. Both primary sections unite in war as the Hadama tribe. While a tribal terminology has been used to describe this it is important to remember that the segmentation corresponds to a descent group pattern.[61] We have already described the adoption of clients into the Dabarre tribe, or more exactly into the Galmedo tertiary section of this tribe. The two segments of the Galmedo section, Hartegarable and Hisle are represented as the twin sons of Galmedo. Hartegarable are more numerous and have greater authority in the council than the Hisle whose ancestor, Hisle, is nevertheless held to have been the first-born of the pair. This is accounted for in a story which tells how, although Hisle was born first, Hartegarable put his shoulder out of the womb and accordingly takes precedence. This shows clearly how political and social relations generally are spoken of in a genealogical idiom, even among some Sab tribes. Colucci considers that the *rer* is epitomized in the Galmedo tertiary section. Developing this notion, he defines the *rer* rigidly as the fundamental agnatically organized social unit in which are concentrated all coherent activities and which is organically connected with the preservation of the line (lineage).[62] This limited concept of the *rer* does not, however, exclude its more general, flexible, and useful function which is to express the idea of clanship at all structural levels. The smallest unit is simply the most integrated and characteristic expression of a lineage and as such epitomizes the concept of the agnatic descent-group. The difficulty which Colucci has in expressing the general and fluid nature of the *rer* as well as its aptness to designate the smallest clan segment of greatest solidarity, is overcome here by the use of clan and clan segments, tribe and tribal sections, coupled with the concept of situational fission and fusion, which is implicit in Colucci's exposition but not explicitly elaborated.

Fission and Fusion

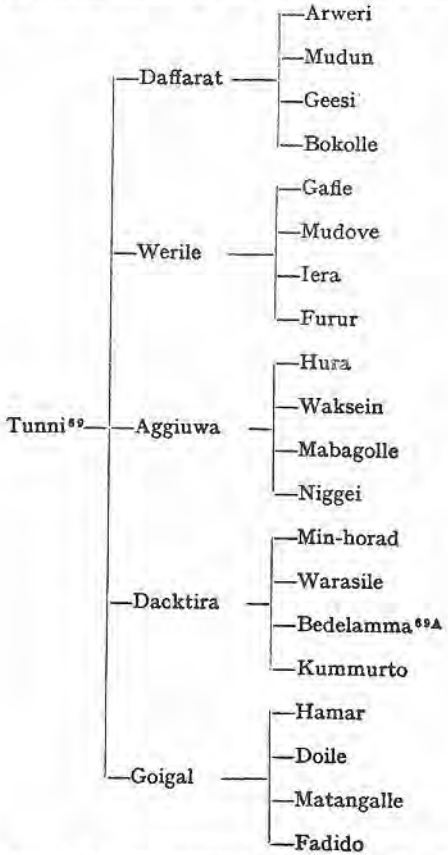
Ecological and economical factors are involved in the dynamism which constitutes the process of change and which is reflected in the dynamic structure of the lineage system. Colucci holds that the original point of fission is in the family, the death of the father and the marriages of the sons resulting in the rise of new families and the disruption of the parental group. The fragmentation is thus related to marriage institutions.[63] To take an example, Ishaak's descendants split up into the three Ishaak tribal confederacies, Habr Toljaala, Habr Gerhajis, and Habr Awal. In this case cleavage followed the mother, each confederacy descending from a different mother.[64] Similarly in the Hawiya confederacy, the two main divisions, Bah Girei and Bah Arbera, correspond to descent from different wives of Hawiya.[65] Wright[66] holds that "when the sept or *jilib* (the smallest structural unit) grows too large for convenient division of profits or responsibilities, a split takes place." The group of nomadic families which move together splits up by the detachment

[61] Colucci, op. cit., p. 44.
[62] Ibid., pp. 47–8.
[63] Ibid., p. 35.
[64] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., pp. 76–7.
[65] Colucci, op. cit., p. 94.
[66] 1943, p. 64.

of families which have become too large to continue as part of the group. It is consistent with the lineage principle that fission should be represented as occurring in the family, since this is the primary source of segmentation in the genealogies. There are, however, two kinds of fission and fusion. One is the historical segmentation and aggregation of groups which, regarded retrospectively, constitutes the process of growing; the other the structural fission and fusion concerned with the contemporary relations of groups formed in the historical process. The second is the subject matter of sociological analysis. It is not surprising that similar driving forces underlie both spheres of relations.[67] Among these Colucci[68] enumerates demography, economy, politics, and over-population; quarrels over blood-payment or stock, competition between rival chiefs, or the perennial search for the richest pastures, lead to the severance of kinship ties and movement to new territory, and result in the formation of new alliances and confederacies. Fragments of old *rer* are found scattered sometimes as autonomous groups, sometimes in subservience to the larger groups into which they are adopted. This is particularly characteristic of the clan constitution of the Digil Sab tribes.

Adoption and the Sab

This, in its peculiar southern form, is the institution which has given the Sab



[67] This merely means that today the same causes are responsible for the aggregation and disintegration of groups as in the past.

[68] Colucci, op. cit., p. 33.

[69] *Sources:* Colucci, 1924, p. 108; Barile, 1935, p. 39.

[69A] Barile, Hego-eggio.

(Digil) tribes their characteristic structure. Groups belonging to different clans have been enabled to coalesce, at first on the lineage principle, although this is later often discarded, thus forming mixed clans coordinate with a founding lineage which acts as a thread round and along which successive groups crystallize. "While the other Somali tribes are formed on the principle of common agnatic origin from the same ancestor, whose name is generally the name of the tribe, the Rahanwein tribes, apart from a very small group of descendants of Rahanwein, are formed by families or sections of different origin federated under a common name."[70] As within the genealogical framework economic and political forces tend to disrupt the unity of the group and result in fission, so forces of the same kind drive associating groups to establish a genealogical framework. Renewed and repeated contact among diverse groups, the desire for peace, the necessity of defence, the need for new land for cultivation, pasture and water for man and stock; all these induce groups, which may sometimes be historically distantly related, to form relatively stable confederacies bound together by reciprocal relations of aid and defence.[71] Such unions are at first organized, characteristically enough, on the lineage principle. This, however, usually disappears in their further development. The end-point in the process of federation is the mixed-village. In the discussion of the tribe as a territorial unit we saw that in general among the Sab lineage segmentation no longer corresponds to the territorial distribution. It is usually impossible to project lineages on to the ground as distinct territorial units.[72] We now seek to correlate this with the mixed clan constitution of the Sab, and again take the Tunni as an example.[73] The clan segmentation of the tribe is shown in the diagram. The composition of the major lineages is as follows:

1.	Daffarat	Arweri	Gerra, provide tribal chief
		Bokolle	Wadan
		Rer Mudun ..	Associated with the Mudun found among the Disso Rahanwein; there is no Mudun tribe
		Geesi	Gerra, with Hawiya elements
2.	Werile	Mudove	Gerra with Hawiya elements
		Gafle	Gerra with Hawiya elements
		Tera	Galla
		Furur	Gobawein Negroid
3.	Aggiuwa	Hura	Called Asheraf, a priestly section[74]
		Waksein ..	Belong to the Ajuran Walamogi, also a priestly section
		Mabagolle ..	Probably Galla
		Niggei	Hawiya
4.	Dacktira	Min-horad ..	Galla
		Warasile ..	Rahanwein; Harien, or Helai
		Bedelamma ..	*Bon*, who act as Tunni sheiks
		Kummurto ..	Bimal of Dir confederacy

[70] Cerulli, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 483.
[71] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 54–5.
[72] See above, p. 95.
[73] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 108 ff. In fact the Tunni clan structure is more complicated, but this description is sufficiently accurate for our present purpose.
[74] See below, p. 150.

5. Goigal	Hamar ..	..	Came from Mogadishu at the time of the Muzaffar sultanate[75]
	Doile ..	..	Hawiya, with Jiddu elements
	Matangalle	..	Probably Galla, although they claim to be Gerra
	Fadido ..	..	Galla, or Wadan

The present composition of the Tunni clan shows great heterogeneity, but each major segment contains an original Tunni lineage. The Tunni tribe is thus an aggregate of groups of various origins accreted to a central Tunni framework and can be described as having a dominant clan structure. I have shown above that the clan segmentation shown in the chart does not correspond very closely with the territorial tribal distribution. Clan segments are not tribal sections, except in a few cases. It follows then that political relations, the relations between territorial tribal sections, are not generally expressed genealogically. The Tunni have been chosen to illustrate: (*a*) the disintegration of the lineage system as a principle of political action, and (*b*) that this deviation from traditional Somali social structure corresponds to heterogeneous clan composition. They are typical of the Sab, and what has been said of them might equally have been said of the Helai of Bur Hakaba.[76] There is also, of course, an ecological component underlying the more obvious historical reasons for the great intermixture of tribes and clans in the Sab region of Somalia. With the change from nomadism to pastoralism comes a corresponding change in social organization. First tribes form having a dominant clan structure, later the lineage system decays completely as the mixed-village becomes increasingly the basic social unit. External-tribal relations, as those within tribes, are between territorial aggregates and are no longer expressed genealogically.

Administration and Government

French Somaliland

The Colony is divided into " districts " directly administered by Colonial or military officers. Liaison with the nomadic tribes is maintained through native chiefs (*okal*) recognised by the Administration.[77] In each District native tribunals are held, and a *qadi* is appointed empowered to register deeds and provisionally administer inheritance and succession.[78]

The governmental hierarchy consists of a Governor assisted by a Private Council of four members: Procurator, Supreme Commandant, Director of the Bank, and the President of the Chamber of Commerce. In the Governor's absence his office is assumed by a Chief Colonial Administrator with the functions of Inspector of Administrative Affairs.[79] A Representative Council composed of two sections, one containing French officials and the elected representatives of the French Colonial population, and a second of Somali, Afar, and Arab representatives, meets twice annually in camera. The combined French and native college elects a Deputy to the National Assembly. The Representative Council appoints a representative to the Council of the French Republic and to the Assembly of the French Union. Its duties are concerned with voting the budget, taxes, statutes of concessions, works, loans, and changes in the administration. A Permanent Commission of four Frenchmen and four natives meets each month.[80]

[75] See below, p. 140.
[76] See Lewis, MS. " Social organization of the Somali," pp. 252–63.
[77] Deschamps, 1948, p. 66; The most permanent Districts are: Jibuti, Tadjura, Obock, Ali-Sabieh, and Dikhil.
[78] Deschamps, 1948, p. 63.
[79] Ibid., p. 61.
[80] Ibid., p. 62.

British Somaliland

The Protectorate is divided into six Districts: Hargeisa (the Government capital), Burao, Erigavo, Boramo/Zeila, Las Anod, and Berbera. Each of these is in the charge of a District Commissioner, assisted by an Assistant District Commissioner, and a number of Government recognised chiefs (*okil*) charged with explaining administrative policy, keeping order among the tribes which they represent, and generally maintaining liaison between the native population and the Government. In the principal townships, Town Committees advise and assist the District Commissioner.

A Protectorate Advisory Council, presided over by the Commissioner for Native Affairs, and including representatives of all sections of the community, held its first meeting in 1947. The Council meets bi-annually and is the principal organ of general liaison between the Government and people.[81] Its main object is to stimulate Somali interest in the administration of their country and in the collection and expenditure of public funds.[82] In effect, it constitutes a very potent means of instigating economic and social progress in the general development of the country.

Ethiopian Somaliland is administered on a system similar to that in the British Protectorate, but no detailed accounts of Abyssinian administration seem to be available.

The Italian Trusteeship

It is impossible here to do justice to the very detailed accounts of Italian Administration contained in the Reports to the United Nations,[83] from which the following summary is drawn.

Local Administration

Each of the six Commissariats—Mijerteinia, Mudugh, Shebelle, Benadir, Upper-Juba, and Lower-Juba—into which Somalia is divided, is directed by a Commissioner and various Residents charged with the political, economic, and social administration of the indigenous population. These officials are appointed by the head of the Italian Administration, the Administrator. The liaison between the Somali and the Residents is effected through local tribal chiefs recognized by the Government. Each Resident is aided by a Residency Council of chiefs, elders, prominent local personalities, and local leaders of political parties. The Council is renewed each year and holds at least 15 sessions in the course of its term of office. (At present there are 28 Residency Councils for the Trust Territories.) Its duties are concerned mainly with agriculture, stock-breeding, transhumance, public works, taxes and public instruction.[84]

The towns are at present directed by Residents assisted by Municipal Councils of from 6 to 12 members appointed almost entirely by the Residency Councils. The advice tendered by the Municipal Council is followed in all important matters. The number of Municipal Administrators is 35; and the number of Councillors 266, of whom 233 are Somali, 23 Arab, 9 Italian, and 2 Indian or Pakistani.[85] The Administration aims at replacing the Municipal Councils by Public Officers of State, elected by direct suffrage.[86]

Central Administration[87]

The Trust Territory is governed by an Administrator appointed by the President of the Italian Republic. He is assisted by an important consultative body, the

[81] See the reports of proceedings recorded in *War Somali Sidihi*.
[82] Colonial Report, 1949, p. 35.
[83] See the U.N. Reports, 1950, 51, 52.
[84] U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 38–40.
[85] Ibid., pp. 40–1.
[86] Ibid., p. 41.
[87] For full details see the Report cit., pp. 31–42 and appendices.

Territorial Council, competent in all affairs except external political policy and national defence. The Council participates in the preparation of the Budget. It represents the mass of the population, political parties, economic interests, cultural affairs, and minority interests.

The Territorial Council's composition is[88]:

1. Regional Representatives.—Each Residency Council[89] elects in camera a delegate for every 10,000 inhabitants, to the Regional Assembly of the Commissariat, which in turn appoints candidates to the Territorial Council. The distribution of seats by Commissariat takes the form: Benadir, four seats; Shebelle, four seats; Lower-Juba, two seats; Upper-Juba, five seats; Mudugh, three seats; and Mijerteinia, three seats. Two candidates from the Commissariat Assembly are proposed for each available seat on the Territorial Council.

2. Political Parties.—Parties with at least five active sections in the interior nominate two candidates for each seat available to them according to their strength.

3. Economic Delegates.—The four seats for Somalis are filled by candidates (two per seat) nominated by the Municipal Councils of Merca, Kismayu, Villabruzzi, Galcaio, Bender Kassim, Margherita, Belet-Wen, the "Association des Salariés," and the Syndicate of Autochthonous Personnel. The three seats for Italians are filled by candidates from the Mogadishu Chamber of Commerce, and the Arab seat by candidates from the Arab communities of Mogadishu and Kismayu.

4. Cultural Representative.—Designated by the Cultural and Social Institute of Mogadishu.

5. Representatives of Minority Communities.—Designated by those concerned.

THE TERRITORIAL COUNCIL.[90]

	1953	
	Number	%
1. Territorial delegates	21	41
2. Political parties	18	35·8
3. Economic delegates	8	15·6
4. Cultural delegates	1	1·9
5. Italian community	1	1·9
6. Arab community	1	1·9
7. Indo-Pakistani	1	1·9
Total	51	100·0%
Somalis	44	86·2%

In 1952 the Council held three sessions of 76 meetings in which all legislative measures prepared by the Administration were examined and discussed. No Administrative decision is taken without prior notice being given to the Council whose

[88] Ibid., p. 34.
[89] See above.
[90] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 35.

principal suggestions have always been taken into account.[91] In 1953 two permanent commissions were appointed by the Council, one to deal with economic and financial matters, the other with social and political affairs, their function being to examine new legislation and submit preliminary reports to the Council. The Assembly elects two vice-Presidents to undertake the direction of debates, and is presided over by the Administrator, head of the Trust Territory. It is hoped that by 1954 the Territorial Council will be composed almost equally of delegates from the urban centres and from the different ethnic groups according to an electoral system with two categories founded on the traditional system of appointing chiefs.[92] It is interesting to note that in the new 1953 assembly, 40 of the 44 Somali Councillors were members of political parties, whereas in 1951 there were only 19 out of 28.

Political Parties

There were in 1952 not less than 15 officially recognized parties, although the most active number only seven. Those which the Italian Report designates "moderate-progressive," which advocate a gradual development of the country by the progressive replacement of traditional institutions, are: Hisbia Digil Mirifle, the Somali Progressive League, the African Somali Union, the Somali National Union, the Somali National League constituted in 1952, the Somali Democratic League, and The Bimal Patriotic Union. On the other hand, the League of Young Somalis represents a desire for rapid and radical change and the abolition of traditional institutions. The membership of the moderate parties is not more than 30,000 but is sufficient to outnumber the Young Somalis League which counts 12,000 adherents.[93]

Judicial Process

All civil cases concerning autochthones and foreigners of the same category are regulated by the *qadis*, with appeal to the *qadis'* tribunal, and finally to the Administrator. Where the jural relations concerned are founded on Italian Civil Law, the competence passes to Italian judges. If a contract has been made according to the Shariah but the parties nevertheless wish to take the matter before an Italian judge they are at liberty to do so.

Criminal law is administered by the *qadis*, the Regional Commissioners, or the Court of Assizes according to the gravity of the offence with appeal to the *qadis'* tribunal, the Judge of Somalia, and the Court of Assizes.[94] The judgments pronounced by the *qadis'* tribunal may be referred to the Administrator; those of the Judge of Somalia and the appeal Court of Assizes may be brought before the Court of Cassation.

Disputes between tribal segments and units of the total segmentary tribal society are judged by Regional Tribunals, whose decisions may be referred to the Administrator. This tribunal, composed of the Regional Commissioner and two assessors, one Italian and one native, is concerned with the arbitration of tribal controversies according to Somali traditional norms.[95] Since 1953 the presidency of the Regional Tribunals has been transferred to the regional judges who had already assumed much of the Commissioners' jural responsibilities.

The "*qadis'* tribunal" consists in civil cases of three *qadis*; in criminal cases of the Regional Commissioner and two *qadis* or two notables whose names appear on the official lists approved by the Administrator.[96] On the Assize Court and the Appeal Court of Assizes sit a magistrate as president, and four assessors, two Italian

[91] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 35.
[92] Ibid., p. 38.
[93] Ibid., p. 43.
[94] Ibid., p. 44.
[95] Cf. Cerulli, 1923, pp. 32–6.
[96] U.N. Report, 1952, p. 44.

and two native. *Qadis* are nominated by the Administrator, after examination before a special commission. In the future, a system is to be introduced in which jural procedure is rigorously divorced from the Administration, so that full independence in the administration of justice may be achieved.[1]

Slavery

The question of slavery among the Somali is particularly difficult to elucidate because of the lack of a clear-cut distinction in much of the literature between the outcaste *sab* and slaves proper. This confusion is very understandable, for both classes have many points in common. Nevertheless they are quite distinct, as Cerulli[2] has shown in his very able discussion of the position of *sab* and slaves among the Mijertein. The differences, which we shall discuss, follow from the basic nature of the relationship which each holds with noble free-born Somali. The lowcaste *sab*[3] are a ritually impure group of people segregated from Somali by general prohibitions of commensalism and miscegenation and subject to definite limitations in jural procedure. Although they own no territory and only live as clients in the land of their tribes of adoption, they are nonetheless distinct communities with their own customs and nexus of social relations quite independent of Somali. They have their own *qadis*.[4] Their status resembles that of slaves only in their direct relations with noble Somali,[5] to whom they may be attached in tutelage as clients. As clients they are dependent upon their patrons in all their relations within the noble Somali social order and necessarily occupy an inferior position. But they are paid for their work and are not their master's property as slaves are; they can leave one master for another as they choose. Adoption (*sab*) implies a voluntary contract; ownership (*slaves*) entails absolute rights of possession. The master has rights of life and death over his slaves and can sell them at will since they are part of his patrimony. Slaves are rarely killed by reason of their high price.[6] The slave has no rights of inheritance and any income gained by him passes to his master.[7] He may receive a wage and be given capital to act as his master's agent, and in this capacity may be sent even as far as India.[8] Marriage between slaves is considered as binding as that between freeborn Somali and is sanctioned by a nuptial ceremony performed before a Somali *qadi*, but the masters' consent is required. When two slaves of the same master marry, the only marriage prestation is *meher*,[9] consisting usually of clothes, and this is paid by the master. When a marriage takes place between the slaves of different masters, the bride-price is paid by the man's master to the master of the woman's father, and male issue belong to the husband's master.[10] Slaves can marry lowcaste *sab*; a *sab* woman who marries a slave retains her *sab* status but the children are slaves. A slave woman marrying a *sab* remains a slave, but the children are *sab*.[10A] Marriage between slaves and freeborn Somali is impossible although free unions are permissible. The children of a slave and her master are free and are provided for by the master

[1] U.N. Report, 1952, pp. 45, 47.

[2] 1919, pp. 24–37.

[3] See above, pp. 51 ff.

[4] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 36.

[5] This point is not clearly understood by Cerulli, who writes (p. 25) that *sab* are concerned in public law, and slaves in private law; but the difference cannot be expressed in these terms.

[6] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 26.

[7] Among agriculturists, however, slaves are given portions of land to cultivate for themselves (Cucinotta, 1921, p. 497).

[8] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 27; Ferrandi, 1903, pp. 111–2.

[9] See below, p. 136.

[10] Among the Marehan the issue belongs to the woman's master (Cerulli loc. cit.).

[10A] Ibid.

through the slave mother.[11] The children of an illicit union between a free-born Somali and a slave woman have free status only if recognised by the father,[12] as in the case of a union between a Somali and a *sab* woman (see p. 52 above). Cerulli has no information on the status of the issue of a free-born woman and a slave father. Since the slave is part of his master's patrimony, he is protected against injury, and his life is insured by the payment of blood-price, in amount less than that required for a free-born Somali.[13] Homicide among slaves of the same master is regulated by the master who apportions a penalty. The homicide of a slave committed by a *sab* incurs the prosecution of blood-feud by the slave's master and cannot be settled by compensation-payment.[14] If a slave kills a *sab*, however, his master must compensate the bereaved family. If a free-born Somali kills another man's slave the resultant blood-feud may be avoided by payment of the requisite compensation to the injured master.[15] In any case in which blood-feud may result from the action of a slave, his master may prefer to deliver up the culprit to the wronged party rather than pay compensation.[16] If a *sab* client is killed, the murderer is required to pay compensation to the patron; unattached *sab* have no such redress against the actions of noble Somali.[17] This is the real distinction between *sab* and slave; the first can be independent and unattached, though he frequently is not, the slave never; he exists only as part of his master's property. Theft committed by slaves is punished by talion; when an outsider is robbed, the master pays the appropriate damages.[18] A slave may acquire his freedom by manumission without any elaborate ceremony; the freedman (*horyel*), although quite distinct from *sab*, cannot participate in the tribal assembly. Freedmen are distinguished from unattached *sab*, with whom they share the right to move from family to family at will, by being covered by blood-price. Like *sab*, however, they cannot marry free Somali, nor can they ride horses or carry spears. They do not marry slaves. Freedmen usually stay on in their old master's home continuing their customary work in their new status.[19] According to Ferrandi's testimony,[20] slaves were generally well treated and usually regarded as members of the family, so that manumission does not necessarily confer particular benefits. Indeed, if a master dies or falls into poverty, his freed slaves are often without support and hard put to it to make a livelihood in their old surroundings. Among the Mijertein, manumission can also be granted by the Sultan, in which case full rights to nobility and equality with noble Somali are acquired.[21] It follows that elevation from the status of slave to freedman gives rise to a kind of domestic serfdom which is not legally binding, since the freedman cannot be sold by his patron and is free, like the *sab* client, to remain or leave as he pleases.

The relations between noble Somali and *sab*, attached or unattached, are paralleled in a system of alliances found between Negroid groups along the rivers and in the hinterland between them, and surrounding Somali tribes.[22] Such are the Helai of Baidoa, the Tunni Torre and the Gobawein, federated in inferior status to the Helai of Hakaba, the Tunni of Brava, and the Gasar Gudda[23] respectively. Similar unions

[11] Galla slaves among the Marehan who bore their masters sons were freed. This, as Cerulli suggests, is perhaps related to the close similarity of Galla and Somali as compared with Bantu (Cerulli, 2, 1918, p. 873).
[12] Cerulli, 1919, p. 28.
[13] Ibid.; cf. Cerulli, 2, 1918, p. 874, for the Marehan.
[14] Cerulli, 1919, p. 29.
[15] Cf. Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 21.
[16] Cf. Cerulli, 2, 1918, p. 875.
[17] Cerulli, 1919, p. 29.
[18] Ibid.; Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 29.
[19] Cerulli, 1919, p. 30.
[20] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 111.
[21] Cerulli, loc. cit.
[22] See Lewis, MS., pp. 299–301; Colucci, 1924, pp. 145, 146; also see above p. 41.
[23] See Ferrandi, op. cit., *passim*; Lewis, MS., pp. 272–99.

noted by Cerulli, [24] are the Shidle federated to the Somali Mobilen, the Shebelle to the Ajuran, and the Dube under the political suzerainty of the Somali Karanle. The relations of these pairs (Negroid/Somali) are analogous to those between *sab* and noble Somali and are to be distinguished from domestic slavery. In contrast to the *sab* outcaste groups of the north, these Negroid dependencies are apparently land-owning units devoted to cultivation. The reason seems to be that among the nomads, who are evenly distributed as land-owning tribes, there is no land left for the *sab* who do not in any case cultivate ; whereas in the riverine areas of the south, aboriginal Negroid communities have been left cultivating often in their original territory, for the noble Somali has traditionally no interest in cultivation and despises those who practise it.

Slavery of the kind described above must be distinguished from external slavery and the slave-trade proper. All forms of slavery ceased officially to exist from the point of view of the Administering Powers (France, Britain, and Italy) following the Brussels Conference of 1890. Slavery was not, however, abolished in the adjacent islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, where it was particularly rife and connected with Somaliland until 1897.[25] In 1903,[26] the slave-trade was prohibited in Somalia and " domestic slavery " was legalized. This term was applied to slaves permanently attached to families and thus slavery was legalized in the coastal towns (where there were large numbers of slaves, although many seem to have been freed)[27] and among the Somali generally. The external slave-trade was suppressed, apparently effectively, while the internal *status quo* was justified on the grounds that any interference in the system would undermine indigenous society.[28] There was also the question of the great financial burden which would be imposed on the Administration were all slaves to be purchased from their masters, a burden which, quite naturally, the Italian government was not disposed to shoulder.[29] Drake-Brockman[30] and Sylvia Pankhurst[31] have attempted to exonerate the northern Somali from the charge of owning slaves, arguing that nomadic stock-herders cannot possibly need slaves for economic reasons. This assertion, as we have seen, is completely erroneous and founded on a misunderstanding of the function of slavery and ignorance of the nomadic economy and division of labour. There is absolutely no doubt that nomadism, the outcaste *sab*, and slavery of the kind we have described coexisted among the Somali.[32] Many of the slaves employed by the Somali seem to have been of Bantu origin. Cerulli[33] wrote in 1919 that Swahili were captured by Arab traders along the East African coast and brought by ship to northern Somaliland (in this case Mijerteinia) where they were sold to Somali.[34] Later, as freedmen, some of these made their way south to the agricultural Bantu groups along the rivers,[35] and indeed there seems to have been a constant drift in this direction. Grottanelli[36] has recently shown that the WaZegua, one of the largest groups of the WaGosha Bantu of the Juba, have come from Tanganyika, where they were captured by Arab slave-traders in the 18th and 19th centuries, embarked at Dar-es-Salaam, and sold into captivity

[24] Cerulli, 1934, p. 3 ; 16, 1931, p. 311.
[25] Pankhurst, 1950, p. 81.
[26] Ibid., p. 75 ; Cerulli, 1919, p. 25.
[27] Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 72, says that the slave population of Mogadishu was between ten and twelve thousand.
[28] Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 81 ; Cerulli, op. cit., p. 25.
[29] Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 75.
[30] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 137.
[31] Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 78 ; cf. Paulitschke, 1880, p. 36.
[32] Cf. Colucci, 1924, p. 74, note 1 ; Cucinotta, 1921, pp. 493–502.
[33] Op. cit., p. 26.
[34] Galla Boran were also captured and sold as slaves of the Somali, see Cerulli, 2, 1918, p. 872 ; Guillain, 1856, III, p. 28 ; also, Rahanwein slaves were largely imported from Zanzibar.
[35] Cerulli, 1934, p. 3 ; Corni, 1937–38, p. 360.
[36] 1953, pp. 249–60.

in the coastal towns of Brava, Merca and Mogadishu. Shortly afterwards they "escaped" from their Somali masters and made their way to the Juba where they are at present.[37] There has thus been a constant traffic in Bantu slaves brought from East Africa and sold to Somali, and at the same time there has been a drift of freedmen south to the rivers to join the Bantu cultivating communities there.[38]

The export slave trade which, according to Ferrandi,[39] was conducted by coastal merchants stationed at important points on the interior caravan routes such as Lugh, consisted of the traffic in Galla prisoners taken by the Somali, and children, especially girls, bought by Somali tribes directly from their parents. As is well known, slave markets flourished before the abolition of slavery in all the coastal trade ports; Tadjura, Zeila,[40] Mogadishu, etc. Slaves made their way to the coast attached to caravans carrying ivory and other trade goods, usually in small groups of about half a dozen to each caravan, and apparently endured no excessive hardships on the journey.[41] It sometimes happened that the traders secured women by contracting marriages, or youths by promising to act as their guardians; when the caravan reached the markets the unfortunate victims would be sold into slavery.[42]

The Position of Women

While many people,[43] influenced by the patriarchal character of Somali society, have drawn the obvious inference that women are of little account, more careful observers assure us that beneath the agnatic façade, they are quite as influential as men. Drake-Brockman writes,[44] "In the *rer* a clever woman will frequently rule the roost, and her husband will seldom dare to scold her. I have more than once heard a Somali woman severely reprimand her husband, who has slunk away in a most shamefaced sort of way to escape her bitter remarks. No Somali will admit this, but it is none the less a fact." It would probably be true to say that the Somali woman has low rank but may have considerable standing. She appears in segmentary relations as a dependant with rights only through the agnatic group to which she is attached by marriage or birth.

Women cannot take part in the tribal or section assembly of the elders; a woman cannot obtain redress in the case of insult or injury except through the intervention of the agnatic group to which she belongs by birth or marriage; blood-compensation is much lower for a woman than for a man, while under the *patria potestas* a woman cannot own substantial property[45] or marry without her father's consent.[46] Although, according to the Mohammedan Shafi'ite law, women do not inherit equally with their brothers, among the Mijertein they are said to share equally in the patrimony.[47] Associated with a woman's subordinate structural position are the following customary practices.[48] Neither the birth of a daughter nor the death of a woman is an occasion for ceremonial. A husband has the right to enforce his authority by striking his wife with his horse-whip, and this is an essential gesture before the consummation of marriage.

[37] It seems therefore that the Italian suppression of slavery was in this instance more effective than Sylvia Pankhurst's statements (op. cit., pp. 77–82) would allow.
[38] Cf. Colucci, 1924, pp. 255 ff.
[39] 1903, p. 111.
[40] Burton, 1894, I, p. 15; Deschamps, 1948, p. 42; Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 210.
[41] Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 113.
[42] Ibid., p. 114.
[43] de Villeneuve, 1937, *passim*; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 190, 201.
[44] Op. cit., p. 147.
[45] They do, however, own the hut and small furnishings as well as a few livestock.
[46] Cerulli, 1919, p. 21; Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 224, however, writes that the father has not the power to marry his daughter against her wishes.
[47] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 224, denies this.
[48] In contrast to some Mohammedan countries, Somali women do not wear the veil.

When the *rer* is on the move the women carry the family property on their backs, while their husbands ride on horses if they have them. Women are permitted to eat those portions of slaughtered animals which noble Somali consider impure (*haram*)[49] and in this, as in other respects, resemble the outcaste *sab*. "Woman is a poor thing. She understands nothing."[50]

In a sense women are outside the agnatic lineage structure of Somali society. When they appear in social relations involving segmentary groups they do so as clients attached to agnatic units, never directly or *sui juris*.

[49] See above, p. 53.

[50] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 21. For the Somali attitude towards women see Cerulli's text "The different kinds of women," *J.A.S.*, XX, pp. 47–9.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Mental Characteristics

The Somali are intelligent, sophisticated, subtle,[1] inordinately proud and extremely individualistic.[2] Colonel Swayne, one of those best qualified to speak, from his long experience of Somali in the interior, writes : " The Somali has a many-sided character. He is generally a good camelman, a cheerful camp-follower, a trustworthy, loyal, and attentive soldier ; proud of the confidence reposed in him, quick to learn new things, and wonderfully bright and intelligent . . . he can be disrespectful, mutinous and sulky . . . He is inordinately vain, and will walk off into the jungle and make his way home to the coast, leaving two months' back pay and rations behind him, if he considers his lordly dignity insulted. . . . From laughter to rage is the transition of a second."[3]

The individualistic character of the Somali comes out clearly in the following impression gained by Drake-Brockman.[4] On the first contact of this writer with a Somali caravan, a Baganda who was with him said : " Somalis, Bwana, they no good : each man his own sultan." This character trait, of course, accords with the nature of Somali political authority,[5] in which there is no real hierarchy of chiefly offices, and every man is to a considerable extent his own master within the limits of the agnatic lineage system which is the real political organizing principle. With such an organization, in which the individual's loyalty is submerged in the agnatic segment to which he belongs, and towards which he has rights and obligations, the Somali tribesman has, of course, no sense of public responsibility, and does not feel it his duty to betray criminals and hand them over to justice, because of the tribal loyalties which bind them to him. It is, however, quite useless to attempt to instil ideas of responsibility, which correspond to an urban civilization, into a tribal people simply by telling them that they must cultivate a due sense of responsibility.[6] Such ideas do not grow on bushes, they arise in a particular type of social organization.

Again, it will be no surprise to learn that the warlike character of the Somali has excited the immediate notice of all observers,[7] for we have been forced to include the concept of a fighting-unit as one of the most salient characteristics in our definition of tribe.[8] Side by side with the nomad's cult of the warrior goes an extremely well-developed and rich oral folk-literature[9] ; the success of the Mahdi Mohammed Abdulla is to be in part ascribed to his great reputation as a poet, for he is still regarded as one of the greatest of all Somali poets and orators.

Physical Characteristics

Puccioni[10] classes the Somali with the Ethiopic peoples[10A] who have the following

[1] See, for instance, the very illuminating letters written by Somali to the journal, *War Somali Sidihi*.

[2] Deschamps, 1948, p. 36.

[3] Quoted and corroborated by Drake-Brockman, op. cit., pp. 90–1.

[4] Ibid., p. 102.

[5] See above, pp. 96 ff.

[6] See, for instance, the Governor, Sir G. Reece's, address to the Somaliland Protectorate Advisory Council, November, 1952.

[7] Burton, 1894, *passim* ; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., *passim* ; Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., *passim* ; Deschamps, 1948, *passim*, etc.

[8] See above, p. 104.

[9] See, for instance, Duchenet, 1936 ; Cerulli, 1, 1918 ; 4, 1920–21, and other collections of texts cited in the bibliography ; also Laurence, 1954.

[10] 1937, pp. 60–2.

[10A] They are more usually known as eastern Hamites (Seligman) or Kamites (Sergi).

main physical characteristics: general tendency to fairly high stature,[11] notable development of the lower limbs, shortish arms, thorax not very well developed, back narrow, cranium long, narrow, and fairly high (dolicho-hypsicephalic),[12] curly hair, complexion varying from fairly intense pigmentation to very dark.

Facial characteristics are entirely unlike those of the Negro and constitute the most characteristic physical trait of the Ethiopic (Hamitic) group. The face is narrow, fairly sharp, often oval (leptoproscopic). The nose is well-defined, long and thin, and often leptorrhine. Prognathous faces are rare, the lips are rarely very thick, although fleshy, and are never evertile.

Within the Ethiopic group, the Somali belong to the eastern division, and show very few Negroid characteristics as compared with the western division, which is quite notably Negroid. As a result of his very extensive examination of Somali physical types,[13] Puccioni considers that the southern Sab confederacies show a higher degree of Negroid influence, corresponding to their part Negroid origin.[14] This is, of course, consistent with the history of racial and tribal movements in Somaliland, but probably requires independent investigation and particularly a thorough examination of blood-group distribution in Somaliland.[14A]

Dress and Ornaments

There is evidence that the Somali formerly wore clothing made of skins and Puccioni, in 1924, observed that they were still sometimes worn by the Ogaden.[15] Now cotton cloth is generally used, and is obtained from abroad or from local looms, of which those of the Benadir coast are famed for their fine quality and splendid colours.[16] The dress of both men and women, which closely resembles the Roman toga, is called in Somali *maro* and is commonly known also by its Arabic mane *tob*.[17] Men may wear a white or coloured loincloth and a half *maro* covering their shoulders, or the full garment. This requires two widths of cloth about three yards long stitched together. Drake-Brockman,[18] describes the way in which it is worn as follows: " Standing erect, one corner of the sheet is taken and thrown over the left shoulder, so that behind the corner reaches as far down as the waist; then as it hangs straight down in front, it is passed round under the wearer's right arm, then across his back and over the left shoulder, underneath the free end which is already lying there, and then round the body again over both shoulders, with its upper corner terminating over the left shoulder and being brought forward and tucked in under the front piece; the arms are then both under the last roll of the ' tob ' and can be raised at will together with the outer layer of the ' tob ' without exposing the person underneath." The usual colours are white and grey,[19] although cloths are frequently dyed shades of red or ochre yellow.[20] When the wearer wishes to use his arms he uncovers the top part of his body and winds the surplus material round his waist. When carrying a sword (*bilawi*,[21] *jembia*[22]), strapped to the waist by a leather belt, the *maro* is worn as an ample folded skirt, hanging just below the waist.[23] Another

[11] Seligman, 1939, p. 123, gives the average height as 68 in.; Leroi-Gouran, 1953, p. 428, gives 66·6 in.
[12] Seligman, gives C.I., 75, lower than the Galla.
[13] 1931–36, Vols. I and III.
[14] See above, pp. 45 ff.
[14A] An intensive study of Somali blood groups by Dr. K. Goldsmith is awaiting publication.
[15] Puccioni, 1, 1936, p. 46; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 120.
[16] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 44.
[17] Ibid.; Deschamps, op. cit., p. 26; Drake-Brockman, loc. cit., etc.
[18] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 121.
[19] Deschamps, loc. cit.
[20] Drake-Brockman, loc. cit.; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 45.
[21] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 121; Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 74 ff.
[22] Deschamps, op. cit., p. 26.
[23] Drake-Brockman, loc. cit.

cloak may be thrown over the shoulder. Often the material used for the toga is impregnated with butter as a protection against damp and cold.[24]

The Somali woman's costume consists of a piece of cloth from 10 to 15 yards long, two-thirds of which is shaped into a skirt, held at the waist by a wide belt. The rest is tightly draped over the upper part of the body and fastened over one shoulder, leaving the other free.[25] According to Puccioni,[26] the mode of wearing the toga in the south is the same as that described by Drake-Brockman for the north. In trans-Juba rich women wear red garments as a sign of pregnancy, and in other regions similar garments are worn by women in their menses. Coloured jackets and stockings are reserved for the adherents of female *tariqa* orders or the wives of sheiks.[27]

Although the Somali frequently go barefoot, sandals made by the Yibir from hippopotamus, giraffe, and camel hide are worn by both sexes ; women's have thicker soles.[28] They consist simply of a sole, and a slight leather mounting sufficient to hold the sandal on. In the rains, similarly constructed sabots with wooden platforms are used.[29] Children, especially among the nomads, go naked until they are about six or seven years old, when they are given shirts, often gaily coloured. Girls, however, from about the age of eight or ten, wear exactly the same clothes as adult women.[30]

Ornaments are popular, and rich people favour Arab jewellery, usually manufactured in the coastal towns. Necklaces, which are worn by both sexes, seem almost always to be worn by men as amulets rather than ornaments. They are made of pearls, leather, amber beads, silver, and cowries—the last is probably the most common type.[31] Amulets are often made of shells. A favourite type of amulet consists of a small leather pouch containing a fragment of paper bearing some verses from the Koran ; this may be worn round the neck or as a bracelet. The Mohammedan rosary (*tusbah*) is worn round the neck by the devout, and its 99 beads, signifying the many praise-names of Allah, are often of wood.[32] Inside the toga, women sometimes wear a belt with a pendant to preserve their fecundity from evil influence.[33] Bracelets are worn round the wrist, at the elbow, and, by women, round the ankle also. The commonest are of zinc, although rich women possess finely wrought bracelets of silver. Ivory bracelets are worn by warriors as a sign of prowess in battle.[34]

Hair-dressing

Most of the time the Somali goes bare-headed, covering himself, when necessary, with his cloak. Sheiks usually wear a cylindrical beret made of woven vegetable-fibre net.[35] Before children are circumcised or infibulated, their hair is often cut into " fantastic " patterns.[36] Later it is allowed to grow naturally until, in the case of a girl, it is long enough to be plaited into the tresses indicative of her eligibility for marriage.[37] After marriage, usually following the birth of the first child, the mother changes this coiffure. The hair is parted down the middle of the head and gathered

[24] Deschamps, loc. cit.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 46.
[27] Ibid., p. 47.
[28] Ibid., pp. 48 ff.
[29] Ibid., pp. 48–9 ; cf. Ferrand, 1903, p. 202, who describes such wooden sandals as being worn in particularly sandy districts.
[30] Ibid., p. 47 ; Deschamps, op. cit., p. 26.
[31] Puccioni, op. cit., pp. 49–51 ; Ferrandi, 1903, p. 201, describes the manufacture of metal ornaments by slaves.
[32] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 50.
[33] Ibid., p. 51.
[34] Ibid., pp. 51–2 ; 1937, p. 90.
[35] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 48.
[36] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 140 ; Puccioni, loc. cit.
[37] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 141 ; Deschamps, 1948, p. 26 ; Puccioni, loc. cit.

into two buns, one behind each ear, and is held in place by a net, covered usually with a grey or blue coloured veil.[38] Somali warriors are particularly proud of their hair and devote much care and attention to it, especially when courting. The ideal style is a " free mop," and is achieved by shaving the head completely, anointing it with ghee, and allowing the hair to grow in close natural curls. When the new crop reaches a length of about an inch, it requires extensive and elaborate combing each day, until the hair grows straight. When the desired mop is attained, the hair has to be shampooed with mud or clay, or lime, if bleaching is desired, about once a week. When it has set, this dressing is left on the head for a day and a night, after which it is scraped off, leaving the hair shining and free from vermin. The head is shaved again in the hot summer months.[39] According to Puccioni,[40] the southern Somali, particularly the Hawiya and Rahanwein tribes, allow the hair to grow long, and for this reason use the head-rest found in the south.[41] Although the hair is well cared for and frequently anointed with butter, this is hardly necessary, as it is usual to wipe the hands on the hair after eating. Wooden combs decorated with carving are used by both sexes and are worn as ornaments in the hair.[42] Ostrich feathers are worn in the hair by warriors to denote a successful killing.[43] In the north, after his second killing, the warrior wears an iron bracelet on his left arm. At the fifth, he is given new clothes by his tribe, and henceforth wears an ivory bracelet above his right elbow.[44]

Weapons

Most of the weapons used by the Somali are made by smiths belonging to the outcaste groups of Tumal, etc.[45] The necessary metal is obtained from the markets and worked in a simply equipped workshop. The tools available are limited to pincers, tongs, hammer and anvil, as often made of stone as of metal. The furnace fire is fanned by a double-bellows worked by a small boy.[46]

The most widely used weapon is the knife (*bilawi*), actually a dagger, which is always carried and used in war, in hunting, and for daily domestic purposes. The blade is long, double-edged but asymmetrical, ending in a tang which is fixed into a shaft of ivory, horn or wood. The knife rests in a leather scabbard, and is worn attached to the belt on the right side, and wielded with the right hand.[47] Next in importance is the spear (*waran*), which a man always carries with him whenever he leaves his encampment or village. In addition to a spear, the herdsman sometimes carries a small thin stick, such as is used by children when they watch the sheep and goats, especially in the north. Throwing weapons are the small club, and the javelin (*ebo*) ; the sling, which is now only used to drive birds and monkeys from the fields, was probably formerly used in war.[48]

The bow is used only by the Rahanwein and Digil (Sab) and the outcaste Yibir, Midgan, and Tumal (*sab*).[49] It is simple in construction, although there are several

[38] Puccioni, loc. cit.

[39] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 140 ; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 47 ; Ferrandi, 1903, p. 222, writes that hair is cropped short except when journeying, since nomads consider it affords protection against the sun.

[40] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 47 ; 1937, p. 89.

[41] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 47. Ferrand, 1903, p. 193, states that the northern nomads let their hair grow long after circumcision and never cut it again.

[42] Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 140.

[43] Ferrand, 1903, p. 202.

[44] Deschamps, 1948, p. 34.

[45] See above, p. 51.

[46] Puccioni, 1937, p. 92 ; Wickham, MS., " Smith class in Gurreh District."

[47] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 93 ; cf. Puccioni, I, 1936, pp. 74–87.

[48] Puccioni, 1937, pp. 93–4 ; cf. Walker, MS. cit., p. 21.

[49] Cf. the exceptional case of the Dubeis section of the Warsangeli, above, p. 21.

varieties with different degrees of curvature.[1] The arrow is about half the length of the bow and has a barbed point. The flight consists of four feathers set radially in the shaft with strong glue. The quiver (*gaboyo*) is a wooden cylinder open at both ends and provided with leather caps; it is slung over the left shoulder, with the mouth pointing upwards just below the armpit. The points of arrows are usually dipped in an alkaloidal extract (*wabayo*), obtained by digesting powdered roots of *Acocanthera Wabayo Poiss* with boiling water.[2] The toxicity of this preparation has been much disputed; the tests made in Italy on the sample brought back from the Stefanini-Paoli mission to Somalia indicate that its toxic action resembles that of similar digitalis compounds. The defence-weapon is the shield (*gashian*) worn whenever the spear is carried. It is round and smaller than those used by the Ethiopian peoples, though like them it has a boss in the centre. The most highly prized are made of rhinoceros hide, but many are made of giraffe or oryx skin. Often of fine workmanship and very attractive, they are made exclusively by the outcaste *sab*.

Life-cycle

Birth

On the birth of a male child a sheep is sacrificed, and the baby's head is anointed with the blood.[3] This sacrifice (*walcal*)[4] is not made for girls.[5] Abnormal births are killed, either buried in the interior or thrown into the sea along the coast. Premature birth does not provoke any special customs, provided the child is healthy. Twins are considered lucky.[5A] The mother is in a state of ritual impurity for 40 days following the delivery, and the husband does not live with her during this period.[6] The woman may not go outside the hut during this period; violation of the prohibition is thought to endanger the child's life. The umbilical cord is bound at its ends with hairs from a camel's tail, and the beast is given to the child. According to Cerulli, the child may not leave the maternal hut until a year has elapsed, when the mother's brother comes to perform the *kalaqad* ceremony. This is a *rite de passage* in which the infant is carried over the threshold by the maternal uncle, and the taboo which keeps him in the hut is broken, the jinn of the threshold having been overcome. In the case of a girl *kalaqad* is performed by the mother's sister.[6A] By the time the child is a year old, if it is the first-born boy, it will have been blessed by the Yibir[7] and given a charm, in return for which the father will have paid the Yibir his recognised fee (*sabanyo*).[8]

Circumcision

Among the Mijertein boys are circumcised in their seventh year; the ceremony is not a collective rite and appears to have no connection with age-sets.[9] In the north, however, and in trans-Juba, circumcision seems to be associated with initiation into an age-grade organization,[10] but this is a point requiring more study. In the case of the Mijertein, the chief significance of circumcision seems to be to set a limit on marriage, since the uncircumcised boy, being *haram* (ritually impure) cannot

[1] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 94; 1931–36, p. 79.
[2] Puccioni, 1936, p. 84; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 214; Neuville, 1916, pp. 369–86.
[3] Cerulli, 1919, p. 23.
[4] *Wakalol*, according to Cucinotta, p. 444.
[5] Cerulli, 1919, p. 22.
[5A] Ibid., p. 21.
[6] Ibid., p. 23.
[6A] Ibid., p. 24.
[7] See above, p. 53.
[8] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 33, cf. above, p. 54.
[9] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 24.
[10] See above, pp. 105–6.

contract marriage. Circumcision (*gudou*) is, according to Cucinotta,[11] celebrated by a feast and is usually performed by a Midgan away from the hut and out of sight of women. Women should not be allowed to pass by while the operation is in progress.

Infibulation

Villeneuve in her study, " Les femmes cousues," divides the sequence of operations which Somali women undergo into three stages.[12] (1) Excision of the clitoris and infibulation of the vulva before puberty ; (2) the opening made by the husband for intercourse at marriage ; and (3) subsequent openings for delivery of the child, after each of which the vulva is again partially closed. The initial operation takes place between the ages of six and eight[13] at a small family ceremony within the hut to which the girl's mother invites female relatives and neighbours, men being rigorously excluded. The ceremony is in no sense a communal rite, and usually only one child is initiated, although sometimes two sisters may be operated on together. The whole operation—excision of the clitoris and infibulation of the vulva—takes about 20 minutes, and is performed at dawn by a Midgan woman.[14] Infibulation, like circumcision, is a mark of adulthood and eligibility for marriage[15] ; even prostitutes are infibulated.[16]

Marriage (Aros)

As soon as the first menstruation begins, a girl's hair-style is changed by her mother from that of a child to the maiden's plaited coiffure.[17] Everyone then knows that she is eligible for marriage, and soon a suitor will present himself. Most girls marry between the ages of 12 and 15 and few are without a husband at 20.[18] When a suitor desires marriage he must obtain the consent of his own parents and those of the girl. The boy tells his father, who, if he is satisfied with the match, informs his wife, who tells the girl's mother, and both women confer.[19] If they are agreed on the proposal, the two fathers then consider the matter in the same way. The two families announce the intended match to the elders, who arrange the official consent of the girl's father, or *wali*,[20] and communicate it formally to the suitor's father. This is given in a conventional formula of the pattern : Suitor : " Do you give me your daughter ? " Girl's father or *wali* : " I give her to you."[21]

The engagement and marriage are ratified by a series of prestations. The first of these is called *gabbati*[22] among the Mijertein and consists of a spear, shield, horse, and *tusbah*,[23] or their equivalent, given by the suitor to his betrothed's brother. This transaction effects the betrothal of the parties. The girl's family are charged to look after her and present her to the husband as a virgin should the marriage be concluded. There is, however, no obligation that marriage should necessarily follow from betrothal, for this is subject to a satisfactory settlement of the bride-price. The man forfeits the *gabbati* if he breaks off the engagement, and the amount paid is

[11] Cucinotta, loc. cit.
[12] de Villeneuve, 1937, pp. 15–32.
[13] Female excision is sometimes performed at birth or at the age of two to three years (Leroi-Gourhan, 1953, p. 432).
[14] See above, p. 53 ; de Villeneuve gives a graphic description of the operation as performed by an old woman (*gedda*), and does not say that she is Midgan.
[15] Cerulli, 1919, p. 24.
[16] de Villeneuve, 1937, p. 15.
[17] de Villeneuve, op. cit., p. 20.
[18] Ibid. ; Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 445.
[19] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 100.
[20] The *wali* is the titular head of the family and may be uncle or elder brother if the genitor is dead.
[21] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 68.
[22] Cf. Marehan marriage (Cerulli, 2, 1918, p. 857). These are all objects of prestige rather than subsistence value.
[23] The Islamic rosary of 99 beads.

redeemable only if the fiancée breaks her pledge by dancing with other men, or is found on marriage to have been deflowered.[24] *Yarad* is the real bride-price,[25] which is paid to the fiancée's father or the head of her family, and may be accepted on the same day as *gabbati*. The amount may be paid in money or kind, and formerly was paid in slaves.[26] Cerulli cites an example in which a girl wounded a man by throwing a stone at him, and when the case was brought before the *qadi*, he decided that the girl's father could choose between paying the requisite compensation for assault, and giving his daughter in marriage to the plaintiff without receiving *gabbati* or *yarad*.[27] According to Cerulli these two prestations constitute the indigenous marriage transactions, to which Islam added an additional gift, *meher*, made by the groom to the girl's guardian in the presence of a *qadi*.[28] *Meher* acts as a deterrent to divorce at the husband's instigation, for it will be forfeited unless he has grounds for separation recognized by the Shariah. Some few days before the marriage is celebrated, the betrothed is led by companions to a separate hut where she abandons her maiden's clothes and ornaments. In the meantime the future husband makes gifts of coffee and butter to his betrothed, to her mother, and to his own mother, as a contribution to the preparations for the wedding feast. The day following the girl's withdrawal into her hut, the man and his friends, the village headman, and the *wadad* (or *qadi*) who will celebrate the marriage, hold a feast.[29] The *wadad* sends two men to the girl to ask if she is content with the proposed match. Having received the answer "Yes," the *wadad* announces that the marriage has taken place and recites several suras from the Koran.[30] The following day the husband is led on horseback by his companions some distance outside the village, and then brought back to the entrance to the marital hut. His bride is then similarly led outside the village by her companions, and brought back to the hut. After having been washed and clothed in fresh garments, she enters and the couple are left alone and the marriage is consummated.[31] Before he takes possession of the girl, the husband's mother or sister makes sure that she is a virgin.[32] When the man enters the marriage hut[33] to consummate the union, he is supposed to assert his authority by beating his partner with a horse-whip before opening the infibulation.[34] The woman receives a present, *tusbah* among the Mijertein,[35] from her spouse as the price of defibulation. This is left by the husband under the head-rest when he leaves the hut on the morning after the consummation. When the women of the man's section have inspected the wife and ascertained that defibulation has been effected, the bride takes the *tusbah* which her husband has left for her. For seven days after union the wife may not leave the marriage hut.[36] The husband is subject to no such restriction, and should appear the next day, carrying his sword over his shoulder to signify that he has taken possession of his wife.[37]

[24] Cerulli, 1919, pp. 69–70; in the latter case, the wronged husband digs a hole in the ground in front of the marriage hut, which he leaves, howling imprecations at his wife's family (Burton, 1894, p. 85; Ferrand, 1903, p. 188).

[25] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 70; cf. Cerulli, 2, 1918, p. 975, for Marehan; Deschamps, 1948, p. 31; Rayne, 3, 1921, p. 23. Cucinotta, 1921, p. 446, and Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 220, seem to consider *meher* the bride-price proper.

[26] Cerulli, 1919, p. 71.

[27] Ibid., p. 70.

[28] Ibid., p. 68.

[29] Puccioni, 1936, p. 100.

[30] Ibid.; Cucinotta, 1921, p. 449.

[31] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 101.

[32] de Villeneuve, 1937, p. 20; Ferrand, 1903, p. 188.

[33] In French Somaliland a sheep is sacrificed on the threshold before the man enters the marriage hut (Leroi-Gourhan, 1953, p. 433).

[34] de Villeneuve, op. cit., p. 21; Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 450.

[35] Cerulli, 1919, p. 74; Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 451, calls this *mingal, mavo furay*, "the loosening of the clothes."

[36] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 75; de Villeneuve, loc. cit.

[37] de Villeneuve, loc. cit.

In Cerulli's account of the Mijertein, the marriage is solemnized by the *qadi* or *wadad* before the wedding feast.[38] The formula pronounced by the *qadi* is similar to that described above, and includes a formal statement of the desire for union by both parties, and an explicit acknowledgement by the husband of his acceptance of the jural responsibilities of marriage.[39] This then receives Islamic sanction by the reading of the Koran. Only one witness to the ceremony is required,[40] who acts as an arbitrator should difficulties arise between the spouses.[41] The wedding feast provided by the husband is attended by representatives of all the tribes of the Harti family, of which the Mijertein confederacy is a sub-division.[42] This emphasizes the exogamous nature of the tribe.[43] Their collective presence at the feast represents their common loyalties ; the differences of the participating tribes are emphasized in the singing of satirical songs, in which the singer praises his own tribe and ridicules others. Then follows dancing, in which the same principles of unity in opposition are demonstrated. The dance, in which the two tribes directly concerned in the marriage confront each other, symbolizes their inherent hostility and present union.[44] There is thus in both accounts a flavour of marriage by capture and fighting. In the first case, in the custom of leading the two spouses separately on horseback outside the village, and in the second in the wedding festivities.[45] In addition to this, there are many instances of the bride being obtained by capture from a foreign tribe or section.[46] According to Cucinotta[47] marriage by capture is especially common among the nomadic tribes. Cerulli[48] suggests that the occurrence of ceremonies symbolizing capture indicates a former state in which this was the usual form of marriage ; Colucci,[49] interpreting Gerra marriage customs, goes further and postulates a primitive state of group marriage for which he purports to find evidence in kinship terminology. From our definition of the tribe as essentially a group unified in hostility towards other groups of the same structural order, with hostility as the prevailing state between tribes, it follows that marriage would often necessarily be by capture,[50] but the evidence on the whole does not suggest that at any time this was the only form of marriage.

At the wedding feast which we have described, a collection is taken for the married couple.[51] Ferrand describes the shaving of the husband before the marriage feast,[52] when he sits with a basin between his knees, into which his friends and wedding guests throw money.[53] Ferrand further points out that in the bush, at least among the Esa, instead of being shaved, the husband's head is anointed with butter, and the *qadi*'s religious ceremonial is replaced by the recitation of a few words from the Koran by a *wadad*[54] of the tribe.

This degree of elaboration in marriage ceremonies holds only for the marriage of the first wife ; secondary marriages are effected and celebrated more simply.[55] While

[38] Cf. Leroi-Gourhan, loc. cit.
[39] Cf. Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 144.
[40] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 72 ; Robecchi-Bricchetti (1889, p. 221) says two, in accordance with Islamic procedure.
[41] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 73.
[42] See above, p. 20.
[43] See above, p. 111.
[44] Cf. Cerulli, op. cit., pp. 73–4.
[45] Cf. Leroi-Gourhan, 1953, p. 433 ; see also above, p. 112.
[46] See above, p. 112.
[47] Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 452 ; cf. Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 221.
[48] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 74.
[49] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 37–9.
[50] See above, p. 112.
[51] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 73.
[52] Ferrand, op. cit., p. 186. Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 449.
[53] Ferrand, op. cit., p. 187.
[54] Ritual expert, see below, p. 154.
[55] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 101.

a Somali may possess four wives at the same time, few husbands can afford to keep more than one, and polygamy is mainly restricted to wealthy chiefs and townspeople.[56] The considerable expense, for the husband, of providing the sequence of prestations constituting bride-price, is mitigated by the return of part of the *yarad* in the form of a gift (*dibad*) made to the bride by her father.[57] I have discussed above the levirate and sororate,[58] and the marriage prohibitions regarding the outcaste *sab*.[59]

Divorce

In divorce, which is frequent,[60] the custody of the children is divided between the parents according to sex. Boys remain with the father, girls go with the mother.[61] Robecchi-Bricchetti's description is not so simple as this.[62] The mother has the custody of her sons until they are about six years old, her daughters stay with her until they marry. These rights are lost as soon as the divorced woman remarries.[63] Cerulli[64] distinguishes voluntary from compulsory divorce. In the first case, the husband decides to renounce his wife and pronounces the requisite formulæ in accordance with Islamic Shafi'ite law. Only the man can voluntarily break the marriage bond, the woman cannot procure a divorce unless her husband is willing, and cannot in any case participate directly in jural procedure.[65] In voluntary divorce, the *yarad* and *gabbati*[66] are retained by the wife's family, and the amount of *meher* agreed to is given to the woman. The husband cannot obtain a separation while his wife is pregnant, and a divorced woman cannot remarry until three months have passed from the time of the divorce, in case she should be pregnant.[67] If the husband has recognized grounds for disposing of an unsatisfactory partner, her family will be held responsible for making good the loss, either by giving another daughter in her place or by repaying the bride-price.[68] Adultery committed by the wife does not always lead to divorce,[69] but if a man can prove his wife's adultery and takes the matter before the *qadi* or elders, a divorce may be granted and compensation paid to the husband (see above p. 109).

In compulsory divorce, the husband is obliged by the *qadi* to pronounce the divorce formulæ. This happens when the man fails to complete the payment of bride-price or when the husband is physically incapable of fulfilling his conjugal duties.[70] Compulsory divorce thus provides a means of effecting a separation against the husband's intentions.[71] Although a woman cannot renounce her husband, she can indirectly bring into action sanctions which force her husband to divorce her.

Death and Burial

Somali funeral rites are almost entirely Mohammedan in character[72] and present the following main features: mourning by the bereaved family; washing the corpse

[56] Burton, op. cit., p. 86; Cucinotta, op. cit., p. 448; Ferrand, op. cit., p. 190.
[57] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 76.
[58] See above, p. 110.
[59] See above, p. 52.
[60] Ferrand, op. cit., p. 189; Burton, op. cit., p. 86.
[61] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 102.
[62] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., pp. 223–4.
[63] Cf. Drake-Brockman, loc. cit.
[64] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 82.
[65] Cerulli, loc. cit.
[66] Bride-price, see above.
[67] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 83; Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 223; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 146.
[68] Ferrand, loc. cit.
[69] According to Drake-Brockman, in spite of the ease with which a Somali can divorce his wife he is very reluctant to do so unless she has been unfaithful.
[70] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 83.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Puccioni, 2, 1936, p. 104; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 162; Ferrand, op. cit., p. 199.

shortly after death ; bearing the corpse to the grave on a simple litter, and prompt burial. As soon as the dying man stops breathing, he is turned over on to his right side with his face towards Mecca, while his bereaved kin and friends recite prayers.[73] The body is laid out on the bed and wrapped in a shroud which is bound above his head, at the waist, and at the feet. Incense-burners are lit under the bed. While the grave-diggers are at work, the funeral feast is conducted by the *wadad* and food is sent to those at work on the grave. If the dead man was wealthy, another feast is held after the burial, which should take place on the day of death. Again, on the seventh day, another feast in which the grave-diggers participate is conducted by the *wadad*.[74]

The grave consists of a trench dug in an east-west direction to fit the dimensions of the corpse. In the north side of the trench a small niche or crypt is cut to the height of the corpse's shoulder-span. When the cortège has arrived at the grave, prayers are recited, and on their completion, the corpse is gently lowered into the grave by two men. The body is laid on its right side, the head to the east and the face turned to the north towards Mecca.[75] It is covered with a cloak, and the bindings of the shroud are cut by the two grave-diggers, who also place earth and lumps of clay under the body to keep it in position in the grave. The crypt in which the body rests is then closed with pieces of wood or stone in such a way that no earth touches the body.[76] All present take part in the final closing of the grave, filling in the trench with earth. At this stage women, in the north at least, pour water over the grave.[77] When the deceased is a man, two tombstones are set up, one at the head and the other at the feet ; if a woman has been interred a third stone is placed between them.[78] The grave thus has the appearance of a tumulus surrounded by a circle of stones and marked at each end by upright slabs.[79] In sandy desert or where stones are lacking, the grave is covered with brush-wood and branches and presents a much less tidy appearance.[80] Apparently, where stones are available, the number of those placed on the grave indicates the number of men killed by the dead man and the number of his wives.[81] If father and son die at the same time they are usually interred side by side in the same grave. Often plants and shrubs, such as myrrh, are found growing beside tombs especially those of saints or important ancestors.[82]

Mourning is restricted to the widow who alone bears the external marks of sadness[83] and is obliged to stay at home for four months. She exchanges her coloured headcloth for one of white, and may not use butter unguents ; neither can she attend dances during this period of purification, which must elapse before she can remarry.[84] If her husband died in battle, the widow's head is shaved before she dons the white headcloth. We are not told of the mourning procedure followed by a man for his dead wife.[85]

[73] The mourners rub ashes on their bodies. For a full description of burial customs see Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 257–62.

[74] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 105.

[75] See illustrations in Ferrandi, 1903, p. 261.

[76] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 163 ; Puccioni, p. 105.

[77] Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 162.

[78] Ibid., p. 163 ; Puccioni, op. cit., p. 105.

[79] See the illustrations in Drake-Brockman, loc. cit. ; Cerulli, 16, 1931 ; Ferrandi, 1903.

[80] Puccioni, loc. cit. ; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 165 ; Cerulli, loc. cit.

[81] Deschamps, 1948, p. 32 ; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., pp. 164, 172.

[82] Puccioni, op. cit., p. 106 ; Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 173.

[83] According to Drake-Brockman, op. cit., p. 174, " The wives of the deceased frequently plant trees opposite their huts, and almost invariably at the death of their husband destroy all their old hans (water containers) and plates and throw them on the grave."

[84] Puccioni, loc. cit.

[85] Ferrand (op. cit., p. 201) writes picturesquely, " the death of a woman does not cause grief or regret ; she dies as she was born, unhappily and without welcome."

RELIGION

Islam in Somaliland

Historical Introduction[1]

The Somali follow the Sunni Shafi'ite rite of Islam.[2] It is important to remember that, up to the 16th century, the word " Somali " referred to the " Somali " group of tribes, i.e., the Dir, Darod and Hawiya, and associated confederacies, and not to the " Sab " group of confederacies, which only came into being after the dispersal of the Galla by the expanding northern Somali in the 16th century.

There can be little doubt that, in the north at least, Islamic influence was felt very soon after the Hejira ; Ibn Hawqal records that in the 9th century, Christians and Mohammedans lived peacefully together on the Zeila coast, and Ferrand[3] considers that Islam only became important at this time. Many centuries of trade relations with Arabia began with the establishment of commercial colonies along the coast by the Himmyarite kingdom and these eventually developed into the two small states of Zeila or Adal in the north and Mogadishu in the south, where local dynasties of Somalized Arabs or Arabized Somali ruled.[4] The kingdom of Zeila, centre of the Adal Sultanate, is mentioned under this name first by Al-Yaqubi, then in the second half of the 10th century references occur in al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, and al-Muqaddasi. Later descriptions come from Ibn Said, Maqrizi, and Abu'l-Fida.[5] The Adal Sultanate with its capital Zeila thus appears to date from the 9th or 10th century and its history from its origins is the chronicle of a series of wars with Abyssinia.[6] Dependent on trade with southern Abyssinia, Zeila flourished in the 14th century but began to decline after Mohammed Grañ's celebrated campaign against Christian Abyssinia in the 16th century. The other southern Muslim state, centred round the town of Mogadishu, was founded with Brava in the 10th century.[7] As an Arab trading colony comprising a federation of settled Arab tribes Mogadishu flourished from the beginning of the 10th century until half-way through the 13th, with a short period of prosperity in the 14th century and then declined fairly rapidly under pressure from the nomads of the interior, and the influence of external colonization.[8] Other coastal ports were also important in the introduction and spread of Islam : Berbera is described by Yaqut,[9] Merca by al-Idrisi[10] and by Ibn Said, who calls it the capital of the Hawiya, and, as we have seen, Brava, known to the Arabs in the 10th century and described later by al-Idrisi. These trade ports were known to the classical world long before Arabian colonization, and Islamic merchants and traders did no more than re-establish or develop trading centres whose origins lie far back in antiquity.[11] Zeila became a dependency of the Sherifs of Moka in the middle of the 17th century, and its participation in the extension of Islam ceased to be solely an internal movement, but was combined with influence from Arabia. The same fate befell the Sultanate of Moga-

[1] Somali history before the advent of Islam is sketched by Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 15–30.
[2] Trimingham (1952, p. 232) is more cautious and says that this holds with few exceptions, none of which are instanced by him.
[3] Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 217–18.
[4] Cerulli, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, pp. 483–8.
[5] Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 28–42 ; Trimingham, op. cit., p. 62.
[6] For an outline of these in relation to Somali history, see Lewis, MS., pp. 307–13 ; Trimingham, *passim*.
[7] Corni, 1937–38, p. 50 ; Trimingham dates the foundation of Mogadishu between 900 and 950 ; Rassetti (quoted in Caniglia, p. 13) gives the date of foundation as 925–932 ; Guillain, 1856, pp. 524, 908.
[8] Cerulli, 9, 1926, pp. 1–24 ; 11, 1927, pp. 393–410 ; 8, 1924, pp. 281–2.
[9] Ferrand, op. cit., p. 35.
[10] Cerulli, 19, 1935, pp. 335–43 ; Trimingham, op. cit., p. 62.
[11] See Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 24–6.

dishu, which became a dependency of Arabia in the 17th century, and the history of the development of Mohammedanism becomes the record of external influence from the seats of Islam. In 1870 Egypt occupied the Somali coast from Zeila to Cape Guardafui during the expansion of Egyptian dominion which took place under Ismail Pasha.[12] The governor of Zeila, Mohammed Abu Bakr, who had been appointed at the instigation of France,[13] was given the title of Bey and, on the annexation of Harar in 1875, for which he was largely responsible, received the title of Pasha. Harar's existence as an independent petty state was then finally concluded, and the ephemeral Egyptian occupation had considerable influence on the spread of Islam, especially among the Galla of Harar, who through the reunion of Zeila and Harar were brought into closer touch with Islam.[14] Faced with this threat from Egypt, the Emperor John had been occupied in consolidating Abyssinia and, after a series of battles in which the Egyptians were defeated, Abyssinia was left in a stronger and more consolidated position than before. After Egypt had abandoned her conquests on the East African coast at the time of the revolt in the Sudan, the way lay open to Western colonization, and the boundaries of the British Somaliland Protectorate were established by agreement with Italy in 1894, and with Ethiopia in 1897. France and Britain had already in 1888 settled the boundary between their dominions. In 1908 Italy gained part of the Juba basin by treaty with Ethiopia, and in 1920 the province of Jubaland and the port of Kismayu were ceded to her by Great Britain.[15]

The Sufi Dervish Orders

The most important Islamic Dervish Orders (*tariqa*) in Somaliland are the Qadiriyyah, Ahmediyyah, Salihiyyah, and Rifaiyyah. The Qadiriyyah is the oldest Dervish Order of Islam and is found all over the Mohammedan world. Its founder, 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani the "most famous Islamic Saint," lived from 1077–1166 and was renowned for his piety and his services to the cause of Islam. He is recognised as the protector of the caravan.[16] The centre of the Order in the north is Harar, where it was introduced in the 15th century by Sherif Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd Allah al-'Aydarus, who died in Aden in 1503.[17] In the south the principal strongholds of the Qadiriyyah are Brava and Mogadishu, and from these the Order has spread widely owing to its reputation for teaching orthodox Islam.[18] In the south, it does not seem to have penetrated into the interior until 1819, when Sheik Ibrahim Hasan Jebro founded the settlement on the Juba which grew into the town of Bardera.[19] Owing to its distribution, the followers of the Order form congregations (*jama'a*) rather than the agricultural *tariqa* settlements which are more characteristic of the other Orders. The Qadiriyyah do not have a proper Khalifate upon which all the congregations are dependent, or a centralized administration and unified discipline. Instead they form groups under various sheiks and have no real ties with the mother-church in Iraq, where the founder is buried. With its concentration on teaching and doctrine the Qadiriyyah inducts its followers into a higher grade of Mohammedan knowledge and the Order has produced a considerable body of mystical literature.[20]

The other Orders stem from the teaching and example of Sayyid Ahmed ibn Idris al-Fasi (1760–1832), to whose celebrated school at Mecca their founders belonged.

[12] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 120; Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 49–51.

[13] France had become involved through the assassination of her consul at Aden on the Somali coast. An expiatory expedition was sent and Abu Bakr appointed governor of Zeila.

[14] Trimingham, loc. cit.

[15] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 133.

[16] Ferrandi, 1903, p. 240.

[17] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 234.

[18] Cerulli, 7, 1923, p. 17.

[19] Guillain, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 35–40; Trimingham, op. cit., p. 241; Colucci, 1924, p. 81, holds that Bardera was founded by Jebro's successor, Sheik Ali Kurre of the Lisan tribe.

[20] See Cerulli, op. cit., pp. 1–36.

Charged with the desire to win as many converts as possible, they sought to increase their strength and influence at the expense of the standard of Islamic knowledge imparted.[21] The Order which bears the founder's name, the Ahmediyyah, was introduced into Somaliland mainly through the efforts of Sheik Ali Maye Durogba of Merca.[22] Another of ibn Idris's pupils, Ibrahim ar-Rashid, who claimed to propagate the true Ahmediyyah, founded the Rashidiyyah ; but he is really important only through his pupil, Mohammed ibn Salih, who, in 1887, formed the Salihiyyah with its seat in Mecca. In Somaliland the main figure was Sheik Mohammed Guled, of servile origin, who founded a congregation called Mecca among the Shidle of the Shebelle river.[23] Salihiyyah *jama'a* are scattered as collective farms along the banks of the two rivers and in the fertile land between them. The Order also has congregations in northern Somaliland.[24] The Salihiyyah is more compactly organized than the Qadiriyyah and more closely bound to the mother-church at Mecca.[25] Cerulli characterizes the Order in Somaliland as not particularly given to fanaticism, and its level of Islamic instruction as being inferior to that of the Qadiriyyah.[26] To this Order belonged the celebrated Haagi Mohammed Abdullah,[27] who had joined it on one of his several visits to Mecca. He assumed the title of Mahdi and in 1899 proclaimed the *jihad* (holy war) against all infidels ; he announced his intention of ruling the interior of northern Somaliland and leaving the coast in the hands of the foreign invaders, as he regarded the British Colonizers. He built up a strong military force recruited from nomad tribesmen. He received no support from the other Orders, and was regarded even by the Salihiyyah[28] as an imposter who was attempting to establish his dominion under the cloak of religion.

In spite of combined military operations waged against him by British, Abyssinian, and Italian forces in an extremely costly series of campaigns, he remained at large until 1920, when he died of an illness from which he had long been suffering. The effect of his rebellion in uprooting and disorganizing the northern Somali tribes, many of which were almost completely impoverished in the struggle, set a task of stabilization which occupied the Protectorate Powers for many years. The Mahdi's revolt is to be viewed in the context of the " anti-Western ferment which was running through African Islam during the last quarter of the nineteenth century,"[29] and may be compared with the revolt of the Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed against Turko-Egyptian rule in the eastern Sudan. It would be difficult to estimate the influence of the rising on the spread of Islam, for although the Mahdi Mohammed Abdullah represented himself as being charged with the duty of spreading Islam and driving the infidels from his country, this claim was not accepted by the head of the Salihiyyah order of which he professed himself an adherent.

The Rifaiyyah sect is found among Arabs who have settled in Somaliland but is not widely distributed or very important ; its main centres are Mogadishu and Merca. Some of the earlier writers have mentioned Sanusiyyah groups in Somaliland, but this seems to have been an error initiated by Révoil and propagated by Paulitschke.[30]

The Ahmediyyah was introduced into southern Somalia in the last quarter of

[21] They achieve perhaps their most developed form in the Sanusiyyah, who are not found in Somaliland.
[22] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 14 ; Trimingham, op. cit., p. 242.
[23] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 15 ; Trimingham, op. cit., p. 243.
[24] See map, in Corni, 1938, p. 313.
[25] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 18.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Popularly and quite erroneously styled " The Mad Mullah." For an outline of the Mahdi's rebellion see Lewis, MS., pp. 323–9, and bibliography.
[28] Mohammed Salih himself sent a letter from Mecca excommunicating the Mahdi from the Salihiyyah.
[29] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 133.
[30] Paulitschke, 1897, p. 72 ; Ferrand, 1903, pp. 228–31 ; Trimingham, op. cit., p. 234 ; Colucci, 1924, p. 80.

the 19th century but may have entered British Somaliland earlier than this. The Order has fewer adherents than its two rivals and devotes itself more exclusively to teaching than does the Salihiyyah ; its congregations, like those of the Salihiyyah, are mostly found in the agricultural settlements along the Shebelle and in the arable land between the rivers. Its former centralized organization has broken down into several Khalifates. As Cerulli[31] says, " The Ahmediyyah and the Salihiyyah quickly saw the advantages of settling on the rich riverine soil and, with the termination of tribal strife consequent upon Italian Administration, coupled with the fact that most of the important figures in the Orders were slaves or freedmen of agricultural background, the way lay open for the rapid development of agricultural settlements."

Congregations began to be established, especially in the Shebelle valley, and ownership of the land was defined by clearing the bush with little opposition from the nomadic tribesmen who despise cultivation and avoid the proximity of the river for fear of the tsetse fly. Usually, however, grants of land were made by the established land-owning tribe, of which the incipient congregation became the client. Often land was obtained as a result of mediating in inter-tribal strife ; when a piece of ground was disputed by several tribes, an astute congregation leader would propose that the best solution would be to surrender the land to God's servants and dedicate it to His use.[32] In this way chains of farms were established among nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes and served to demarcate boundaries among them. Many settlements accordingly hold an interstitial position on the ground, and this is paralleled by the place held by congregations in the social structure.

Tariqa and Jama'a

Jama'a, the smaller bodies of believers and followers of a particular *tariqa*, are scattered through the country, each with its own sheik, and centred round the mosque or tomb of the founder of that particular branch (*jama'a*) of the Order. *Tariqa* means " path," in the sense of the way to be followed in the quest for righteousness and the Way to God ; those who have travelled furthest on the Path, through virtue and the practice of devotion, are nearest to Him. The founder of the *tariqa*, because of his holy life, is believed to be closer to God, and to be able to teach the True Way and to guide others to it. Because of his particular qualities of devotion and his special virtues he acts as an intermediary between his disciples and God. The founder's *baraka* (grace) passes to his pupils who follow in his path and assume their teacher's virtue in devotion to his example. Each *tariqa* is characterized by its specific discipline which its founder has established as the True Path. It is a feature of the spiritual distance which separates the Somali from the founders of their Orders, that the local proselytizer or congregation-head should steal much of the veneration due to the original founder of the rite. This again is related to the Somali's pride of race and national consciousness, and the general lack of communication with the main channels of Islam which obtains through much of the country, especially in the remoter parts of the interior where Islam is still little more than a veneer on the surface of Cushitic belief and custom. The authority of each Khalifa (head of the congregations of a particular Order in a district) is linked to the Prophet through the founder of the Order by a chain of tradition which has two branches: the *silsilat al-baraka*, the chain of benediction or revelation of grace, establishes the continuity of mystical gnosis through the genealogy of sheiks which unfolds from Mohammed through the founder of the Order and descends upon the initiate when he is admitted to participation in the rites *silsilat al-wird* ; the practice of these rites maintains this flow of revelation, and establishes the followers of each Order in mystical relation with its founder and, through his teaching, with the Prophet and God. This

[31] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 26.
[32] See the examples given by Cerulli, op. cit., p. 27 .

constitutes the charter and title to office of each Khalifa, and in some of the Orders, is recited in the services.

At initiation[33] the *tariqa* is administered to the novice by the head of the congregation in a formal ceremony, usually accompanied by a recital of the service (*dhikr*) pertaining to the Order, and followed by a feast. Initiation, which Trimingham[34] calls the covenant (*'ahd*), is described as follows: "Before the assemblage of affiliates the khalifa holds the novice by the hand under his cloak, and, repeating the formula after him sentence by sentence, the novice swears to perform the duties incumbent upon a good Muslim, to accept the khalifa as his spiritual leader and guide by the *baraka* of Sheik so-and-so, the founder of the Order. The khalifa in accepting him as a novice assures him of the protection of the Prophet and of the founder, then he leads him aside and repeats in his ears in a low voice the sacramental formula *la ilaha ill'allah* (there is no god but Allah) three times, and adjures him to repeat it 100 times after each of the ritual prayers together with the phrase *astaghfir Allah* (I ask God's forgiveness)." Such "prayer-tasks," called variously *awrad*, *ahzab*, and *rawatib*, consist of short formulæ, litanies or prayers, composed by the founder and other important sheiks of the Order. At initiation the novice is given a skin prayer-mat (*sijjada*) which he carries over his shoulder, a bark-fibre vessel containing water for ablution, and the *tusbah*, a rosary symbolizing the many attributes of Allah, which he fingers as he recites his prayers.[35] After initiation the novice is styled *murid*[36] (aspirant) and most initiates never pass beyond this stage. The next is *qutub* which requires a certain degree of mystical perfection above the ordinary. As the Path is traversed each step becomes more difficult, and the next stage, *al-wasil*, signifies mystical union with God (gnosis) after long striving and corresponds to induction to chieftaincy within the fraternity. This is the extent of the Path, which a sheik might be expected to have travelled. The final and most difficult stage is *maddad*, and to this grade belong the founders of Orders.[37]

Women are often affiliated to congregations and participate in the ritual of the Order. They are called *abbaya*[38] and consider themselves related through the founder of the Order to the Prophet's daughter, Fatimah, their patron and the first *abbaya*, in praise of whom they sing improvised verses (*nabo-amman*). Within the Salihiyyah women adherents are distinguished by their modest dress; according to Ferrandi,[39] they are clothed in white and the face is covered. They are permitted to marry.

There are always many people, not initiates of the Order, who attend the public ceremonies, though they are ignorant of their mystical and esoteric content. They regard the founder as a saint, and respect the adherents of the Order, often calling upon them to act as mediators in disputes or as ritual experts (*wadad*). The public ceremonies open to non-initiates are few and differ little among the three main *tariqas*. The basic differences of ritual and symbolism are understood only by the brethren of the Order. Outwardly the specific features distinctive of the different *tariqa* are few: Salihiyyah affiliates shave their heads completely and abstain from tobacco and coffee. The Qadiriyyah make light of these prohibitions and say that they testify to the servile origin of the Salihiyyah.[40]

The congregations (*jama'a*), unlike those in other Muslim countries, make little contribution to the general Islamic education of the Somali. They are training centres for Mohammedan holy men (*wadad*) who wander from camp to camp through

[33] Admission is *ijiaza*, initiation *werd*, Colucci, op. cit., p. 80.
[34] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 237; cf. Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 423.
[35] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 423.
[36] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 19; Colucci, op. cit., p. 80, however, gives *akwan*, brothers.
[37] Note the divergence of these Somali grades of gnosis from those of Islamic Sufism generally.
[38] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 20.
[39] Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 217.
[40] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 20.

the bush, stopping now and then to set up a school where some rudimentary Koranic instruction is imparted to the children of the *rer*.[41] Education does not reach a very high standard, judged by external criteria, and children will be lucky if they acquire the ability to recite prayers and verses from the Koran by heart and perhaps to read a little Arabic. The coastal regions naturally reach a higher level of Mohammedan learning. The *jama'a* are primarily centres of mystical devotion and have produced a small but inspired body of religious literature.

The Internal Organization of the jama'a Settlement

The land which the congregation has acquired, by attachment as client to a host tribe, is held by the *jama'a* as a whole and divided among the brethren by the head of the community. The initiates clear the bush and each is allotted a portion of land, but obtains thereby no inalienable rights in the land or its produce; any building constructed by a member reverts to the community in the event of his withdrawal from the settlement, and no indemnity is paid. Sometimes a member who leaves the group may with great difficulty obtain some of the harvest which he has planted and tended. The fields are worked collectively on a system which the Abgal call rotation.[42] The ground is divided up into portions, and each day all the labour of the community is concentrated in one field so that the harvest in each man's portion is the result of the collective labour of the group.[43] About a tenth of the harvest (the actual amount depends upon the success of the crops) is set aside by the chief for the funds of the *tariqa*. The *tariqa*'s resources are augmented by conventional gifts made to it by the host tribe of which it is the client, and also by payments for ritual or religious services performed. Liabilities consist in aid to the poor, the provision of food and resources for pilgrims making the journey to Mecca, and additional expenses for propaganda and payments incurred through membership of the tribe to which they are attached and with whom, in principle at least, they stand jointly responsible in tribal relations.[44]

Saints

The local founders of congregations and *tariqa* farms often receive at death the title of saint, and the veneration accorded to them develops into a cult which eclipses the devotion due to the true founder of the Order and the Prophet. Their tombs become shrines maintained by a small body of adherents, usually of the saint's family, to whom his *baraka* has passed. Followers of the Order and neighbouring tribesmen make a pilgrimage to the tomb each year on the anniversary of the saint's death and also to offer sacrifice as occasion demands. The dates of important events in his life are similarly celebrated. Important Somali saints, however, are not always associated with a particular congregation, or even a specific Order, but are often objects of general veneration within the religion of the people. The traditions which surround them often reflect rivalries and conflicts of long standing between the different Orders and settlements. Saints, by their devotion, piety, and religious power, and through the continuity of the Path they represented in their lives, continue even after death to provide a link between their followers and God. They are felt to be spiritually present around the sites of their tombs and to visit other places where their presence has been manifested in dreams. The continuity of influence and power vested in the shrines of saints and inherent in their cult accords well with the pre-Islamic content of Somali religion, much of which is concerned with sacrifice to, and maintenance of relations with, the important dead, organized on the lineage

[41] See Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 181, and the illustration, p. 425.
[42] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 28.
[43] Cf. the collective labour organization characteristic of the Sab, p. 76 above.
[44] Cerulli, loc. cit.; according to Wright (1943, p. 75) some of this money is sent to Mecca.

principle. Tombs (*gashin*[45]) are widely distributed and many appear to be associated with pre-Islamic figures, whose cults have been syncretized in the veneration paid to Muslim saints.

Frequently the saint's descendants form a family of holy men who, "living under the shadow of their saintly ancestor, inherit his *baraka*, which they exploit to the full."[46] They remain attached to the shrine of which they are the custodians, and depend for much of their livelihood on the gifts and offerings brought by pilgrims to the tomb. Some families have developed into priestly clans. These may maintain their autonomy as a social and territorial group or may be scattered as holy men (*wadad*), proselytizers and teachers, among different tribes. Sometimes a priestly family comes to hold the office of *qadi* in the tribe or section to which it is attached.

As an example of a priestly clan we may take the Rer Sheik Mumin, whose saintly ancestor, Sheik Mumin, is buried among the Helai of Bur Hakaba.[47] Since the Rer Sheik Mumin does not appear as a lineage of the Helai clan,[48] and is referred to by Cucinotta as a religious fraternity, we seem to be concerned with what was originally a *tariqa* settlement attached to the Helai with the status of client, which with increasing prestige and power developed into an independent priestly clan. Ferrandi[49] describes them as a large family of sheiks and traders (both activities indicative of Arabian origin) with settlements at Hakaba and Mogadishu on the coast. Their influence is powerful among the Rahanwein tribes of the region and extends to Lugh, where they have a reputation for sorcery and the evil-eye, which enables them to exact tribute.[50] They profit from their ancestor's sanctity to impress ignorant people, posing as priests, but are in fact nothing but a gang of robbers frequently implicated in caravan pillage. At one time they attempted unsuccessfully to establish themselves at Bardera and oust the religious settlement there.[51] The origins of the group are obscure; Wright[52] conjectures that they are descended from immigrant Arabs; according to Ferrandi,[53] however, they are said to descend from Hawiya holy men who disgraced themselves by eating fish during a famine and ceased to be accepted by the Hawiya. With the establishment of *qadis* and the Shariah at Lugh their influence is declining. A similar dispersed group of holy men is the Au Kutub, descendants of an Arabian Au Kutub ibn Fakih Omar, said to have come from the Hijaz to settle in northern Somaliland "ten generations ago."[54] The clan bearing the title "Shakyash" (reverend) has spread from Ifat to the Ogaden. Cerulli[55] describes the Sihal as a similar clan of religious proselytizers of Arabian origin who have for long continued to emigrate into Somaliland.

The Cult of the Saint

The tombs are described by Trimingham, who writes. "The more famous of the dead saints received from their devotees well-built tombs whose whitewashed cupolas shine in the sun across the wide plains or from the summit of a mountain. Inside such a tomb is the actual grave, usually a plain cement or mud mound, sometimes more elaborately got-up. Passages from the Qur'an are inscribed on the walls

[45] Cerulli, op. cit., pp. 6, 30–2.
[46] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 248.
[47] Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 137; Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., p. 427; Cucinotta, 1921, p. 20.
[48] Colucci, op. cit., p. 131, pp. 52 ff.; Wright, note extracted from "Isha Baidoa District Book."
[49] Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 138, 242–3.
[50] Presumably they are paid tithes as a religious fraternity.
[51] Ferrandi, loc. cit.
[52] Note on Helai.
[53] Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 138; they themselves vaunt Arab descent.
[54] Burton, 1894, I, p. 193.
[55] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 23.

and on the covering of the grave. In them are other relics of the saint, his shoes and cloak perhaps, his Qur'an or book of *awrad*, also offerings which are of no use to the tomb guardians and property which has been deposited for safe keeping whilst the owner is travelling, for which a premium is paid to the saint when the property is reclaimed. These are the more famous tombs. Often all the tomb consists of is an enclosure surrounded by a simple wall of stones or mud with the grave marked by head and foot stones, and, if no convenient tree is available, with a long stick sticking out on which bits of rag from the visitor's garment are tied to keep the saint mindful of the devotee and his requests."[56] The latter part of this description is more generally characteristic of Somali shrines than the former, which is, however, true of the Mohammedan towns of the coast and of the interior. " Often cemeteries grow up around the tombs. The more famous become cult centres, whether or not the saint was connected with a *tariqa*, and pilgrimages are made to them on the anniversary of the saint's birth and death."[57] Pilgrimages to the shrines in search of aid in sickness, child-birth, etc., entail the making of a conditional vow ; if the saint fulfils his request the suppliant makes votive offerings. The sheik and priestly family in charge of the tomb direct the performance of the pilgrimage and the donation of offerings from which they receive a portion in the name of their master.

Mohammedan saints'-days unassociated with Somali indigenous figures are unpopular, especially in the interior away from the coast. Where the Qadiriyyah order is widespread some importance attaches to the *mawlid*[58] of the founder, al-Jilani.[59] In the south, Sheik Aawes and Sheik Sufi,[60] two important figures of the Order, enjoy great popularity. But the most popular of all, according to Cerulli,[61] is Au Hiltir, whose cult probably goes back to pagan origins. According to the Hawiya legend, Au Hiltir was a Rahanwein native of great piety, who died on the Juba near Lugh. Before his body could be interred there, however, it turned over and, rising in the air, began to fly towards the south-east, but at such a slow pace that his adherents could easily follow. When it reached the territory of the Geledi on the Shebelle it began to descend, but the Geledi threw stones at the flying saint and, cursing them, he turned away towards Hawiya country. On account of this rebuff, if a Geledi goes to Au Hiltir's tomb and eats the sacrifice it will poison him ; thus they say " It is for me as Au Hiltir's food." Continuing in the direction of the Hawiya, the saint descended among the Shidle, near the present congregation of Misra (a Salihiyyah centre). Here he was greeted by nobles and freedmen with honour and solemn sacrifice. In return, Au Hiltir blessed the Shidle and gave them the Webi Shebelle, which formerly had not flowed through their land. The saint's blessing made the river holy ; shortly afterwards a freedman in a state of ritual impurity went to cleanse himself in its waters. His impurity passed into the water and became the crocodile which, to punish mankind for his profaning of the holy stream, attacks all who venture into it. Au Hiltir is still invoked against the crocodile : " Oh, Au Hiltir, oh, Au Hiltir, Your water has no danger." This legend is widespread and occurs in many different versions. The Rahanwein version also relates that before the saint's coming the Shebelle did not flow between the Shidle and Geledi. Cerulli has collected other traditions to the same effect, and considers that the Shebelle must at one time have changed its course. It is believed that Au Hiltir's hatred of the Geledi and the Hawiya generally would cause him to stone worshippers who sacrificed a Hawiya in place of a Rahanwein animal. The central

[56] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 248. Cf. Burton's description of Said ad-Din's tomb at Zeila 1894, II, p. 14.
[57] Trimingham, loc. cit.
[58] *Mawlid :* birthday celebration, feast days.
[59] Cerulli, 1923, p. 30.
[60] Cf. Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 240–1.
[61] Cerulli, op. cit., pp. 30–1.

theme of this story—hostility between the people of the Shebelle and those of the Juba—may be related to the strife between the Geledi and the *jama'a* of Bardera.[62]

Another Rahawein saint is Au Mad, guardian of the harvest. He died at Bur Hakaba, but after his death flew towards the Hawiya, alighting in the present territory of the Badi-Addo, where his tomb is. When birds disturb the crops, handfuls of earth are gathered from his tomb and scattered on the fields. The Abgal venerate Sheik Ali Dagarra, and Sheik Buba " the flyer," a Mobilen native renowned for his " second sight."[63] The Ahmediyyah pilgrimage to the tomb of Ali Maye Durogba takes place on the 5th Safar, the anniversary of his death. " Thousands go . . . to his tomb at Merca from all parts of Somalia. The festival lasts fifteen days and culminates in a great *dhikr*[64] on the actual night of 5th Safar, when they form an immense circle and, to the accompaniment of singing, recite their formulæ in raucous saw-like voices, accompanied by rhythmical swaying of their bodies until daybreak. Once they have got well worked up, large numbers fall foaming to the ground in induced epileptic convulsions."[65]

Information about saints among the northern tribes is much slighter. Robecchi-Bricchetti[66] mentions the " famous tomb of Ambolbelis " among the Dolbohanta where Sheik Abu Yunis lies " who has given his name to the territory now occupied by the Ararsame family of the Dolbohanta." An annual pilgrimage is made to the shrine by neighbouring tribes and a great slaughter of cattle is followed by extensive feasting.

Jibarti ibn Ismail, eponymous ancestor of the Darod tribes, is probably the first Arabian patriarch of the Somali,[67] and his tomb, to which pilgrimages are made, is in the Hadaftimo Mountains. Sheik Ishaak ibn Ahmed, who crossed from the Hadramaut to establish the Ishaak confederacy of tribes, is buried at Mait, near Burnt Island, where his tomb is still an important shrine. According to Cruttenden,[68] the shrine is very large, and a favourite place of burial. Some of the tombstones are 350 years old. Closely associated with Ishaak is his relative Au Barkadle, who, it will be remembered,[69] was the murderer of Mohammed Hanif, ancestor of the outcaste Yibir. This saint's shrine near Dogor is the scene of an annual pilgrimage made by the Habr Awal and Aidagalla in the first month of the Somali year. Cruttenden, writing in 1849, records that Au Barkadle's tomb is " still the rendezvous when any grave question arises affecting the interests of the Edoor tribes in general." On a paper carefully preserved in the tomb and bearing the " sign manual " of Belat, " slave of one of the early Khalifas," oaths of lasting friendship are renewed and fresh alliances are made. In 1846 this relic was brought to Berbera by the Habr Gerhajis for two sections of the Habr Awal " to swear peace upon."[70] It may be noted that these saints in the north have been incorporated in the lineage structure, where they appear as the eponymous ancestors of the Somali and constitute the basis for their claim to Arabian descent ultimately from the lineage of the Prophet; in the south, on the other hand, saints do not appear to figure so directly in the lineage structure, and this is to be ascribed to the breakdown of the clan and lineage organization in this region (see above, pp. 119 ff.).

[62] See below, p. 152.
[63] Cerulli, loc. cit.; 22, 1943, p. 313.
[64] Ritual ceremony.
[65] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 242, quoting an unacknowledged Italian source. This description is very similar to that of the Cushitic pre-Islamic ceremony of the *zar*. See Cerulli, op. cit., p. 6; Leiris, *Afrique fantôme*, 1934; Thesiger, *G.J.*, 85, 1935, p. 8 and Leiris, " Le culte des Zars à Gondar," *Aethiopica*, 4, 1934, pp. 96–136. The possible syncretism of the *zar* ceremony in the *dhikr* of Somali *tariqa* is discussed in Lewis MS., pp. 406–7.
[66] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., pp. 427–8.
[67] See above, p. 18.
[68] Cruttenden, 1849, p. 64.
[69] See above, p. 55.
[70] Cruttenden, op. cit., p. 62.

In the north, as in the south, many of the saints' shrines are in the coastal towns where Islam is generally more strongly developed. But there are also old ruins of mosques scattered through the hinterland of northern Somaliland, many of which are apparently still places of pilgrimage, although we have very little information about them.

The Position of the Dervish Congregations (jama'a) in the Social Structure

Mohammedanism has so far been considered as an extraneous religion introduced into Somaliland soon after the Hejira and developed through the conscious efforts of proselytizers. But Mohammedanism also spread through the interdependence of Somaliland and Arabia in trade and commerce. Often, as we have seen, Arabian culture, one of the components of which is Islam, found carriers in groups of Arab settlers in whom the religious and secular elements of the culture were inextricably interwoven.

We now turn to examine the position of the Mohammedan congregations and settlements (*jama'a*) in the Somali social structure. It is important to note that, while congregations occur in both the north and the south, in the latter region they usually take the form of corporate settlements. This is due to the arable nature of the soil which encourages the formation of cultivating communities. I have already discussed the relation of ecological factors and historical tribal movements to the disintegration of the clan political organization in the south[1]; a similar interplay of historical and ecological factors is responsible for the predominance of *jama'a* settlements.

In what follows we shall be confronted with the structural outcome of the various processes concerned in the diffusion of Islam, and may for the moment disregard the distinction between corporate settlements and congregations. All these religious communities are distinguished by the high prestige which their adherents enjoy, and the prominent part played in tribal affairs by their leaders who sit with the tribal chiefs and elders in council. This is particularly emphasized in the history of tribal relations, where heads of Islamic communities appear as important figures to whose influence victory or defeat is ascribed. In clan genealogies, religious groups frequently appear as lineages incorporated into the clan structure of the tribe.

Names like Sheikal, Asheraf,[2] Faki, Fogi, etc., words denoting religious men or priests, indicate priestly sections when they occur in tribal genealogies.[3] Sometimes they represent the " more or less feeble links "[4] which bind the sections to their clans of adoption. When intermarriage of the client community with the adopting clan has not taken place, they denote extraneous aggregates, often of long standing, which were, originally at least, dependants of the clan into which they were admitted as clients (*arifa, shegat*) through the grant of land made to them. The rise to power of such communities presupposes an initial act of adoption attaching them to a host clan, for adoption is the only gate of entry to the Somali clan structure.[5] As an example of a priestly group which occurs as an autonomous tribal section, we may take the Sheikal Lobogi, a section of the Herab tribe. Although they are found here as a corporate group, they are apparently also scattered among the Hawiya generally.[6] The tomb of the founder of this group, Sheik Said, is at Geledi.[7]

[1] See above, p. 121.

[2] For the Asheraf see Barile, 1935, p. 135.

[3] Colucci, op. cit., p. 78. The name Haagi which occurs frequently in genealogies appears to have the same significance.

[4] Colucci, loc. cit.

[5] See above, p. 115.

[6] It seems impossible to make a definite distinction between the two extremes.

[7] Colucci, op. cit., p. 27; see genealogy, p. 115.

A group which appears to enjoy considerable autonomy outside the structure of the tribe to which it is attached is the Walamoje. They are the sheiks of the Helai whom they claim to have accompanied in their entry into their territory, although before they achieved their present influential position, they had to overcome the rivalry of the Rer Fogi, a priestly section celebrated in the history of the tribe. The founder of the Walamogi is said to be Hussein Baliale, of Galla Arussi origin, but, like all priestly groups, the Walamogi have also vague traditions of descent from the Prophet. Their genealogy is[8]:

Hussein Baliale		*Sections*
Ahmed		
Aweisa	seven generations ..	Hoj Wina
Abdurrahman	Au Dinle ..	Rer Obokr
Ummur		
Maad Mirre		
Au Surre		Hassan Medare

Priestly groups similar to the Walamogi are the Wakbarri of the Dabarre tribe,[9] and the Asheraf[10] attached to the Baj-Argan tribal cluster of Saraman.[11] Further analogues are the Rer Sheik Mumin, Rer Au Kutub, and the Sihal.[12]

Adoption and Status of Tariqa and Jama'a

The position of prestige and authority which the leaders and members of religious communities usually come to assume is based upon the original act of adoption. Groups which develop into cultivating communities, occupying land granted by a host tribe, obtain rights which are, by the very nature of the form of adoption, tenuous and subject to abrogation. The founder (*khalifa*) of the community, in gaining admission to the tribe and incorporation in the clan structure on the basis of fictional kinship, often probably substantiated by marriage, puts himself and those who join him in the initially inferior status of client, bound to observe the obligations of a tribesman and subservient to the chiefs and elders.[13] In this position, the balance of conflict between Islamic law and tribal procedure, characteristic of the totality of relations between client and host, lies mainly against the religious community whose members are faced with a series of conflicting loyalties. They must maintain their obligations towards the host tribe until their position is sufficiently secure for these to be openly flouted. As the power and influence of the community increases, the conflict operates amongst the tribesmen who find themselves drawn increasingly into the web of influence of their client. The dependent status of religious communities which had received grants of land was freely admitted by the sheik of the Salihiyyah *jama'a* of Misra who told Colucci[14]: "The land is not ours, and if the Shidle [by whom it had been granted] desire, they can give it away, because they have only adopted us." It follows from the precarious nature of the tenure, that the land, which is divided, within the community, among its members and their families, cannot be freely transferred by the individual holder, nor is it heritable, unless the heirs are admitted to the community with the sheik's approval.[15] As

[8] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 141–2.
[9] Ibid., p. 140.
[10] See Barile, op. cit., p. 127.
[11] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 79, 140.
[12] See above, p. 146.
[13] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 264–5; Cerulli, 1923, pp. 27–8.
[14] Colucci, op. cit., p. 263.
[15] Ibid.

far as the host tribe is concerned continuity of tenure through a succession of generations of sheiks of the founder's family in no way establishes inalienable rights to the land.[16] Tradition, however, is hard to eradicate and tends to create the impression, over several generations, that inalienable rights have been granted. When conflict does arise, and there is every opportunity for it to do so, the dangerous link, which the host tribe may seek to sever, is always the original act of adoption and grant of land. It is, apparently, seldom difficult to obtain land on which to build a mosque and found a community[17]; it is only later, when the interaction of the force of Islam and the customary life of the tribe reaches a keen pitch of antagonism, that strife begins and attention is directed to the circumstances of the original act of adoption. Any irregularities which the tribe can establish, in theory, enable them to revoke the tenure.

Such settlements often expand rapidly, not only because of the attraction offered to dispossessed peoples of servile origin by the prospect of a stable livelihood in farming communities (the same forces which we have seen to be active in the formation of the mixed population of the Sab tribes),[18] but also because of the stability of tribal relations among the sedentary southern cultivating tribes.[19] The soil is favourable, the Administration encourages cultivation and land development, the settlers are often of part Negroid stock (of agricultural background), and Islam, firmly established in the region, provides a doctrine whose tenets apply particularly to mixed cultivating villages, and are associated with the disintegration of the lineage structure. There is a constant drift from the tribes to the settlements, which can be seen in its beginnings in the asylum they afford to criminals who have absconded from their own tribes.[20] This weakens tribal sanctions, and the drift away from the tribes, whatever reasons may actuate it, is in itself a cause of conflict between host tribe and adopted community. But there are many other opportunities for dispute. The community may refuse to fulfil its obligations towards the host tribe; it may cease to contribute to debts such as blood-compensation, or strife may arise over the boundaries of the land occupied by a large and expanding settlement. Conflict between client and host is more likely to develop if the sheik interferes in tribal affairs, for much of the Shariah, on which his judgments are based, contravenes tribal custom.

There is thus a wide field of potential conflict and ample scope for its rationalization, whatever its real causes. In all disputes between client and host, however, attention reverts to the original mandate. The religious community claims that the land they occupy is theirs; the tribe that it belongs to them and has only been granted on temporary tenure which has now lapsed. Now, of course, it is the Administration which is called upon to arbitrate, and since it is generally favourable to agricultural development where this does not conflict with its own interests, a decision is usually given in favour of the community against the tribe.[21] For instance, in 1920, the Hawadle claimed the land which they were represented as having granted 38 years previously to the *jama'a* of Burdere. The Hawadle maintained that the mandate had only been provisional and that they now required the land, especially since some Hawadle families had settled in the community. Since its leader continued to ignore their demands, more Hawadle joined the settlement without proper admission to the Order. The sheik protested and notified the Italian Administration, claiming that the land had been granted not by the Hawadle, but by the Badi Addo, an adjacent tribe. The Italians settled the question by forcing the Hawadle, who had

[16] Cerulli, op. cit., p. 27.
[17] See Colucci's examples, op. cit., pp. 266 ff.
[18] See above, p. 89.
[19] Colucci, op. cit., p. 81; cf. Swayne's reason for their absence in the north, 1903, pp. 28–9.
[20] Cf. Cerulli, op. cit., pp. 28–9.
[21] See the examples given by Colucci, op. cit., pp. 265–7.

illegitimately settled on the lands of the community, to withdraw, although they were allowed to remain to harvest their crops. The community's right to the land was acknowledged by the Administration and no further action taken.[22] In such disputes there is a tendency for the claimant tribe to accept payment from individual land-holders in the community. In this way members of the community obtain inalienable rights to their plots of land for themselves and heirs.[23] Although the tribe loses its rights, the internal cohesion of the community is to some extent weakened.

The best example of the degree of autonomy which the religious community can achieve is the case of the *jama'a* of Bardera on the lower reaches of the Juba. Colucci describes the settlement as follows : " Bardera constitutes a truly independent territorial group, freed from all adherence to the tribes from whom the land was originally obtained."[24] Bardera was founded by Sheik Ali Curre,[25] successor to Sheik Ibrahim Hassan Jebro of the Jiambelul tribe of Dafet, who had settled in that part of the Juba. Soon villages sprang up all round the centre. Their members embarked upon a successful war against the Rahanwein, fighting the Galla Boran, the Gasar Gudda, whom they defeated, and destroying the village of Lugh. They subjugated Baidoa, Molimat, and finally conquered Brava. The Rahanwein, although subdued, gradually built up strength under the Sultan of the Geledi, a very powerful tribe at that time,[26] and finally besieged Bardera itself, destroying it in 1843.[27] Bardera then lay unoccupied for some 20 years,[28] but began to rise again after the establishment of a new community by Sheik Mohammed Eden of the Helai, and is now a very large and flourishing community enjoying much of its former power. Its fortunes show that it might well be considered as a latter-day example in the south of the Islamic warring city state which played so great a part in the earlier history of northern Somaliland.[29]

We are now in a position to evaluate the influence of Islam on the Somali social structure. The noble " Somali " tribes in general trace descent through their proselytizing ancestors from the family of the Prophet, viewing themselves in the last analysis as his sons within the common religion of Islam.[30] The links in the genealogies connecting Somali ancestors to the Qurayshitic lineage of the Prophet present an appearance of improvization and have not been historically validated, yet they are the expression in the lineage principle of the degree of interdependence between the Somali and Islamic worlds, spiritual and temporal, and cannot be ignored. In the south, where the nature of the country stimulates the growth of farming communities, the congregations become for the most part settled villages closely resembling the agrarian mixed-village characteristic of this region. The stability which the earth affords enables the community to acquire firm roots and to develop into a unit outside the tribal structure and independent of it. In the shifting sands of the northern deserts, this is not so often possible, and tribe and congregation are caught in the same ambit, subject to similar ecological forces. Without the means of becoming a stable independent land-holding unit, the congregation remains dependent upon tribal affiliation and may become a dispersed clan such as the Rer Au Kutub.[31] The ecological element in the dichotomy should not be over-emphasized, however, for, as we have seen, historical factors are also largely responsible for the

[22] Colucci, op. cit., pp. 265–6.
[23] Ibid., p. 267.
[24] Ibid, p. 264.
[25] See above, p. 141.
[26] In 1819 ; cf. above, p. 39.
[27] Guillain, 1856, III, pp. 35–40 ; Trimingham, op. cit., p. 241.
[28] Ibid.
[29] See above, p. 140.
[30] See above, p. 17.
[31] Of course there are exceptions to this generalization.

disintegrated clan structure which is characteristic of the social ambient of the south.[32] The point is that, while both regions have presumably been subject to a similar intensity of Islamic influence, in the north, religion has been identified with the clan structure which prevails there, while in the south, where religious communities have settled side by side with the villages characteristic of the region, this process has not taken place to the same extent. Among the Sab tribes of the south the genealogy of the *jama'a* which validates its spiritual position through the *baraka* (grace) which flows from the Prophet through the *tariqa* founder to the regional *khalifa*, has not been consistently interpolated into tribal genealogies. In the north, the eponymous ancestors of the noble tribes occupy a position similar to that of the founders of *tariqa* orders, and the genealogies of these tribes in their Islamic aspects proclaim them to be the sons of the Prophet, heirs to his grace. In this sense, these tribes may be thought of as *jama'a* communities, and northern tribal society as one large community. Tribe and *jama'a* are one. Compared with the north, it is clear that the southern *jama'a* community occupies an interstitial position, both on the ground and in the social structure.[33] Their position and importance have been best realized by Robecchi-Bricchetti,[34] who has drawn attention to the part religious fraternities play in providing potential channels of alliance among tribes which are, by constitution, separate from and hostile to other tribal groups. For these economic and political units are, although often mutually hostile, bound together in a larger community of religious potential and purpose. Their aims are the spread and development of Islam, through which they open up channels of communication and unity among the various tribes to which they are attached. They have certainly contributed to the development of the mixed-village and influenced the disruption of the agnatic lineage structure in the south. The Koran and Shariah propound a way of life more suited to the village or urban community than to the nomadic tribe. It is not surprising, then, that the southern peoples reach a higher level of Islamic observance and practice than the northern nomads, of whom Trimingham[34A] writes: "Amongst them the distinctive features of Islam—ritual prayer and fasting, the observance of the *Shari'ah* . . . are unknown. They never pray, neglect their religious duties, and follow their own customary law." This is, however, too sweeping an indictment for there is no evidence in support of it to the extent suggested.[35] Swayne noticed that, while his Somali guides were normally quite zealous in the observance of the Mohammedan daily prayers, they became fanatically so as soon as his party approached the Galla frontier and the prospect of battle arose.[36] While Mohammedan feast-days are not so popular as ceremonies connected with the local founders and exponents of Islam,[37] they are none the less observed to a greater extent than Trimingham's description would suggest.[38] What Trimingham, as a champion of orthodoxy, fails to see is that the Somali nomads are, above all, Sufis and only in this light can their Islamic observance be justly evaluated. It is obvious that there is at least a logical consistency between the agnatic lineage basis of the northern nomad's society and Sufism, in which lineages have a similar function. The form in which religion is expressed is related to the social structure. While admitting the orthodox character of the Sab peoples of the south in terms of the Shariah, this does not entitle one to say that they are more Mohammedan than the nomads, whose particularly mystical interpretation of Islam is consistent with

[32] See above, p. 121.
[33] Cf. U.N. Report, 1952, p. 38.
[34] Robecchi-Bricchetti, op. cit., pp. 422–31.
[34A] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 270.
[35] See Robecchi-Bricchetti, *passim*; Burton, op. cit., *passim*; Ferrandi, op. cit., *passim*.
[36] Swayne, op. cit., p. 17.
[37] Above, p. 147.
[38] See particularly, Ferrandi, op. cit., pp. 289–98; Barile, op. cit., pp. 59–63.

the nature of their society in which genealogies have, as we have shown, religious as well as political functions. It is unfortunately impossible here to discuss the very close parallel which can be demonstrated between the Cushitic substratum of Somali religion and Sufism.[39]

The Position of the Wadad

The *wadad*[40] or holy man is a figure belonging to the traditional Somali social order before the advent of Islam, since when his position has changed considerably. From being the repository of Cushitic power and lore he has become the Islamic sheik, and often the incumbent of the office of *qadi*. Expert in star-lore,[41] religious officiant in marriage,[42] ritual adviser in tribal politics and war, ritual director of sacrifice and rainmaking, all these functions have been retained and subsumed in his present Islamic capacity. The *wadad* now acts, to some extent at least, according to Mohammedan principles and in the name of Islam. He has become the student of the Koran and Shariah, often as a member of a *jama'a* community. *Tariqa* initiates fulfil the functions of *wadad* for the surrounding tribesmen although they may not necessarily hold a definite office. They have considerable Muslim knowledge, as is attested by Ferrandi, who describes *wadad*[43] at Lugh in the following terms: "Their knowledge did not stop at the Koran, and, from the authorities and examples they cited, it was clear that they were equally conversant with the Koranic commentaries and the Muslim theologians. They knew how to interpret the Shariah with a subtlety and casuistry which did them credit."[44] It is through the *wadad*'s part in tribal politics that the Shariah which he represents comes to be introduced, if only to a limited extent, into Somali customary procedure. The *wadad*'s sphere of competence never extends to the whole field of behaviour covered by the Shariah and is usually limited to marriages solemnized according to Islamic rites, and cases of contested inheritance and compensation for injuries.[45] Ferrandi describes the litigation at Lugh: "The case generally concerns business affairs, sometimes contested inheritance, and other deeds such as signature of contract, mortgage of cattle, merchandise, etc. Questions relating to bloodshed among the surrounding tribes, who are allied together and acknowledge the payment of compensation, are regulated by the chiefs."[46] Again, "Justice is administered by the *wadad*: but for the most part, the chiefs act as best suits their interests, disregarding the *wadad*'s direction."[47]

The *wadad*'s jurisdiction does not generally extend beyond the tribe for, in inter-tribal affairs, the chiefs accord him little authority and only accept his advice inasmuch as it is to their own interests and consonant with their views. In spite of this, however, some sheiks do interfere effectively in tribal politics and, from occupying a subordinate position, come to supplant the tribal chief, or to establish powerful and sometimes warring religious communities independent of tribal allegiance.[48]

[39] See Lewis, MS., pp. 388–422.
[40] The word is of unknown origin; it may be Arabic or Cushitic.
[41] See above, p. 63.
[42] See above, p. 136.
[43] *Wadad* are also called *herr*.
[44] Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 104.
[45] Wright, 1943, p. 67.
[46] Ferrandi, op. cit., p. 106.
[47] Ibid., p. 105.
[48] For example, the *jama'a* of Bardera, see above, p. 152.

THE AFAR (DANAKIL)

INTRODUCTION

The Afar inhabit the vast area which stretches from the Jibuti-Diredawa railway in the south to the Buri peninsula in the north, and from the shores of the Red Sea to the eastern flanks of the Abyssinian plateau. To the south they are bounded by the Esa Somali and the Ittu and Enia Galla, to the west by the Wallo, Yaju and Raya Galla, and to the north-west by the Saho. Continuous hostility marks the relations of the Afar with these surrounding peoples. The eastern sea-board lies in southern Eritrea and French Somaliland, and the remainder and largest zone occupied by the Afar in Ethiopia. The country is arid and sterile in the extreme, consisting of stone and sand desert interspersed with salt lakes and lava streams. There is virtually only one relatively fertile district, the Sultanate of Aussa on the Awash River. Here some cultivation is possible; for the rest, nomadic pastoralism is the only possible response to this barren habitat, although somewhat more favourable conditions obtain on the Mabra mountains, the Horma highlands, and Mount Biru, at an altitude of 6,000 ft., where more stable settlements are found.[1] Livestock consists of goats, sheep, and camels where the terrain is suitable, and in certain milder environments some cattle are found. Salt deposits provide an essential article of trade.

TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

NOMENCLATURE

The name "Danakil" first occurs in the 13th century writings of the Arab geographer, Ibn Said,[2] and is currently used by the Abyssinians, Arabs, and Arabized Afar.[3] But the people so designated call themselves Afar. The Somali call them Udali.[4] Franchetti suggests that Afar is a corruption of the mythical Ophir (Genesis, X, 29), Arabian immigrants described in Abyssinian tradition.[5] This seems unlikely. Various etymologies for "Danakil" have been given; Odorizzi derives the word from *donek* (boat), referring to the maritime activities of the coastal fishing tribes.[6] Licata, on the other hand, suggests a derivation from Anca (a coastal village) and *Kili* (people).[7] Conti Rossini considers that, like the word "Abyssinian," Danakil is in origin a tribal name.[8] This seems the most likely hypothesis and does not invalidate Licata's view; "Danakil" may, in fact, be derived from the Ankala tribe centred in the Buri peninsula.[9]

THE ASAIMARA AND ADOIMARA

The Afar are divided into two classes: the Asaimara (the Red) or nobles, and the Adoimara (the White) or commoners. Both comprise a variety of tribal confederacies and tribes, but are not always territorially distinct. Sometimes Asaimara and Adoimara clans occur as separate territorial groups, but in the main most tribal groups

[1] Odorizzi, 1907, p. 1,929.
[2] Aboulféda (trans. Stilyard), II, p. 128.
[3] Thesiger, 1935, p. 1; Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,916.
[4] Thesiger, loc. cit.
[5] Franchetti, 1930, p. 226.
[6] Odorizzi, loc. cit.
[7] 1885, p. 238.
[8] 1937, p. 141.
[9] The Ankala figure in the oldest Afar traditions as the earliest inhabitants, which supports this suggestion.

contain a mixture of both, and the Asaimara/Adoimara cleavage cuts across the total Afar society.[10] It is quite clear that much writing on the Afar is invalidated through a failure to elucidate the nature of this distinction in particular tribal groups, and a very thorough study of Afar social organization needs to be made before the nature of the Asaimara/Adoimara cleavage can be fully appreciated. The Asaimara are generally supposed to descend from immigrant peoples of the Ethiopian highlands who imposed themselves upon earlier Afar tribes in the surge of Abyssinian forces through Dankalia[11] in the 16th century.[12] There is supposed to be an accompanying difference in physical type between the "Red" and the "White,"[13] but with the subsequent movements and intermixture it seems doubtful whether this could be satisfactorily demonstrated. Adoimara groups living among Asaimara are generally tribute-paying, although many independent Adoimara tribes are found and there is a regular tendency for dependent tribes or tribal sections gradually to acquire independent status and freedom from tribute obligations. The distinction is hardly one of caste and is not comparable to that between noble Somali and outcaste *sab*. Nevertheless, an aged Adoimara chieftain meeting an Asaimara youth would not hesitate to kiss his hand.[14] In mixed Asaimara/Adoimara groups, the chiefs and heads of kinship groups in whom territorial rights are vested are Asaimara, while the client Adoimara have their own herds of livestock with grazing rights in their patrons' land. Consistently enough, the Asaimara possess the only two fertile districts of Dankalia, Badhu and Aussa.[15] With the spread of Islam, a further complication has been introduced by the practice of tribes ascribing origin to Arabia; Arabian origin has sometimes been taken as the criterion of the ethnic character of the Adoimara,[16] whereas, in fact, both classes postulate descent from immigrant Arab ancestors. Odorizzi suggests that local Adoimara legends are adapted to the recent history of the Asaimara conquest, perhaps as a means of legitimizing it.[17] Another common feature of Asaimara traditions is that of movement from the south to the north.

The very confusing traditions which have been collected seem to describe the earliest Adoimara representatives as the Hablay and Ankala, from whom later Adoimara tribes derive with successive immigrations of Arab patriarchs.[18] The genealogies of the Asaimara unfold from a common ancestor Har-El-Mass (Aral Mahes[19]) an Arab from Yemen, who landed among the Afar at Dammaho close to Tajura. After many changes in fortune Har-El-Mass' descendants, the Asaimara, defeated the Ankala and other autochthonous tribes and established their dominion along the eastern sea-board.[20] In most accounts Har-El-Mass is described as having been discovered by local tribes in the branches of a tree from which he was induced to descend only when the autochthones had agreed to accept him as chief and had made a fitting gesture of submission.[21] The Asaimara descend from his intermarriage with the indigenous local population.

The Mohammedan Petty-states

While the northern Afar tribes came under the hegemony of the rulers of Tigrai, those in the centre and south, with whom the Shoan kings had to remain on good

[10] Deschamps's contention (1948, p. 22) that the division refers only to geographical habitat is erroneous.
[11] The country occupied by the Afar (Danakil).
[12] Odorizzi, op. cit., pp. 1,932–5.
[13] Ibid., p. 1,932.
[14] Conti Rossini, op. cit., p. 142.
[15] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 2.
[16] Franchetti, op. cit., pp. 233–44.
[17] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,937.
[18] Ibid., *passim*; Franchetti, op. cit., p. 226.
[19] Lucas, 1935, p. 182.
[20] Odorizzi, op. cit., pp. 1,936–7; Franchetti, loc. cit., and p. 233.
[21] Ibid., pp. 181–3.

terms in order to ensure the safety of their caravans to the coast, always maintained a practical independence.[22] In the course of the religious wars with Ethiopia, the most important Afar Sultanate, which emerged in the 16th century, was that of the *Anfari* of Aussa on the Awash river. Largely under its influence arose the smaller Sultanates or Sheikdoms of Edd, Buri, Biru, Teru, Raheita, and Tajura.[23] The Sultanates of Raheita and Tajura passed under European dominion, but Aussa remained independent and its influence extended over all southern Dankalia. The fertile lands of Aussa, protected by a circle of sterile deserts, were comparatively free from raids from the Abyssinian highlands until the time of Menelik, when, in 1895, on the pretext that the Sultan of Aussa had become an ally of the Italians, a Shoan army was sent against him and the sultan was forced to pay tribute. Yet no Abyssinian force dared to penetrate beyond the fringes which the Afar were constantly harrying.[24] After the return of this part of Dankalia to Ethiopia, the end of the Allied campaigns in East Africa and the withdrawal of the Italians from Eritrea, an Abyssinian expedition reached Aussa in 1944, captured the sultan and brought him back to Addis Ababa where he died in captivity. His office passed to a kinsman and Aussa remains a semi-independent sultanate tributary to Ethiopia.

Population Figures

Available figures are as follows: Eritrea (1931) 19,270[25] (Adoimara, 14,225; Asaimara, 5,045); Eritrea (1943) 27,800[26]; Ethiopia (no date) 60,000[27]; French Somaliland (1948) 15,000[28]; French Somaliland (1952) 21,080.[29] If the most recent figures for the three areas are added together, a total of 108,880 is obtained. Cerulli's estimate[30] of " not more than 250,000 " seems therefore to be rather generous.

The total Afar population is thus equivalent in strength to one small Somali tribal confederacy or large tribe, and the Afar tribe is a very small unit compared with that of the Somali. Nevertheless Afar tribes are fairly highly segmented, and comprise a number of subsidiary sections and kinship groups. There is no indication in the literature of the extent of solidarity between tribes, which are normally mutually hostile, although those Asaimara and Adoimara who are territorially distinct are said to combine when occasion demands against the Galla Itu and Kareyu, the Somali Esa, and for the purpose of raiding the Woggerat of Tigre.[31] The following list of tribes is incomplete and much more information is required, especially for those inhabiting Ethiopia.

Asaimara (" Red ") Nobles

The largest and most widely distributed tribe[32] in the north is the Damoheita, (10,000), which extends from the Buri peninsula to Edd, with sub-groups under various names inhabiting Teru, Biru, the Rorom plain and the valley of the Ala.[33] All Adoimara who preceded the Damoheita in the region are subject to them. Pastoralism is the main activity of patron and subject, with fishing along the coast.

[22] Trimingham, 1952, p. 171.
[23] Licata, 1885, p. 242; Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,933; Conti Rossini, op. cit., p. 143.
[24] Nesbitt, 1934, pp. 68–9.
[25] Pollera, 1935, p. 260; Odorizzi's 1907 figures are a thousand higher but may contain Ethiopian tribes.
[26] Nadel, 1943.
[27] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 172.
[28] Deschamps, 1948, p. 22.
[29] Adoimara, 17,200; Asaimara, 3,880. Leroi-Gourhan, 1953, p. 429.
[30] See Bryan, 1947, p. 20.
[31] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 2.
[32] The word " tribe " is used here in the same sense as in the account of the Somali, see above, p. 14.
[33] Pollera, op. cit., p. 251; Franchetti, op. cit., p. 233.

Tribesmen often go yearly from Damoheita to Hodeida and Camaran to act as servants for Arabian and Turkish merchants. The unit of settlement is the village with an average number of 30 huts and population of 150. The long stretch of littoral over which the tribe is scattered is divided among five chiefs into the sheikdoms of Edd and Buri.[34] Other Asaimara tribes are: the Alito and Herto inhabiting the plain of Sereba and the valley of the Eretro; the Filla Enda of Fara and the Halhal mountains to the south-east of Aiuman; the Nassal and Hafara in Biru and at Beilul; the Burkeli to which the Sultan of Biru belongs; the Data Hassan, Asa 'Ali, and Assaho in Biru; the Modaito, the most important tribe in Teru, Aussa, and the south, which provides the Sultan of Aussa; the Airolassa[35] between Mount Tajura and Goda plateau; the Ad 'Ali between Raheita and Tajura, which provides the Sultan of Raheita; the Sohato between Ale Doli and Aussa; the Adamta in Ala; the Olotok-Madima from Musa-Ali to Lake Alli; the Gumbar and Ablissa of Lake Alol; the Olotok-Modaito in the Daudawya Plain; the Oloto and Dourba north of Henle; the Wandaba of Lake Alli; and the Galaela and Adkalto in the Gamarre plateau and north of Lake Abbe.[36]

Adoimara ("White") Commoners

Although the Adoimara tribes are in general tributary clients of the Asaimara, some of the larger tribes have acquired sufficient influence to become independent. The principal tribes recorded in the literature are the following: the Dahimela, scattered over a large area of the northern and central regions of Dankalia, are a strong tribe independent of the Asaimara. Numbering over 10,000, they are divided into three main sections: the Dahimela Yaidi Baddirera, the Dahimela Yaidi Endo Cadri, and the Dahimela Barculi. More than half the tribe is in northern Dankalia and the rest in Ethiopian territory. They possess sheep and camels and have a few cattle. Apart from pastoralism the main activity is the excavation of salt which is sold in blocks (*amoliay*) to Abyssinian merchants in Enderta.[37] Trade markets are held from September to March and from April till August. The Damoheita are hostile to the Dahimela, partly apparently on account of the laxity of their Mohammedanism, which is illustrated by the fact that while the Damoheita speak a little Arabic the Dahimela depend entirely on Afar.[38] The tribe is famed for its elaborate tombs, and has the usual tradition of descent from an immigrant Arab, in this case called Dahilom, whence the name Dahimela (people (*mela*) of Dahilom).[39]

The Hedarem or Hadermo, as the name indicates, consider themselves the descendants of an Arab from Hadramaut.[40] The tribe is widely dispersed, being densest in the Madra highlands, Biru, Ertale, Salasima, and along the coast between Ras Shiaks and Ras Nameita. The two main branches are the Data Heji and Assa Heji. There is no common tribal chief and the various fractions are subject to the larger groups among whom they are scattered.[41] All are pastoralists and some of the coastal tribesmen act as servants for coastal Arabian and Turkish merchants. Like the Dahimela, Islam sits very lightly upon them and customary tribal procedure takes precedence over the Shariah.[42]

The Arabian ancestor of the Bellesuwa, Gairanjo, settled at Beilul, and the tribe's name derives from Sua, where it had sojourned before reaching its present

[34] Odorizzi, op. cit., pp. 1,936 ff.
[35] The Airolassa are erroneously classed by Deschamps (loc. cit.) as Adoimara.
[36] Pollera, op. cit., pp. 251–2; Odorizzi, op. cit., pp. 1,935–41; Franchetti, op. cit., pp. 233–4; Deschamps, op. cit., pp. 22–3.
[37] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,941; Pollera, op. cit., p. 252; Conti Rossini, op. cit., p. 143.
[38] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,942.
[39] Ibid., p. 1,943; Pollera, loc. cit.
[40] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,948; Franchetti, op. cit., p. 235; Pollera, op. cit., p. 253.
[41] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,949; Pollera and Franchetti, loc. cit.
[42] Odorizzi, loc. cit.

habitat between the Hadenna basin, towards the west of the Buri peninsula and in the upper valley of the Lasijede.[43] The tribe is divided into two sections, the Data Daud and the Assa Daud. The Haleita, formerly a section of the Bellesuwa, now inhabiting the Badda plain, have become independent. Small groups of Arabs live among the sections. The economy depends largely on the trading of salt and skins in the markets of Massawa, Arafali and Zula.[44]

The Dunna (the name means " foreigner ")[45] have similar traditions of Arabian origin and are pastoralists stationed in the Dimo mountains. There are three fractions : Sheik Ismail, Sheik Hejem, and Abrahim Dunna. The Dunna are now independent.[46]

The Ankala, of putative Arabian provenance, are a small tribe found mainly on the western slopes of Mount Buri ; the chief's seat is at Makannile in the Buri peninsula. Collateral fractions occur at Assab, Beilul, and Desset. Cattle and sheep are reared but most tribesmen are fishermen or sailors.[47]

The Hawakil are a group of impoverished fisher-folk living in the islands of Hawakil, Ajiuz, and Delgumma. They were formerly subject to the Damoheita of Buri, but were granted independent status by the Italian Administration of Eritrea.[48]

The Gedimto are dispersed in both Eritrean and Abyssinian territory round Lake Afrera, the Data 'Ali mountains, and the plain of Illi Dabo. Their ancestor, Gedimto Hummed, is said to have come from Badhu beyond Aussa to settle in Biru, where he married a Damoheita girl. The tribe are dependants of the Damoheita of Biru, consistent with their traditions.[49]

The Doda are a small dispersed tribe inhabiting the region of Ethiopian territory between Batie and the Mille valley, and the coastal region of Eritrea. Fractions are the Badoita Mela, Seka, Asoseaka, Sakola, and Farasabba.[50] Smaller tribes are the Arabta, living between Mount Gurale and the Mille river ; the Ajinni near Tendaho ; the Kancheba and Aisanto, subject to the Jegiu ; and the Bokure to the south of Teru. These five small Adoimara tribes recognize the supremacy of the Damoheita chiefs of Aussa.[51] Other tribes are the Barherto of Bahar Assoli and the Assaimale of Margebla.[52]

Adoimara tribes in French territory are the Adali centred on Tajura and providing the Sultan of Tajura ; the Hablay and Bassoma, who recognize his authority, inhabit the Guda, west of Mabla, and the plateau country to the north-west of these mountains. The Mandita are found to the west of the Mabla Mountains. Badoita-Mela are nomadic pastoralists in the sterile littoral between Obock and Assab, as far as Musa-Ali. The Sultanate of Gobad is occupied by two Adoimara tribes, the Debne (Gobad plain and plateaux of Dakka), and the Adorassu (south of Henle, Gagade plain, Gubbet-el-Kharab region and Lake Assal). The Songo-Goda inhabit the southern slopes of the Guda Mountains and Henle.[53]

The Ad Sheikha are a dispersed group of holy men claiming to be the descendants of the Prophet Mohammed. Although their Islamic knowledge is slight, they are held in considerable respect by the Afar generally who make them periodical offerings in virtue of their influence on the seasons of the year.[54]

[43] Odorizzi, loc. cit., pp. 1,950–2 ; Pollera and Franchetti, loc. cit.
[44] Odorizzi, op. cit., pp. 1,951–3 ; Franchetti, op. cit., p. 235 ; Pollera, op. cit., p. 253.
[45] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,955, genealogy.
[46] Ibid., pp. 1,953–4 ; Franchetti, loc. cit. ; Pollera, loc. cit.
[47] Pollera and Franchetti, loc. cit. ; Odorizzi, op. cit., pp. 1,956–7, genealogy, p. 1,957.
[48] Pollera, op. cit., p. 254 ; Franchetti, op. cit., p. 236.
[49] Pollera, loc. cit. ; Franchetti, loc. cit.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Franchetti, loc. cit.
[52] Pollera, and Franchetti loc. cit.
[53] Deschamps, op. cit., p. 22 ; in view of the unreliability of this work, this list must be regarded as only provisional.
[54] Franchetti, op. cit., p. 237 ; Pollera, op. cit., p. 254.

The Ad Saleh, inhabiting the islands of Abbaguba and Baca in the bay of Hawakil, are recent Somali Mijertein immigrants (about a hundred years). They were formerly bound to the Mijertein of Somaliland but have severed that connection and allied themselves with Damoheita of Buri. Their genealogy[55] is interesting in showing some retention of Somali characteristics with increasing adaptation to the Afar type. The Ad Saleh are fishermen and sailors with a keen interest in coastal smuggling.[56]

Tribal Boundaries

Tribal boundaries are never static, but constantly change as the power of tribes waxes and wanes.[57] This tendency is even more marked than in Somaliland, for while other factors are much the same, there is even less arable land for groups to settle in and establish permanent boundaries.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

It is difficult to give a succinct account of Afar country and its climate since the little that is known is normally described geographically in terms of Ethiopia and Eritrea and does not distinguish the ecology and habitat of particular peoples occupying these countries. Dankalia as a whole may be described as an unfertile desert traversed by lava streams and interspersed with volcanoes, hot springs, salt lakes and depressions. The only region in which cultivation can be practised is in the south along the Awash river which disappears into the Lake of Abbé about a hundred miles from the coast. The best impression of the extreme aridity of the country can be gained from the excellent descriptions of explorers and travellers.[58]

Country and Climate

The sterile coastal plain which in our description of Somaliland[59] we left at Tajura, stretches northwards, opening out to a depth of some 50 miles from the sea, then narrowing and finally tapering to a fine point where it reaches Zula, the northernmost tip of Dankalia. In this desert maritime zone the annual rainfall, which is concentrated in the winter quarter from November to February, is considerably less than 200 mm. The humidity is high, in the region of 65°, maximum and minimum temperatures are 113° F. and 64·4° F. respectively, with an annual mean temperature of 86° F., and oscillations of 48·2° F. in the monthly means between the hottest month (July) and the coldest (January). The maritime plain is bounded to the west by the eastern spurs of the Eritrean Highlands and the northern Highlands of Ethiopia where they form the so-called lower Eritrean plain which reaches a height of 800 m. towards the interior. This region is desert and there is hardly any rain at all; the humidity is notably less and the temperature, with similar means to those described above, exhibits sharper maximum and minimum extremes and larger daily variations.[60] Thus, unlike the rest of Eritrea, in Dankalia the temperature does not fall as one ascends from the coast towards the high plateau-land, but remains constant owing to the depressions and volcanic plains which intervene between the coastal regions and the highlands.[61] The only exception in the north is in the middle region consisting

[55] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,959.
[56] Ibid., p. 1,958; Pollera, op. cit., p. 255.
[57] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 142.
[58] For French territory, see de la Rue, 1937; for Southern Eritrea, Nesbitt, 1934; for Ethiopian Dankalia, Franchetti, 1930, Thesiger, 1935.
[59] See above, p. 56.
[60] From Dainelli's description of the climate of Eritrea, *Africa Orientale*, pp. 167–9. For a less satisfactory account see Longrigg, 1945, pp. 4–9.
[61] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,929.

of the Mabra Mountains, the Horma Highlands, and Mount Biru (above 2,000 m.), where milder conditions prevail.[62] Between the Bab-el-Mandeb and 16° latitude north, the south-east monsoon (Azieb) envelopes the coast from October to May, while the north-west wind (Shemal) prevails from June till September.[63]

VEGETATION

Most of the high ground is barren and devoid of covering except where water is available, when thick scrub appears.

Along both sides of the Awash for a strip of land varying in depth between a few hundred yards and several miles, the vegetation is typically tropical, so that even from a few yards distance the river is quite invisible. High trees, chiefly gigantic acacias, mimosas and tamarinds standing over 90 ft. high, combine with a thick undergrowth to make progress through them extremely difficult. The wood of these trees is hard and heavy, trunks float only with difficulty. All the surrounding country, which is not wooded, is covered with coarse thick grass used for dry season grazing and mat-making. Date-palms grow along the Gurmudli and around the Aussa lakes. Trees similar to those on the Awash are found along most of the rivers in the region, but only become dense in the neighbourhood of Garanni and the Sarra river. The flat sandy Korub, Buri and Magdalla country is almost completely barren in dry weather; the Galelu plain is similarly covered with poor grazing and thorn scrub. The plain to the west of the Awash, even at some distance from the river, is well wooded chiefly with thorny and umbrella acacias. Grazing is poor north of Talalak, where the plains acquire a steppe-like character, but becomes richer between this river and the Borchenna, especially at the foot of the escarpment. During the wet season some grazing is to be found everywhere, except in completely sandy and stony stretches of country.

[62] Odorizzi, op. cit.
[63] Ibid., p. 1,928. For a description of geology, see Odorizzi, op. cit., pp. 1,924–8.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Livestock

The Afar nomads have large flocks of sheep and goats, herds of camels, some cattle and a few horses. As with the Somali, camels are used to transport the nomad's hut and belongings and are not usually ridden. So far as I am aware there are no livestock statistics available.

Agriculture

Cultivation is only possible in southern Dankalia along the banks of the malarial Awash river. The two most fertile districts are Badhu and Aussa. In these regions the Awash develops into a series of small lakes which have been exploited for cultivation by the creation of a system of dykes built by Arabs at the instigation of the Sultan of Aussa.[1] The meagre possibilities of agriculture which Aussa affords, though offset by the prevalence of malaria, causes it to be regarded as a Garden of Eden by the impoverished nomadic Danakil. As Nesbitt says, " To the Danakil the Oasis of Aussa is an earthly paradise."[2] Maize, cotton, and tobacco are grown, and the fertile riverine pastures support many thousand head of cattle and goats, camels, and some horses. There is no surplus, however, and only subsistence is aimed at.[3]

Staple Foods

In the interior the nomad lives exclusively on milk and meat; a handful of durra obtained by barter is a luxury. A favourite delicacy is a concoction of ghee and red pepper mixed in curdled milk ; bush fruits are also eaten. On the coast and in Aussa dates and tobacco are available, and coffee seems fairly common.[4]

Trade

Livestock and their produce are traded in exchange for durra and cloth brought by coastal merchants. Rice, dates and tea are obtained from the same source. The saline resources of the country are exploited in the export of salt blocks to the west to Abyssinia, and to the east to the coast. This commerce furnishes the nomad with the vital requisites of life which are lacking in his own environment. The slave trade is still practised.[5]

Division of Labour

There is no information on agricultural technique. The nomadic hut is erected by women, who also collect wood and water, attend to the preparation of food, grind durra into flour[6] and weave mats. The herds are guarded by children. Men fight or rest in the shade planning raids against enemy groups. Stock is milked by women.

Crafts

There is very little information on this subject ; the Afar appear to have a poorer material culture than the Somali, although generally similar in most respects.[7] Nesbitt states that no metal-work is done by the Afar, all metal-ware being imported from the coast or Abyssinia.[8] This is flatly contradicted by Venieri.[9] Under " industries," Lucas mentions lime-burning, palm-fibre weaving, and the making of knives and weapons by blacksmiths.[10]

[1] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 260 ; Conti Rossini, op. cit., p. 144.
[2] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 262.
[3] Ibid., p. 261.
[4] Licata, op. cit., p. 252.
[5] See below, p. 167.
[6] Licata, op. cit., p. 252.
[7] See Verneau, 1909.
[8] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 128.
[9] 1935, p. 48, etc.
[10] Op. cit., p. 188.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The Afar have never been studied by a social anthropologist; the following is a summary of the scanty information available.

The Tribe

The Afar tribe appears to exhibit most of the characteristics of the larger Somali equivalent. It is a territorial, political, and fighting unit, with exclusiveness expressed in the adoption of strangers as clients. Hostility towards other like units is perhaps its most striking characteristic. Feud caused by homicide within the tribe is usually settled by payment of blood-compensation, whereas between tribes fighting is the normal consequence. There is no unambiguous information on the nature of tribal solidarity in marriage. From an extremely superficial and unsatisfactory study, Battara,[1] claims that there is a strong tendency towards tribal endogamy. This has to be reconciled with preferential cross-cousin marriage.[2]

Again as in the case of the Somali, the tribe has an agnatic lineage structure, but there is no detailed information on the nature of the relation between the lineage system and the tribal system. The kinship groups or lineages (*ail*) which have political functions are grouped loosely into tribes or clans (*mehla*, *chidoh*, or *gabila*).[3]

The offices of tribal chief (*dardar*) and sub-chief (*ras*) are sometimes hereditary, sometimes open to election. The chief's power is vague and limited by the general tribal assembly (*kalam*).[4]

The Political Structure of the Sultanates and Sheikdoms

Mention has been made of the petty sultanates and sheikdoms which arose in the course of the Mohammedan wars of the States of Adal against Abyssinia, the largest and most influential being the Sultanate of Aussa on the Awash river in southern Dankalia. Aussa represents the most extreme form of a tendency towards the formation of small centralized states as ruling islands in a sea of tribal society. The power and authority of their heads is considerable, resting as it does on the sanction of force provided by an extensive militia. Taxes are levied on produce and stock, and fines are imposed in the administration of justice. When disputes arise between surrounding tribes the Sultan of Aussa sends a deputy with his silver baton (symbol of office) to act as mediator. Arable land is worked on a feudal system for the sultan, who is empowered to grant parcels of land to chiefs and court favourites.[5] There is thus some truth in the usual description of the Sultan of Aussa as a complete despot owning lands and people.[6] An important aspect of the transcendental position which such figure-heads hold in tribal Dankalia, is their ability to grant temporary asylum to fugitives from the tribal system of justice. In Aussa, the family of a murderer can take refuge with the sultan to escape revenge and within a week must decide whether to give up or shield the culprit. In the second case, the guilty party is imprisoned by the sultan and compensation is paid to the family of the deceased. After some time the prisoner is released but is generally kept by the sultan about his person; this may be a means of recruiting the sultan's bodyguard.

[1] Battara, 1934, p. 57.
[2] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 5.
[3] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 174.
[4] Ibid., p. 175.
[5] The court language is Arabic.
[6] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 262.

Unfortunately there is no information on the conditions of appointment of the Sultan of Aussa or on the ceremony of his investiture, but it may be assumed that these differ little from those recorded for the Sheikdom of Badhu and the Sultanate of Tajura.

At both Badhu and Tajura there is a dual political organization in which the offices of chief (*dardar*) and deputy (*bulaita*,[7] or *benoita*[8]) alternate between two chiefly lineages.[9] The eldest male of the two lineages is appointed sultan or sheik with his nearest rival from the other lineage as deputy. When the chief dies he is succeeded by his deputy, who is replaced by the late ruler's son. The chief's duties include rainmaking[10] but the conduct of battle is delegated to a special chief elected for the occasion.[11]

The death of the Sultan of Tajura is publicly announced by the beating of the sultan's drum which is afterwards crushed and buried in his house.[12] The Sheik of Badhu's death is said to have been honoured with the sacrifice of 220 cows.[13]

At Tajura, after an interregnum of a year, the sultan's drum is recovered by the tribal chiefs and presented to the sultan's deputy. A bull is slaughtered and its skin used to repair the drum which is beaten to announce the installation of the new sultan. The sacred turban of Har-El-Mass (the ancestor of the Asaimara nobility)[14] is bound round his head by a tribesman of the Hablay, of the oldest Afar stock. The sultan and his new deputy are proclaimed at the same time, and then presented to the people of Tajura by the chief of the Airolasso tribe, the youngest descendants of Har-El-Mass. A great feast concludes the ceremony.[15]

At Badhu, the sheik is appointed from the Asboura and Badogalet lineages of the Madima (Asaimara) ; on taking up office he changes his name and receives the power of controlling the rains, which demonstrate their close connection with him by blessing his installation with a shower. The sheik is clad in red and white,[16] and anointed with ghee. In this condition he may not set his feet on the ground but is carried on a throne towards the rising sun and back again. The privilege of carrying him and that of attending to his wardrobe on the day of his installation are hereditary. The throne on which he has been carried is placed upon a bed outside his hut. Upon his hands is rubbed earth from the summit of the sacred Mountain of Ayelu, upon his feet earth from the roots of a great *shola* tree,[17] and his forehead is anointed with clay from the bed of the Awash river. The sheik is then completely covered with ghee and the crowd fights to touch him. For a week he will drink no water nor wash in water. A red and white bull and a red and white goat are brought. The Mesara[18] take the red bull and, holding it over the sheik, slit its throat so that the blood flows down upon him. The red goat is then killed in like manner by the Asoda.[19] The white bull and goat are slaughtered by the sheik's son or nearest agnate and the members of his lineage smear themselves with the blood. More ghee is poured upon

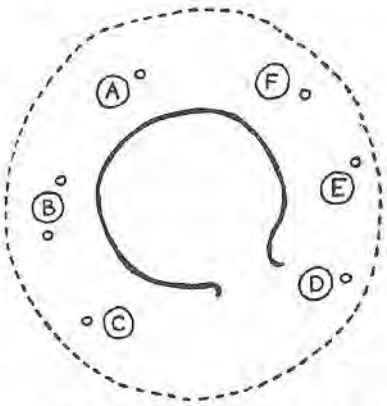
[7] Trimingham, op. cit., p. 175.
[8] Lucas, op. cit., p. 183.
[9] Cf. Deschamps, 1948, p. 29.
[10] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 7.
[11] Ibid., p. 8.
[12] Lucas, loc. cit.
[13] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 12 ; according to Nesbitt, p. 285, the Sultan of Aussa's slaves are killed on his death.
[14] See above, p. 156.
[15] Lucas, op. cit., p. 184.
[16] This symbolism probably refers to the Asaimara (Red) and the Adoimara (White).
[17] Of this tree Thesiger (op. cit., p. 8) says " Danakil connect the *shola* tree with their ancestors but were very obscure on this point."
[18] This is presumably a Madima tribal section although Thesiger mentions the name without elucidating it.
[19] Thesiger again omits to mention who the Asoda are ; presumably they are a section of the Madima.

the sheik, first by men, then by women, and finally by children. The ceremony of induction concludes with an orgy of feasting.[20]

It would be dangerous to embark on an analysis of the symbolism of this ceremony when the account available is so summary and so poorly documented; nevertheless it seems likely that the use of the colours red and white is related to the class division of Afar society into the Red Asaimara nobles and the White Adoimara commoners.

Form of Settlement

Each group of huts is surrounded by a hedge similar to the Somali zariba, within which livestock are protected from attack by marauding animals and enemy tribesmen. Sometimes lambs and kids are sheltered in small stone pens. Goats and sheep and camels are gathered in the central enclosure, with the camels placed opposite to the entrance. In this description by Chailley[21] it is to be noted that residence is part matrilocal and part patrilocal although predominantly the latter.



Key: A. Hut of first wife and head of the family.
B. Second wife's hut.
C. Father's brother's wife's hut.
D. Married daughter's hut. o kitchen
E. Son's wife's hut.
F. Another son's wife's hut.

The diagram shows the nomad's encampment composed of transportable beehive huts (*gourbi*) similar to those of the Somali. These consist of a hemi-spherical armature of boughs bound together with palm-fibre and covered with mats. The armature (*aloula*) is erected by women within a circle of stones (*deddara*). The entrance is semi-circular and about 2 ft. high. Furnishings comprise a skin stretched across the floor used as a bed, goat-skin gourds for water, milk, and butter, and some wicker vessels stored round the inside walls of the hut. The whole is easily dismantled and carried on pack camels. Men normally sleep outside the hut looking after the livestock, leaving the comfort of the interior to women and children.[22] Three stones of a suitable size and shape form a place for cooking and are sometimes provided with a cylindrical glazed pottery oven.

In districts of sandstone and pumice-stone, the Afar sometimes live in caves hollowed out of the soft rock with axes.[23]

[20] Thesiger, op. cit., pp. 8–9.
[21] 1952, pp. 1,500–4.
[22] Chailley, op. cit., p. 1,501; see also Licata, op. cit., p. 255.
[23] Pollera, op. cit., p. 258.

The *dabou* is a stone hut inhabited by sedentary people in certain regions of high ground, particularly in the Gouda and Mabla mountains. This dwelling stands from 7 ft. 6 in. to 9 ft. high, with a similar diameter, and walls 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in. thick. Large stones are used and filled in with earth as mortar. The roof is of thorn-scrub covered with mats and is held in place by a generous covering of earth and rubble.[24] The doorway, which reaches almost to the roof, is frequently protected by a mat curtain. This type of house boasts a more elaborate bed (*holoita*) than the nomad's hut; otherwise the furnishings are much the same.[25] When the tribesmen move out to the far grazing their stone houses are left empty till their return when the pastures are exhausted.

Age-sets

Some Afar tribes have age-sets (*fiéma*) in which men of similar age are grouped under a common chief who regulates disputes among them.[26] Asaimara boys are initiated at the age of 15 and are not allowed to wear a knife before they have been circumcised. All youths of the right age are operated on together, usually before the season of the main rains. They are given no food on the morning of the ceremony which takes place at a central spot where the old men and warriors have gathered on horse-back. The operator, a famous warrior, conducts the operation at some distance from the assembled crowd. After circumcision each boy tries to call out the names of as many cows as possible and is given as many as he succeeds in naming. Some youths cry out 30 names, others are not so successful. They are then given a root to eat which will give them " clear brains " and are required to mount their warriors' ponies and go hunting. Some game must be killed, even a bird or rat suffices. No food is eaten until the evening when there is a feast at which *jenili*[27] dance and girls sing the praises of the newly elected warriors, recounting their success in the day's hunting. A bead necklace is worn by the newly initiated until the wound heals. According to Thesiger circumcision among the Adoimara generally takes place at the age of nine, but he does not state whether it is connected with initiation into an age-grade system.[28] Clearly much further information is required before the position of age-sets in the total Afar society can be properly assessed.

Legal Procedure

There is no doubt that, as in the case of the Somali, the tribe is the primary unit of solidarity and jurisdiction. It may be overridden in tribal alliances and, of course, in the sultanates,[29] particularly in Aussa, where the sultan presides over an effective juridical machine, supported by the sanction of his army. The Islamic Shariah has made fewer and smaller inroads into the tribal system than among the Somali, although in the present state of ignorance concerning Afar society it would be impossible to assess accurately the impression which it has made. The ultimate sanction for all misdemeanours is, of course, expulsion from the tribal group.[30] Blood-compensation stood at 100 oxen or their equivalent in 1885,[31] and there is a scale of compensation payable for various degrees of injury and other offences, similar to that described for the Somali.[32] The law of talion is also followed in certain cases. When murder is committed within the tribe the guilty party seeks refuge with a sheik

[24] Chailley, op. cit., p. 1,503.
[25] Chailley, op. cit., p. 1,505, gives a list of these with names.
[26] Deschamps, op. cit., p. 32.
[27] Oracle-dancers, see below, p. 173.
[28] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 6, cf. Lucas, op. cit., p. 187.
[29] Cf. Lucas, op. cit., p. 184.
[30] Licata, op. cit., p. 273.
[31] Ibid., p. 274.
[32] Homicide of women is similarly included in this scale.

or sultan until the amount of compensation payable is settled and paid, and then, when feelings have cooled, returns to his own tribe.

Between tribes homicide gives rise to perpetual feud which flares up from time to time in open warfare. Thesiger[33] records a case in which 61 people in a village were wiped out in a tribal raid, and there are ample indications that this is not unusual. Odorizzi[34] writes that every 10 or 12 years the elders of hostile tribes meet and proceed to a liquidation of outstanding blood-debts. Time does little to allay the thirst for full revenge. A thief is forced to return the stolen article or, in default, to pay a fine determined by the tribal elders.[35] There is no information on inheritance; presumably the canons of Mohammedan law are followed to some extent.[36]

Slavery

Licata wrote in 1885 that slavery is the main commercial enterprize of the Afar[37] and, according to Nesbitt, always something of a calumniator, "naked slavery" continues in the time-honoured style.[38] The value of a slave is given as a hundred pounds (1930) and slaves are brought singly or in pairs attached to caravans bound for the coast where they are sold and shipped to Arabia.[39] Women are not so valuable as men and the usual sources are Galla or Amhara boys captured in raids.

Position of Women

The position of women among the Afar seems to be similar to that among the Somali, both societies being externally highly patriarchal. A woman owns her hut and some furnishings as well as small property.

[33] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 7.
[34] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,942.
[35] Ibid., p. 1,943; Pollera, op. cit., p. 259.
[36] Cf. Pollera, op. cit., p. 258.
[37] Licata, op. cit., p. 272.
[38] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 47.
[39] Ibid., pp. 236–7.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Mental Characteristics

The Afar are said to be astute, subtle, inordinately proud and extremely individualistic.[1] They are extremely warlike and their motto might run " It is better to die than to live without killing."[2] They possess a large number of rifles, which makes them extremely dangerous. Every male Afar seeks external marks of his prowess, and his victims are castrated to furnish the warrior's proofs of valour. Thesiger contradicts Nesbitt's contention that these trophies are worn round the neck,[3] but they are apparently hung within the hut. Status depends on the number of trophies taken ; " an elaborate system of decorations displays his [the warrior's] prowess to his contemporaries, and a line of stones upright before his memorial hands down his fame to posterity."[4] Nesbitt writes that trophies are suspended from the collars of warriors' ponies.[5]

A feather is worn in the hair for 12 months after a man's first successful homicide.[5] According to Thesiger no man may wear a coloured loincloth, a comb or feather in his hair or decorate his knife and rifle with brass or silver until he has killed at least twice ; he is then entitled to slit his ears.[6] Ten killings are celebrated by the wearing of an iron bracelet.[7] With such a culture it is obvious that the capture of a rifle and ammunition is more important than the taking of a man's life.[8] On their return from a raid, men who have not killed are subjected to the scorn of their womenfolk ; their clothes are soiled and cow-dung is rubbed in their hair.[9] On them falls the duty of providing animals for the feast.

In the absence of information it is not possible to say whether the Afar have any folk-literature comparable with that of the Somali.

Physical Characteristics

Although generally very similar to the Somali, the Afar have preserved the Hamitic or Cushitic strain in greater purity and with less detectable Arab influence.[10] The average stature (64 in.) given by several authorities is considerably less than that of the Somali,[11] but they are tall with fine limbs, and conical torsos ; the head is dolichocephalic, with a fairly strong beard-growth ; lips are neither prognathous nor evertile. Hair is frizzled but not curled in the typical Negroid fashion.[12] Pollera attributes the turbidity of the eyes, which he notes, to the influence of dum-palm wine.[13] Skin colour is dark.

All Afar men and women bear a distinctive tribal mark.[14] Some have their teeth pointed and filed by a practised operator ; usually the first and second incisors are so treated.[15]

[1] Cf. Licata, op. cit., p. 274.
[2] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 135 ; on p. 79 he writes : " The Danakil kill any stranger at sight ; the taking of life has become a habit of their nature."
[3] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 5.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 167.
[6] Thesiger, loc. cit.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 196. Anyone who doubts this should turn to the travel accounts mentioned above.
[9] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 5.
[10] Leroi-Gourhan, 1953, pp. 427–9.
[11] Ibid. ; Seligman, 1939, p. 124.
[12] Leroi-Gourhan, op. cit., p. 427.
[13] Pollera, op. cit., p. 257.
[14] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 3 ; Tattooing is frequently practised, Licata, op. cit., p. 261.
[15] Lucas, op. cit., p. 187 ; Thesiger, op. cit., p. 2.

Dress and Ornaments

Men generally wear a cotton loincloth, sometimes surmounted by a toga similar to those worn by the Somali, drawn across the shoulders. In some districts women wear only a loin-cloth ; in others, while this is the costume of young women,[16] older women wear long skirts dyed brown with a mimosa bark extract ; the breasts are bare. Married women bind their hair with a piece of black cloth (*shash*),[17] and children are carried strapped to the mother's back.[18] Women decorate themselves with bead necklaces or thongs worn round the neck, and brass anklets.[19] Warriors protect themselves against misfortune and ensure success in battle by wearing amulets round their necks.[20]

The universal weapon is the *jile*, a formidable curved knife with a 16-in. blade, which is worn across the stomach. Spears are sometimes carried and rifles when available ; the shield is gradually being abandoned as it affords no protection against bullets.[21] Chiefs carry daggers of beaten steel with wooden hilts richly adorned with silver, and the sultan carries a silver baton. Children wear amulets contained in small leather pouches round their necks and arms. Children's toys are small bows and arrows.

Hair-dressing

Women's hair is carefully combed and arranged in a series of hanging ringlets ; it is not clear in the literature whether this style is later abandoned in favour of the two buns worn by married Somali women. Men's hair is tousled and rumpled, and like that of the Somali, affords protection against the sun. Both men and women frequently dress their hair with ghee.[22] Men sometimes sport a beard, often dyed red with henna leaves. Boys are close-shaven.[23]

Life Cycle

Birth

No information.

Circumcision and Infibulation

Circumcision has been described above.[24] All Afar girls undergo infibulation and excision of the clitoris in a similar manner to the Somali. Among some tribes the operation is carried out a few days after birth ; in others about the eighth year.[25] The operation is performed by an old woman and the technique is similar to that of the Somali. The operation is celebrated in song.[26]

Marriage

Girls are eligible for marriage from their tenth year[27] ; a man is not supposed to marry until he has killed, otherwise a girl whom he was courting would say, " You

[16] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 91.
[17] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 3 ; also apparently called *mushal* ; see also Licata, op. cit., p. 259.
[18] Nesbitt, loc. cit.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Nesbitt, op. cit., p. 136.
[21] Thesiger, loc. cit.
[22] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 2.
[23] Ibid. ; Pollera, loc. cit.
[24] Above, p. 166.
[25] Deschamps, op. cit., p. 33 ; Lucas, op. cit., pp. 187–8.
[26] Licata, op. cit., p. 254.
[27] Ibid.

are a woman and I am a woman, so why come to me ? "[28] The first union (four wives are permissible according to the Shariah) is preferentially with a cross-cousin.[29] The levirate and sororate are practised, but if a widow belongs to another tribe she may escape leviratic union by returning to her natal group. Among the Asaimara, but not among the coastal Adoimara, when a boy is still too young to marry his cross-cousin, she may be temporarily given to someone else by the tribal elders and returned to her cousin when he has reached adulthood. The temporary husband then pays to the girl's cousin livestock for each child she has had in the interval.[30] Women captured from other tribes in inter-tribal raiding are sometimes married, but this is not popular. Among the Adoimara of French Somaliland, the suitor pays bride-wealth to the father of his prospective bride and, having learnt where she is out herding, goes and tries to capture her. The girl is strongly defended by her companions and the suitor is stoned and may suffer serious injury. If he is successful, the girl spends seven days with him and then returns to her father's house. A camel, which must be " bubbling," otherwise the children of the union will be puny, is brought, people assemble and the girl is dressed in all her finery. She is set upon the camel and led three times round her father's hut, after which she is lifted down and laid upon an embroidered mat and swung to and fro by singing women. She is shrouded to the eyes, so that no man may see her face, and led to a hut outside the village in the direction of the rising sun. Here she and her husband spend seven days, which are celebrated by feasting and games. She now returns to her father's hut for the last time before the marriage, and is fetched by her husband some days later.[31]

Marriage is effected by a contract between the girl's father and the prospective bridegroom. For the celebration, for which the night of the full moon is favoured, the presence of someone able to read the Koran is required. The officiant ties the dark marriage veil on the bride's right hand and kills a goat over the threshold of the nuptial hut. The groom must wash his right foot in the blood of the slaughtered animal, and often one of its feet is kept as a memento. Sometimes a cock is killed as well.[32]

As already stated there are indications that marriage is sometimes matrilocal, and there is no clear information on the extent to which the tribe is endogamous.

Adultery

Adultery is not regarded as a serious offence, and is compensated for by payment of a fine.[33] Among the Adoimara, if the husband catches the offender he is led before the headmen, accompanied by witnesses and is bound with the adulterous wife's *shash*, and a fine is imposed. In Aussa an adulterer, after repeated offences, is ducked in the Awash river and only brought up when he is on the point of drowning.[34] A woman may deliberately compromise her lover in order to add to her husband's herds.[35] Children of adulterous unions always belong to the husband of the mother, not to their genitor.[36] Illegitimate intercourse with unmarried girls is punished, if it results in pregnancy, by a payment made to the girl's father which acts as an indemnification should the girl die in childbirth. If a child is born, a further penalty (*logi*) is paid to the headmen of the girl's tribe, presumably as the price of the issue. When there is any doubt, the testimony of the girl is believed in the face of her lover's denials.

[28] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 5.
[29] Ibid. ; Deschamps, op. cit., pp. 30–1.
[30] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 5.
[31] Ibid., p. 6.
[32] Licata, op. cit., p. 269.
[33] Pollera, op. cit., p. 259 ; Licata, op. cit., p. 274 ; Thesiger, op. cit., p. 6.
[34] Thesiger, loc. cit.
[35] Licata, loc. cit.
[36] Pollera, loc. cit.

Death and Burial

Funeral rites vary considerably from tribe to tribe and in the extent to which they have been Islamized.[37] Death is announced by the crying and wailing of the bereaved family augmented by the keening of paid mourners. Within the hut the deceased is laid out and sewn into a shroud, then placed on a bier and carried by men to the grave, the cortège being followed by relations and friends wailing and reciting verses from the Koran. The corpse is laid in the grave according to Mohammedan practice with the head turned towards Mecca, and upright stones are set up at either end of the grave. This Islamic type of grave is called *dico* or *kabare*[38] and is found only where Mohammedan influence is strong, as for instance near the coast. Even here the upright grave-stones are sometimes omitted, and a hole is dug close to the *kabare*, round which the family of the dead man gather to pray. The grave is frequently decorated with palm fronds and branches; on graves of chiefs or important persons a branch is planted to which a red cloth is tied.[39] More usually, however, the Afar build elaborate tombs (*waidella*) and memorials which have excited universal notice and provoked the just comment that the dead are better housed than the living.[40] These tombs are elaborate stone-work structures in which sometimes a whole family is interred; they are usually erected on a hilltop, whence they dominate the surrounding plains.[41] Additional stones are added when the death has been avenged.[42] According to Thesiger, burial in a *waidella* is practised by the coastal Adoimara only for men killed in battle, for women who have died in childbirth, and in thinly populated districts where there are few to dig graves.[43] When burial takes place in a *waidella* the funeral ceremonies include a great feast for the deceased.[43A] Memorials (*das*) which are separate from the grave and do not contain the corpse, are elaborate stone structures usually composed of stone mounds arranged in a circle. Where stones are not available tree-trunks and branches are used in their construction.[44] Fire-blackened stone enclosures are found in front of *das*. These are the hearths on which were cooked the animals slaughtered at the time of the erection of the memorial; they are the site of periodic sacrifices to the dead. *Das* are erected from one to twelve months after death, and Thesiger records that when the memorial to the last Sheik of Badhu was built, 220 cows were slaughtered.[45]

[37] Licata, p. 268.
[38] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 10.
[39] Licata, loc. cit.
[40] Odorizzi, op. cit., p. 1,943; Conti Rossini, op. cit., p. 141; Thesiger, op. cit., p. 12.
[41] Nesbitt, op. cit., pp. 308–37, illustrations p. 400; Thesiger, op. cit., p. 10.
[42] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 9.
[43] Ibid., p. 10.
[43A] Licata, loc. cit.
[44] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 11, illustrations facing pp. 10–13; Franchetti, op. cit., *passim*.
[45] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 12.

RELIGION

The Mohammedanism practised by the Afar, as might be expected, largely takes the form of Sufism, and falls far short of orthodoxy. Islam has not yet acquired anything like as strong a hold over the nomadic population of Dankalia as it has among the Somali. But, however unorthodox the Afar may be, they still hold Islam in great esteem. Almost nothing is known of the Sufi Dervish Orders (*tariqa*) followed by the Afar, although in the coastal towns the Qadiriyyah seems to be strongly represented.[1] As with the Somali, the school of Mohammedan law which has most adherents is the Shafi'ite; the Hanafi'ite code has some importance in the coastal towns and probably also in the interior.[2] The nomads' religious observance is imperfect because of the persistence of pre-Islamic Cushitic religious practice. On the coast, however, and in districts of the interior like the Sultanate of Aussa, Islam approaches much more closely to orthodoxy, and the Afar of the Gouda and Mabla mountains show a great Mohammedan fervour.[3] Qadis versed in the Shariah are found scattered through the country as well as itinerant holy men who make some attempt to impart the rudiments of Islamic doctrine, not perhaps very successfully, since they often come to be identified with pre-Islamic Cushitic priests. Outstanding Cushitic figures are transfigured into Islamic saints, and the cult of the saint appears to have an importance similar to that which I have described for the Somali.[4] A favourite place of pilgrimage is the tomb of Sheik Abba Yeddidi[5] on the summit of Mount Gouda.[6]

The Cushitic religion of the Sky-God *Zar/Wak* plays a much more important part among the Afar than among the Somali, and has not been incorporated into Islam to the same extent. Unfortunately no one has studied the precise relations of the various cults, which are an obvious survival of this religion, to the central figure *Wak*, Father of the universe, who is so easily identified within Islam with Allah.

On the high peaks of Mount Ayelu is a shrine to which the Afar come on pilgrimage from as far as Aussa, there to sacrifice after the rains, to pray for the prosperity of stock, success in war and for good health and well-being. A similar pilgrims' shrine is situated on the sacred mountain of Guraali to the north-west of Aussa.[7] The Afar connect the *shola* tree with their ancestors,[8] and a similar localization of divine power is manifest at Aussa where, to change a run of bad luck, a man dives to the bed of the Awash river, bringing up a lump of clay with which he marks his forehead.[9] The elaborate structure of Afar tombs and the frequent sacrifices made at them suggest that a cult of the dead is practised. *Rabena*[9A] is an annual feast of the dead held at the sites of important tombs, which recalls the Somali custom of "sweeping the tomb."[10] It is very likely that sacrifice at the tombs of tribal ancestors has as great an importance for the lineage system of the Afar, so little understood, as for that of the Somali.[11] Another regional manifestation of Cushitic power is recognized in the October ceremony of alms to the sea (*ba'adhi meskin bahr*) which takes place

[1] See Trimingham, op. cit., pp. 239 ff.
[2] Pollera, op. cit., pp. 284–8; Trimingham, op. cit., p. 232.
[3] Deschamps, op. cit., p. 28.
[4] See above, p. 146.
[5] The name suggests syncretism.
[6] Deschamps, loc. cit.
[7] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 8.
[8] Above, p. 164.
[9] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 5.
[9A] Deschamps, op. cit., p. 27.
[10] See Lewis, MS., p. 392. Cerulli, 1923, pp. 4 ff.
[11] See above.

each year at Tajura. The Data Addokum, an Adoimara tribe of the interior, offer a jet black bull to the sultan. The animal is led three times up and down the shore and slaughtered at dawn near a mosque in the presence of the sultan and his suite. Some of the blood must flow into the sea. Children are sent with vessels to collect some of the sacrificial blood, with which their mothers anoint their own brows and those of their children. It is claimed that the ceremony is designed to appease the devils of the sea (identified with plankton which floats in yellow masses on the surface of the water) and ensure the safety of the village for the coming year. The bull supplied by the Data Addokum is part of the tribute which they owe to the Sultan of Tajura as his subjects—they are a tributary Adoimara tribe.[12]

Other Cushitic customs which still persist are: the use of sorcery to cure the sick, the testing of veracity by ordeals,[13] and the widespread use of amulets. All are tinctured in varying degrees with Mohammedanism; thus amulets normally contain a passage or *sura* in Arabic from the Koran.

An interesting practice which survives in varying degrees of syncretism among the Afar and other Cushitic peoples is that of oracle-dancing (*jenile*). *Jenile* are seers who make prophecies in response to questions put to them while under the influence of the dance.[14] They are ordinary men or women with no special position in the tribe.[15] Thesiger records the following description of a *jenile* dance for the Asaimara. The dancers stand shoulder to shoulder in a close circle, chanting and clapping their hands, and summon the *jenile* who is seated close by. When the dance is well under way the *jenile* enters the circle, standing in the centre on a sheepskin or pile of grass, covered to the eyes with his cloak (*shamma*). The dancers incline their bodies more and more towards the oracle, but never move their feet, and the chanting and clapping reach a crescendo. Then the oracle speaks and the dancers straighten up to hear his prophecy, chanting back his words to " the refrain Asaimara." Every now and then a question is put and the answer anxiously awaited.[16] The occasions and the function of the *jenile* dance are not clear; the dance described was performed to celebrate the return of an Asaimara sheik. In a particularly obscure passage, Licata[17] connects *jenile* dancing with the temporary adoption of strangers, and claims that they are a means of testing the intentions of travellers before the tribal assembly; if the outcome is satisfactory, the foreigner is admitted to the tribe with the sacrifice of an ox, with whose blood he is anointed, and is given a chief's baton as a guarantee of safe conduct.

The *jenile* dance is very similar to the " beating of the *Zar*," a feature of the cult of the Sky-God *Wak*, performed by the Cushites generally and still found in Somaliland, where it has been incorporated into the *dikr* ceremonies performed in the Sufi *tariqas*.[18]

[12] Lucas, op. cit., pp. 186–7.
[13] See Pollera, op. cit., pp. 258–9.
[14] Licata, op. cit., p. 267, calls them crafty knaves.
[15] Thesiger, op. cit., p. 8.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Licata, loc. cit.
[18] See Lewis, MS., pp. 390 ff.; Cerulli, op. cit., p. 6.

THE SAHO

Available information on the Saho is scanty so that little more than a very general outline of their location and tribal constitution can be given.

Saho is essentially a linguistic classification, for, although they speak a common language, the Saho tribes vary considerably in origins,[1] organization, tribal law, and customs. They have never constituted a political unity.[2]

TERRITORY

The majority of the Saho inhabit Eritrea. They occupy an area limited to the north by the Massauwa-Ginda road, to the south by the valleys of the Mai Muna and Endeli, to the west by the lofty scarps of the Ethiopian Highlands, and to the east by the Dankalia plains of Samoti and Wangabo. Beyond these limits, to the south in Ethiopia, the Irob Saho occupy the valley of the Laasigeda and advance up the foothills with their flocks as far as Debra Damo and the upper reaches of the Belesa.

Mainly pastoralists, the Saho migrate in winter towards the coastal region, returning in summer to move across the country of the Tigrina-speaking peoples far to the west, across Akele-Guzai and over the Mareb into the Hazamo plain towards the Serai. These movements have led to the settlement of Saho on the plateau where they have adopted the Tigrina or Tigre languages. In the other direction, Tigre and Afar-speaking peoples have moved among the Saho and adopted their language. Settlement in both directions is continually taking place.[3] The neighbours of the Saho are to the north, the Tigre-speaking peoples of Samhar; to the south, the Asaimara Afar; to the east, and especially in the Buri peninsula, Adoimara Afar; and to the west the Abyssinians.

The total number of Saho-speaking people is estimated at 48,000.[4]

TRIBES

The largest autonomous Saho tribal aggregate is the Asaorta (18,000) who derive from an early wave of Afar immigration. The Asaorta migrate with their stock (mainly oxen)[5] between the sea and the Akele-Guzai. Although now devout Mohammedans, they were for a long time pagans (followers of the cult of the Sky-God, *Wak*) with Mount Falum the central shrine at which an annual sacrifice of a white cow is still held.[6] Islam has been introduced through the absorption of priestly sections of Arabian origin such as the Me Embara Bait Khalifa, and Bait Shaik Mohammed. During the 19th century many Asaorta joined the Mirghaniyya *tariqa*.

The Asaorta comprise five tribes known as the *kawn are*, " the five houses," and trace descent to a common eponymous ancestor Omar Asaor.[7] These are: the Bait Lelish, Fogorotto, Bait Fagih, Asalissan, and Assakeri; the Bait Lelish are considered the first-born lineage, and at one time their chief represented the five Asaorta tribes, although each tribe now has its own chief. The Bait Fagih provide the Islamic *qadi* for the Asaorta.[8] The Enjagi Sennare are a small tribe allied to the Asaorta.

[1] Conti Rossini, 1914, pp. 852–3.
[2] Nadel, *Africa*, 1946, p. 3.
[3] Conti Rossini, 1937, p. 141.
[4] *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, 1943.
[5] Venieri, 1905, p. 55.
[6] Reinisch, 1889–90, II, p. 132.
[7] Pollera, 1935, p. 266; Bruna, 1907, p. 1,696 genealogy.
[8] Bruna, op. cit., p. 1,698, genealogy.

Essentially semi-nomadic mountain dwellers in a state of transition towards sedentary cultivation, they remain in the plains in winter for as short a time as possible, practising some cultivation, and return later to the plateau where they cultivate more extensively and where many Asaorta sections are permanently settled. Here the Abyssinian stone and thatched hut (*hudmo*[9]) has been widely adopted and largely replaces the traditional Saho conical shelters (*datha, are*[10]), though among the sedentary Asaorta both types are found side by side. Of all the Saho, the Asaorta practise the most intensive cultivation, which they have adopted from the adjacent Abyssinians; Asaorta stock-herders have contracted to tend the Abyssinians' stock and take them with their own to the coastal grazing in return for payment in grain.[11]

The Minifere (" the sons of Mina ") number about 11,000 and inhabit southern Eritrea between Senafe and Arafali. This tribe appears to represent a fusion of Afar with an Abyssinian garrison placed in the country to bar the way to further Afar expansion northwards. Some of the Minifere were at one time Christian, and agriculturist sections living on Mount Soira (especially the Asa Yofisha) still remain Christian although the majority had adopted Islam by the beginning of the 19th century. Consistent with their mixed origins, one tradition derives their eponymous ancestor Mina from royal Abyssinian stock (Christian) and another relates him to the family of the Prophet.[12] The three Minifere sub-tribes, the Faqat Harag, Rasamo, and Gaso, comprise some 13 principal sections, and the Faqat Harag constitute a religious group, their chief acting as *qadi* in appeals from the decisions of the other chiefs.

The Teroa (Tor'uwa), (2,550 in 1931), the most northerly of the Saho, inhabit the territory between the rivers Haddas and Algede, being nomadic between the Hamasen and the coast. In contrast to the Minifere, whose stock mainly consists of sheep and goats, but like the Asaorta, the Teroa possess large herds of oxen. In origin they are a mixture of Ge'ez and Tigre-speaking peoples with Saho, Saho having become the dominant language although Tigre is also spoken. They claim descent from an immigrant Arab. There are two fractions, the Bait Sarah (or Sarah Are[13]) and the Bait Mose (or Moset 'Are), the second bilingual. Many Teroa families emigrate among the peoples of Samhar.[14]

The Hazu or Haso (4,000) live to the east and south-east of the Minifere migrating between the Gulf of Zula and the River Endeli. There are seven fractions: the Omartu, Musa Elebago, Consubi Fire, Hammedi Gashia, Mohammed Kaiuwa, Assa Ali Gashia, and Assa Alila. All the Hazu are nomadic and " never cultivate, but live at feud with the Danakil and with their neighbours in Irob."[15] Their main wealth is in sheep and goats.[16] Their chief has the title *Ona* and sub-chiefs are called *shun*. Like the Teroa, the Hazu contain Tigre-speaking elements.

The Debri-Mela (" the people of the Mela and Debra mountains ") (*c.* 1,000) live south of the Akele-Guzai on the mountain chain of Mount Mola. They claim descent from a certain Sultan Jergis of Istanbul whose descendant, Ismail, is said to have reached their territory towards the end of the 17th century. This strange tradition suggests a connection with a former Turkish garrison of Massauwa. There are two fractions, the Alades of Ambra Debra who are Saho-speaking Mohammedans and nomadic pastoralists, and the Lab Hale, settled cultivators, Ethiopic Christians who speak Tigrina and Saho.[17]

[9] Venieri, op. cit., pp. 8–9; Dainelli e Marinelli, 1913, pp. 396 ff.
[10] Venieri, op. cit., pp. 12–23, illustrations.
[11] Parkyns, 1853, pp. 124–6.
[12] Conti Rossini, 1914, p. 22; Pollera, op. cit., p. 268.
[13] Note the alternative Arabic and Saho nomenclature.
[14] Pollera, op. cit., pp. 264–5.
[15] Longrigg, 1945, p. 162.
[16] Venieri, op. cit., p. 55.
[17] Pollera, op. cit., pp. 268–9.

The Irob (*c.* 10,000) are a large Saho-speaking Christian tribe who live in Abyssinian territory, south of the Debri-Mela and the Endeli River, and migrate on the plateau as far as Debra Damo. According to Conti Rossini their name means " the European who came by the sea." They are gradually adopting the language and culture of the Abyssinians among whom they live.[18]

Less important Saho tribes are: the Idda (1,200),[19] Iddefer (1,000),[20] Baradotta (900),[21] and the Assabat 'Are,[22] all of mixed origin; there are also Afar tribes who are now Saho-speaking, such as the Reza Mara[23] and Bellesuwa.[24]

There are also some small Arab clans, often dispersed but important in the part they play in introducing and consolidating Islam. The Intile Sheik Are, a branch of the Me Embara (Asaorta), are a holy section centred on Donagub, but with members scattered among all Saho tribes as Koranic teachers and mediators in disputes.[25] The Bait Khalifa, Bait Sheik Mahmud, Bait Tawakal, and Abdalla Sanaa, are small groups of very mixed origin united by common association. The Bait Khalifa, for example, comprise families of Sudanese, Afar, Dassamo,[26] and Asaorta.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

There are no studies of Saho social and political organization, or even of customary procedure, which is said to vary considerably from tribe to tribe corresponding to the different ethnic compositions of particular tribes.

The constitution of tribes is said to be democratic with an elected chief. There is no caste system. The Saho have remained virtually independent both of the Tigreans and of the *na'ib* of Arkiko, although they sometimes pay tribute to both.[27] In travellers' tales they figure as wild and fearful brigands dominating Samhar and the eastern slopes of the mountains. Now, however, agriculture is developing gradually where it is practicable. Islam has made a much deeper impression upon them than upon the Afar, ability to read and write Arabic is general, and Saho women are veiled and secluded according to Mohammedan practice. The Asaorta, particularly, have a high standard of Islamic knowledge.[28]

[18] Pollera, op. cit., pp. 273–4.
[19] Ibid., pp. 266–7.
[20] Ibid., p. 267.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., p. 268.
[23] Ibid., pp. 269–70.
[24] Ibid.; see above, p. 158.
[25] Pollera, op. cit., p. 270.
[26] The Dassamo are a section of the Minifere.
[27] Conti Rossini, 1937, p. 141.
[28] Pollera, op. cit., p. 275.

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ABBREVIATIONS :

AAE. = *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia* (*Florence*)
AAI. = *Annali dell'Africa Italiana* (*Rome*)
AC. = *Agricoltura Coloniale*
AFA. = *Archiv für Anthropologie*
Ann. G. = *Annales Géographiques*
BIFAN. = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* (*Yaounde*)
BRSGI. = *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana*
BSAI. = *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia*
BSBG. = *Bulletin de la Royale Société Belge de Géographie*
BSG. = *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (*Paris*)
BSKG. = *Bulletin de la Société Khediviale de Géographie*
Bull. Col. Comp. *Bulletin de Colonisation Comparative* (*Brussels*)
GJ. = *Geographical Journal*
Ind. Ant. = *Indian Antiquary*
JAS. = *Journal of the African Society*
JEANHS. = *Journal of the East African Natural History Society*
JRAI. = *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
JRGS. = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*
JSA. = *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*
L'A. = *L'Anthropologie* (*Paris*)
MR. = *Il Mediterraneo Revista*
MSOS. = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* (*Berlin*)
OM. = *Oriente Moderno* (*Rome*)
Or. = *Orientalia* (*Rome*)
RA. = *Atti Rivista di Antropologia* (*Rome*)
RAL. = *Rendiconti del Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (*Rome*)
RC. = *Rivista Coloniale* (*Rome*)
RCI. = *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane* (*Rome*)
RDC. = *Rivista delle Colonie* (" *L'Oltremare* ") (*Bologna*)
RFF. = *Revue de Folklore Français*
RGI. = *Rivista Geografica Italiana* (*Florence*)
RSAI. = *Rassegna Sociale dell'Africa Italiana* (*Rome*)
RSE. = *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* (*Rome*)
RSO. = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (*Rome*)
SGM. = *Scottish Geographical Magazine*
S. d. Ph.-Hist. Kl. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (*Vienna*)
V. Or. J. = *Vienna Oriental Journal*
Z. f. Afr. u. Oz. Spr. *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Ozeanische Sprachen* (*Berlin*)
Z. f. Eing. Spr. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* (*Berlin*)
Z. f. Kol = *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* (*Berlin*)
Z. f. Phon. = *Zeitschrift für Phonetik.*

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APPENDIX I: POPULATION AND LAND USE IN THE SOMALI INTER-RIVER AREAS

GENERAL NOTE:

Although most of the material in the following Appendices is based on field research done earlier (see Preface on page 10), footnotes have in some cases been updated or added to reflect later developments. For notes on the spelling of Somali words see ORTHOGRAPHY page 2.

POPULATION AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION (1964)

The Inter-River Area, lying between the Shebelle and Juba Rivers in the south of the Somali Republic, and to some extent overlapping these natural boundaries, covers some 210,000 square kilometres. This very extensive tract of country, by far the most fertile in the Republic, falls within the Administrative Provinces of Hiran, Benadir, and Upper and Lower Juba.[1]

According to its principal topographic characteristics and soil types the Area as a whole has been classified as consisting of at least 14 ecological regions[2]. From the point of view of economy, these various ecological regions support three prevailing modes of livelihood – pastoralism, cultivation, and a mixture of both. Some regions are almost entirely utilised for grazing by the nomads and semi-nomads, with their flocks of sheep and goats, cattle, and camels, the balance between these three types of livestock interest varying with terrain. As far as agriculture is concerned, the main distinction to be noted here is that between the dry-farming areas (known as *adable* in Upper Juba Province) and the wet-farming Riverine areas (known as *doobay* or *dollo* in Benadir and Lower Juba Provinces. The chief crops are durra (sorghum – *misego* in Somali), maize (*gelay*), sesame (*simsim*), beans (*diir* or *digir*), and squashes (*bu'ur*) with the subsidiary regional cultivation of fruit (especially bananas *mos*), cotton (*suf*), sugar cane (*kasab*), groundnuts (*aws*), sweet potatoes (*buruq sonkorqan*), and tobacco (*buri*). In Upper Juba Province durra takes precedence over maize, whereas in the higher rainfall areas of Benadir and Lower Juba the principal crop is maize. Sesame is often planted after the spring rains (*Gu*) and maize after the autumn (*Dayr*) rains; durra is usually initially planted after the *Gu* rains and a second crop may be grown in *Dayr*. Both durra and maize are stored in pit granaries and durra may be kept for over ten years under these conditions. Maize deteriorates much more rapidly.

Along the Rivers, and particularly at Jowhar, Genale, and Shalambod, on the Shebelle river, the Italian and Somali-owned plantations produce a fruit cash crop (principally bananas) which provides the Republic's (second) main export trade[3]. The partly government-owned S.N.A.I.[4] sugar industry at Jowhar was in 1964 of growing importance and expected to supply more than the country's own sugar requirements.

[1] Post-1964 regional boundaries underwent several changes, so that by 1991 the redefined regions of this Area were named Bay, Bakol, Gedo, Hiran, Middle Juba, Lower Juba, Middle Shebelle and Lower Shebelle.

[2] For an excellent detailed description of these see: FAO *Project No. 42 Somalia – Agricultural and Water Survey Memorandum on achievements and objectives*, July 1964.

[3] The other main item is the export of hides and skins and livestock on the hoof.

[4] S.N.A.I.: Societa' Nationale Agricola Industriale. The Somali government owns fifty per cent of the company's shares; the remainder are held by Italian interests.

Basic Principles of Somali Social Organisation

Before discussing the tribal composition of the Area, which it must be emphasised exhibits some of the widest cultural variations within the Somali nation, it is necessary to say something of the Somali culture area as a whole. It is essential to have some conception of the social placement of the Area if its internal structure and institutions are to be adequately understood. The Somali people, extending far beyond the present arbitrary frontiers of the Somali Republic, are distinguished by their possession of a common religion, language and culture – with of course some local internal variations. Throughout the Somali culture area descent is traced and inheritance passed in the male line, features of Somali life which are given added emphasis in Islam, and traditional political relations are to a large extent based on patrilineal kinship. The traditional constituent political units within the nation are genealogically defined groups of kinsmen; and those who are closely related share a stronger common political allegiance than those whose kinship connections are remote.

In traditional Somali life, a man's genealogy which he is carefully taught in childhood by his parents, is not merely a proud assertion of social status, but rather the guiding principle for all his political, social, and economic relations with other people. Above all, as Somalis recognise when they compare their genealogies with people's addresses in Europe, their genealogies constitute a system of social and political placement by means of which every individual is unerringly identified. The social and political obligations which flow from common kinship ties, established by the possession of a common genealogy, constitute the most basic element in traditional Somali life.

It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that modern Somali nationalists should have experienced so much difficulty in eradicating those wasteful and unproductive effects of kinship solidarity which they seek to overcome in building up an efficient modern state.

It must at once be added, that while kinship in the male line (*tol*) must be regarded as forming the very fabric of the Somali social system, a second principle, that of contract (*heer*), plays an equally vital part. Somali customary law, indeed, while also reflecting the strong influence of Islam, is based upon the concept of contract and contractual unions occurring at all levels of kinship division. In practice the two principles, which together constitute the foundation of the Somali Social System, are inter-dependent. The diffuse obligations of kinship are sharpened and defined by specific contractual agreements (*heer*) which state precisely in what circumstances, and with what degree of collaboration, kinsmen should stand together united against other competing social units. Thus the traditional system of social security is provided by the common obligation of a defined group of kinsmen – equally a section of a clan[5] to act as a single unit in their relations with other groups. The members of the group agree to meet all external contingencies as a single united entity.

In practice, since all Somalis follow the Muslim system of payment of damages for death and injury[6], the unity of these contractually defined kinship groups is most clearly realised, and most frequently invoked in the payment and receipt of damages. And since the Arabic term *dia*, meaning blood-compensation for death, is widely used among Somali (as well as the Somali term *mag*) it has become customary to refer to these units as 'dia-paying groups'. It is primarily as a member of a particular dia-paying group that an individual has a definite political and legal status within the Somali state. Dia-paying groups, however, do not necessarily form distinct geographical communities. Often their members are scattered, particularly amongst the nomads – although there are limits to

[5] I use this term to designate the largest autonomous political units in the traditional Somali social system.

[6] The Shafi'ite School of Muslim Law followed by Somalis is interpreted locally in the light of Somali social institutions. Thus, for example, while theoretically in cases of deliberate murder, blood compensation should *not* be paid collectively by the culprits' distant relatives, this is the normal procedure in Somali rural society.

dispersal beyond which effective cooperation cannot be maintained. Nor are they to be thought of as fixed units of population. It is of the nature of politics, that these groups, like other political units, should unite and divide in new alignments as occasion demands forging in the process new *heer* agreements.

The actual rates of payments for death and injury vary considerably from district to district, both between autonomous groups and within them. In 1964 compensation for the death of a man ranged from some 2,500 shillings amongst the Digil group of clans to as much as 10,000 shillings between some other groups. The magnitude of the customary valuation given to *dia* is directly related to the social distance between the groups concerned. The closer groups feel themselves to be the less they normally pay in compensation. Remote groups on the other hand, not necessarily geographically so much as socially distant, stipulate higher evaluations. Women, married as well as single, participate in this system through the kinship group to which they belong by birth. Blood-wealth for a woman is normally half that of a man. As this system works in practice, individual members of large dia-paying groups many thousand strong may often contribute less than a shilling in payment of full blood-money, the injured family, however, always receives a substantial proportion of the incoming damages.

Whatever its shortcomings and the contribution which it undoubtedly makes to the perpetuation and entrenchment of some of the pernicious effects of 'tribalism'[7], this organisation must be taken as a basic fact of the present Somali social scene. And for the majority of the population it acts as the main means of insurance, providing for the safety and security of the individual in an insecure and often hazardous environment. Coverage, nowadays, indeed is extended to include injuries or death resulting from traffic accidents.[8]

The Contractual Principle

The word *heer* means any agreement, treaty, or pact binding individuals and groups itself. The agreement may stipulate the conditions under which a particular dia-paying group pays and receives blood-compensation externally and internally. On the other hand, the term may be applied to describe an agreement *between autonomous* dia-paying groups or clans – laying down the rates at which they jointly agree to pay and receive compensation in relation to each other. More narrowly, the word may be used to describe the code of rules relating to the use of a particular water-point, particularly an artificially excavated pond (*war*), and also to the tariff of fines imposed for their neglect. (See Appendix III.)

Finally, by extension, *heer* comes to mean customary practise in general, since in the democratic Somali system this is conceived of as being derived from a consensus of opinion. In this context, the word is equivalent to the Arabic borrowing *qaynuun* and to the term *tastur* (also of Arabic origin) which is widely used in the south of the Republic with much the same sense. It is of interest to note that the expression *heer* is not generally used to refer to purely economic agreements, or company agreements to which the Arabic derivation *shirko* is normally applied. With this brief discussion of a concept which is of fundamental importance and frequently misunderstood by foreign students of Somali life, we can now return to discuss the main Somali social groupings.

The Largest Clan-groupings

Within the nation as a whole the largest constituent groupings are six families of

[7] I am thinking here particularly of the preferment of individuals and policies on a basis of clan interests, irrespective of their intrinsic merits.

[8] For a further introduction to the basic principles of Somali social organisation see my *A Pastoral Democracy*, London, OUP 1961, and *Blood and Bone: the Call of Kinship in Somali Society*, Trenton, N.J., 1994.

clans: the Dir, Isaq, Hawiye, Darod, and the Digil and Rahanweyn. Numerically, these are very large units indeed – half a million, a million, perhaps even one and a half million in the case of the largest. Although these 'clan-families' have each generally a principal geographical location, they are all to a greater or lesser extent dispersed throughout the Somali culture area. The Dir, for instance are found in three main parts of the country: in the north-west of the Northern Regions (the 'Ise and Gadabursi clans) and in Benadir and Lower Juba Provinces in the south (mainly the Biamal). The Darod and Hawiye extend far beyond their chief areas of occupation in the Majerteyn, Mudug, and Hiran Provinces and the Ogaden, by-passing the Digil and Rahanweyn between the rivers, and extending far into Northern Kenya. The Isaq in the centre of the Northern Regions are less widely distributed, and the same also is true of the Digil and Rahanweyn located mainly in the Inter-River Area and indeed making up much of its population, although some sections of both groups are also found in N.E. Kenya.

While there are some slight cultural and linguistic differences between the Dir[9], Isaq, Darod and Hawiye, the widest differences within the nation occur between these as a whole on the one hand, and the Digil and Rahanweyn on the other. Northern Somalis find that several months' experience are required to fully master the speech of the Digil and Rahanweyn, although it should be pointed out that many of these southern tribesmen also speak the national dialect. Another superficial, but quite striking special culture feature of the Digil and Rahanweyn (though to some extent shared with the Hawiye) is their use of coffee-beans (*bun*) cooked in ghee as the universal feast dish. A number of more important special traits occur in Digil and Rahanweyn social organisation, as will be mentioned presently. To a considerable extent these differences must be attributed to the unique history of the Digil and Rahanweyn clans who, more than any of the other Somali groups, represent great coalitions of widely differing tribal elements including Oromo and Bantu admixture.

The Clans of the Area

While some members of the Isaq clan-family are to be found within the Area, this is the least well-represented of the six major groups. The main elements in the Area's population are Rahanweyn, Digil, Hawiye, Dir and Darod; of whom the first two are numerically predominant. Another important element consist of the Riverine peoples who are culturally associated mainly either with the Hawiye or with the Digil and Rahanweyn.

There are some slight cultural and linguistic differences between the Digil and Rahanweyn groups of clans, most marked linguistically in the case of the Jiddu of Qorioley whose speech is generally regarded as something of a curiosity[10]. In other respects, and in sentiment, the two groups are closely aligned and indeed ultimately trace descent from a common ancestor. The Rahanweyn are mainly settled in the northern part of the area, in Upper Juba Province with headquarters at Baidoa, while the Digil live mainly in the southern sector in Benadir and Lower Juba Provinces. And while both the middle reaches of the Shebelle and Juba are peopled chiefly by the associated Riverine peoples (of whom more will be said presently), leaving the intervening dry-land farming and pastoral regions to the Rahanweyn, the Digil are more directly settled round the lower parts of the Shebelle where there are fewer distinctive Riverine groups. Both the Digil and Rahanweyn practise mixed farming and some sections, or parts of groups or families, are nomadic as well as cultivating. On the Lower Shebelle particularly[11], the bias of livestock interest is turned towards cattle rather than

[9] I am using the term 'Dir' here with a certain amount of license to include the Biamal, Gadabursi and 'Ise.

[10] Some Jiddu claim kinship with the Afar (Danakil) people of Djibouti.

[11] I use this expression to refer to the stretch of the river running between Afgoi and Haway.

camels, so that while many Rahanweyn groups have quite extensive herds of camels this is less common amongst the Digil.

The Rahanweyn, the more numerous of the two groups, consist of at least thirty-three separate clans divided into two loose alliances known as the 'Eight' (*Siyeed*) and the 'Nine' (*Sagal*). Both of these groups contain many more than the number of clans indicated by these titles, *siyeed* being more numerous. Although these are not strictly geographical units, the 'Nine' tend to occupy the northern part of the Area, leaving much of the central and south to the 'Eight'. This distinction which seems to have had its origin in the way in which the Rahanweyn entered their present territory and in their early pattern of distribution, has, however, still some residual political significance. Generally the tariff of indemnifications for damages within each group is valued on a lower scale than in disputes between members of the two groups. As a whole, the Rahanweyn follow a mixed economy divided between dry farming (principally of durra rather than maize) and animal husbandry, their livestock, especially their camels, moving widely through the inter-river area. One of their most striking, and certainly their largest representatives is the important Elay clan of Baidoa and Bur Hakaba[12]. This group estimated to number at least 100,000 and divided into three major divisions (*gamas* or *gember* – lit. 'stool') illustrates the federal process, upon which all Digil and Rahanweyn clans are built, at its most expansive. Apart from a small original core, almost all the authentic descendants of which have disappeared, those who today call themselves Elay are an assemblage of people in which almost every other major Somali group is represented.

While the Rahanweyn occupy, at least in their cultivating settlements, the centre and north of the area, the Digil lie generally to the south in the region of the lower Shebelle River and the coast where they are in contact with the Dir. The Digil comprise seven clans, usually known as the 'Seven Digil' (*todobadi digil*), of which the largest and most important are the Jiddu of Qorioley District round the Lower Shebelle near Merca; the Tunni (and their former satellites the Tunni Torre) of Brava District; the once-powerful Geledi on the Shebelle round Afgoi, the Garre centred in the area lying between Wanlaweyn and Aw Digle on the Lower Shebelle; and finally the Dabarre between Jilib on the Juba and Dinsor[13]. To a considerable extent as well as being dry-land farmers, the Digil are involved in irrigation cultivation along the Shebelle, both directly on their own account and indirectly through their former Riverine dependents some of whom are of servile origin.

In keeping with their smaller numbers, the Digil as a whole display a considerable degree of separate identity and cohesion, more so than the more numerous Rahanweyn, both in relation to land use and in terms of their customary evaluation of internal damage payments. Thus, the standard compensation payable within the whole Digil group for a man's life in 1964 was 2,500 shillings of which 1,500 was normally paid to the family of the deceased and the remaining 1,000 shillings distributed amongst the elders of the groups involved (in the case of a woman, the figure is half that quoted). Within individual Digil clans, blood compensation amounts to little more than the payment of funeral expenses (sometimes as much as 700 shillings). Between Digil and outside groups, of course, much higher rates of compensation are payable.

The Dir

The Dir are represented in the Area principally by the Biamal clan in two groups round Merca and Kismayu. Those around Merca live partly as pastoralists with a restricted

[12] For a fuller account of individual Rahanweyn clans and their distribution see *Peoples of the Horn of Africa* above, pp 34-40. A list of the main groups will also be found in Appendix II of this report. For an invaluable contemporary analysis of one typical clan, see B. Helander *The Slaughtered Camel: Coping with fictitious descent among the Hubaar of southern Somalia*, Stockholm 1994.

[13] For the distribution of the Digil as a whole see: *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*, above, pp 31-33.

cycle of movements between the coastal dunes and the Shebelle. Camels, especially, avoid the river on account of the presence of tsetse fly. In Merca District, the Biamal clan forms a single dia-paying group within which compensation is given a low value. Externally, between the Biamal and surrounding Digil clans compensation was paid at the rate of 6,000 shillings for a man's life.

The Hawiye

The Hawiye, who like the Dir conform more closely to the northern pattern of genealogical organisation than the heterogeneous Digil and Rahanweyn, live as mixed cultivators and pastoralists on both sides of the Middle Shebelle; and in the case of their mobile pastoral sections, move throughout much of the Inter-River Area. Most of their cultivation is dry-land farming, since much of the wet-farming areas are occupied by their culturally and politically associated Riverine neighbours. The main Hawiye clans involved are the Hawadle and Abgal, generally to the N.E. of the Shebelle, the Baddi Addo on both sides of the river between Mahaddayweyn and Beletweyn; and the Gaalje'el and Jaje'ele who with the Digil Garre share the distinction of being the most wide-ranging pastoral nomads – although they also have some cultivation in the whole Area between the rivers[14]. The young men of these three groups, more than any of the others, also favour the highly distinctive extravagant hair-styles known as *guud*. The other Hawiye clans of the region practise a mixed economy, the Baddi Addo and Abgal, being the most intensive cultivators of maize and sesame.

The Riverines

The Riverine tribes already mentioned fall into two distinct groups – those on the Shebelle and those on the Juba. Both groups have scarcely any livestock and exist as cultivators of mixed crops including an increasing amount of fruit (chiefly bananas) and utilising irrigation channels (*kayle*) to bring the river flood water to their fields. The main groups on the middle Shebelle are the Shidle comprising six separate dia-paying groups and living in permanent villages between a little south of Jowhar and Dinlabbe north of Mahaddayweyn. Although they have their own headmen and chiefs the Shidle are loosely associated with the Hawiye Mobilen clan whose titular leader (*Ugas*) they recognise. The association of the two clans is known as the 'Six Shidle and the Two Mobilen' – the Mobilen in fact comprise three separate, but related dia-paying groups and within the coalition as a whole blood-debts are compounded on a minimal tariff.

Immediately north of the Shidle, the Kabole form another similar, though smaller group. Consisting of seven villages stretching up the river as far as Diinlow, the Kabole constitute a single dia-paying group attached to the Baddi Addo Hawiye. They include a much reduced scion of the Molkal Hawiye, the first-born and ritually important segment of the Gugandabbe group of the Hawiye[15]. Between these Kabole and Beletweyn live three similar groups – the Reer 'Ise, Reer Maadle, and Eyle (a segment of the Eyle clan of Bur Heibe in Bur Hacaba District), all formerly attached to the Baddi Addo as dependents but recently (1963) united as an autonomous entity called the 'Three '*Umr*' with their own stipendary chief styled '*Amir*'. They form a single dia-paying group, paying full blood-wit at the rate of 7,000 shillings with the surrounding Hawiye. Finally, the northernmost Riverine group on the Shebelle are the Makanne stationed round Beletweyn and still loosely attached to the Baddi Addo.

Although physically all these groups are evidently of part Bantu origin (and also

[14] The Wa'adan Hawiye of Afgoi are allied to the Geledi (Digil) there. Another small Hawiye clan are the Herab, living between Dinsor and Brava and allied to the Rahanweyn and Digil. Another group of great historical importance, the Ajuran, survive between Jelib and Bardera and in small groups elsewhere.

[15] This includes the Molkal, Baddi Addo, Gaalje'el, Jiidle, Jaje'ele, and Digodia.

include Oromo elements), characteristics which are traditionally described in such terms as 'tough-haired' (*tima-adag*) formerly applied to them, culturally they are today fully Somali and can no longer be regarded as a separate population outside Somali society. They speak the dialect of their surrounding Hawiye neighbours and share the same social institutions; such special cultural features as they evince depend as much upon their riverine situation as on their mixed origins. It is highly significant, for instance, that the Reer 'Ise, Reer Maadle, and the Eyle should choose to express their new unity in the traditional Somali fashion by postulating descent from a common ancestor.

On the Lower Shebelle and on the Juba, with the exception of the Gobaweyn of Lugh Ganane, the situation is rather different. Here many of the Riverine groups are of more recent origin, being quite notably derived from individuals and families imported from Kenya and Zanzibar before the suppression of slavery. Many consequently speak Swahili; and as a whole, these communities are culturally less firmly integrated in the surrounding Somali society than their counterparts on the Middle Shebelle. These people generally known as WaGosha (or by the Somali equivalents Reer Gosha and Reer Goleed) consist of six tribal groups: Manjasse, ManYao, Mugindo, Mushungulo, Makuwo, and Manyika, of whom the Mushungulo being the most numerous are often taken to designate the Reer Gosha as a whole. The six groups form a single dia-paying group, but have not adopted the typical Somali genealogical structure to the extent found amongst the Shidle or the 'Three '*Umr*'. In addition to Swahili they speak a dialect of Somali very close to that of the Rahanweyn.

Both these groups of Riverine communities exhibit certain particular cultural features of which certainly one of the most striking is the institution of crocodile protector (*bahar*) found in most villages. In each village there is normally at least one individual who has acquired specialist skills which enable him to control one or more crocodiles habitually frequenting the stretch of river beside his village. When the surrounding pastoralists and cultivators owning livestock bring their stock to the river for watering, it is customary to make periodical presents to the crocodile protector – usually of milk, ghee, or a lamb or kid. If livestock watering in the river are molested by a crocodile, the crocodile protectors of all the adjacent villages are summoned and feast at their colleague's expense.

Traditionally, and particularly from the time of the colonial regime in Somalia, these Riverine peoples (as well as the Eyle of Bur Heibe and to some extent the more markedly Bantu members of the Rahanweyn as a whole) provided one of the main sources of agricultural labour. This has brought many of these people into the plantation areas of Benadir and Lower Juba provinces where they still constitute the main source of unskilled labour.

The Darod

Turning now to the Darod groups in the Inter River Area, these are mainly to be found, largely as pastoralists, on the plains running from the right bank of the Juba towards the extreme south of the Republic. The principal groups whose cycle of pastoral movement falls partly within the Area are the Harti, Mohammed Subayr, Awliyahan, Bartirre, and Marrehan. Their social structure is typical of that of the northern Somali generally and they speak the dialect current in and around Galkayu.

Religious groups

Another specialised element in the population of the area which has great traditional importance are the small clans and groups of holymen or sheikhs such as the Sheikhal, Reer Sheikh Mumin, and Ashraaf. These groups generally occupy a special position, being particularly concerned with religion and often credited with mystical powers. Frequently they do not intermarry freely with other secular clans. The Reer Sheikh Mumin are of especial interest since one of their main functions, exercised from

their ancestor's tomb near Bur Hacaba, is to protect the crops of the Rahanweyn from molestation by the swarms of small quela-quela birds which regularly descend on the fields during the growing season.

It should also be noted that, in contrast to the position amongst the northern Somali nomads, many of the locally venerated Muslim saints – especially amongst the Rahanweyn and Digil – are not lineage ancestors, but simply locally famous men of religion. And the regular annual celebrations in honour of northern clan ancestors are largely replaced by annual rain-making ceremonies (*roob-doon*), often held on a clan basis and at special sites. At the same time the 'fire-lighting' (*dab-shid, dab-tur, nayrus,* etc) ceremonies which mark the advent of the new year are much more significant than they are amongst the northern nomads. The most striking example is the *istun* (stick fighting) festival at Afgoi, with its well-known mock battles, which, traditionally, is held to bring fertility and prosperity.

The coastal towns

Finally, this introduction to the population of the Area would not be complete without some brief mention of the composition of the coastal towns most of which have a history of over ten centuries' continuous occupation[16]. Mogadishu, besides its ancient city population of part Arab origin – the Reer Hamar, some of whom (the *Gibil 'Adde*) are light-skinned – its other Arab, Indian, Pakistani, and European immigrant communities and its strong local Abgal (Hawiye) component, reflects in microcosm the entire clan distribution of the whole Republic.[17] No groups are completely unrepresented. However, apart from the Reer Hamar who have their own independent dia-paying organisation, the city is not markedly distinct from its Hawiye hinterland. Further to the south along the coast, Merca is dominated by the Biamal whose dialect it shares, while further south again, Brava conserves its old local community – the Baravanese – whose language, Chimbalazi, is closely related to coastal Swahili. Kismayu, though largely Darod, has a very mixed population, particularly with the increasing number of immigrants from all parts of the country attracted either by the prospect of working in the various post-independence development schemes (the port, road, and meat-canning factory), or in commercial undertakings in the town itself and the surrounding agricultural areas of Lower Juba.

There is no special urban community, or dialect, comparable to the situation in Brava, although the coastal Bajuni fishermen form a distinct element in the region's population[18].

PATTERNS OF LAND USE

Cultivation

Throughout the Area cultivation is traditionally by means of hand-hoe (*yambo*) in contrast to the practise amongst the durra cultivators of the north-west (Somaliland Republic) where ox-drawn ploughs are used. With the exception of the Riverine peoples, all the clans between the rivers are to a greater or lesser extent involved both in pastoralism and cultivation; and, irrespective of minor cultural and dialect differences, as for example between the Digil and Rahanweyn on the one hand, and the Hawiye,

[16] For the history of the nation as a whole see my *A Modern History of Somalia: nation and state in the Horn of Africa*, Boulder 1988

[17] Or did do so before the overthrow of Mohamed Siyad Barre's regime in 1991.

[18] For an excellent study of the Bajun region see V.L. Grotanelli, *Pescatori dell' Oceano Indiano*, Rome 1955.

Dir and Darod on the other, settlement patterns are remarkably uniform. Amongst those who live as cultivators, the characteristic local residential unit is the village (*bullo, bildan,* or *billed*) situated near water – either a well (*'el*) artificially excavated pond (*war*), or on the river (*webi*) – and composed of mud and wattle houses (*mundille*). Where, however, the cultivating tradition is less strong amongst some Hawiye, Dir, and Darod groups, and where cultivating settlements are only semi-permanent, the usual nomadic hut (*aqal*) is generally favoured. With terrain, length of settlement, and other factors, the size of villages varies greatly between a few score houses, and large villages consisting of several hundred of more dwellings and containing also shops and cafes, government dispensaries, and schools etc.

Nomadism

The typical nomadic settlement (*reer, digmo*), by contrast, is usually considerably smaller and its inhabitants are housed in the light portable nomadic huts or tents (*aqal*) composed of mats and skins draped over an easily erected framework of branches. These are moved from place to place by burden camel (and in some areas by donkey or ox) in the course of the nomad's cycle of movements in search of grazing and water for his livestock. Unlike the permanent cultivating villages which remain in a particular place, often for generations, the nomadic settlements are always essentially temporary. In regions of regularly good rainfall and rich pasture, as between the coastal dunes and the Lower Shabelle, movements tend to be fairly restricted. Elsewhere, a wider pattern of displacement is the general rule, the range of nomadic movements being directly related to the quality of pasture and extent of rainfall. Other considerations which influence grazing patterns are the need to satisfy the salt requirements of stock by allowing them to browse periodically on salt bush (*danan*), their watering requirements in the dry seasons, and the presence or absence of fly and other pests. Another primary factor influencing patterns of dispersal is of course the character of relations – whether friendly or hostile – between different groups.

Although the pastoralists exhibit a very close, and under present conditions probably almost an optimum, adaption to their ecology, moving essentially in response to the grazing and watering needs of their livestock, it must be emphasised that their displacements are by no means random or limitless. In its permanent cultivating and trading villages, and above all in its wells, every clan and group possesses a series of centres about which movement rotates. It is completely erroneous to regard the nomads as rootless gypsies involved in a constant and aimless series of migrations.

Characteristically a man moves with his wife (or wives) and children with the flocks of sheep and goats which provide their main milk supply and, if he has them, a few head of milch camels or cattle, as well as the burden camels necessary for transport and for bringing domestic water supplies when the group is far from water. The main camel herds form a separate grazing unit, often vary far removed from the family and flocks, and are usually in the charge of the owner's younger brothers (who share them), sons, nephews, etc. or paid herders (often receiving milk, clothes, and some of the increase of the herds rather than monetary wage) according to circumstances. Cattle usually form a third herding unit, again in the charge of young herdsmen, and moving much less widely normally than the grazing camels.

All the family livestock belong to the head of the family, and although a wife manages the flocks of sheep and goats and has the right to use those allocated to her to feed her own children, these are still ultimately the property of her husband, except for animals which she may have acquired with her own resources, or inherited independently of her spouse. Camels and cattle are usually marked with particular brands (*sumad*) which are those of clans or clan segments. This indicates the way in which these stock are regarded as part of the joint wealth of the group to be drawn upon in its collective arrangements for payment of compensation. Sheep and goats, on the other hand, whose management also requires less extended cooperation and which are not

thought of so directly as part of a group's joint patrimony, are marked with individual brands.

Transhumance

Many of the clansmen in this area between the rivers practise a dual economy. Indeed the most fortunate not only possess several fields in different places which enable them to profit from the unequal seasonal distribution of rain, but also sheep and goats, and herds of camels and cattle. In these circumstances the head of the family often spends most of his time in his cultivating village where at least one of his wives is settled with her children, while another wife and her children live as nomads with the flocks and some camels and cattle. A third wife may move with the main cattle herd. This pattern of dispersion of family units indicates some of the economic factors which underlie polygyny. Where the mixed farming unit consists of a group of brothers it is usual for the eldest to live on the farm while the others manage stock units.

Some groups, it must be emphasised, especially of the Garre[19], Jaje'ele and Gaalje'el, are almost entirely pastoral and move widely throughout the area, often grazing their stock on the stubble left after harvest in the fields of cultivating clans. In this situation where the farmers and pastoralists are of different clans, milk and dung, and sometimes money, are exchanged for rights of access to stubble grazing in the dry seasons when other pasturage is often scarce. Access to wells and other water-points, other than those owned by the pastoral groups concerned, may also be granted under similar conditions, although when water is plentiful no charge is likely to be levied. The conclusion to be drawn and emphasised is that the Inter River Area as a whole supports an economically mixed population, sustaining itself through a diversity of activity.

POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND LOCAL UNITS

Tribal Political Structure

With the partial exception of some of the Riverine groups (especially the WaGosha), some Rahanweyn groups, and some religious settlements, the local units described above, whether of nomads or cultivators, are absorbed into a similar socio-political superstructure. Many of the clans in the area have a single clan head or 'Capo Qabila' (traditionally styled *Ugas, Suldan, Malik,* etc.)[20] presiding over a hierarchy of lesser 'chiefs' and headmen, the more important and influential of whom are usually in possession of government stipends. It must at once be stressed, however, that in the highly democratic Somali political system, such 'chiefs' are largely titular rather than invested with substantial traditional authority. Unlike the position in so many other African traditional systems, these clan leaders do not preside over politico-legal courts with firm means of executing their judgments and upholding their position. Rather they are to be regarded as representative figure-heads exercising an extremely important role in mediating within their own clan in conjunction with the clan elders and in negotiating with other groups. Most important group decisions reflect a general consensus of feeling amongst the elders (*akhyaar*) of the social unit concerned; the term 'elders' in its widest connotation includes all adult men. Nevertheless, the hierarchy of chiefly authority – such as it is – mirrors the political constitution of each clan. Thus if there is a single

[19] The Garre are well-known for their wide-ranging nomadic movements which extend across the border into Ethiopia and eventually into Kenya. There is a proverbial saying to the effect that wherever there is a blade of grass Garre clansmen will be found with their livestock.

[20] The office is traditionally usually hereditary in a particular segment of the clan. During the British Military Administration of Somalia, however, the practise of electing chiefs was introduced and continued under the Italian trusteeship regime.

clan-head, each main segment within the clan will have its subsidiary head so that an organisation of titular offices exists in parallel with the internal division of the group. Dia-paying groups always have at least one official headman, and where they are large will have several presiding over each of their constituent units.

Most of the Digil and Rahanweyn clan confederation have, in keeping with their associative character, a very regular three- or four-fold system of divisions. The Jiddu (Digil) and the Elay (Rahanweyn) will serve as fairly typical examples. The Jiddu clan consists of three primary pseudo-genealogical divisions as shown in the chart, and each of these in turn consists of another set of units, each of which is again further subdivided until the smallest effective politico-legal segments are reached.

The founding ancestors of 'tertiary segments' are usually some three to five generations removed from living men. The Jiddu clan as a whole has six paid chiefs ('Capos'), each aided by the elders of their segment, one of whom may have the official status of deputy (*wakiil*). One of the regularly stipended chiefs, Ugas 'Alio Ibrow of the Mahammed segment of the Gogo division of the clan, occupies the traditional office of Sultan for the Jiddu as a whole, which as already mentioned forms a single dia-paying group. Within this unit, people's loyalty is tied to the constituent segment to which they belong through its leading headman or chief. The various segments of the clan are arranged in two loose divisions known as 'Saffir' and 'Wajis' as shown (p. 211).

The position with the much larger Elay clan of Bur Hacaba is very similar, except that here the clan as a whole, though forming a single dia-paying group (in some danger of splitting into its three component groupings in 1962), has no single clan-head. There are instead some fifteen paid chiefs distributed amongst the various segments according to their size, and each aided by subsidiary elders (*Gobyar*, as distinct from *Gobweyn*, principal headman or chief)[21]. Since the Elay are much more numerous than the Jiddu, the process of subdivisions into further smaller units of population goes further than shown on the chart, and individual men, where they can trace their pedigrees to the ancestors of the tertiary segments shown do so through from four to seven generations.

The representatives of the other clan-families in the Project Area – the Hawiye, Dir, and Darod, have generally a similar pattern of internal divisions associated with headmen and paid 'chiefs' following the division of responsibility within the clan in relation to payment and receipt of blood-compensation. The clan and lineage segmentation, however, tends to be less tidy and may 'straggle' in keeping with its character as a more accurate genealogical record[22]. These clans also tend to comprise a larger number of separate dia-paying groups than is generally the case with the Digil and Rahanweyn.

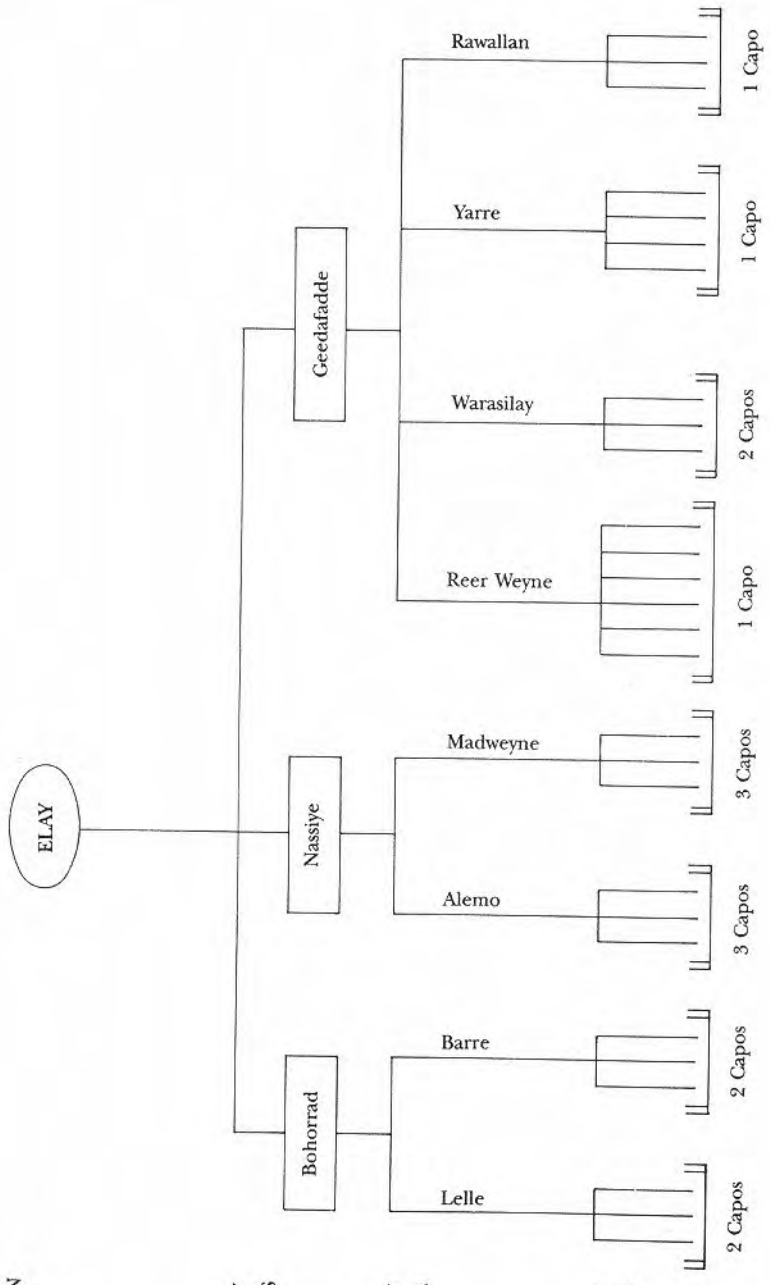
Land and Lineage

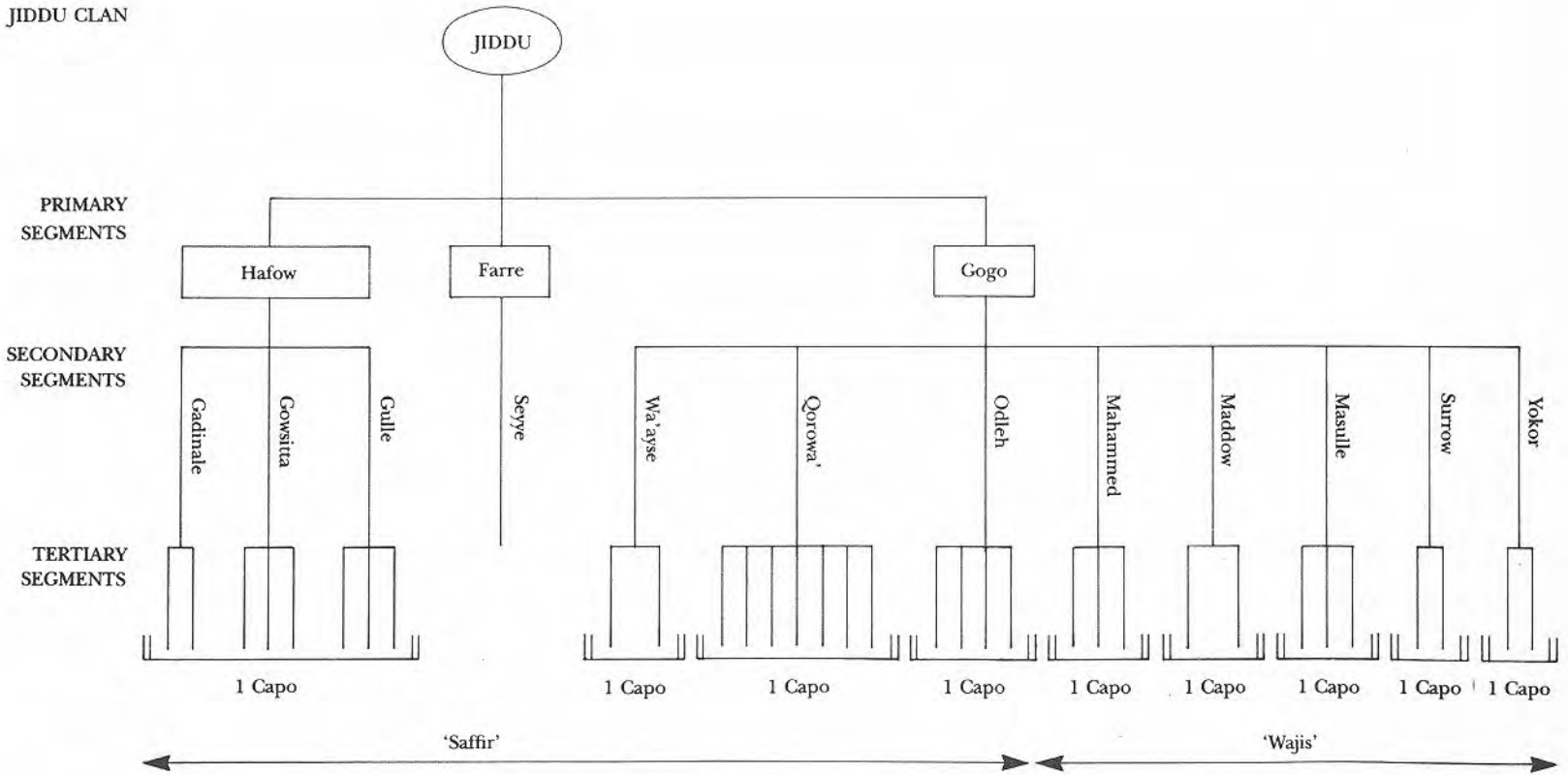
The internal divisions, or segments of a clan – whether of Digil, Rahanweyn, Dir, Hawiye, or Darod stock – are not necessarily territorially distinct local units even amongst cultivators. Thus those who share the same minimum political responsibilities – expressed in terms of dia-paying and rights to land – do not necessarily all live together in the same village. Villages, indeed, are typically of mixed lineage composition and there is often a quite explicit doctrine that the mixing of people in local residential units helps to foster a sense of central clan unity.

This also appears to be the general effect of the prevailing pattern of marriage characteristic of the Area as whole – whether among Digil, Rahanweyn, Hawiye, Dir, or Riverine. Whereas amongst the northern Somali nomads of Mijerteynia and the Northwest (Somaliland Republic) the general practise is to marry as far outside one's own immediate group as possible (and indeed marriage within one's own dia-paying group

[21] The term *sagalle* is often applied amongst the Rahanweyn to those younger men who assist the headmen in their administrative duties.

[22] For a full explanation of this see, *A Pastoral Democracy* pp 144-160.


ELAY CLAN
PRIMARY SEGMENTS
SECONDARY SEGMENTS
TERTIARY SEGMENTS
ELAY
Bohorrad
Nassiye
Geedafadde
Barre
Lelle
Madweyne
Alemo
Rawallan
Yarre
Warasilay
Reer Weyne
2 Capos
2 Capos
3 Capos
3 Capos
1 Capo
2 Capos
1 Capo
1 Capo


JIDDU CLAN
JIDDU
PRIMARY SEGMENTS
Hafow
Farre
Gogo
SECONDARY SEGMENTS
Gadinale
Gowsitta
Gulle
Seyye
Wa'ayse
Qorowa'
Odleh
Mahammed
Maddow
Masulle
Surrow
Yokor
TERTIARY SEGMENTS
1 Capo
1 Capo
1 Capo
1 Capo
1 Capo
1 Capo
1 Capo
1 Capo
1 Capo
'Saffir'
'Wajis'

is forbidden)[23], here most marriages are with paternal or maternal cousins (*inalayal*). At the same time, the large exchanges of wealth which in the north regularly accompany marriage are dispensed with and the husband (and not the wife's parents) normally supplies the bridal house. In the north wide-ranging marriage ties are contracted to foster political and economic advantage, creating what are in effect alliances between distant groups. In the area between the rivers, however, marriage is usually concentrated within a much narrower range of connection and has the effect, I believe, of emphasising and strengthening the generally weaker cohesion of cultivating groups, especially in the case of the Digil and Rahanweyn with their highly heterogeneous populations. The explanation lies in the well-known sociological fact that multiplex and over-lapping social loyalties contribute to overall social cohesion.[24]

The Village Unit

If, however, cultivating villages do not usually form distinct units in the genealogical political structure of clans, this is not to say that they do not possess a certain local solidarity. Typically there is no distinct office of village headman (except amongst some of the Riverine communities), village affairs being run by the local village elders. Yet, nevertheless, each village usually reveals a considerable degree of local unity and cooperation. In the dry-farming areas, each village is based on an artificial water catchment pond (*war*) owned by the man (or men) who originally organised its excavation and on whose land it lies. The owner of the pond is known as *aw wareed* and the water is open for use to all those who regularly assist in its maintenance and periodical enlargement. There is a well established code of water-use rules, and those who infringe them are either fined, or ultimately denied access to the water. Similar cooperative institutions also exist for all the heavy work of cultivation – clearing the bush to open new fields, planting and harvesting, and also house construction.

The young men of the village, or of a group of villages are regularly organised into associations under a leader (Aw Barbar) for local festivities at weddings, funerals etc. In some regions, as for example at Bur Heibe, there are similar hunting associations. In the dry-land farming areas, the village is thus a quite distinct community, even though it usually contains people of several different lineages and generally lacks a single headman. In these circumstances, villagers have two main sets of loyalties – one to their village in which they live and round which they cultivate, and the other to their kinsmen in other villages with whom they form part of the same segment of their dia-paying group and clan. It is important to emphasise here, as I shall explain in detail later, that it is as a member of a particular dia-paying group and its segments, rather than as a member of a village community, that a man has rights to arable land (except in the case of special village communities amongst the Riverines).

In the irrigation and wet-farming areas similar village units are found with similar community organisations for undertaking cooperative work. Here most corporate endeavour centres round the construction and maintenance of irrigation channels (*kayli, far*). However, since it is particularly in these regions on the rivers that banana and other fruit plantations are established with the employment of paid labour, this has affected the traditional pattern of cooperation in farming, introducing an increasing degree of commercialism and the frequent use of paid labour. Much of course depends upon the seasonal availability of manpower and whether every farmer is seeking help on his fields at exactly the same time.[25]

[23] See my *Blood and Bone*, 1994, chapter 2.

[24] For an admirably lucid discussion of this principle, see Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, Oxford 1955.

[25] In some villages where paid labour is employed a system of payment is followed under which the total day's wages are paid to a different man each day. So that on selected days individual workers receive considerable wage-packets.

The Village Unit Among the Riverines

I have already indicated that there are a few exceptional situations where the village is not only a local farming community but also a unit in the politico-legal structure of the clan. This is the position amongst many of the Riverine communities. For example, amongst the WaGosha of the lower and middle Juba each village has its own separate headman, its own distinct farming area (partly uncultivated bush), and pays and receives damages in the clan system of social security as a single unit. Typical examples amongst the WaGosha north of Jelib on the Juba are the villages of Madoka, Bulo Nassib, and Helishid. Each of these has a distinct territorial area of arable land, and a separate headman (or headmen).

When the WaGosha as a whole are involved in paying damages valued at 10,000 shillings, Madoka with its population of about 400 people contributes 50 shillings; Bulo Nassib with its 300 or so members contributes 30 shillings, and Helishid with a similar population to Madoka pays 50 shillings. The position is similar with villages such as those of Haway and Golweyn on the lower Shebelle, amongst the Kabole on the middle Shebelle, and in a few places amongst the Rahanweyn as for example amongst the Garwaale of Saraman. A number of religious community settlements (*jama'as, tariqas*) such as that at Bardera, Shabelle (between Bardera and Dinsor), and Bayt-al-Rahma and Kalanye and others on the lower Juba, function similarly as relatively self-contained organisations; from the early 60's some of those along the rivers engaged in growing a commercial banana crop.

Pastoral Settlements

As far as the pastoral organisation of society is concerned it is sufficient here to note that the temporary settlements in which the nomads gather with their livestock have no distinct political unity – except temporarily in time of war, when large parties of clansmen may camp together for mutual security. Nevertheless, the concentration of kinsmen and their mutual collaboration is generally more marked than with the cultivators – especially in the camel-camps and in the watering of camels from deep wells where much cooperative work is required.

LAND-HOLDING AND WATER RESOURCES

Pastureland

The principle pastureland is not owned by specific groups but is open to all Somalis for grazing without distinction of clan or lineage. Cultivable land in contrast, whether actually under cultivation or land which has reverted to bush (*bariod*) is held by specific clan groups, and in some cases divided out amongst clan sections. Artificially created waterponds (*war*) and wells (*'el*) are generally similarly assigned to specific clans, segments, and individuals, title being acquired by the act of expending physical effort in their construction and maintenance. However, especially with deep wells (and theoretically of course with wells built by the government) rights of access to water are usually freely granted to alien groups – although when water is scarce such rights may only be granted in return for some payment in money or kind. The existence of stretches of arable land, of farming communities, and of other permanent trading settlements, and of wells and other man-made sources of water – as well as the nature of relations, whether hostile or friendly – to some extent modifies the operation of the principle of universal free access to pasture. Yet, the fact remains that the most strongly nomadic groups in this Area range over hundreds of miles in their annual movements in search of good grazing – the only limit to maximum extension being the fear of isolation from one's kin and clan in the event of friction and strife with rival groups.

Arable Land

Cultivation far more definitely prescribes movement and ownership of specific tracts of territory. All those clans in the Area which practise stable cultivation (and some it must be recalled only cultivate seasonally in selected areas which they plant after the rains and then abandon until the harvest is ripe) have quite precise areas of influence. During the period of Italian colonial rule many of these areas were marked out with clearly-defined boundaries in an effort to reduce competition and friction between rival groups. Each clan has thus, from the point of view of cultivation, a distinct territory over which it exercises corporate jurisdiction. This, however, does not of course exclude the possibility of wider territorial alliances, for this indeed is a marked feature of Digil and Rahanweyn social organisation. Typical examples are the 'Five Alemo' of Daafet comprising the Jembalul, Irde, Barbar, Hefmogge, and Hober Rahanweyn clans[26], each with its own chiefs and headmen, villages, and lands, but collectively forming a single dia-paying group. In similar alliance are the Bay Hargan, a cluster of clans including the Jiron, Ma'alinweyne, Reer Dumaal, Garwaale (the 'Four Bay')[27], and the Haraw, Leysan Barre and Leysan Orsi (the 'Three Hargan')[28]. These, however, do not constitute a single dia-paying group. Associations of this sort naturally weaken the rigidity of territorial divisions between the clans concerned. This is also to a significant extent true of the Digil group (the 'Seven Digil') as a whole. Between Afgoi and Jelib, while individual clan land-holding is to some extent recognised, there is also a wider and fairly strong sense of collective Digil interest in, and title to arable land. This is reflected in the low value given to blood-wealth within the Digil group as a whole and is partly connected, I consider, with the high degree of ethnic intermixture in the area.[29]

However, with these partial exceptions, the typical situation remains that each clan is generally a separate, or perhaps better, primary land-holding unit. On this basis, the clan exercises rights over its arable lands as a sort of corporation in which all members are in effect share-holders and which is run by its chiefs and elders. Clan members have rights to land for cultivation by virtue of their membership of the group which is normally acquired by birth. In some cases, the arable land is internally divided into separate portions amongst the clan segments – at lease at some levels of clan segmentation.

To take some examples, each of the three primary segments of the Elay clan of Bur Hacaba (the three *gamas*, or *gember*) has a certain degree of territorial exclusiveness. The Nassiye have their cultivated lands mainly to the north-west of Bur Hacaba; and Bohorrad have their farms to the north-east; and the Geedafadde occupy the remaining clan territory to the south-east, south, and south-west. Within these three broad areas, which appear to correspond to the directions which the three groups followed when they first settled in their present territory, subsidiary segments of the clan are not so clearly localised in separate geographical regions. This mixing of segments on the land, at least at the lower levels of division, is as already mentioned general amongst the Digil and Rahanweyn. Amongst the Tunni (Digil) of Brava, for example, who have a fairly clearly defined extension, each of the five primary divisions of the clan (the 'Five *Gamas*') does not possess a distinct portion of land and any Tunni clansman has the right to settle and cultivate anywhere within the clan territory. Amongst the adjacent Biamal clan of Merca there is again no division of land amongst component clan segments. With the Hawiye of the area the position is more variable.

[26] The Jembalul and Barbaro actually fall within the 'Eight' division of the Rahanweyn, while the others belong to the 'Nine'.

[27] Named after the white soil (*bay*) in which they live.

[28] Named after the red soil (*hargan*) on which they live.

[29] After serious clan fighting amongst the Rahanweyn and Digil, a large intertribal assembly was held in 1950 under the auspices of the Italian Trusteeship Administration, which agreed that the dry and wet lands within their territories should be open for pasturage and watering to members of both groups. The Tunni, however, were recognised as having exclusive use of their territory round Brava.

The Abgal who number at least fifteen separate dia-paying groups divide their arable land amongst these; this is also the situation with the Baddi Addo of the middle Shebelle who boast some half dozen dia-paying groups. The neighbouring Hawadle, however, who have over thirty distinct dia-paying groups do not follow this procedure; neither do the highly pastoral Gaal Je'el with their fifteen or more dia-paying groups. Finally, amongst the Riverines, the land is generally divided up, either on a basis of lineage divisions, or according to village units. In general, it appears that the question whether or not a clan's land is divided up into separate portions associated with its political segments does not depend upon general or constant principles, but rather upon the particular history and system selected by the people concerned. Size is, however, a factor of some significance.

Whatever the position in this respect, in all cases individual land-holdings, whether under active cultivation or not, are firmly marked out – typically by bush, stone, and aloe boundaries, which however flimsy and indefinite in appearance to the foreign observer have quite distinct meaning for the people concerned. In some areas, such for example as temporarily or newly cultivated plots in the middle of pastureland, and near towns, and where wild pig and other marauding animals are troublesome, such plots are often surrounded by brush fences. The size of plots, and the number an individual clansman possesses varies widely with terrain, soil-type, the particular crops grown, and the form of exploitation. In my experience, however, most individual farmers have at least two plots and often considerably more, and those cultivating on dry land tend to be larger than those under cultivation along the rivers (except, of course, in the case of companies and plantation farmers).

Acquisition of Title to Land

I have already referred to the right of every clansman to a portion of land within his clan area. This right is part and parcel of the sharing of common clan obligations and duties, obedience to clan elders and chiefs, and above all, active participation in the clan's social security system. In fact these two considerations – land-holding and collective security underlie the social structure of all the cultivating groups within the Area. The Digil and Rahanweyn clans, particularly, are in their historical composition great consortia of people of various origin who have come together to work the land and defend their interests against other competing groups. Over the centuries, the original founding nuclei of these clans have received wave after wave of successive immigrants to such an extent that the authentic descendants of the original founders of these groups have almost all disappeared, yet it is their dialect of Somali, and to a considerable extent, their customs, which have survived and become those of the majority.

The fundamental institution which has enabled so many disparate elements to coalesce in the Digil and Rahanweyn clans of today in this way is that of the adoption of clients. All these clans consist essentially of various groups of clients (*Sheegad, Arifa, Saar,* etc.) at different stages of assimilation according to their length of residence.

The traditional arrangement is that the new-comer of alien clan origin desiring to settle on the land of a cultivating group seeks admission to the group as a client and undertakes to make common cause with his hosts in all responsibilities and duties binding them – especially in payment and receipt of compensation[30]. On these conditions, the stranger was, and still is, granted land freely by his hosts. Since arable land is generally abundant no fee is normally charged, although the new client will be expected to make some gift, often of food, to the elders of the host group. Land rights acquired in this fashion cannot be alienated from the granting body, except with the permission of its elders, and as long as the new tenant is considered to be a client of

[30] There is a set formula for expressing the clients' admission and assumption of new allegiance and participation in the host's *heer.*

recent origin he cannot sell the plot of land he has been given. If he chooses to leave his hosts his holding reverts to the land-owning group and his entitlement only amounts to the harvest of what he has himself planted and worked. Among the Digil and Rahanweyn clan but less commonly so with the Dir, Hawiye, and Darod, most holdings of arable land have originally been acquired in this fashion. Over the years, and over the generations, the client relationship becomes reinforced by repeated ties of intermarriage and ultimately the point is reached where as today the whole mass of Digil and Rahanweyn are essentially of client origin, but with a few exceptions, of such long-standing association that they have become in effect equal partners in a corporate clan consortium. In these conditions it is really only the relatively recent settlers who are effectively regarded as clients – or, and this is an important category, those who have never fully accepted their client status but have sought to maintain dual citizenship by retaining their traditions (and genealogies) of separate origin.[31]

Maintenance of Title

Thus the traditional position throughout the area is that arable land is held by clans and clan-segments, as corporate entities, individuals having rights to land for cultivation only in their capacity as active members of their group – a position acquired either by birth, or by adoption. Such land could not traditionally be disposed of outside the group, by whatever method, except with the consent of the elders of the group as a whole.

This stipulation did not of course mean that no land transactions occurred – but they occurred only on this basis. And in the past some large groups which initially entered as clients eventually succeeded, by negotiation or force, in asserting their political autonomy and independent title to land.

Inheritance of Title

Individually held parcels of land are inherited by the descendants of the original holder, and worked either collectively by a group of brothers if their relations are harmonious, or, if they choose, divided up into separate plots. Since, however, there was in 1964 an abundance of land and clansmen could readily open new fields, there was no evidence of excessive fragmentation.

DEVELOPMENTS AND POLITICAL ISSUES

Changes in the Traditional Position of Clients

Since the Second World War and the development of modern Somali Nationalism, and especially since the upsurge of Somali party politics in which, initially at least, clan ties were of great importance, a number of significant changes have occurred. One of the side effects of the involvement of clan ties in politics has been to stimulate a resurgence of separatist movements amongst the various constituent client elements among the Digil and Rahanweyn. Whereas in the past it was strongly held amongst these groups that the original identity of their various elements should be forgotten and suppressed in favour of their common Digil and Rahanweyn citizenship, many now felt themselves called upon to reassert their original clan allegiance and to participate on this basis in national party politics. This trend was particularly strongly delineated amongst those relatively recent settler groups (of only a few generations standing) of northern nomadic provenance who resented their subject client status.

[31] This is especially the case with settlers of only a few generations standing and of proud northern origin.

In a spirit of progressive innovation imbued with a strong sense of anti-tribalism, the Somali government in 1960 passed legislation officially abolishing the status of client and upholding the right of every Somali citizen to live and farm wherever he should choose independently of his particular clan and lineage affiliation[32]. The effect of the legislation, at least among the Digil and Rahanweyn, has been to reinforce separatist movements and cleavages fostering circumstances which in some respects might be thought to encourage rather than to discourage 'tribalism' in the area concerned. Any individual or group which rejects its traditional client status and asserts its own from Somali ancestry is supported by the government and its local agents. However, at a local level, numerically weak groups and isolated individuals who reject their customary obligations as client members of the cultivators amongst whom they live – which after all are no more and no less binding than those of other clansmen – may find themselves in danger of being 'sent to Coventry'. Local cooperation in farming and watering may be withheld from them, and they may find it more rewarding and prudent to pocket their pride and accept the position under which they have been granted rights to arable land.

Ultimately, it is difficult to see how this situation can change radically as long as collective payment and receipt of damages on a clan basis remains the prevailing system of social security and insurance. For the individual, or small group, taking up a permanent position remote from its own home and natal kinsmen and refusing to join in common cause with its new hosts is clearly placed at a disadvantage and may sometimes even be in danger of life and property. In other words, the three elements – dia-payment, land rights, and client status form a tightly knit triangle and it is idealistic to anticipate radical changes as long as the basic factor – that of collective dia-payment – remains in force.

Commercialism in Land Transactions

However, one of the most striking features of the Area for those who are concerned with economic development was the increasing sense of commercialism and the growing power of money. In Benadir and Lower Juba provinces, and most of all in the fertile regions along the Lower Shebelle and Juba, the outright acquisition of land by payment of money had become increasingly common in the decades after independence. Following the example of the Italian concessionary companies working the fruit plantations at Jowhar, Afgoi, Genale, Shalambod, and Jamama etc., a growing number of wealthy entrepreneurs – both from the north and south of the Republic – bought considerable land-holdings for the commercial production of fruit (especially the banana export crop) and maize and other crops (sesame, groundnuts, cotton, etc.). Such large holdings were obtained by negotiation with the local clan elders and the persons actually working the land if it was already under cultivation. These transactions are recorded in written documents prepared by the local *Qadis* (Muslim magistrates)[33] or by notaries and in some regions registered in the local District Office (although there appear to be many such company holdings which are not registered). Typically, a local manager (usually of the clan from which the land has been bought) is appointed to work the farm or plantation for the absentee land-owner.

Export quotas were allocated by the Ministry of Agriculture which maintained a register of quota-producing plantations. At a point in time in the early 1970s the majority of permanent quota-holders were Italians (some 244 as compared to 27 Somalis; there were however some 168 Somali concerns holding temporary quotas). About two thirds

[32] Law of 2 March 1960: 'Abolition of *arifato*'. The law empowers the Minister of the Interior to make the necessary administrative arrangements.

[33] Some attempt is made, mainly by the local *Qadi*, to ascertain that the land whose title is being transferred is subject to no other claims of ownership. Since, however, complete records are not kept and many individuals have not written title the position is often highly equivocal. Cases are reported of the same piece of land being sold several times over.

of the export crop by weight was produced by Italian companies and there was said to be a brisk trade in banana quotas – some Somali quota-holders disposing of these to Italian concerns. Plantation owners, whether Somali or Italian, applied to the Ministry of Agriculture to be granted an export quota submitting a statement of the extent of their plantation and production accompanied by a map. The holding was then inspected by the Regional or District Agricultural Officer. It is important to realise that only those plantations involved in this export trade were registered centrally; no central record of plantations producing bananas outside the quota system, or of other crops, was regularly maintained. And the only taxation imposed was that on the exported banana crop. Most, if not all the Somali plantations were held in outright ownership by direct purchase from the local clan elders. The position with the Italian holdings was much more difficult to establish: a considerable proportion, however, appeared originally to have been leased on a concessionary basis.

The Banana Plantations

The export banana crop which is sold almost entirely to Italy is at present marketed by two organisations – SAG on the Lower Juba and SAGA on the Lower Shebelle[34].

State Farms

Acting on the power of requisition vested in it, the Somali government had recently taken over large areas of arable land on the lower Juba between Jelib and Jamama which was being developed into state farms with the assistance of Russian financial and technical aid.[35] (A similar enterprise, mainly for the production of wheat and durra, had been started at Tug Wajale in the Northern Regions of the Republic.) Most of this land was unoccupied at the time of its acquisition by the government and no compensation appeared to have been sought by or paid to the local population who seemed, for the time being at least, content to profit from the labour opportunities and increased circulation of wealth which the projects offered.

Local Companies and Cooperatives

On a smaller scale, in various areas, groups of village farmers band together to form small companies and seek to raise capital to employ labour and tractors for improved cultivation. The most thorough-going development in this direction is the establishment of village cooperatives.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Area under study supports a mixed population of cultivators and pastoral nomads. The main difference in land tenure patterns follow this distinction in economy. For pastoral use and grazing, land is open to all comers – although exclusive rights are maintained to some wells, while arable land is vested in particular tribal groups. These groups are normally the various clans of the Area, the 'clan' being the largest autonomous political grouping in the traditional social structure. Acquisition and tenure of rights to land for cultivation are therefore traditionally tied to membership of a particular clan and to participation, under the clan elders and 'chiefs', in the clan's customary arrangements for social security. This means in practise the common obligation to pay and receive damages for injury and death in concert. By accepting such responsibilities, new settlers have in the past been granted plots to cultivate, for there is generally no scarcity of arable land.

[34] SAF : Societa' Agricola Giuba. SAGA : Societa' Azionaria Concessionari Agricoli

[35] When completed, this state farm will cover an area of 20,000 hectares and produce sesame, sunflower, groundnuts and cotton. A cotton gin and oil extraction plant will be included.

Within each clan, the arable land utilised is often not divided up into distinct physically separate parcels each allocated to a different clan segment (although this sometimes occurs). But, whichever practise is followed, the most important divisions are the villages which form the characteristic local units in the Area, and are based either on the use of a common water-hole in dry-farming areas, or on the use of a limited stretch of river bank in the wet-farming areas. These local residential units with their members' fields scattered round them, although frequently comprising people of different sections of a clan, have a strong sense of local autonomy and cohesion. These local village loyalties to some extent run counter to the system of social security payments, since the latter is generally organised on a clan and clan-segment basis. The clan-based political organisation with its associated system of social security is thus not directly reproduced on the ground. Consequently, although villages have organisations for water control and collaboration in farming, they run their internal affairs informally and do not usually have a village headman who is part of the clan political system. Among some of the Riverine peoples along the Shebelle and Juba, and in a few other places, however, local village unity goes beyond this and villages are also political units. Here the political organisation is reproduced on the ground.

Throughout the Area there is thus amongst the cultivators a tradition of village economic collaboration (of varying political strength) which has a considerable potential for development. This is further indicated by the recent trend towards the formation of village cooperatives, especially amongst the Riverines. Another important new factor is the growing spirit of commercialism evident in the sale and purchase of land for plantation farming along the rivers (where the purchaser is not absorbed into the local land-owning unit as a client) and in the increasing use of paid labour in some of the tasks of cultivation. At the same time, there is a marked desire to expand and improve production and a wide public demand for tractors and other modern farm machinery. This demand could probably be met to a considerable extent by the rational use of the existing pools of tractors and other machinery. These, however, are not yet being widely used because the present system of agricultural credit does not allow cash advances to be made except where firm security can be provided. The position is aggravated by the fact that these farmers have, from the point of view of the government, no written title to their lands.

This raises the important question of government attitudes towards the land tenure conditions in the Area. Despite the fact that in many African states tribal land tenure has been recognised and put on a firm legal basis, the Somali government committed itself to promote the abolition of 'tribalism' and therefore opposed the legitimisation of traditional clan titles to land. On these grounds, although in practise it still persists at a local level, the traditional institution of client land-holder were officially abolished. In the same spirit, which seeks to establish for every individual a right to live and farm where he chooses, the government sought to collect a land tax on an individual basis amongst small farmers. (Company plantations were left untaxed on the grounds that many already contributed to state revenue through the duty levied on the export of bananas). On account of the hostile reaction which this land tax evoked, however, and the difficulties involved in its collection where no adequate system of individual land registration exists, the tax stopped being collected.

The village is the natural point of reference for implementing change. If it becomes necessary to register all arable land, and the government seems to be in favour of this, registration should be carried out on a village basis in which villages, or clusters of contiguous villages, are taken as units. This would at once take advantage of the strong local ties which are so evident at village level and would also be likely to contribute substantially to a weakening of the wider clan loyalties which constitute the basis of the problem of 'tribalism'.

Whether village land registration is considered an immediate necessity or not, it would certainly be very desirable to proceed at once on a rational and exhaustive registration of all company and plantation land-holdings irrespective of whether these

are engaged in the export banana trade. This would enable the government to maintain some degree of control over any haphazard and ultimately possibly damaging over-development of plantation holdings detrimental to the interests of small farmers.[36]

This could be accompanied by the extension of direct taxation to all such enterprises which, whether they participate in the banana export trade or not, are in many cases sufficiently profitable to yield revenue.

Taxation might also eventually be extended to include village lands, although it would be fairer and more worthwhile to delay this until a number of effective village cooperatives have been established. Such revenue would presumably accrue to local municipalities rather than to the central government.

Finally, it is important to realise that anything which makes cultivation and cattle-rearing more obviously profitable is likely to encourage the trend, already apparent, away from camel-herding and thus to reduce wide-ranging nomadism.

[36] Particularly after Mohamed Siyad Barre's military coup in 1969, successive ministers of agriculture arbitrarily allocated land titles to their clansmen and cronies and those who paid sufficiently large bribes, without any regard for the interests and rights of local farmers. 'Cooperatives' were cynically employed by ministers and their friends to dispossess traditional land-holders. This experience suggests that local interests might have been better protected by recognition of customary (clan-based) tenure. The nationalist drive to suppress clan divisions thus provided unscrupulous politicians with a convenient device for exploiting and dispossessing the less powerful members of society.

APPENDIX II: THE RAHANWEYN CLANS

THE RAHANWEYN CLANS (1964)

'THE EIGHT' (Siyeed)	**'THE NINE'** (Sagaal)
Eymid	Hober*
Yalallo	Gaddar Gudde
Disso	Jilible
Komal	Gelidle
Da'ud	Luway
Haraw+	Hadama
Leysan Barre+	Hefmogge*
Leysan Orai+	Irde*
Jiron+	(Eyle)
Ma'alinweyne+	(Gobaweyn)
Reer Dumaal+	Yandar
Garwaale+	
Hareyn	
Elay	
Helleda	
Gurballabo	
Warabanne	
Barbar*	
Jembalul*	

Those marked * form the 'Five Alemo' of Daafet.
Those marked + form the 'Bay Hargan' group.
The (Eyle) are associated with the *Sagaal*, rather than the *Siyeed*.
The (Gobaweyn) are directly associated with the Gaddar Gudde and through them with the *Sagaal*.

APPENDIX III: TRADITIONAL WATER REGULATIONS AMONGST THE RAHANWEYN

(heer)

Penalties exacted for misuse of *war*

1. If a village user refuses to attend when it is his turn to mount guard at the *war* he will be fined in food and milk.
2. If a man drives his stock into the water in the *war* when the water is scarce and it is customary to water cattle *outside* the pond he is liable to a fine usually levied in food and milk. If he is an important man, however, he may be asked to kill a lamb.
3. If a boy or wife causes strife, or if two men fight in the *war* they may be liable to provide food for ten people.
4. If a man wets his shirt or clothes in the *war,* he must wring them out *outside* the *war,* otherwise he will be liable to a fine levied in providing food for the other villagers.
5. If a man brings his camel with water-containers to fill at the *war,* these must be unloaded on the plain *outside* the *war.* Defaulters are fined.
6. People are not allowed to wash clothes *inside* the *war.* If they do they will be fined.

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International Boundary

Limit of Wet Grazing area

Limit of Somali Nation

Afar (Danakil) ... Saho

Negroid groups

Neighbouring Peoples ..... GALLA

Alphabetical Key to SMALL TRIBES

(The numbers refer to the Tribal Families.)

A	Begeda	8
B	Hintere	6
C	Geledi	8
D	Hillivi	6
E	Abgal Daud	6
F	Mobilen	6
G	Hawadle	7
H	Kabole	11
I	Murosade	6
J	Wadan	6
K	Abgal Matan	6
L	Shan Dafet	7·8
M	Rer Dumal	8
N	Asheraf	10
O	Garwale	8
P	Lisan	8
Q	Komal	8
R	Disso	8
S	Eimit	8
T	Wangial	8
U	Ialalle	8
V	Harau	8
W	Tuni Torre	11·9
X	Helleda	8
Y	Hober	7
Z	Yantar	8

Numerical Key to TRIBAL FAMILIES

1	Darod (*Ogaden Branch*)
2	" (*Mijertein Branch*)
3	" (*Other Branches*)
4	Dir
5	Ishaak
6	Hawiya
7	" Associated Tribes
8	Rahanwein
9	Digil
&	
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