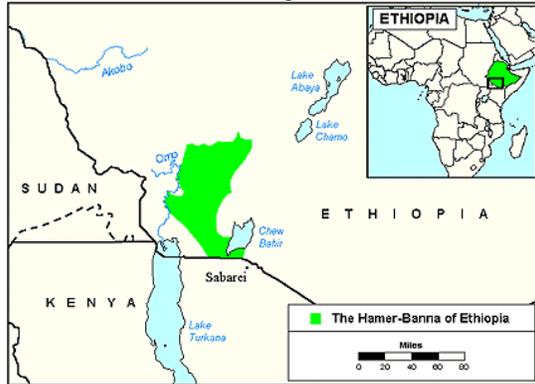


1. Description: [ISO 639-3: amf](#)

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Hamer-Banna, Amar, Amarcocche, Amer, Ammar, Bana, Banna, Beshada, Cocche, Hamar, Hamar-Koke, Hamer, Hammer, Hammercoche, Kara Kerre; part of the Omotic family of Afro-Asiatic

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): amf

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Southwestern Ethiopia



1.4 Brief history: “Hamar must have become a functioning society at the latest by the middle of the 18th century.” During the late 19th century, Menelik II was the emperor of Ethiopia. “After the Europeans the troops of Emperor Menelik II arrived. They came from the east, from Konso. First they sent a group of men to negotiate with the Tsamai and the Hamar, but they refused to surrender and accept the authority of the intruders. The group of negotiators were killed and fierce fighting between the Tsamai and Hamar and Menelik’s troops developed. At first, when trying to conquer Hamar and Tsamai from the east (i.e. from the Woito Valley), Menelik’s troops made little progress... The picture changed drastically when the troops started their second offensive... The troops moved rapidly, and after defeating the Tsamai and Hamar, they went on to Bashada, and from there they sent several expeditions into the Omo valley, to Kara, Murle and Galeba. These expeditions... may have been intended also to establish a nominal claim, on the political control over this area, vis á vie the English who were approaching this region from the south (Kenya) and the (Sudan)... The Hamar had by then vanished almost totally from their country... These who escaped fled towards the south, to Galeba, Bume, Kara, Arbore, for these low lying and malaria infested territories remained free from any permanent control of the new imperial powers. Still, it is important to note that a handful of families stayed on in the Hamar Mountains in areas that were least accessible. Among them were members of the family of the ritual leader of the country (bitta) and several other persons ritually important, to certain clans. With their continued presence these few people kept the historical continuity of the Hamar intact... The Hamar say that many of them vanished in exile, especially those who could not keep or rebuild their herds like the ones who sought refuge in the Tsetse infected areas of the Omo, (Kara, Bume) and these who became the ‘slaves’ of the Arbore... How long did the Hamar stay in exile? One decade? Two decades? No one can tell exactly. But at some point the Hamar flourished so well among the Galeba, that rivalry and antagonism developed among them. Before, they had been good friends and had successfully made several raids into Kenya together from which they returned with cattle and small stock. These animals now became the basis of a new self-assurance of the Hamar, and at the same time they led to a number of disputes and fights which eventually caused the Hamar to leave their host country and return to their own territory... As much as they were driven away by the Galeba they were called home by these families who had stayed on in the Hamar

Mountains. There exist several oral traditions about that time that there were meetings among these families in which they decided which would be the best rituals, that would bring back the Hamar to their mountains...and soon after that, the Hamar began to repopulate the country. They didn't, however, move into their old mountain homes yet. These were too close to the dangerous intruders who had settled at Buska (Hamar Koke). They settled in the lower and southern area instead, from the province of Kadja south towards the Kenya border and the Lower Omo. In fact, they did not really settle at first but were seminomadic, relying predominantly on their herds in order to be mobile, and remain inaccessible to the Ethiopian troops. Only slowly, as the policy of the Ethiopian Government turned from subjugation by force to a more constructive administration, and as slavery became forbidden, did the Hamar move gradually back into their mountains. This movement has, in fact, not yet come to an end." The Italians occupied Ethiopia from 1936-1941. During this time, Berinas, a powerful Hamar leader "played a double game: On the one side he helped and advised the Italians in the administration of the country, and on the other side he remained loyal to the Ethiopians by allowing resistance fighters to stay in, and pass through, his territory without the Italians knowing of this... Throughout the occupation the Hamar were, of course, forced into labour... When, therefore, the surviving Hamar returned from exile and began to repopulate their territory, their first and foremost aim was to rebuild their herds - and one of their means of doing this was by 'forced exchange'. This is how the Hamar became the fierce and daring raiders for which they are so well known... It is, however, interesting to note that this strain of violence was a new development in Hamar culture" (5).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: 93% of people have never attended school, and 91% practice traditional religion (3), so there has been little influence from school or missionaries. "The first foreigners who arrived in Hamar were Europeans. Because of their strange appearance, and especially because of the diseases they, and their men, brought with them (small pox, dysentery) they are remembered until today in stories and songs of funicular rites. Whereas the very first Europeans seem to have been hunters who came in search of ivory, those who later arrived were travellers and explorers like Bottego, von Höhnel, Captain Wellby, Donaldson Smith, etc. None of these early visitors made any strong impact on the life of the Hamar" (5). The Amhara are powerful neighbors who conquered much of the Hamar-Banna territory in the early 20th century, although the Amhara are moving (2p218).

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): The land is on a plateau with mountains nearby and several riverbeds, although some are now dried up. There are a few large lakes in the area. There is dense forest in some areas and dry steppes in others (2).

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: In 2007, there were 47,531 native speakers of Hamar-Banna (3). "There seems to be an average of twelve to fifteen married men per 'settlement' or 'neighbourhood'" (2p217). The population density of the Hamar-Banna region is 9.5 people per square kilometer (3). "There are approximately 93 settlements in Hamar today. The smallest consisting of only 3-4 families and the biggest containing more than 20 families...these families may be concentrated in a place as small as one hectare or they may live dispersed over an area of 5 km in diameter" (5).

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): sorghum/millet, honey, squash, pumpkin, maize, sweet potatoes

- 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: goat, cow, milk, cow blood mixed with milk, beans; occasionally, they will successfully hunt large game animals (such as lions or rhinoceroses)
- 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: Axe and spear (1p25), bows and arrows (1p26), no shields (1p26). “A complete spear has a blade at one end and a spike at the other.” There are different kinds of arrows for a bow; there are arrows with barbed metal arrowheads, with unbarbed metal arrowheads, and with wooden arrowheads. There are also blood-letting arrows with razor-sharp blades that are used to pierce an animal’s jugular (1p192-3).
- 2.4 Food storage: Sorghum is placed in round storage baskets that are “placed off the ground in the forks of trees” (2p21). When meat is killed, it is eaten by the whole group instead of being stored.
- 2.5 Sexual division of production: Men care for herds; women tend the fields. “Hamar culture strongly rejects any reversal of female and male roles” (2p57).
- 2.6 Land tenure: Land is not owned.
- 2.7 Ceramics: Pottery is made “from the crumbled dirt of the earth” (2p154) into large round clay pots (2p84).
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: These are complex and depend on the ritual. Usually, though, items should be shared.
- 2.9 Food taboos: These vary by clan, gender, and age. For example, it is taboo for women to eat goats sacrificed for young men who killed large game, and babies are not allowed to nurse from their mothers once their teeth come in (2p223-4).
- 2.10 Canoes/watercraft? Most of the nearby rivers are dried up, so there is little use for watercraft (2p8). One of the major causes of conflict between tribes is over water sources (5).

3. Anthropometry

- 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Unable to find information
- 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): Unable to find information

4. Life History, mating, marriage

- 4.1 Age at menarche (f): Unable to find information
- 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): Women are typically impregnated as soon as they physically can be, while men do so in their mid-to-late teens (i.e.: once they complete the cow-jumping ceremony; see rituals section). If a child is conceived before marriage, it is aborted or abandoned at birth.
- 4.3 Completed family size (m and f): Unable to locate information, but the census reports an average of 5 to 7 children per woman (3).
- 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): Two to three years
- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): Females often marry in childhood, and the marriage is not consummated until she reaches puberty (2p72). Males marry once they complete the cattle-jumping initiation, in their mid-to-late teens (2p131).
- 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: “There will be no divorce, it is forbidden. Whether they bear children or not, they will always remain together until the grave.” (1p7)
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: I am unable to find an exact percentage, but there are reports of men married to as many as four women, and polygyny is encouraged.
- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: The husband gives the bride’s father 28 goats plus one male goat and one female goat. “The male goat is slaughtered when the last of the 28

goats have been brought to the bride's father. It is slaughtered by the groom and the meat is roasted and eaten by the men of the bride's homestead. Its skin is given to the bride to be made into a cape.... The female goat symbolizes fertility rather than consumption and accordingly is not slaughtered but is left to bear offspring for the bride's father" (1p174). "Both rich and poor should give the same: eighteen head of cattle, plus one 'stone cow' and one 'cloth bull,' which makes twenty altogether" (1p6).

- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: When a man dies, his death ritual involves men requesting items from his dead body, and items are apportioned out based on what is available. There is a specified order in which men request goods, starting with the oldest son, then the younger sons, then kin-via-sisters, and then youngest to oldest daughters' husbands (1p53-4).
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: People are taught to respect their elders (2p128).
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: No information found.
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): "There is an odd disparity between the two moieties, Binnas and Galabu. Binnas is completely exogamous, none of its clans intermarry. Galabu on the other hand is partially endogamous; some Galabu clans intermarry even though others marry with members of the Binnas moiety. Hamar certainly does not have a neat segmentary system...No clan is given a status and authority 'a priori', it has to show its value in terms of fertility continuously or it will cease to be accepted as wife-giver" (2p214). Hamar women can marry men who are not Hamar, but Hamar men can only marry Hamar women (2p109). "All clans of the Hamar are patrilineal and they are divided into two segments, A (binnas) and B (galabu) which are each other's wife-givers and wife-receivers. While A is strictly exogamous, B is not, and several of its clans marry among each other. The clans vary considerably in size, and like lineages (mulda) they show a tendency towards co-residence" (5).
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? Paternity is not partible, but men of one's father's generation are called father. Also, if a man's widow has children, those children are considered to be his, whether he has been dead for years or not (or even if he died before consummating the marriage) (1p190).
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows") A woman giving birth to a child is considered an achievement she has accomplished (2p194).
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? No
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Other tribes have raped Hamar women, which led to curses and warfare (2p245). A man is considered justified in killing a wife who refuses him sexual favors (2p109).
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) Clans "Karla and Gulet marry each other. [Clans] Dila and Gulet marry each other" (1p3). "For example the men of the Mais clan take women from the Ba clan but not vice-versa...Their main point is that precedents of marriage are crucial. If two clans have not intermarried, people are reluctant to do so, because they don't know what the results will be. If there is a precedent which brought good luck to the couple, their children and their herds, then people are eager to repeat such marriages. Precedents of bad luck discourage them, persistent bad luck may even lead to a taboo on certain forms of marriage. But interestingly, bad luck is not always thought of as symmetrically distributed. It may bring good luck if a man of clan A marries a woman of clan B, but bad luck if a man of clan B marries a woman of clan A. The attempt to find anything resembling 'circles' in the form of an A - B - C - A...giving of wives only leads to confusion" (2p213-4).

- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? Before marrying, girls can take lovers (2p131). After her husband dies, a woman can have lovers, although any children she has will be viewed as her late husband's (2p78). Children born to unmarried women or which are the result of extramarital affairs are abandoned in the bush (i.e.: killed) (1p153-4). After marriage, women also take lovers (2p205).
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: None reported
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? The children's father's other wives.
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: All adult males/Females (age 15-44) = 1.13. Males (age 15-44)/Females (age 15-44) = .96 (3).
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: None I could find
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): No.
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? People are taught to respect their elders.
- 4.24 Joking relationships? No restrictions found, although women are expected to hide their laughs and smiles (2p133).
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Descent is through the father or older brother.
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: Incest is mentioned in disapproving terms but does appear to happen; it can be cleansed away through rituals.
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? The couple's families give gifts to a butter man, who is from the Gulet tribe and performs certain rituals. "If a *maz* comes to you, rub him with butter. Before this, the girl should take the head-dress of the *maz* and throw it into a *giri* tree and the *maz* should lap milk from a cow's udder, saying: 'From now on, I will never again lap milk from a cow's udder.' Then they should go to the butter man and put four sorghum rolls in his bowl. Let the girl bite the sorghum first and you, the *maz*, bite second. Next, butter shall be put on the hands of the girl and the boy and they shall rub each other's hands. After this, the girl shall take the belt from the waist of the boy and he shall take the string skirt from the girl and they shall both put them into the bowl. Finally the boy shall take the string skirt and the girl the belt and they will never leave each other" (1p7).
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? Once a young man goes through his initiation ritual, he is given a name based on the color of his *garo* cow; after the ceremony, his birth name is no longer used (1p93). After the umbilical cord is cut, "Baldambe says that from now on many people will offer their names to the child but that the one who is most persistent and provides the most generous gifts will win in the end" (2p43).
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) Men marry only women within the tribe, but women can (though are not encouraged to) marry outside of the tribe (2p109).
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? "Your father or older brother finds you a girl" (1p98). If one has neither father nor brother, then another man from the groom's father's generation to ask the girl's father for the girl (1p9).
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries whom: None found; there were reports of occasional conflict between men and their wives' lovers or between husbands and their wives' fathers, if the girl took a lover (2p141). There can also be conflict between the wife's family and the husband's family if one side feels they are giving too much/not receiving enough (2p214-5).

Warfare/homicide

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No percent reported, but the Hamar are frequently at war with other groups and deaths in warfare are common.
- 4.15 Out-group vs in-group cause of violent death: Little violent death due to in-group fighting is reported, so I believe the majority is due to out-group fighting.
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Out-group warfare occurs for any number of reasons (thieving, trespassing, disagreements, etc.). I found no reported cases of in-group killing.
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): “The Borana and we have always been enemies...When the dependents of Hamar went to Borana, the Borana slaughtered them and got rid of them and when the dependents of Borana came here, the Hamar slaughtered them and got rid of them. If someone went to Male, the Male would kill him and if a Male came here into Hamar country, the Hamar would kill him. The poor who went to Bume would survive and return. The poor Bume who came to Hamar would survive and return. The poor Mursi who came to Hamar, the Hamar would kill, and the poor Hamar who went to Mursi, the Mursi would kill. The Turkana poor who came to Hamar would survive and return to his father’s country, and the Hamar poor who went to Turkana would survive and return...The Tsamai are bad people, they have the evil eye, they are mingi” (1p22-3) (mingi “describe[s] anyone who is considered abnormal...[t]hey are believed to have an evil influence upon the rest of the population and in the case of infants are got rid of” (1p179)). “The Tsamai have a magic which drives people crazy. The Male are bad, they finish off everybody...The Male excel everyone...They are the masters of poison...People don’t go to their country.” The fighting between the Ari and the Hamar has a large element of trickery, one-upmanship, and murder. (1p25) “In olden times, the Hamar would only look at the fires on the mountains of Mursu. It was [my father] who started the fighting...Then [we and the Korre] would come together to fight...They fought all over the country. If the Hamar and Marle are at war and want to finish the fighting, the Marle will come at night and enter *bitta* Elto’s homestead. If Hamar and Galeba make peace, it is a lie, they never truly become friends. [W]hen the Hamar and Bume were enemies, they said to each other: ‘Let us forget our quarrels, let us become one family again’” (1p23-31). “The Kara were not always at peace with the Hamar as they are today” (1p181). “If the men who go scouting find footprints of [enemy tribes] who have entered Hamar territory, they will return to the meeting ground and there the elders will chant...Tomorrow the scouts leave. If they encounter the enemies and kill them, the killers return singing” a different song for each enemy tribe. The men who kill an enemy are granted sexual favors by the women (1p111-2, 204).
- 4.18 Cannibalism? None reported

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: There is a mean of twelve to fifteen married men per group (2p217).
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): There is some mobility, depending on the season and whether they are at war (2p216). There are seasonal grazing patterns, but it is the boys who tend the herds who are mobilized (5).
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc., wealth or status classes): There is a leader (*bitta*), but “he has no power beyond his immediate family circle. No Hamar follows a pattern of submission...[The *bitta*] will never be able to control the Hamar as he would like to” (2p61).

- 5.4 Post-marital residence: The couple lives in the husband's community of residence. The wife will have her own home, and her husband will visit her (2p58-9).
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): There is land that is not clearly defined as "Hamar" or "Banna" or other tribal territory (2p90). "As has been shown to exist in other societies, territorial affiliation is highly ambiguous, people often chasing to belong to this or that segment according to the situation and their political plans. Neither membership, nor the borders of the territorial segments are always clearly defined" (5).
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): Once a boy has learned to speak and knows the language's vocabulary and all of the people, he creates a cattle pen from fruit or small stones. A girl of the same age collects stones and treats them as her child and sorghum. She grinds earth on the stones. This teaches children their social roles. If, for example, a girl wants to collect cattle (or pretends her stones are cattle), she is told it is forbidden, because girls do not collect cattle. Once the boys age past stone representations of their roles, they are given a miniature bow and arrow, which they use to hunt lizards and grasshoppers. Then they kill birds, mice, and squirrels. Then the boy is said to be grown up, and he herds kid goats. After some time, he starts herding adult goats; because goats are hunted by predators (e.g.: leopards, hyenas), he is given a wooden spear before herding adult goats. He is supposed to spend his time constantly spearing, so he learns how to spear well. His wooden spear is replaced with a complete spear, which he uses to spear hyenas, wild dogs, leopards, lions, elephants, giraffes, and any other beasts he finds. Now the child is considered to be big, and he is given a bow and arrows and shaves his head. Before boys can carve themselves stools or plait their hair, they must receive permission from the elders by bringing them honey and goats (1p70-3).
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: No information found
- 5.8 Village and house organization: Most houses have one room (3). Each woman has her own house, which her husband will visit. A man also has his own house (4). "To be more specific: the individual [married men] of a settlement area become 'zarsi' and act towards each other as 'zarsi', when jointly they work to achieve a common goal. This goal, directed action, is the essential part of the definition of the 'zarsi'... The 'ayo' is a man who 'does' something ('ai'a = do). He is in the widest sense, any kind of leader, but more specifically he is a spokesman. In olden times the hereditary ritual chiefs, ... and the age-group, were the main individuals and groups, that used to choose specific persons as leaders and spokesmen. Today, predominantly, the men of a territorial segment and the 'zarsi' of a locality choose their 'ayo'. There are approximately, 45 'ayo' today in Hamar, about one for every two settlement areas... The term 'gurda' may be translated as 'village', 'hamlet', 'settlement', 'people of common residence'... A 'gurda' does not have any 'village head', its decision makers are the individual 'donza' in their capacity of 'zarsi' as I have outlined above. There are then, of course, informal hierarchies among the politically active men, and there are the spokesmen and leaders (ayo), but there is no office that could be especially defined as 'leadership of a village'. Either an office is less than this (for example the 'gudili') or it embodies more (like for example the 'ayo'). Membership of a 'gurda' is not restricted, and people may move freely from settlement to settlement." (5).
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (men's houses): There are corrals for the cows and goats.
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? When herding cattle and goats, men sleep outside. Most comes are constructed of wood and mud or wood and thatch with a thatch roof and a mud floor (3).

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc.: People are divided into clans, which are determined patrilineally (2p209). “In terms of groups, the nuclear and the extended families (dele) are the ‘atoms’ of Hamar society, just as, in terms of roles the ‘donza’, are. ‘Dele’ may be translated as ‘house’ or ‘homestead’, but in its wider social sense it means ‘family’, ‘the people of one homestead’, ‘lineage’, ...which (especially when applied to the aristocracy) may mean ‘members and descendants of one family’. The ‘dele’ typically changes its composition in the course of time. There are long-term cycles, which are measured in the span of generations, and there are short-term cycles, which are measured by the life cycle of the individual. Also, many external and historical hazards constantly, have an influence on the composition of any ‘dele’. The general trend is rather like the one often witnessed in other societies: the ‘dele’ moves from being a simple nuclear family, to an extended family, under the authority of the male head of the initial nuclear family. Then, as the ‘father’ dies, the sibling group under the authority of the oldest brother (primogeniture is axiomatic) still holds together for some time (especially if some ‘mothers’ are still alive) until the brothers slowly begin to separate, and again the nuclear families prevail. The objective manifestations of a ‘dele’ are the houses of the wives and mothers, a goat enclosure and a cattle kraal... Ideally a ‘dele’ does not move but stays in a specific locality. The term ‘mulda’ may be translated as ‘lineage’ or ‘close kin’ or ‘kin of limited range’. Only sometimes, especially in matters concerning marriage payment and at ritual occasions, the ‘mulda’ may act as a corporate group. In every-day-life the people of a ‘mulda’ do not regularly interact for practical purposes. Emotionally they are close interact for practical purposes. Emotionally they are close to each other, and I have the impression that there is a slight tendency of residing in the same or adjacent localities

5.12 Trade: People trade with other tribes to gain items they do not have (2p125).

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? There are no hierarchies; people are egalitarian, although there is some inequality. “No one can rely on hierarchical structures to support him, everyone depends on himself, his fitness and his network of social relations which carry him as long as he keeps them alive. Furthermore, anarchy leads to the development of extremely competent and self-assured personalities. The Hamar herding, the preparation of the fields, their beekeeping and their trading expeditions are all directed by individual initiative. That which makes society weak, makes the individual strong” (2p126).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR: No actual amount is given, but there are many rituals for many activities. For example, after hunting, a ritual must be performed to ensure the hunters have continued hunting success (1p141); another ritual must be performed every time a man drinks milk (1p103). Ritual and ceremonial activities seem to be entwined with everyday life. A prayer (‘barjo āla’) is said whenever someone feels the need for it (e.g.: when a guest arrives, when a man drinks coffee) (5).

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): “Apart from the blacksmiths, who are immigrants from Ari, there are no craftsmen in Hamar who live exclusively by their craft. Yet there are specialists, expert in certain tasks, such as stool making, plaiting of leather collars for cow bells, making of milk containers, etc.” (1p193). There are also ritual specialists, who are experts in different rituals, such as reading animal intestines. Specialists are determined by their clan; certain clans perform certain rituals (1p5). The ‘gudili’ is the ritual leader of a locality, especially of its fields. The office may be inherited, but often, especially in newly populated areas, the ‘gudili’ is chosen by his fellow ‘zarsi’. His main tasks are to lead (together with his assistant), the seasonal rituals of fertility and protection, that ensure the well-being of the locality, its fields, pastures and forests, and that of its human and animal population...

When lack of rain in the area of a 'gudili' occurs, or any other menace threatens the area permanently, and when in addition to this, for some reason, the 'gudili' has offended his people, he may well find that the people reject him and chose a new 'gudili' who they hope, will bring them better 'luck'... There are several forms of divination in Hamar, but any one who has become expert in any kind of divination is called a 'moara'... I think there is a tendency of the 'moara' to belong either to the very poor (those who don't own livestock) or to the richer and more influential people" (5).

6.2 Stimulants: Coffee is consumed daily.

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

-Naming ceremony: The child's father's mother fetches water, and coffee is prepared. The child's father puts four leaves in a bowl, and four ladles-full of coffee are served into the bowl. The grandmother "puts her headdress on her right arm, takes the gali leaves out of the bowl of coffee and splashes coffee on to the shoulders of the child's mother, four times...[T]he child's mother takes the headdress and cowrie shell belt from the grandmother...She puts them on...The [grandmother] takes a large food bowl and puts fresh white butter inside and a string of beads and an iron bracelet for the child's mother. She hands the bowl to her eldest son who then hands it first to the child's mother and then to all women who are mother to the child," which means all wives of men of the father's generation and all younger classificatory sisters of the mother. "Next he hands it to all men who are father to the child and finally to all men who are grandfather to the child...When the women take the bowl, they sip four times and then take butter and rub it on their collar bone, men sip four times and take butter to rub on their forehead. When this is done and the coffee has been drunk, the child is named. First the men take the child and holding him high, spray him with coffee...The name is given..." The grandmother puts beads or an iron leg ring or a headdress on the child. The father puts branches on cowhide (if the cow was stolen from another tribe, there could be no deaths from the raids, or it will bring bad luck). The branches' bark is split, chewed, and twisted into strings, four of "are tied round the child's neck, four round the waist, one on each wrist, one at each elbow,...one at each ankle, one at each knee." The child is placed back inside (1p48-50, 185).

-Puberty: Only once a boy has killed a dangerous animal (e.g.: lion, leopard, hyena, man, elephant) should he undergo the puberty ritual and get married. ("If he has been feeble, if he has fucked donkeys and was outdone by the hyena and the lion, then his head will be shaved only because" of his marriage, and his hair is shaved like a child's.") The status of "adult man" is only achieved once a man's first child is born and named. A *garo* calf is selected by a boy's father; it must fulfill certain criteria and will be used during the initiation ceremony, after which the boy will be considered a man and the *garo*-calf's father. To prepare for the initiation ceremony, the boy must knock an iron ring from a woman's leg with a whip; he then collects gourds from other people, which he has his age-mates fill with milk. His female cousins grind sorghum for food, his mother's oldest sister and other girls prepare sorghum beer, and his sisters' husbands bring him a goat and a sheep. All of his possessions are taken and he must wear only a rag as a loincloth. A shade is constructed for the initiate's guests to gossip, drink beer, and grind flour, among other things. The women sing a song about their hope that he will achieve manhood. The boy collects bracelets, beads, and iron leg rings from related females. He also chooses an adult male to teach him the behavior and rituals of being a man. The boy decorates himself with fresh cow dung and then washes it off with sand to wash away all that was bad in childhood. From then until the initiation, he does not touch women and he eats

only sorghum, milk, and honey. The initiation begins once the boy's man and *garo* calf arrive. On the morning of the initiation, the boy has a conversation with his mentor where all of the goods he has been given are presented. Then everyone goes to the cows, where the girls dance around the cattle, and the initiate stands as if dead. The mentor acts like a baboon and tickles the initiate; if the boy laughs, he is later mocked by his mentor. Then the men whip the women ("the women and girls involved seem to reach a sort of ecstasy. They dance and sing... The girl longs to be whipped and then to bear a bleeding lash mark on her back, which will heal to form a scar to show that she did not let her brother go without resistance." The cows are covered with dung and butter to make them slippery, and the boy tries to run over them without falling. The youth tries "to leap over a row of at least ten head of cattle but the minimum number is two... If a youth is blind or crippled, either he will be lifted over the backs of the cattle or he will be allowed to run under their necks. If a family has no cattle..., they use... fruit... to represent cattle." The boy then becomes *maz* until he marries; this usually only lasts a few months, but very occasionally a man will choose never to marry and will remain *maz* throughout his life. Everyone eats and drinks a lot, and some ritual songs are sung. Visitors leave early the next morning, and the initiate is blessed in song. The *maz* licks from a cow's teat to indicate he will never again lap like a child (1p74-94, 194-9).

-Adulthood: Men and women are only considered to be adults once they have a child (4).

-Death: The death rituals vary, depending on who the deceased is. A dead person must be buried in Hamar land; if they are buried in enemy territory, they "would have no rest from the dead spirits of the enemies" (1p190).

*The *bitta*: For the *bitta*, no one says he is dead, a house is made, and he is "put to rest in the loft. There he disintegrates for five or four month... He is not buried in the ground... When the body is totally disintegrated and no flesh is left on the bones, the head is taken and brought to a cave in the mountains" (1p35).

*An elder male's burial: When an elder male falls ill, he calls for all of his sons and his father's sister's son. He asks them to bring him milk and whipping wands, which he gives to his sons, telling them to herd the cattle (1p37). "Any ritual which a man should have performed during his lifetime but didn't is a threat to his undisturbed existence as a dead spirit, and this in turn is a threat to his living descendants, for he makes them ill in order to induce them to complete the outstanding rituals" (1p183). The deceased elder male is left in his house in a squatting position for "four or three months." Once a man's daughters arrive, his cousin and oldest son fasten a sheepskin to the house. The sheep meat is given to unrelated men, and another sheep is killed to feed the elders. Then the man's brothers are called for a horn ritual, during which a eulogy is performed and "his achievements are enumerated." The elders dance around the dead man's house and sing a song (1p38-40), which "probably dates from the beginning of the 20th century when a combination of epidemics..., conquest by the Amharas, drought and the advent of guns, led to a severe reduction in the Hamar population. The first foreigners, white men heralded this sequence of disastrous events and so their funeral song asks what their coming means. The song ends with the demand that the descendants bear offspring, for otherwise the deceased will be angry" (1p183-4). "Then comes the stage in the funeral when all the wealth of the dead man is shown." There are different, complex rituals performed depending on whether the man had lent cattle to other men, stolen cows from other tribes, or paid for a cow with goats" (1p40-2). The widow and each married woman collect four sorghum heads from their fields and give them to the elder lady, who "mixes the sorghum together" and gives it to each woman. The widow wears "her head-dress and her cowrie-shell belt" and fetches water.

She grinds the sorghum and makes a gruel with the water, of which she takes four sips. “Then she gives the gruel to her children.” The other women prepare gruel in the same way and give it to their husbands to drink. “If your mother does not share out the sorghum and you go and drink your own [gruel], you are dead! Or if your wife pretends to sip but doesn’t really, then the sorghum will kill you”. Once all of the rituals have been completed, the deceased is considered to be well. “Then he shoots the goat-cattle and sprinkles erra on the stolen cattle, and sips the [gruel]. He sips the [gruel] alone...[H]is wife [doesn’t] drink the gruel. He has become a dead spirit, let him drink alone, let him die. So his wife does not sip first, her children don’t drink. He alone drinks, which means he dies.” The elders then say they have been ensnared by the rituals and have abandoned their own cattle and demand to bury the deceased. The oldest son denies them and gives them a goat, and the elders delay the burial (1p44-7). The deceased’s daughter’s in-laws bring goats and cows to represent the bride-price they paid, as an indication of the deceased’s wealth (1p184-5). “The dead man’s sons make a second gateway...into...where the dead man’s house is.” The man’s sister’s sons, father’s sisters’ sons, grandfather’s sisters’ sons, younger sisters’ husbands, and husbands of generational daughters come and chant about the dead man. “[T]he dead man’s great-grandfather’s daughter’s son’s son wears the skin of a leopard, which he then spreads on the ground. He puts some tobacco at the head of the skin, and the other sister’s sons, in order of seniority, put tobacco in a line down the center of the skin. Then the most senior sister’s son mixes all the tobacco together and gives it to the elders...Then he puts on the leopard skin and taking it off puts it on the next sister’s son. Then the skin is passed down in this way.” Nephews rub butter on the dead man’s family. The dead man’s sons, in order of seniority, enter his house and rub butter on his forehead and right side and ask for the cows and goats they want. Then his sisters’ sons and daughters’ husbands enter with a rope, which they place in the man’s lap and rub butter on the man’s forehead and ask for cattle, donkeys, daughters, beehives, and other goods. After the man’s livestock have been divided, the corpse is taken to a new house built in a cattle enclosure, where a male calf has its throat slit and is then skinned; the dead man is wrapped in this skin and left in the new house for two days and two nights. A grave is dug with the dead man’s bowl, and men who have collected stone at the burials of their mothers or fathers and women who have collected stone at the burials of their fathers’ in-law collect stones to cover the grave and protect it from hyenas. The corpse is taken out of the hide and sheepskin and placed in the grave; it is “laid on his left side, so that he looks up toward the sunrise, his back towards the Ari.” The body is covered with dirt and then the gathered stones. A large, elongated stone is placed in the middle of the pile; for the Hamar, it averages 40-80 cm and for the Banna, it can reach up to 1.5 meters. A goat’s throat is cut, and everyone washes their hands in the blood. The oldest son collects stones, which he then gives to his brother’s and father’s sister’s sons. They shake sticks and a horn of butter around the grave, and the deceased is asked to keep sickness away from the cattle and the people. During all of the previous ritual, it was forbidden to clean dung from the houses where the deceased was, and only now can they be cleaned by the man’s sister’s sons’ daughters. The oldest son takes the man’s spear and gun, if he had them. Other possessions are given to certain people based on their relationship to the deceased. If a man is buried before the rituals are performed (which often happens, because families do not have enough animals), they are done piecemeal at the funerals of others or en masse when enough animals are gathered (1p51-60).

*An elder woman’s burial: The body is buried in a hole while the elders get a stone for the grave. The elders then gather in the woman’s house and drink gourds full of milk and water (or milk

and beer, if available). The stone is taken into the house, and a goatskin is tied over the entryway. Two days later, the group sings about her achievements (i.e.: her children and what they have done). “Sometimes a woman is put as a corpse in the loft, then she is made to rest at an angle, she is not placed upright like a man” (this is because her back is said to hurt from childbirth). Then the body is placed to rest with the stone atop it (1p60-3).

*Other burials: A married girl is buried on a ridge with a sacrificial goat and “a couple of stone are laid on the grave”. An unmarried girl is buried in one end of the cattle pen, where dung collects, and “her younger brothers and sisters shave their heads. A kid or lamb is slaughtered.” A young child that still breastfeeds is buried in the cattle pen. A child that has had a naming ceremony is buried in the same place; the child’s milk container is given to in-laws, and the boy’s beads/girl’s skirt is put in the loft. When a young man who herds goats and has a bow dies, he is buried by his younger siblings. “His kin-via-sisters slaughter the goat and shave their heads.” His belongings are given to his younger brothers. If a man is married but does not yet have children dies, his oldest brother’s son buries him without a stone. If a man dies in battle and his penis has been left intact, everyone says he died via snakebite, rather than in battle, and the age-appropriate rituals are performed. When a man dies in battle, frequently his penis is cut off by the enemy, and he is considered to be mingi because of this (the same thing happens if a woman’s breast is cut off). If a mingi person dies, then they are not buried; their bodies are thrown to the vultures and hyenas. A stick from a particular tree is sharpened and a goat that is completely black is stabbed in the throat. Both stick and goat are thrown through the cattle pen gateway, towards the setting sun, and the throwers yell out, “Get away!” If someone kills themselves by hanging, the rope and tree used are burnt, but otherwise the same rituals are followed. If people suspect that someone has not been buried properly, an animal’s intestines are consulted, and these tell the intestine looker whose rites were not correctly and what needs to be done to make amends (1p63-8).

-Seasonal: There are also “a number of seasonal rituals that concern the homesteads, herds and fields.” For example, “Some day on an evening in the month of ‘mingi’ (the ‘defiled’ month) the ‘gudili’ of a settlement goes into the bush and collects bunches of sacred plants. When he returns to the settlement his assistant (‘ukili’) helps him to put these plants at the doorways of all the homesteads of the settlement. Then, as the sun is going down, he stands by the gateway of his goat kraal, holding in his left hand a bowl with butter, or the fat of a sheep and in his right hand a black stone. Slowly all the children, women and unmarried men come up to him and with his stone he rubs the butter on to their ‘hearts’ and their ‘stomachs’. When the night has turned pitch black (there must be no moon) all the population of the village gather at a place in the bush outside the settlement. The people stand closely together in a group and each of them faces the direction from where his clan originally is said to have come. As they stand quietly like this, the ‘gudili’, carrying a magical plant in both hands, begins to encircle the group from right to left, while his ‘ukili’ does the same, walking from left to right. After they have both encircled the group four times they step aside, and holding the magical plant they wait for the people to approach them one by one. The people come to them and noisily they ‘spit on the plant’. When in this way everyone has freed himself of his ‘sickness’, the ‘gudili’ walks deep into the bush, and there he throws the plant ‘away with the sun’. In the evening the ‘gudili’ told the women to extinguish the fires in the homesteads and to spill all the ashes. When the new morning comes he sits down together with the ‘zarsi’ by the gateway of his cattle kraal and with a fire stick he drills new fire. As he rubs the fire stick between his hands and as the first sparks of fire appear, the ‘zarsi’ around him perform a blessing (barjo äla) and

call for rain. Soon the fire is kindled, and the young sons, of the owners of the different homesteads, come with torches which they light and bring the new fire to their fathers' homes" (5).

- 6.4 Other rituals: "When the calf is slaughtered, the intestines are looked at to see the *barjo* of the cattle, of the goats, and of the children" (1p43). Dancing is very important: "A large circle is formed by the men, the girls close together at one end. Individual men dance forward singing their own song and imitating the shape of horns with their arms. Other men stop them when they have sung long enough. Meanwhile young girls enter the circle and dance in couples while the solo singers perform" (2p11).
- 6.5 Myths (Creation): "Long ago, in the time of the ancestors, the Hamar had two *bitta*... The first ancestor... came from Ari and settled in Hamar in the mountains. He, the *bitta*, made fire, and seeing this fire, people came, many from Ari, others from Male, others from Tsamai, others from Konso, others from Kara, others from Bume, and others from Ale, which lies beyond Konso... The *bitta* was the first to make fire in Hamar, and he said: 'I am the *bitta*, the owner of the land am I, the first to take hold of the land. Now you may become my subjects, may you be my dependents'" (1p2). "The '*bitta*' (ritual leader) himself came from the land of plenty, from the 'rain-country' of the Ari. First he moved to Banna, where he established himself and attracted a population that came from many different directions, rallied around him and became the Banna tribe of today. Later his 'younger brother' moved on southwards, and became the '*bitta*' of the Hamar. There are other myths of origin which are historically less interesting like the myth which says that the ancestors were cow-like beings that used to live in the sky, until they descended down to earth where at first they lived in the rivers of Hamar country and which were then rich in water. Later they stepped ashore and became people. Another myth says that the first ritual leader of the Hamar did not come from Ari but from Male and he was not the first to arrive, for there were already people of clan Woela living in the mountains. The attributes many of the typical features of a cultural hero to the man who became the ritual leader (strange looks, performance of several extraordinary magical feats, etc.) and it is not the ritual leader who accepts the people, but the people who accept the ritual leader" (5).
- 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Music is played through singing, flutes, and cowbells (2p4). Games are largely social, wherein a person feigns an emotion to get something from someone else.
- 6.7 Sex differences in RCR: There are differences, but they depend on the ritual.
- 6.8 Missionary effect: According to the 2007 Census, 3% are Orthodox, 2.4% are Protestant, 0% are Catholic, 2.1% are Muslim, and 91.3% practice traditional religion, so there appears to have been little missionary effect (3).
- 6.9 RCR revival: RCR have continued to the present day, so there has been no need for revival.
- 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: "It is said that after a man dies, he becomes a dead spirit who brings sickness and misfortunes to his living descendants if they neglect his wishes and ritual rights. When the burial rites have been completed, the dead spirit is said to have gone across the big waters and will not afflict the living any more" (1p178). "Ancestor worship is a widespread phenomenon, and its function of social control in acephalous societies is well known" (5).
- 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? No information found.

- 6.12 Is there teknonymy? Yes. People have a name, but they are often called “mother of” or “father of” their child as a term of respect. Men are also called father of their *garo* cow (see puberty ritual) (2p27).
- 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) “The term ‘*barjo*’ has a wide semantic spectrum. In different contexts, it could be understood to mean creator, creative power, fate, fortune, luck, destiny, God” (1p175). “It has such a general meaning that it can be applied to any specific situation. In its general sense it means a good act of creation, a good event, good luck, well being...*Barjo* is accessible to anybody at any time, if he is physically and mentally capable of aspiring to it. Often it is probably seen by others as no more than an indication of the general competence of an actor.” (2p254-5). “The Hamar say that ‘*barjo*’ has created the world, - but then again they say that they themselves create ‘*barjo*’...For the Hamar the world was not created at a specific point of time, and then left to itself (life for example in the Christian myth of creation), rather the world evolves, and mankind and nature are perpetually linked together, none changing without the other” (5).

7. Adornment

- 7.1 Body paint: “When someone kills a hyena, he shaves off all his hair. He takes some pure white paint and smears it on his head.” A man who kills an elephant, a lion, a leopard, or a rhinoceros shaves the front part of his forehead and smears red ocher mixed with butter there (1p74).
- 7.2 Piercings: Pierced ears for both men and women (1p21). “As the child grows up, his first teeth fall out...When this happens, ‘Pierce the ears of the child.’ Before this happens, however, a younger brother or sister will have been born,” and the child’s head shaved. “When his head is shaved, his ears may be pierced. First the right ear is pierced and when it is healed, the left ear is pierced. This is done to all children” (1p100)
- 7.3 Haircut: “The Hamar shave their heads only on special occasions. Young children have their heads shaved quite frequently for hygienic reasons, but a tuft of hair is always left on the fontanelle if the child has no younger sibling, or at the nape of the neck if he does. A bride’s head is shaved when she is brought to her husband’s home, and a youth’s head is shaved when he is initiated as a *maz*. People shave their heads if one of their siblings die. Men used to shave their heads when they had killed a hyena.” People also spend time braiding their own and other people’s hair (1p190).
- 7.4 Scarification: Boys and girls have their adult lower front teeth pulled out. When a boy’s testicles have fallen, he is circumcised (1p100). “Scarification and the pulling out of teeth are said to be recent adoptions from [an enemy tribe]” (1p179). There is scarification of the chest to signify a man has killed an enemy (5).
- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): “Before the turn of the [20th] century, Hamar men wore iron rings around their necks...One Hamar [was seen] wearing half-a-dozen rings around his neck...Elders have a string of beads around the waist as their main piece of decoration” (1p69).
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: The most common adornment in rituals is butter, although paint and clay are used for hunting rituals.
- 7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Males are painted different colors if they kill different animals, while females are not painted.
- 7.8 Missionary effect: Very little, if any.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: The culture has continued to the present, so there has been no need for a revival.

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Older siblings are given priority.

8.2 Sororate, levirate: Once a man dies, his classificatory brothers should care for his widow(s).
“They don’t live with them, but they occasionally visit and sleep with them” (2p59).

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): There is a complex system of classificatory relations who are considered the same as one’s blood relations (2p78). Classificatory brothers, for example, are men who completed the *maz* ritual at the same time. The rules of determining classificatory relationships are “intricate”, and my sources still are not able to explain them (2p63-4).

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

-“When a Hamar kills a Galeba, he cuts off his genitals and hangs them on a bark strip at the gateway of his cattle kraal.” (1p28)

-“...[I]f the...man has cattle, which he bought with goats,...[he] cannot simply consume its milk, for if [it] should, [he] would die. Therefore a man of [his] dari clans must perform a ritual” (1p41). “Dari could be translated as ‘protecting,’ for the dari clans are also described as...‘herding people.’ Every Hamar clan has one or more dari clans upon whom its members can call for the performance of certain protective rituals.” (1p184)

-“One youth is bright, bright and finds a woman; but for the one who is feeble, feeble, then the donkey is a woman...A cow is forbidden...If you want to fuck, fuck a donkey!” (1p73-4) A later note equates this to intercourse with relatives (1p81)

-“[Girls] laugh and sit together with the boys under a shade tree. They laugh...and then one girl who has eaten too much fresh sorghum and beans lets go a fart.” The men must then go and kill a lion, an elephant a rhino, a leopard, or a buffalo.

-“The Banna, Hamar and Bashada feed from the same linguistic and cultural stock, the differences between them are variations of a single theme. I focus here mainly on the Hamar, but what I say about them is also basically true for the other two groups” (5).

-“The Hamar should neither be labelled ‘pastoralist’ nor ‘agriculturalist’. The essence of their culture is the combination of both strands and if one wants to insist on a dominance of any of them, it should be the agriculturalist one. The Hamar themselves are quite explicit about this. They say that at the basis of their economic life lie the cultivation of fields. Competent people will be able to buy goats with the surplus of their harvests, and when the goats have multiplied they will buy cattle with them” (5).

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