

Entering Cattle Gates: Trade, Bond Friendship, and Group Interdependence

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Introduction

This paper is based on data collected among the Hor, a pastoral group in southwest Ethiopia. The focus is mainly on economic interdependence between various groups in southwestern Ethiopia and the paper explores the practices and major current impediments to the traditional practice of trade and ongoing exchange partnerships. Both traditional caravan routes and routes with "modern" road transport are used to affect trade and exchange in the region. The users of caravan routes depend on indigenous institutions of member groups for the protection of their life and property. Meanwhile, modern modes of transport are under the control of the police who are seen as having excessive power in blocking roads, searching for commodities, using the threat of force, and even confiscating goods or demanding bribes.¹

Ethiopia's southwest can be seen as a web of trade and exchange routes. A visible interdependence between various groups and autonomous units of groups has been established by the networks of caravan routes that crisscross through the territories. These networks connect regional groups into major open markets that operate according to recognized rules and trade practices and can assure the safe passage of goods and traders.²

Trade networks between the groups follow connections variously known in the region as *jala*, *lagge*, or *belle*. These are ties of enduring

friendship, which are ritually and individually established between members of different groups and within the same group. These relations of friendship serve as conduits for networks of trade and exchange as they exist primarily between the various groups.³

The argument of this paper is that although there is much talk about cultural variation in the region, there is on the other hand also a deep interdependence and an indispensability of the other (group) for the existence of the self. From data on the Hor (and Gamo) it is possible to conclude that the peoples of the region live within networks of multiple interdependencies in major areas such as religion, economy, politics, and warfare. Focusing mainly on trade and exchange, the paper describes its operation and examines the role of indigenous and state institutions in its facilitation.

The Hor occupy the most fertile delta of the Lake Stephanie watershed where they cultivate sorghum on the plots inundated by the flooding of the Limo River biannually. They also herd cattle in the pastures along the foot of the Borana and Hamar mountains and fish seasonally. The Hor have established a wide network of trade and exchange partnerships with people of various neighboring groups; travelers' accounts from the late nineteenth century and more recent studies describe Hor trade connections with the Somali coast and regional trade networks (Vannutelli and Citerni 1899, 354–55; Smith 1969, 262; Sobania 1991).

In the region around the Hor the various groups belonging to the network tend to place a balanced emphasis on age and kinship. These groups are highly patriarchal, making issues of power, property ownership, and control of resources mainly the concern of males, as are issues of clan and age leadership. Religious and ritual leadership exercised by individual leaders goes way beyond the confines of what is usually assumed to be a group's territory. For example, the influence of the senior Hor Qawot goes beyond the limits of ethnic boundaries and hence allegiances to Hor Qawots are drawn from far away. Therefore, allegiances to ritual leaders exist simultaneously within a group but also bridge ethnic boundaries such that people may be loyal to both a leader from their own group as well as one from outside.

Within trade and exchange networks, local group institutions that deal with law and order are also used as institutions of the network.

This is a marginalized region in Ethiopia's south, where after over a century of incorporation into the state system there are still no financial institutions and taxes are frequently collected on animals sold by tax collectors who retain the difference between the tax owed and the price obtained for themselves. Ammunition of various types is the predominant currency used to buy essential services like drinks and small items from shops. In the open markets, traders barter things based on evaluations that do not fluctuate very much. Durables are not brought to markets but are exchanged in the settlements or in the bush or are carried on to other group territories where, using the line of individual friends, they are traded for cattle, goats, or honey. Cash is sometimes used by urban traders and civil servants to buy goats and honey. One group, usually the Konso, is paid to carry loads on the desert caravan routes.

The Hor also rely heavily on capturing fertility from the outside for the reproduction of their culture and society and that of their neighbors by killing men of these specific groups and sometimes severing their genitals.⁴ The Hor not only depend on specific outsiders as sources for accessing fertility, wives, and raided animals, they also depend on them for essential tools of production and for ritual items. From other groups they require neither wives nor raided animals, but simply establish *jalluma* friendships for trade and exchange.

The cultural logic behind establishing friendships—the practice of interethnic trade and exchange following the lines of *jalla*, *belle*, and *lagge* friendships—appears to be based on religious and moral lines. (Neither the Hor nor their neighbors in the network profess any world religion.) The idea of *ch'ubbu*, the performance of improper evil on others, has a prominent place within the Hor system of beliefs. *Ch'ubbu* includes the taking of other persons' cattle without their consent, refusal to pay debts, injuring other people by insult, causing death to one's people and to others with whom Hor are known to be on good terms, spilling the blood of groups Hor should not, etc. Bad luck can befall the perpetrator of *ch'ubbu*. While strict observance of not performing *ch'ubbu* is a means of self-protection, there is at the victim's disposal a power that can cause much personal damage to the perpetrator's wealth, children, and personal well-being. This is the power formerly brought from a specific source outside that is believed to benefit the cultural and

social reproduction of the group. It can be used negatively and can cause misfortune if the victim appropriates this power from its owner in a socially accepted manner. The outside element is crucial for the reproduction of the group and is fundamental in the operation of economic networks just as it is in other aspects of Hor life.

In their daily life, Hor villagers live largely undisturbed by the institutions of the state and they do not allow visitors other than their bond friends⁵ from other groups and those traders who take traditional trade routes to come to their villages without the prior knowledge and agreement of their leaders.

Hor and Outsiders in Hor Country

The Hor keep outsiders at a distance. They suffered a heavy loss of life and animals when they went to war with Donaldson Smith, the first European to reach Hor country at the close of the nineteenth century. Soon afterwards, the conquering Abyssinian forces dealt the Hor a heavy blow that resulted in a serious destruction of life and wealth and forced them into exile. During the brief Italian occupation of Ethiopia, they again suffered killing and raiding from both the Italians and the Ethiopian partisans. After the Ethiopian Revolution in 1974, the senior Hor Qawot suffered humiliation and imprisonment. This, the Hor believe, has affected the social and natural order. As a result the Hor keep outsiders and the state at a safe distance at a location the Hor call Tabya.

Tabya

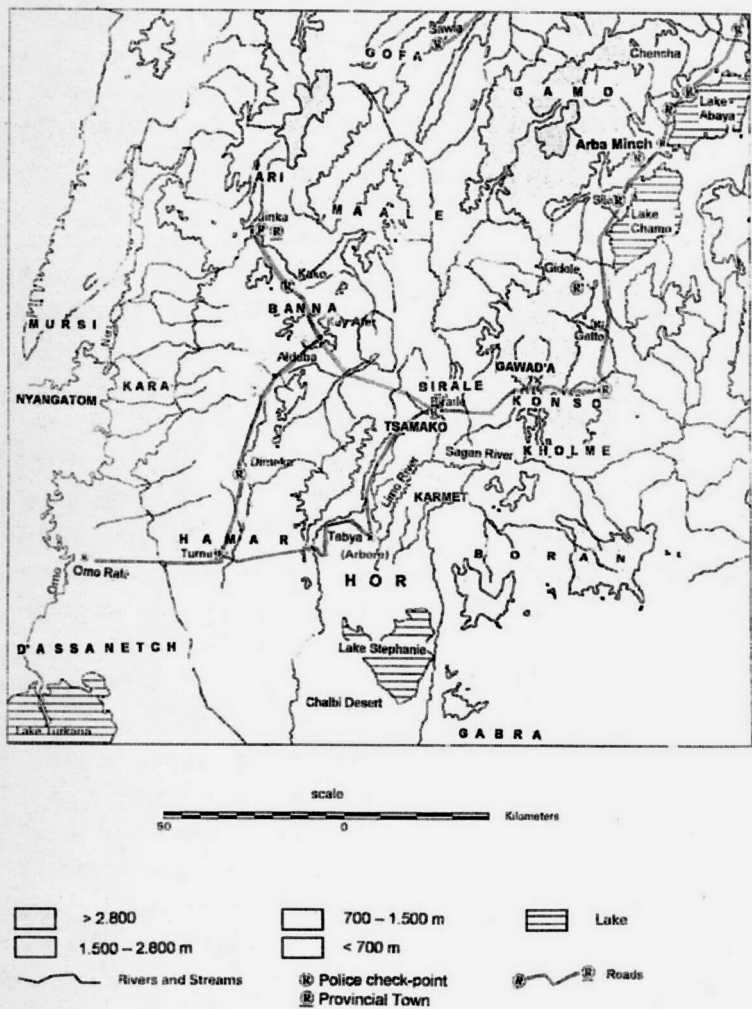
Tabya, which in Amharic literally means station, is a settlement the Hor have allocated to outsiders as a place of residence. Those associated with the state, traders based in Hor country groups they refer to as non-herders, that is, people who consume animals without the pain of herding them, reside in Tabya. Among those who live at Tabya are the Konso who do not raise cattle, whose women are not circumcised, and who accumulate wealth in cash like civil servants. Konso as a group do not have a history of conflict with the Hor. The Hor do not take wives from them because their women are not circumcised. The Konso in Tabya owe allegiance to the Hor Qawots. They seek blessings from the Hor

Qawots for fertility, for protection against evil that may affect their lives, for their property, and for the protection of their respective villages back in Konso from the evil activities of members of other Konso villages.⁶

A second group who live in Tabya are the Karmet. The Hor consider the Karmet to be non-cattle herders who reproduce at a fast rate. Because they do not raise cattle and usually do not identify as Hor, they mainly stay in Tabya and only a few live in Hor villages. The Karmet (also known as Wata by others) show allegiance to Hor Qawots and it is rumored in Hor that if a Qawot marries after becoming Qawot, a Karmet man should have sexual intercourse with the Qawot's bride during the marriage. At the installation of a Qawot, it is said that a Karmet elder takes with him young male virgin Hor boys to the banks of the Limo River to find a long straight *med'erte* stick. This stick becomes the insignia of the Qawot and is mainly used for prayers and blessings during sacrifices and for cursing. Like the Qawot this stick is anointed with butter during wedding prayers and blessings. Of all the other groups the Karmet are the closest in physical proximity to Hor land and they have the closest ties and allegiance to Hor Qawots. The biological fathers of Konso Ali, and of his younger brother Gumadi, are both Karmet. They were lovers of Qawot Oto Ali's wife after his death. Hor do not marry Karmet women as the latter are considered to be dangerous to the family of the Hor man and to the domestic animals of his *wori*. In practice, however, a few Hor men have recently begun to marry Karmet women. The explanation for this is the rather low cost of bride-wealth involved compared to that paid for Hor brides. Hor girls who become pregnant before marriage take refuge in Karmet land. They marry Karmet men and become Karmet. Hor men and women have Karmet lovers and talk a lot about the handsomeness of Karmet men and the beauty of their women.

Hor cooperate with Karmet for economic purposes. They use the pastures around Karmet settlements and set up cattle camps there. They offer sorghum plots and residence to Karmet in the Marle section and the village of Kulama in the Arbore section. In temporary settlements Karmet share residence with the Hor. A large number of Karmet outside Karmet country reside in Tabya. The Hor do not go to war with the Karmet as this is believed to cause disaster to life and property. Hor give the same explanation for not marrying Karmet women. In reality, how-

Map 1. The Hor and their neighbors



Source: Tactical Pilotage Chart, TPC L-5B, St. Louis, Missouri. CAD and Layout: Dipl. Geogr. Anne Mense. Map modified and additional data added by W. G. Tadesse.

ever, some prominent Hor of Gandaraba are married to Karmet women. Surra Ghino of the retired Otgalcha generation is married to one and has three little children but is cattleless at present, confirming the Hor belief

about marrying Karmet women. Another Hor man, Ghino Miri, has been married to his Karmet wife only for one year and the Hor are waiting to see what happens to his wealth because of the marriage.

The third group is the Tsamako. In addition to the other villages in their country, they have two villages (Kuile and Garsante Durba) inside Hor territory. Kuile, one of the Tsamako villages, is less than a kilometer away from Tabya (see Map 1) and the villagers share the same water source as the people of Tabya. Since mythical times the Hor have provided the Tsamako with a Qawot ritual leader and this seems to be the main reason why they have two settlements inside Hor territory. The Hor say that they do not marry the Tsamako and the explanation they give is the same as that given for not marrying the Karmet. But while Karmet women are circumcised during their early teens, Tsamako, like Konso and Hamar women, are normally not circumcised at all. The Qawot of the Tsamako and his sub-clan, Olmoque Wori Asaso, who are said to be Hor, marry uncircumcised women from Tsamako and give their daughters to the Hor who circumcise and marry them. Because the Qawot of Tsamako is Hor and his daughters are too, the Hor say they do not marry Tsamako at all. Tsamako provide Hor with access to their pastures and, like Konso and Karmet, show their allegiance to Hor Qawots by entering their cattle gates for prayer and blessings. In their turn the Hor provide the Tsamako with access to the Limo valley trees for placing their beehives.

The fourth group that lives in Tabya consists of civil servants: policemen, schoolteachers, a clinic staff, and a veterinary assistant. The civil servants have an ambiguous allegiance. They appear to be dependent on the state and on Ethiopian law for everything. Most of them profess Christianity and speak negatively of Hor religious practices. On the other hand, they keep close contact with the Qawots and other older Hor out of fear of mystical attack and for protection. The veterinary assistant and two of the schoolteachers run restaurants in Tabya and own bars that sell alcoholic drinks. The veterinary assistant visited the Qawot of Tsamako with a gift of drinks for his blessing, for protection against mystical attack by other Hor, and for help to become wealthy. Because of their involvement in the hotel business and in selling drinks, civil servants compete with the Konso traders in Tabya. Some of them buy and

sell goats for profit after keeping them with Hor friends until the goats gain some weight.

Tabya, State Institutions, the Hor, and Others

From the Hor point of view, Tabya can be seen as a terrible place. It is where the police station is situated and a place where Hor and their neighbors cannot walk about with their rifles. The police threaten to confiscate the firearms of Hor and members of other groups who come to attend the Saturday market.

The police very well know that in and around Hor an unarmed person can easily be killed by Borana and even by Hamar and that cattle can be raided at any time, making it essential to carry firearms. Some policemen of Tabya who are of Hor and Konso origin are firearms traders and trade ammunition for cash. Two of them were imprisoned in Jinka for selling government ammunition. There are occasional beatings by the police of Hor and herdsmen of other groups who come for drinks on weekdays and for the market on Saturdays. In one incident in 1996, eight policemen together beat Ufo Hanqe of Kulama who refused to be taken to the police station. He was in bed for three months recovering from the effects of the beating.

The elders of the Hor age organization do not like the accumulation of unlimited power in the hands of the police. Together with Konso and other elders of Tabya, they review the activities of the police and report them to higher officials whenever they have opportunities to do so.

Tabya bars that sell drinks generally attempt to demand unreasonably high prices from Hor and their neighbors, many of whom are unfamiliar with the use of cash. They sometimes refuse to pay these inflated prices and argument breaks out. In such cases the police may intervene and take sides with the bar owners. The Hor and their neighbors may be accused of being cheats and may be subjected to abuse because of their style of life.

Most bars and the three restaurants that belong to civil servants take bullets as a form of payment from herdsmen and give money in change. Others take Kalashnikovs, cloths, or headrests as a guarantee of delayed payment. Sometimes policemen lend ammunition to their Hor and non-Hor friends in exchange for a promise of a goat or sheep.

Most Hor think of the school in Tabya as a place where Hor children are taught to dislike goats and other animals. Students, Hor say, dislike animals and the Hor way of life. They instead like being dressed up and hanging about without anything to do. They become Sidama, central Ethiopians, and are like civil servants, people who do not like raising animals, but buy animals for cash to consume them.



Photographs 1, 2, and 3. Tabya Market

On the other hand, Tabya is also seen as a good place to socialize with friends and to drink. It is the venue of the Saturday market (see Photographs 1, 2, and 3), where herders can sell their small stock or exchange them for requirements such as ammunition, honey, coffee, tobacco, toilet soaps for scenting girls' bodies, chains for the necks, and beads. In the markets Hor wives sell butter and sorghum and socialize with their men or lovers in one of the many houses that are converted into drinking places for the market day. Tabya is where the sick come for medical treatment at the small clinic and where the Hor and their neighbors can purchase medicine and, especially, antibiotic capsules for themselves and for their sick animals. Tabya is where many groups come together for markets and then separate until the following market day. It is a place where new things come on trucks, *habura konso*, and cars, *habura farangi*.



Photograph 4. Road block and road sign at Tabya

Every Friday evening on the eve of the market day, or on Saturday mornings, private, state-owned, or NGO trucks that are on their way to or from Arba Minch arrive loaded with goods for Tabya, Turmi (Hamar), and Omo Rate' in D'assanetch country on the Omo River.⁷ When they reach Tabya, a notice on the main road instructs all vehicles to "Enter the Arbore police station" to unload in a wooden enclosure in front of the police station under the flag mast (see Photograph 4). Things unloaded on such occasions include such items as *araki* spirits,

unhusked coffee beans, coffee husks, *chat* leaves, cotton blankets, beads, salt, *shelegda* leaves, key chains, razor blades, hoe blades, ankle rings, cotton and nylon fabrics for head scarfs, loincloths, beer, liquors, and soft drinks mainly from the provincial capital Arba Minch and partly from Purqud'a in Konso.

An intensive search of the loads on the trucks begins at the police station and continues until the owners of the goods contribute money and hand it to the policeman on duty. This is later shared out by the police. The police also demand a bonus of packs of cigarettes and *chat* leaves to make the search session short and to let the crew, the passengers, and the load continue to their destinations before the desert sun gets hotter. Whenever trucks arrive, policemen who are not on duty rush to the station to check on the money and other gifts received. All coffee brought to Hor for wedding rituals is usually held as contraband and Hor have to negotiate with the police for its release, which entails more payments of money.

The Hor were beginning to bring goods from *jalas* in Kholme and D'assanetch by truck, which was easier than using other means of transport. However, the unrestricted power of the police to delay, search, and arrest passengers falsely accused of loading contraband goods, together with the insatiable appetite for bribes and the threat of confiscation of goods by the police, means that traditional routes and means of transport are still preferred.

On Sundays and Mondays the trucks arrive back to continue in the reverse direction. They normally carry Hor passengers from Omo and Tourmi and other traders who continue further north to the Kholme and Purqud'a markets and to Arba Minch. The trucks from Omo and Tourmi come loaded with empty *araki* jerrycans, Omo sorghum, Hamar goats, honey, goatskins, and some contraband textiles, laundry, and toilet soaps from Kenya that are brought in exchange for *araki*, which is traded for these goods from across the frontier. What is interesting is that at Tabya when the trucks arrive everything is held by the police as contraband. The things labeled contraband include goods of Kenyan origin already taxed at Omo Rate' and all the rest bought within Ethiopia and of Ethiopian origin. The traders contribute money and clear the trucks out of the wooden police bars that resemble Hor cattle enclosures.

Before goods of Hor origin are loaded, they also have to enter the enclosure and the police again have to receive money. When they are not given enough money to let the items be loaded on the trucks, they accuse the owners of the goods of attempting to bring contraband into the country. These are items that are transported north from Hor and include sheep and goats, sheep- and goatskins, honey, butter, game skins, and sorghum.

The power the police have over the movement of people and goods is so great that individuals may become helpless before the might of this institution. Police practices of this sort, which are quite common on the main routes in this part of the country, are the cause of suffering for hundreds of passengers and traders.⁸ Trucks are forced to start their journeys from police stations and to stop again at police stations in the middle of the day or when they reach their destinations. In one morning alone trucks may be stopped and checked at Omo-Rate', Tourmi, Tabya, and at a recently established police station on the Birale plantation before they are again stopped at Baqaule, Konso, for the fifth such search in a day. A sack of sorghum will in most cases be unloaded five times and then opened, searched, and paid for as many times. One only needs to imagine the inconvenience this causes in the transport of people and goods.⁹ In some instances there is disagreement between policemen over the amount of money to be paid, which results in the trucks being held overnight disrupting the whole journey. In other instances conflicts arise between the police in Hor and a Ministry of Finance taxman over how much money each of them should take. Sometimes the truck drivers and some of the passengers have to act as go-betweens to settle disputes between these powerful civil servants. The intervention of Tabya elders may even be requested by the police and the taxman. Recently, a third body, the Hor Dwellers' Association at Tabya, has been pushing itself onto the scene to share power and to benefit from the illicit control of trucks. In almost no instance does the state get any income from this area. The money collected goes into private pockets.

The reason why I am discussing modern routes, the modern transport system, and state involvement in movement and trade in this area is simple. My aim is to give a rough picture of the obstacles that have to be overcome before passengers and goods such as a sack of sorghum, a

sheep or goat skin, or an empty *araki* jerrycan can reach a destination as close as three hundred kilometers away in a day or two. This background information I feel is essential in order to understand and appreciate the working of bond friendship and trade, which use other routes and which are the subject of this paper. Traditional bond friendship and trade use routes away from the roads where the state has no influence over the transport of goods, over the security of goods, or over the well-being of traders.

The Traditional Routes

These routes are known as *gor* in the Hor language. They are used by the neighbors of the Hor to come to the Hor Qawots with gifts for peace, blessings, and prayer. Such visits benefit both the Hor and their neighbors, particularly the Borana. They result in intermarriage, the exchange and sharing of pastures and other resources, and they build mutual trust across the boundary between the outside and inside for the duration of peaceful relations. They imply a healthy movement of cattle between pastures, water wells, and cattle camps of the groups. Keeping these routes open allows movement of people, animals, goods, and knowledge, and the formation of bond friendships. Such mutual relationships are viewed as beneficial and in keeping with the natural order as well with social harmony and order. They create a favorable situation for the circulation of much needed produce such as *ruf*,¹⁰ bracelets, beads, cotton head-scarves, coffee, tobacco, salt, ritual herbs, cowries, metal anklets, hoe blades, clay, and firearms. The Hor's eastern neighbors, the Borana, rely for their blessings and prayers on entering the cattle gates of the Hor Qawots. The Hor depend on them and other outsiders for essential items for the performance of rituals. The Borana Qallus ritual leaders send symbolic axes during the installation of Hor Qawots. I think that it is because of this crucial interdependence that the Hor make prayers for Waq to keep these routes open. "Gorti Dandan Waq bane!" (Let Waq open the Dandan path), is a very important element in Hor Qawots' prayers. The Qawots regularly pray for Waq to blind the Borana, to make their arms that handle firearms weak, and to make the bullets that come out of their rifles as light as dry rushes. This prayer performed by the Qawots is done so that the enemy group keeps coming along the Dandan

path with the traditional heifer and bull gifts to the senior and junior Qawots of the Hor in submission to their superior mystical powers. The Borana would otherwise come to fight the Hor. The Hor wish to make their hearts desire conflict less. In a similar manner, prayer is sometimes made for other paths to remain forever shut. This is because these paths were in the past used by invaders, first the Samburu and later the Hamar, to attack the Hor.¹¹ Gorti Wanki, southwest of Hor land and to the east of the mouth of the Mino River, is one such path that brings death and suffering and must be condemned during prayers.

The traditional routes bond friends use to travel from Hor to Hamar, to D'assanetch, to Karmet country, to Kholme, to Borana, to Kara, to Nyangatom are various. The Nyangatom route goes through Hamar and Kara and Hor are relayed along the route by their Hamar and Kara bond friends. The D'assanetch route is the worst of all in terms of hardships that have to be encountered. The Chalbi desert of the dry Lake Stephanie surface is without any water until its southeastern edge is reached where there is a hot spring and other springs named T'abala, Qofa, and Gum. There is sometimes a danger of fighting and death when these water points are occupied by Borana or any other group with whom the Hor are on bad terms. Since 1991 this has continuously been a dangerous place for the Hor due to worsened Hor-Borana relations that began as a result of the death of over four hundred Borana who were killed as they attempted to wipe out the Hor villages of Egude and Murale. Hor travelers and members of hunting expeditions send scouts and double-check for the presence of members of hostile groups before they start using the water or resting.

But before Hor, together with their D'assanetch bond friends and other travelers and traders who accompany them, set out for the trip they enter through the cattle gate of the Marle Qawot. After receiving his approval and his blessings they leave through the cattle gate for their journey. The Marle Qawot controls the whole desert and he says that he is its owner. His blessings and permission to cross the desert are believed to protect travelers against enemies, snakes, scorpions, and thorns.

The well-being of Hor travelers is guaranteed by a range of other means. The senior Qawots' dawn and dusk prayers to Waq, the blessings they give for the protection of their people, and the curses they make

against Hor enemies are important for the safety and well-being of travelers. The prayers of the head of a clan and of the head of the *wori* all affect the safety of travelers. The cowrie belt the wife of a Qawot wears—that of the wife of the clan head, that of the wife of the head of the *wori*, that of a man's mother and of his wife—protects men in dangerous space such as the Chalbi desert. As soon as a son or a husband sets out on such journeys, his mother and wives start wearing their cowrie belts to protect him. The trip to D'assanetch can be more dangerous if relations with the Hamar are bad. Not only are relations between the Hor and the Hamar important to guarantee safe passage, but also relations between the Hamar and the D'assanetch. In the summer of 1995 when D'assanetch and Hamar fought, the Hor were not allowed to go to D'assanetch land over Hamar territory. Animals Hor were driving over Hamar land towards Hor country were taken by force by the Hamar. Konso bond friends of the Hor lost many animals only some of which were later retrieved.

The routes to the east (to Karmet and Borana country) are not as dangerous, but the procedure of entering and leaving the cattle gate of a Qawot is done for journeys to Borana. The route to Karmet country, because of its proximity and because it is where Hor cattle camps of the Marle are set up, is not considered dangerous but some precautions are still taken. Journeys to Tsamako in the north are treated in the same way as journeys to Karmet country. The route to Kholme, the route that Hor take to Konso to visit bond friends and to attend the Thursday Kholme market, is one of the major trade routes that extends from D'assanetch. The route from Hor country to Kholme is secure as it is away from the main road and government authority and is inhabited first by the Karmet and then by the Kholme both of whom have good relations with the Hor.

Modern and traditional routes for the journeys of bond friends and traders cross and intersect in Hor country. An old Italian road that went across Hor land from east to west currently is not used as a road but remains important as a path. It was based on an old path used as a trade route and is part of the Dandan path. The main road connecting Omo Rate' to Arba Minch goes across Hor land north to south but is in very poor condition due to lack of maintenance. A traditional path that

connects Nyangatom to Hor exists that passes through the mountains of Hamar and Kara. This extends east towards Tartalle and Yaballo in Borana country and on to the Somali. The desert route takes Hor to their D'assanetch bond friends across the Chalbi Desert.

Hor country was and is a crucial central intersection point for the network of both traditional and modern routes. At the close of the last century Donaldson Smith noted how the products of ports on the Somali coast reached the Hor through Borana country.¹² Rein provides a map (Rein 1919, following 358) showing Hor country as the terminal point of a good caravan route from the Gulf of Aden to Addis Ababa and continuing south until it reaches Konso country and eventually Hor country. This route joins an East-West caravan route linking what was then Italian Somaliland with Borana country and eventually with Hor country and Lake Rudolf (Lake Turkana). What is particularly striking is that the junction of the North-South route and the East-West route is in the area of Hor country where major villages are located. Whereas the Hor and their neighbors see modern transport as revolutionary and as making life much easier compared to traditional pack-animal transport, in reality they find it expensive both in terms of fares and the bribes involved. Traditional routes are much preferred as there is no state presence. This reduces the cost and increases the security of goods and of individual travelers. In all cases, but particularly in the desert, the Qawots, together with women's cowrie belts, guarantee individual safety. And as we shall see later, the wealth that travels along such routes also has the protection of the Fund'o.

What Makes the Traditional Routes Safe and Secure

Users of the traditional routes all owe allegiance to the *Fund'o* institution, the duty of which is to help traders and their activities. A *Fund'o* council exists in Tabya in Hor country, which makes sure that trade between Hor country and other places operates smoothly and without hindrance. Traders are obliged to follow certain codes of behavior while traveling. According to the rules, a team of bond friends and traders or other persons handling property, whether animals or other goods, are expected to care for and to support each other on journeys along the routes. They are obliged to participate together in the search for lost

animals and not to continue with their journey until the searching team finds the lost animals. The Fund'o imposes fines on those accused of failure to fulfill these obligations while traveling and makes arrangements with local chiefs to search for and hand over lost animals and to obtain evidence of any loss caused by wild animals.

If bandits attack peaceful traders and take their property, the group in whose territory the attack occurs is held responsible and is made to pay compensation. Failure to comply would cause the *Fund'o* to withdraw all assistance to the group and its members and all trade with them would be banned.

The Fund'o in Hor works in harmony with the Hor Jald'aba¹³ so that both the Hor and the traders benefit. Decisions of the Fund'o are observed by the Hor and whenever the Hor have problems with traders they try to arrange for sanctions against them through the Fund'o. The Hor's Fund'o representative is a non-Hor man and is also the spokesman of the Konso and Sidama residents, including civil servants. He settles financial and other disputes between Konso in Tabya and between Konso and other people according to Korata rules—Konso rules for settling disputes. He is also responsible for the self-help saving society, Ik'ub, and its weekly sessions are held in his compound. He keeps its documents and financial reports on members. The Fund'o, Korata, and Ik'ub executives consist of Konso and Hor men and have their center in Tabya. Civil servants also participate in the saving and in the management of Ik'ub. The Fund'o in Hor uses writing in its work as it communicates with other Fund'o bodies in the region. The leaders and executives of the Tabya Fund'o usually cooperate with the Hor Jald'aba in their efforts to contain the state in Tabya. The Hor Jald'aba understands well the central place of their land in regional trade activities and the fact that the Fund'o depends on them and on their land for the success of its work. Working with the Hor is to the advantage of the Fund'o and Korata practitioners. The Hor allow them to live on Hor land, to grow sorghum, and to practice their own customs. The traders also benefit from membership of the network of the Hor's bond friends in the whole region. One joins the Fund'o by personally going to Purqud'a in Konso country and paying Birr 30.00 (£3.00 or \$4.00). Mihiret, a northern Ethiopian woman who is the wife of Asaminew and a school

teacher, went to Purqud'a and became a *birricha* (an acknowledged trader, meat seller, craftsman). She says that this membership gives her protection against those who may take her money and fail to return it. The Hor tell of many cases in which Konso men whom they have trusted and have asked to sell rifles on their behalf, have failed to return either the rifles or cash. Only after the Hor have appealed to the *Fund'o* were they able to retrieve their rifle or their money including per diems and the cost of transport they had paid. In some cases the *Fund'o* was able to force the sale of Konso property to pay back debts owed to the Hor.

But what is the *Fund'o*? The *Fund'o* is an institution responsible for the safe passage and the security of traders and goods and acts as guarantor of debt payment. Each group's current customary law operates regarding disputes arising between members of the same group. However, when a dispute involves members of two different groups, the council of *Fund'o* in Hor applies the customary law of the disputing members to discipline them. When a case involves a Konso resident of Hor and a Hor resident of Hor, if the Hor is found guilty his case will be directed to the Jald'aba of his own village. The offender may be flogged or fined. If the Konso man is found guilty, his case will be directed to Konso elder residents who will punish him according to Konso custom.

This institution works more efficiently than the many police stations, courts, and other state institutions that operate in the proximity of Hor, Konso, and Hamar. Members of groups of the region who wish to become traders affiliate themselves to the *Fund'o* as they begin to trade actively. The *Fund'o* recruits its members who represent it in the different groups by carefully selecting influential personalities who can take care of the interests of different groups in the region. The *Fund'o* of Hor were appointed after sending a list of candidates from both Hor and non-Hor residents in Hor land (mainly Konso and people of Borana origin) to the *Fund'o* in Purqud'a. Once the list was approved, the *Fund'o* team started functioning.

The Hor *Fund'o* was supervised until late 1998 by Lemma, who speaks for the Konso residents of Hor and who is a literate person able to correspond with other *Fund'o* offices in the region (see Photograph 5). The members include its head, two elders each from Hor and Konso who reside in Hor, and two young Konso men referred to as *helita*, messengers



Photograph 5. The Fund'o in session in Tabya

who carry out errands and assist the council in the execution of its tasks. The council employs the customary practices of sanctioning used by each disputant's group in executing its decisions and does not impose the practice of the office of the Fund'o or that of the Konso, which is exercised in the base area. In other words, it uses the range of legal structures and customary laws of groups which are found in the region and which the network covers.

The weakness of the state institutions of law enforcement in protecting the lives and the property of citizens of the region, together with the continued marginalization of pastoral peoples of the Ethio-Kenyan border, is evidence of neglect by regional as well as central political authorities. While the picture looks gloomy, it is important to be aware that alternative traditional institutions such as the Fund'o do keep some regions going. This was evident during the fall of the military government in 1991 and the ascendancy of the present regime. The rural south was generally peaceful and the local markets ran well; there was neither looting nor genocide. This was not due to fear or to the strength of the government then on its way to power, but was due to the fact that institutions such as the Fund'o go underground when governments are tough and become potent when governments become weak and lose control in the region. If the rural south is peaceful to this day, it is by no means an

expression of the strength and stability of the state, but is instead a product of the strength of such traditional institutions in the region.

Not much is known about the antiquity of the Fund'o tradition in the region or in Hor itself. The Hor Fund'o, according to Lemma Gebre Tsadik, the institution's former head, was re-established after an interruption of about a decade.¹⁴ There are only claims that it has been there for a long time, with its own myth of origin. Lemma said the following on this topic:

The Fund'o is a family. They were created near T'adacha Worabe—Tula Salan in Borana country. Some Moslem and Konso elder traders agreed to divide the region into trading territories. With this agreement the Moslems took responsibility for the other part [part of Borana, Guji, etc.] and the Fund'o took responsibility for this part of the region [part of Borana, Konso, Hor, and currently Turmi and Omo-Rate'] with their centre in Konso. The elders appointed the child Guyyo Fund'o for this part to see that trade went on well.

The name of the Fund'o institution derives from the family name of this child. The Fund'o exercises its authority through persuading groups to impose sanctions on their members who do not abide by its decisions. When traders are found guilty, the public of the group concerned are instructed to refrain from buying from them or selling to them. Because of this power, the Fund'o base in Purqud'a is considered a kind of pilgrimage center for any traders and customers who are in dispute over payment of debts and unfulfilled financial and other promises. Those who need affiliation go there in person before committing themselves to the rules of the Fund'o.

But there is more to this pilgrimage than the power of the Fund'o to execute decisions. The original Fund'o child and his descendants are considered to be the Qawots or P'oqallas (the Konso equivalent of the Qawot) of merchants, craftsmen, and butchers collectively known as *bir-richa* in the Garatte part of administrative Konso. The original Fund'o "Qawot" lived in Yavallo once upon a time, and his descendant, according to Lemma, heads the Yavallo Fund'o. He originally was from

Purqud'a and this is where the site of his house is the center of the network, and is considered to have sanctity. His followers have constructed a tin-roofed building in place of the traditional thatch-roofed house. Each Fund'o office in different parts of the south contributed money for the construction of the house and money for its inauguration.¹⁵ Lemma said that Hor contributed a bull and a few hundred *birr* for the construction of the house on the former site and this spot serves as both the pilgrimage site and the office of the network.

The ritual powers of the Fund'o "Qawot" and his descendants—power to curse, bless, and settle disputes—were channeled into the arena of exchange, craftwork, the market, and reproduction of wealth. In contrast, the allegiance to Qawots of the Hor is linked with the receipt of blessings for human, animal, and crop fertility and victory in warfare over the enemy. Similarly, the allegiance to the Fund'o "Qawot" by traders and craftsmen was traditionally sought for the reproduction of tools and pots, for retrieving lost money, and for the creation of wealth through trade and exchange. Today, those who seek this help are not just those from families of craftsmen and traders, but a broader range of Konso and non-Konso involved in many types of trading and bond friendship linkages. The effective power of the present-day Fund'o institution to facilitate this process, and its threat to curse and to take sanctions against those who hinder the process, seems to be one of the major reasons for the fact that it is expanding its influence across ethnic boundaries. The influence of the main Konso P'oqallas on the other hand, remains fettered within the bounds of the Konso clans as allegiance to them is eroded with the growth of trade and bond friendship in the region and with the growing allegiance of the Konso and other groups' traders and bond friends to the Hor Qawots and to the Purqud'a Fund'o.

This role of the Purqud'a Fund'o as P'oqalla of craftsmen and traders, that is of the marginalized, across ethnic frontiers in this region, has demonstrated the way in which ethnic groups that were and are in many respects politically autonomous participate in a regional economy in which they exchange their produce and knowledge. To survive as a group this economic interchange is essential. All ethnic groups depend on obtaining goods and services from the outside in exchange for their

own produce in a relatively secure, coordinated, institutionalized framework facilitated by the Fund'o.

The fact that in this area, craftsmen, many of whom are stigmatized, can hold a social position equivalent to that of their own Qawot can provide some possible indications about the nature, origin, and organization of craftsmen in the south of Ethiopia. Purqud'a is a place where old practices dominate compared to other parts of Konso, where traditions have given way to new practices. For example, the hunting ritual *kara* is no longer celebrated in any other part of administrative Konso except in Purqud'a, even though other areas acknowledge that their ancestors used to celebrate it. Likewise, it is possible that the Fund'o institution is a similar instance of the continuation of a set of traditional practices that may have been more widespread in the past. Craftsmen and traders may have been more widely linked by regional institutions than they are today.¹⁶

It is striking that the original Fund'o child did not live in Konso, but in Yavallo in Borana country and that he could maintain his ritual position from outside Konso. My suggestion here is that the Fund'o was the Qawot for fertility of wealth produced through exchange and through the production of crafts. He may possibly have been a descendant of a once very strong clan of artisans and traders in Konso and may have been forced into exile in Borana country. Similar clans with similar networks may have existed throughout the agricultural groups around lakes Abbaya and Chamo, but their power may have eventually been usurped by other clans and their members dispersed. Such speculations would need to be tested by research in Konso and elsewhere; information in the present paper is based on what is said in Hor country.

In the past in Konso, the division between those involved in agriculture and those involved in craftwork and trade was very marked. Weaving, woodcarving, selling meat, and involvement in trading activities were treated by Konso, who worked on the land, as entirely unacceptable activities for farmers. Today attitudes and practice have changed dramatically. Although agricultural activity is still stressed in the ideology, people from an agricultural background no longer exclude themselves from craftwork and trade but, on the contrary, take up such occupations more and more frequently.

The curse of Fund'o seems to be particularly feared because it is the curse of the clan leader of craftsmen. The mention of the name of the Fund'o helps solve most problems. Use of his name can be a means to retrieve lost money or stolen cattle, and a means to force individuals to help when one needs help. To say that one will go to the Fund'o to complain against someone over unfulfilled financial commitments or over stolen cattle is threatening to everyone involved in the matter. Those involved fear that they may lose their property or that they or members of their families may be struck down by illness or even die.

The Resolution of Disputes in Tabya and in Hor Villages

Tabya is a multiethnic center where no single group dominates in terms of control over resources or over the affairs of its residents. With regard to land used for cultivation of sorghum, the distribution of land and the practice of cultivation are carried out largely in accordance with the tradition of the Hor hosts. Regarding offences such as theft, Hor offenders would normally be dealt with by the Hor alone. But a Konso offender, for example, would normally be dealt with by a joint meeting of Konso and Hor elders, which would impose a fine on the guilty person of cash or its equivalent. If the guilty person refused to pay the fine imposed by the elders, the Hor side would be requested to flog the person or to ostracize him and his family by refusing to sell anything to him and to buy anything from him. The person would be avoided as much as possible until finally he would be forced to bend to the will of others.

Offences by civil servants or disputes between civil servants and Hor are handled by a joint Hor-Fund'o court and the kind of sanction used is not flogging but a fine of cash which, if the offender agrees, is paid, but if he refuses may be converted into ostracism. The most powerful sanction is a threat of mystical attack. Matters take a different course if any case is treated in terms of the law. This invites the participation primarily of the police who are likely to use the opportunity to enrich themselves by demanding money from the offender and letting him go if he pays. Usually, however, the elders of Tabya and the Jald'aba of Hor will not allow the police to deal with cases on their own. They will demand

that the cases be handed over to them so that they will be able to punish the offender properly. This usually means that in the end, offenders will be released after paying a fine and all three groups (i.e., the Jald'aba, the Tabya elders, and the police) will share the fine among themselves. This briefly illustrates the contending interests that operate in running the affairs of Tabya.

In Hor villages, however, there are no such contending interests to be seen in running the affairs of the village. Here, the generation set in power, and the four age sets that comprise it, have the authority to discipline village members according to the instructions they receive from their leaders. Non-Hor elders in Tabya and the police in Tabya do not in general concern themselves with the affairs of Hor villages. This applies whether offences committed in Hor villages are committed by Hor or by non-Hor.

The Saturday Market at Tabya

One thing that strikes an observer of the Tabya market is the variety of groups that attend it. Anyone who stands outside the village would note the flow of people to the market from all directions.

Those coming to the market carry various products. Tsamako bring tobacco, sorghum, *parso* beer, small stock, goat- and sheepskins, gourds of different sizes, honey, maize and sorghum flour, butter, pumpkins, melons, etc. Mountain Hamar from Buska and Lala come with peas, cereals, tobacco, honey, *t'eff* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*), pumpkins, and butter. Assile and Wangabaino Hamar who live in Hor territory in the lowlands around the lake bring wooden containers of fresh milk, butter, small stock, and the skins of sheep and goats. The Karmet come to the market with *d'urte* (tobacco seasoning), goat- and sheepskins, and butter. Konso traders based in Tabya spread palm mats and cowhides under the shade of the *garsante* trees in the market grounds and display their items for sale. The Konso sell cotton blankets, coffee husks, soap bars, safety pins, beads of different sizes, salt, necklace chains, etc.

For market day the residents of Tabya brew sorghum beer (known as *ch'aa* by the Konso and *parso* by the Hor and all the others), prepare different kinds of food, araki spirits, beer, and wine brought from Arba Minch. The three bars and restaurants owned by civil servants serve



Photograph 6. Herdsman in Tabya

central Ethiopian food. Truck drivers and passengers get their food in these restaurants. For the market day most Tabya houses are converted into restaurants and drinking establishments.

When both Hor and their neighbors attend the Tabya market, precautions are taken to try to guarantee the safety of each person. No one is supposed to come to the market place until 10:00 A.M. The police may arrest non-Tabya residents who come too early.

People coming to the market must not carry firearms to the center of Tabya. The police will arrest them if they are seen with firearms. Before they reach the market, both Hor and non-Hor deposit their rifles in the houses of their Tabya friends, bond friends, or lovers. Hamar usually hand their firearms in to the police in the morning and take them back in the evening before they start their journey home.

The media of exchange used in the market and in the small shops and restaurants of Tabya are cash, ammunition, goats, and sheep. The six small shops of Tabya accept cash and ammunition as a form of currency to sell their goods.¹⁷ They also exchange ammunition for goats and sheep. The average payment is ten Kalashnikov bullets for a medium-sized sheep or goat. There is a penalty for using ammunition instead of cash. The shops sell bullets for four *birr* each (£0.40), but buy each for three and a half *birr* (£0.35). The buying rate of bullets is the same in the restaurants as well as bars. When herdsman have neither cash nor

ammunition, they usually pawn their rifles, headrests, axes, or clothes as guarantee for later payment. There are cases of complications caused as a result of someone pawning a rifle that belongs to a friend as a guarantee when drinking. Bullets known as *chekos* are more expensive and are not used for buying drinks but are exchanged for gourds of honey. So there are some restrictions on convertibility. There are also restrictions on what is on sale. Surprisingly, many goods essential to the Hor are not normally obtained in the market. Iron leg rings, knives, axes, ostrich feathers, giraffe tail hairs, and even Kalashnikov rifles fall into this category (see Photograph 6).

Bond Friendship

Bond friendship is a dyadic relationship that Hor men enter into with other Hor men or with men in other groups. After a bond friend's death, the relationship may continue with his widow. Bond friendship is an enduring relationship in which the two participants consider themselves bound to each other and from which both parties benefit by giving mutual support to each other when the need for support arises. The relationship is so binding that it should persist when the groups of the men in the relationship are at war. To make matters more clear I will describe other kinds of Hor friendship that involve less commitment.

When two Hor children of nearly the same age begin herding young stock they usually hunt birds and small animals such as lizards and squirrels. If they kill such a small animal, they both bite its ear and thereby enter a relation of *miso*. It is a relationship of killers and they hope that it will grow into a relationship of raiding and killing enemies in the future. They address each other as *miso* and are considered to be witnesses of each other's valor. This relationship is like the relationship between a man-killer and his assistant friend who severs the genitals of the dead enemy. The relation between the two children does not entail any other commitment of any kind.

When a group of young boys of nearly the same age (usually of the same age set) become adolescents they may enter a relation of *abujal*. This relation is formed by between four and twelve boys and sometimes even more. One of them slaughters a big male goat, usually stolen from the herd of a mother's brother of one of them. They make strips of the

stomach fat (*mor*) of the goat and wear them around their necks and also rub the stomach contents (*ur*) on their bodies. This marks the beginning of a new relation between them. From time to time each member in turn kills an animal and lets his friends wear the stomach fat of the slaughtered animal and rub the contents of the stomach on their bodies. Then they roast the meat on an open fire and divide it up according to their order of seniority. This marks the first recognition of seniority among adolescent boys. Once killing and eating of the goat is reciprocated, this relation endures and the participants address each other as *abujal*. Those who enter into such relations may refuse to flog friends with whom they have formed this relation when seniors impose a punishment of flogging on one of them. This friendship, like *miso*, does not involve any other binding commitment between partners.

Bami is a friendship formed between two male Hor, which may evolve from *miso*. Those who develop this relationship dine together frequently and avenge each other's death if an outside enemy kills one of them. They can exchange gifts and are considered closer than brothers or other people related by blood. They use the term *bami* to address each other, although a husband and wife may also use this term in addressing each other. The relationship is most meaningful after marriage because dining together is easier to do when one is married and has a house and a wife to do the cooking. A bond friend can be a *bami*. But bond friendship requires "seeing the hand of the other," the taking of gifts; and "showing the other person one's own hands," the giving of gifts. Reciprocal taking and giving of gifts is the essence of bond friendship. In contrast, *Bami* give each other gifts, but not with the expectation of return gifts from the recipient.

Mogo is a relationship of equality formed between unequal male Hor. The inequality is based on the age of the persons entering the relation. The relation is formed when the parents of a newly born son give their son the name of a person they like very much—this name giving identifies the adult person whose name is given with the baby boy who receives the name. The parents become parents of both the baby and the original owner of the name. This relation makes the person whose name is given a brother of the baby and accordingly it denies him sexual access to the mother of the baby. The name donor is expected to give a fat sheep

or goat and butter to the mother of the new baby when he becomes a *mogo* (namesake) of the new child.¹⁸ The namesakes may address each other as *mogo* but they do not have significant obligations to each other. Often the name donor will be so much older than the baby that he will be dead by the time that the baby has grown up.

Bond friendship is different to these various kinds of friendship. Almagor (1978, 108–28) lists D'assanetch friendships similar to the above as varieties of bond friendship. While this may be possible in the case of the D'assanetch, it is not the case regarding the Hor. Bond friendship differs from these kinds of relation in many ways.

Bond friendship is formed between two men who belong to different *wori*. It brings the two men involved into a relationship that is close to a kinship relation but does not make them kin. It creates a relation of interdependence between them and through them, linking their respective *wori*. When it is formed between Hor, both sides assist each other with contributions of grain, animals, sorghum beer, honey for weddings in each other's *wori* or for the feasts that are held if either of them becomes a *luuba*. Reciprocation can be delayed but is obligatory. This can sometimes require the formation of other relationships in order to obtain the means to pay unreciprocated debts. Not all Hor men have the means to obtain bond friends, but those that have will use their local and outside bond friends to satisfy the needs of their Hor relations who cannot afford to invest in bond friendship. Contributions for occasions such as weddings can be collected from clan members, affines, and age mates, but as this is not expected to be reciprocated other than in the form of honey wine given to those who assist, it is not a reliable source of assistance. One depends on bond friends for such contributions and invests heavily in such relations as the investment can be expected to provide for one's own future needs.

It is particularly important to reciprocate gifts received from another ethnic group. These outside bond friendships necessitate more investment than those with Hor bond friends. What one receives from Hor bond friends helps, but is likely to be less valuable than the things received from bond friends in other groups. Goats, oxen, and sorghum are normally the only items Hor bond friends can provide for each other.

What Hor Bond Friends Receive from Other Groups

The data indicate that most of the important things Hor require for rituals and for production do not come from their markets. Of course, honey can be bought in Hor markets, but Hor often cannot afford to pay the market price in cash or ammunition; the markets provide honey for traders who transport it to urban areas like Arba Minch and not to Tabya or to Hor villages. Bond friends are not as stingy and rigid as the markets. Hence, for the Hor it is much better and cheaper to get such things from bond friends than from the market where weighing, calculating prices, and immediate payment are the rule rather than reciprocal generosity and kindness.

Another trouble with the Hor market is that there are essential items that may not be there in the amount needed or may not even be there at all. I have not, for example, seen any knife, axe, hoe blade, or pot in the Hor market. Knives, axes, and hoes are tools of production that are essential for irrigation work, for clearing the bush, for making animal enclosures, for constructing houses, and for harvesting sorghum. Pots are used for cooking and making coffee. Coffee is the medium through which prayer and blessing are made possible and a broken pot in a house is a threat of disaster. These items are obtained only from bond friends in other groups; therefore, if at all possible, one needs to have at least one bond friend in another group.

The Hor seek honey, tobacco, cotton blankets, tobacco seasoning, baking pans, knives, and headrests from Hamar bond friends and formerly they sought arrows from Karmet bond friends. The Hamar receive goats, heifers, and sorghum from Hor and each side receives a goat from any bridewealth received by their bond friend. Each attends any wedding festivities held in his friend's *wori*. From the Konso, the Hor require unhusked coffee beans, tobacco, cotton blankets, and sorghum, especially if the Konso harvest was good and the Hor had suffered from drought. The Konso in exchange need donkeys, small stock, heifers, oxen, ostrich feathers, game skins, giraffe tails, ivory, etc., which the Hor may get from across the Kenyan frontier, or perhaps from a hunting expedition with their Hamar friends in Karo land in the Mago National Park. The D'assanetch require and receive cowhides for roofing their houses, donkeys, tobacco seasoning, ostrich feathers, ammunition, and

cloths from their Hor friends. What bond friends of one group require from bond friends in other groups depends on what is available to meet their needs. As the Hor consider it taboo to keep bees, to grow coffee, to make pots, and to engage in metal work, they seek to obtain these products from their bond friends in other groups that produce honey, coffee, pots, and metal work. The prohibition of production actually creates the basis for interethnic bonds.

Bond Friends Exchange Visits

Bond friendship is not only about exchange of essential items, it involves mutual visiting and hospitality often accompanied by kin and friends. Gumadi frequently visits his Hamar bond friends; his reasons for doing so vary. Once, when his wife was about to bear a child, he needed a fat mountain goat to feed her during the birth and seclusion period and so he went to his bond friends. Other Hor go to attend the Hamar jumping-over-the-cattle ceremony of a bond friend's son or other relative or when they themselves are faced with preparations for a wedding, perhaps the wedding of a son or a daughter of another bond friend, or of a brother's son, for which honey and tobacco are required. Some simply go to visit and to eat roast goat in a bond friend's house.

Such occasions give the guest not only leisurely days of eating, drinking, and chatting in the mountains, but also give him experiences of other people and places. Such experience is useful for the Hor and can be seen in relation to the Hor idea of knowing about the other and being known by the other during such visits. The Hor say, "You take sandals off your feet when you enter a house, but not your eyes." This is said with reference to the care that needs to be taken by the Hor during the visits of their friends when there is conflict between the group the bond friend comes from and the Hor. The Hor try to avoid letting their property be spied upon.

If the situation in the land of the host is good, a goat will be slaughtered and a fresh slit skin bracelet, *mend'etcha*, will be put around the guest's wrist and strips of a goat's stomach fat around his neck. Only the guest and those who have accompanied him on the visit can consume the meat. Honey wine will be brewed for the guest. The provision of honey wine and fat indicate the seniority and honor bestowed on the

guest. Stomach fat and *mend'etcha* are the prerogatives of Qawot ritual chiefs, clan heads, heads of *wori*, and senior age set members (the Jald'aba and Mura), the leaders of the age organization. The seniority given to a guest honors him but has to be reciprocated at a later stage.

During such visits the guest is entitled to full protection as a member of his host's community and any offence against the guest is considered an offence against the host. The group, which the guest visits, must recognize him and acknowledge him as a friend of their member. Using such recognition a guest is entitled to establish friendships with other people of the same group. He can trade his goods for other people's goods and any bond friend from another place who has accompanied him on this trip can trade with them. When planning such visits, a Hor bond friend may arrange to bring his Hor, Konso, or Borana bond friends along with him for a visit. His accompanying guests should be able to enjoy the same kind of freedom of movement and protection he is given by his hosts. Although this is the ideal, serious problems may arise unexpectedly.

Ello, the only son of old Arjan, went to visit his Borana bond friend. After his arrival in Borana, his host asked him to go hunting with the host's younger brother and to bring back game meat. Ello did as instructed to please his bond friend. On their way back from hunting, the bond friend's brother shot Ello from behind in the arm and Ello fell bleeding. Borana from a nearby settlement carried him to his bond friend's camp and from there he was carried to a clinic in the nearest urban area. The camp members paid for his treatment and fed him goat meat until he recovered. Later on they held the younger brother of the host and, after handing him over to the police, intervened to pay compensation of a couple of bulls to Ello. They then accompanied him back to Hor. This treatment of the wounded man and the compensation the Borana gave him, pleased Hor elders and no revenge was taken.

In a similar way, when Borana and Hor unexpectedly became involved in bloody conflict, there were a few Borana friends in Hor villages who did not know what was going on. Hor hid them and protected them and sent them off with an escort only after the conflict was over. They took charge of their property and looked after it so that it could be collected at a later date.

Events in the area are unpredictable and conflicts can break out when Hor or other bond friends are on a visit somewhere else. Such incidents, Hor say, have not endangered Hor on visits elsewhere in the past. Hor usually take note of how many of their people are away on visits at any given moment. At the beginning of 1996 over 13 men were in different parts of Hamar, and one was in Nyangatom when a Hor man named Baje shot a Hamar man as he was dining in the house of his Hor bond friend. There was panic in Hor country. The Hor did not wait to see if their thirteen men in Hamar country would be killed. Instead, they handed Baje to the relatives of the dead Hamar guest to be killed in revenge. What this indicates is that although bond friendship is independent of the political structure of each group, its smooth functioning is valued and actively protected.

If a communal ritual is performed during a visit of a bond friend, the visitor will sit in a place appropriate to his age and status. If meat is distributed, he is entitled to those parts to which his age set status entitles him. If the group where he is a guest is going on a raid, he is entitled to join the raid if he chooses and to a fair share of any loot according to the tradition of his hosts. If his host is doing some agricultural work, he may help.

A visit to a bond friend may be arranged at a short notice when one is faced with a problem. A Hamar man from Wangabaino sent a message to Arato of Egude saying that he intended to visit him. He added that he would expect Arato to take him to Arba Minch hospital as he was having problems with his breathing. He came to Tabya where Arato had a second house and was given a bracelet of fresh goatskin and a stomach fat necklace. He asked Arato to buy him a second-hand cloth to use during their stay in Arba Minch. Arato bought him one and they went to Arba Minch for over a month for which Arato covered the cost.

At the beginning of a visit, a guest bond friend informs his host of his wishes and tells his host when he plans to go back. Before he leaves, the things he requires may be ready for him to take. If times are bad, he will be told to come back at some other time. If the bond friend (and his accompanying friends) are trying to sell their firearms and ammunition but are unsuccessful, they may leave them with the bond friend for him to look after or to convert into livestock. Host bond

friends are responsible for the free accommodation, food, and drinks of honey wine for the guests. A goat should be slaughtered for them.

Networks of Bond Friends

Borana, Hor, Tsamako, Banna, Maale, Marta, Bussa, Gamo, Gawad'a, Kholme, Konso, Banna, Karo, and Hor are connected in an extensive network of bond friendship that has certainly existed for a long time. It is evident from Schlee and Sobania and others work in the area that this institution has deep roots (Galaty and Bonte 1991, 15; Sobania 1991, 124–36; Schlee 1994; Sobania 1988, 4–5).

The terms the communities of the region use to denote this relation between members vary. Hamar, D'assanetch, and Maale use the term *bel* to denote a relation a person enters into with a person of a different group. Gamo use the term *jala* or *lagge*. Hor refer to the relationship and the person in it as *jala*. This term is widely used among the Gamo, Konso, and the Borana to denote a person with whom such a relation is established. Going to the south along the valley west of the Gamo Mountains, *bel* and *jala* denote this bond and practice and are used by the different groups for the same relationship.

The Hor speak of inheriting bond friends with whose ancestors their ancestors had such a relation for generations. Such long-standing relationships between families exist within Hor country and between different pastoral people in the region. The network of bond friendship consists of relationships formed between individual families for their mutual benefit; however, the network can only operate effectively if there is peace in the region. When war breaks out, bond friendship between men of the opposing sides does not end, but remains latent only to start functioning again as soon as peace is re-established. During times of group conflict, the partners on both sides keep careful account of things owed by both parties in the relationship and claims will be made when relations are reactivated after peace has been reached between the leaders of the groups.

When conflicts make it difficult for trade between other groups to exist, the network of a Hor may be used by his bond friends through the Hor friend. For example, if a Borana person wants his rifle or ammunition to be sold in a Hamar market and cannot do this because the Hamar

are enemies, the Hor man does it for him by going to his Hamar bond friend's house and making use of his contacts. He uses his rights to free lodging and to food and security when he travels within the bounds of his bond friend's group territory, and also to obtain freedom to bargain the sale of the item for a reasonable price.

Passing Barriers

A political barrier between groups resulting from conflict that has involved bloodshed may sometimes be broken by a bond friend from the other side. The ties of friendship may provide sufficient security.

Baqalu, a man from El Kunne in north Borana, was on a visit to Hor with his Borana wife, a Karmet woman, and a Borana man and his Hor wife who was originally from Murale of the Marle section of Hor. Baqalu had many important Hor bond friends. They included Arbla (killer of two male ostriches with one bullet) who is a known man-killer and a wealthy man living in Egude; Jarsa Ghino, a wealthy man who currently resides in Kulama; Iyya Bokao (Dalle Armar), Qawot of Tsamako; and Hunna Arshall, Qawot of Gandaraba.

Arbla was away on a visit to his Hamar bond friend. Before arriving in Marle, Baqalu and his group sent a message from Karmet land about their intention to come to Marle and asked for an escort as the relation between the Hor and the Borana had remained bad since the 1991 conflict that cost hundreds of lives. Baqalu's team was brought in with the help of an escort just in case. He brought with him a donkey loaded with gifts for his Hor bond friends in Marle, Kulama, and Kuile. He also brought a heifer born to Arbla's cow which is kept at El Kunne in Borana country and which calved a few years back, after the 1991 Borana-Hor fighting. When Baqalu arrived, Arbla's wives laid out a cowhide and served him coffee, milk, and dumplings. They could not kill a goat for him, as this is a man's responsibility. He relaxed. His arrival was big news. Children and adults alike gathered around to see the Borana group. Baqalu brought news to the Hor about developments in Borana country. Previously, the Hor had only received news about the Borana and their Borana friends indirectly from Konso traders who traveled between Hor and Borana countries. But, as the Konso and the Borana were long-standing enemies, the news tended to be prejudiced.

Baqalu's news included information about Borana bond friends of the Hor, about their health, their property, their families, deaths, etc. Baqalu also brought news about whether Borana in his area of north Borana wanted peace with the Hor, whether they were prepared to come to the cattle gates of the Garle and Olmoque Qawots to seek peace. He brought news about water wells, pastures, cattle, and crops. He provided information about life in south Borana—about the people of Hoboq and Marmaro and about their opinion regarding their current relations with the Hor and whether they were ready to enter the cattle gates of the Hor, bringing animals for peace.

However, the group's arrival was greeted with suspicion. In the evening of the day of their arrival, an urgent meeting of both Marle villages was called at a place in front of the space separating the villages of Egude and Murale. Surprisingly, this meeting was not called at the assembly place. Young people at the meeting threatened to kill all the visitors. Some curses against Borana were uttered. Old Arjan of Egude, a land distributor, rose to speak. "People do not take their eyes off as they do their rubber sandals when they enter your house," he said. In making this comment he was not encouraging hostility against the visitors but was urging caution and vigilance. He was suggesting that the guests' eyes would note the Hor situation and that Baqalu would report what he had experienced in Hor country to the Borana of El Kunne when he went back.

A number of interesting points arise. It is instructive that a strained relation between groups does not necessarily hinder the working of bond friendship. Many people felt that Baqalu had the right to enjoy the privilege of being entertained as a guest by his Hor counterparts although some people did object and even threatened to kill him and members of his team. Baqalu was protected and entertained in spite of the difficult relations between the two groups. Such contacts can be used as a means of knowing about the other group. Old Arjan's suggestion was that Baqalu should be given a clear impression of Hor vigilance. In an interview in 1995, this was what he said:

Give them [the guests] milk and sorghum dumplings. Brew them coffee. Put a goat's stomach fat around their necks. Let the boys be

properly armed in the village and when they go to the bush so that the guests will see how vigilant we are. We want our cattle to go to the mountains, we want Borana cattle in Hor, in the delta.

This brought to an end the tension between some of the young people and the guests and at the same time it set up a situation in which Baqalu would be likely to report the Hor situation in an appropriate way when he returned to Borana country.

Interrogating a Hor Traveler

It is a very common practice in Hor for someone who has recently returned from a visit to a bond friend to be interrogated about conditions among the bond friend's group. Ngakas is of D'assanetch origin but has taken Hor identity and speaks the languages of the Hor and of the D'assanetch well. After every trip with Konso traders to D'assanetch, Hor elders pose many questions for him to answer. He explained to me what happens each time a person returns from a trip: "When a Hor man comes back from a trip, coffee is brewed and elders ask him about his going and coming back. 'What have you seen where you went? How did you get on?'" Ngakas, now a Hor of Gandaraba, speaks about such questioning as unique to the Hor when he responded to my question "What is it that makes the Hor unique compared to the D'assanetch or the Hamar?"

The bond friendship network may provide important advance information about the ill intentions of a neighboring group. Information may be passed between friends who owe each other loyalty that transcends group affiliation. There were, for example, cases in 1991 in which Borana bond friends alerted their Hor bond friends about Borana preparations to attack the Hor.

Size of the Network and Reasons for Hor Centrality

The Hor have bond friends among the Borana, Tsamako, D'assanetch, Hamar, Konso, Karo, Karmet, and Nyangatom. These groups cover much of the large area that lies between Somalia and southern Sudan. As we have seen, relations between the various groups have not always been peaceful. Compared to the rest, the Hor seem to have

better access to most groups, as they tend to have the smallest number of groups that they regard as enemies. Over the last three decades the Hor have regarded the Maale, the Borana, or the Hamar as their enemy at any given time. They did not have two enemies at the same time. This has allowed them to make more effective use of their network of bond friends than other groups. They have used their network on behalf of others as well as on their own behalf.

This centrality of the Hor in the network can be explained by the allegiance most of the above groups have to the senior Qawots of the Hor, which is expressed by their entering the cattle gates of the senior Qawots with various gifts. This is institutionalized entry. Rufo Ali, the Qawot of the Garle, can list the kinds of gifts the above groups have brought to the House of Garle for generations.¹⁹ Hor cattle gates are famous throughout the region. Seeking human, animal, and crop fertility and victory over their enemies, the neighbors of the Hor entered the gates with gifts and went out of them with blessings. In fact, these gates provide a key to understanding the operation of regional linkages.

The regional groups in the network do not speak the same language as each other, but the Hor speak the languages of the Hamar, D'assanetch, and Tsamako. They use the Borana language for communicating with Karmet, Konso, Borana, and Gabra. This helps to make the Hor and their land central in interethnic commerce and communication.

The prayers and blessings of Hor Qawots strengthen the allegiance of all groups, but particularly of Hor who use the bond friendship network for trade, to the Fund'o institution and to the traditional routes and services it provides. The accommodating way the Hor handle outsiders in Tabya allows these outsiders the freedom to live their own lives in their own way. The Hor are flexible enough to work in cooperation with these outsiders as is shown in the Jald'aba-Fundo joint exercise of power in Tabya.

Those with Bond Friends

Not every Hor is able to have bond friends. It is prestigious to have bond friends, but it costs a lot to keep the relationship going. Maintaining such relationships involves receiving the bond friends, treating them well, giving access to information about one's family, one's cattle, one's

sorghum plots, and one's friends, including one's bond friends in other lands. It involves exchanges of visits during important family events such as weddings and supporting each other with items essential for occasions that the person engaged in the preparations may need.

Jarsa Ghino, currently a resident of Kulama, was a Jald'aba in Egude. He is one of the Hor people who has the greatest number of bond friends in most groups. Table 1 lists his bond friends by group, by locality, and by the things given and received.

Table 1. Jarsa Ghino's bond friends

Group	Locality	Name of Bond Friend	Given	Received
Borana	Marmaro	Halake Dabbaso	1 cow, 5 donkeys, 26 goats, 1 gourd of honey, killed 2 goats for him	3 cows, 3 shirts, 4 shorts, a pair of sandals, 1 quintal of coffee
	Marmaro	Mudda Damicha	1 donkey, brewed him honey beer, killed a goat for him during visit	1 garment, expects to pay a visit when peace is restored
	Marinero	Jarso Halake	Killed a goat for him; he did not come back after the war	1 garment, 1 pair of trousers, 1 shirt, 5 M16 bullets (from brother)
	Makannes	Oba Dabbaso	1 heifer, 4 goats, 1 gourd of honey; made 2 visits	2 calves; made 2 visits
	Makannes	Malicheho Godana	1 bull, 6 goats, killed 3 goats for him, 3 donkey loads of sorghum.	1 garment, a goat was killed for him
	Hammessa Dibe Gayya	Halake Oda Sora Kasso	4 goats 1 cowbell, 1 garment, 1 cow	1 heifer A goat was killed for him; invited Jarsa to visit when peace is restored
	Sirmite Guddo	Ghinda Boru	1 donkey load of sorghum	1 garment, a goat was killed for him.
	T'addacha Bella Kunne	Bonayya Dabbaso	1 cow	1 cow
		Baqallu Wolde Mariam	Brewed honey beer, killed a goat for him, 6 trousers, 10 shirts	Brewed honey beer, 15 goats, 1 donkey, 2 cows
			Killed a goat for him, 2 goats, 1 donkey, 1 heifer, 1 bull	2 donkey loads of maize, 2 donkey loads of coffee, a goat was killed for him, 1 garment, seeds
Konso	Kholme	Fillaya Galtuma	Killed a goat for him, 1 cow	1 donkey load of coffee, 2 garments
		Gaydare Gayya	1 cow, 1 goat	2 gourds of honey
	Dokattu Tabya (Horland)	Bichitto Kalte Lemma Gebre Tsadik	2 cows, 2 goats	2 gourds of honey
	Tabya (Horland)	Kussiya	1 underwear, 1 shirt	1 sheep, 1 big ox
	Tabya (Horland)	Halle	1 bull	1 garment, spirit worth <i>birr</i> 2.00; friendship ended
	Gisma	Iyya Gosha (Alle)	2 donkey loads of sorghum, 1 donkey	1 big gourd of honey, 1 pot of honey
	Gisma	Iyya Gusho	1 gourd of honey, 1 donkey load of sorghum, 1 cow	4 cows
	Gisma	Qora	1 cow	1 goatskin bag of tobacco, 1 goat was killed for him, 1 axe
	Bonqole	Wole Utala	1 donkey load of sorghum	1 gourd of honey
	Kufuri	Ello Lokuruk	1 garment	1 carved wooden milk pot

Group	Locality	Name of Bond Friend	Given	Received
Hamar	Kufuri	Bali	5 goats, 1 cotton blanket	3 gourds of honey
	Assile	Apali Nasa	2 heifers	12 goats
	Assile	Orgomba	1 heifer	3 goats
	Assile	Heilamba	2 donkey loads of sorghum, 20 bullets <i>Albain</i> type	1 sheep when Jarsa's wife gave birth, 4 gourds of honey
	Assile	Heila (son of Heilamba)	Not yet properly started	Not yet properly started
Gelleba/ D'assanech	Assile	Mord'e Nasa	2 cows, 1 shirt for his son	38 goats, 1 very big gourd of honey too big for a person to carry
	Assile	Bali Gimanas	1 heifer	11 goats, 1 gourd of honey, expects 10 goats and 1 donkey
	Inkoria (Kenya)	Nonkolol Merriya	Killed a young female sheep for him, 1 cow, 1 donkey, 1 calf, sent him five bulls in exchange for his rifle, bought him 1 garment	Took him to Gelleba for visit, killed a goat for him, attended a ritual with 8 other Hor, attended feast, 10 goats, 4 cattle, killed sheep for him and given fat necklace and skin bracelet, presented with a rifle.
	Inkoria (Kenya)	Lottur (Lowasimoy)	Gave him <i>Denitfor</i> rifle	He brought 4 cattle, 2 big goats
	Narich	Nakuma (inherited friend)	Jarsa's father gave 1 garment; Jarsa gave 1 calf	Gave Jarsa's father a heifer; visited Jarsa, gave him 1 donkey
Hor	Narich	Nyongole attabaria	Invited him to visit; killed a goat for him, gave him 1 bull, 1 garment, a bag of coffee	1 donkey
	Kuile	Dalle Armar (<i>Qawot</i> of Tsamako)	—	4 goats
	Kuile	Argari Shanqara (kin)	A gourd of sorghum for his daughter's wedding.	1 goat
	Sere	Bongo Arshal	1 big goat	1 big sheep
	Sere	Olle Sala	2 goats	2 goats
	Sere	Argari Bidini	1 bull	1 donkey, 1 goat, 1 gourd of sorghum beer for daughter's wedding
	Sere	Gura Qallate	1 bull, 1 cow to milk that later died	
	Sere	Lokitata Miri	1 big bull, 2 goats, 10 cows to milk	1 heifer, brewed honey beer, 1 goat

Most Hor who could not afford to establish such a network have a smaller network for basics such as tools, headrests, stools, and tobacco obtainable in exchange for small amounts of coffee, salt, and loincloth given to their counterparts in Hamar, for example.

This network is for trade, exchange, ritual benefits, peacemaking, alliance formation, etc. The Hor have a prominent place and central location in the network. They speak the languages of the major groups of the region. This is evidence of the long tradition of interaction and coexistence of the Hor and the other groups of the area. The Hor have shared their resources with these groups. Sharing of resources with peaceful neighbors seems to have been a main feature of the region before the people were incorporated into the state domains of Ethiopia

and Kenya. The tradition of sharing resources continues to this day as a strategy for coexistence and for surviving difficult times. The limited success of the states of the region in improving the living conditions of the people and in making their lives and properties secure means that the people continue to depend on indigenous institutions that provide for their needs quite effectively.

Conclusion

Bond friendship is interestingly reminiscent of that most famous of tribal institutions, the Trobriand *kula*. Like the *kula*, bond friendship provides an institutionalized means by which members of groups that are largely politically autonomous and potentially hostile to one another can interact on the basis of economic partnerships. Of course, the goods exchanged are more varied in bond friendship and the formalities are less elaborated, but, like the *kula*, bond friendship is a set of constantly self-renewing treaty-like contracts that tend to sustain peace (or limit the likelihood of endless war) between hostile local groups that lack centralized authorities, allowing them the security to trade valued resources that are differentially distributed in the region (Leach and Leach 1983, 6). It is also probably true that, as in the *kula*, members of these southwest Ethiopian societies can, like Jarsa Ghino whose transactions I have listed, obtain power, wealth, and prestige in their own communities through the success in their transactions with outsiders (Leach and Leach 1983, 7). Unlike the *kula*, bond friendship operated and continues to operate, not on its own, but in combination with other institutions—notably the wide-ranging ritual influence of the Qawots and the dispute resolution procedures of the Fund'o—to provide a complex and varied set of interethnic linkages in southwestern Ethiopia.

Notes

1. While they have been abolished in many places, the roadblocks in the major centers in the south, Shashamanne and Awassa, remain intact and a thorough check of goods and personal effects of passengers on buses and trucks is still carried out. State- and NGO-owned cars and cars operated by "whites," *ferenjis*, are exempt. At Tabya, cars are required to stop at the station where they are searched. Most of the roadblocks that existed in Soddo, Arba Minch, Lante, and Konso had been removed when I was last

there in 2000. Cars operating between Yavello, Konso, and Tertalle have to report to stations in Konso and Tertalle and undergo a thorough search of luggage and of people before they stop in these towns.

2. One such example are the Gamo. Covering a large area and located between the Omo River in the west and Lakes Abaya and Chamo in the east, the Hamasa River to the north and the Woito River (below Zargulla) to the south, they are tied into a wide network of trade. This network operates within the 60 autonomous *derrs* of Gamo and with larger and smaller neighboring groups such as the Dawro, Basketo, Maale, and Zala to the west. The network also involves the Kore, the Gedeo, and the Guji across the lakes mediated by the Haruro boat makers of Lake Abaya and the Ganjule of Lake Chamo. In this large mountainous region of Gamo country, over 25 large markets operate in which the law and order of the market, security and well-being of both people and property is observed by the market assembly (*dubusha*), headed by the fathers of the land (*derr adde*). Trade routes criss-cross the mountains and reach the various other peoples in other groups as mentioned earlier. These trade areas cover different ecological areas and ethnic groups and have endured over centuries.
3. Some similar issues to those discussed in this paper are raised by C. Humphrey (1992) and by M. Sahlins in the last two chapters of *Stone Age Economics* (Sahlins 1974).
4. See Tadesse (1997, 1999) on Hor warfare and fertility. It must be noted here however, that the severing of genitals for the purposes mentioned above is performed once in a generation or even at greater intervals. The last time the Hor say they killed members of such a specific group was when they were given 16 rifles by Italians to escort them during their flight through areas occupied by groups unfriendly to Italians.
5. I employ the term "bond friend" to mean a ritually established relationship between consenting married adult male individuals of either the same or differing ethnic groups.
6. Konso, including those in Purqud'a and Jarso, regularly visit Hor Qawots and also invite the Qawot to their land to provide blessings for rain and to curse their enemies. Hunna of Egude was in Purqud'a in 1995 for this purpose.
7. All trucks owned by the various state institutions and by NGOs working in the Omo area charge for passengers and goods. Only privately owned trucks are entitled to charge, but in practice all the trucks do so. Tabya to Arba Minch costs a person 30 *birr* (£3.00 or \$4), to Konso or to Tourmi costs 10 *birr*, to the Omo costs 15 *birr*.
8. I counted fourteen such checkpoints between Addis Ababa in central Ethiopia and Omo-Rate' in the south between 1994 and 1996 (see Map 1). This indicates not only the extent to which movements of goods suffer delays, but also the extent of the uncontrolled abuse of power by the police. There are cases of beatings of passengers, illegal confiscation, and unchallenged taking of money.
9. The worst punishment that is given to a policeman for taking bribes from passengers is to transfer him to an off-the-road police station west of the

- Omo or to one of the police stations in the mountains that are inaccessible by car.
10. A black garment worn for rituals by grooms, worn by Qawots when they curse, and used to cover the corpses of men of bracelet-wearing clans.
 11. One of the factors underlying the great expansion of the Samburu in the nineteenth century may have been the fact that they were "at the best of times . . . among the region's most productive pastoralists" (Sobania 1991, 121).
 12. Donaldson Smith mentions Hor use of loincloths and head-dresses of gay colored material, made in Merka and Modisha, which the Hor had obtained from the Borana (Smith 1969, 262). He explains in other places in his book where Merka and Modisha are: ". . . Merka and Modisha, two Italian ports, to the east of the mouth of the Jub" and "Some of the ivory finds its way to Merka and Modisha on the Italian coast near the mouth of the Jub" (Smith 1969, 154, 373). He also hints at a trade route between the district surrounding Lake Rudolf and the port of Mombasa on the Kenyan coast (Smith 1969, 373).
 13. Jald'aba together with Mura land distributors form the leadership of the generation set in power in Hor country.
 14. I heard of the death of Lemma at the end of 1998.
 15. Money is also contributed for other purposes. The Konso Peoples Democratic Organization, one of the EPRDF political organizations, appealed to the Fund'o office for financial contributions for one of its annual celebrations. The network asked its branches for contributions suggesting the amount expected from each. The Hor branch was asked to pay a sheep and 50 *birr* as its contribution to the political organization.
 16. Today the network of the Fund'o and its appointed officials covers key areas in southern Ethiopia. In administrative Konso one finds its councils in Garatte, Fasha, Turo, and in seven other villages in Gawad'a. The Hamar Fund'o in Tourmi is headed by Gulilat and the Jinka (provincial town of the current province of south Omo) Fund'o by Adeye, the Qey Afer (Banna) Fund'o is headed by Lodaibo Galabo, the Taltale Fund'o (Borana) by Dabbaso Ch'olta and the Yaballo (Borana) Fund'o by a descendant of Guyyo Fund'o, and the Yirga Ch'affe (Gedeo) Fund'o by Kalkalo Kussie, etc.
 17. Three shops are owned by Ufo, Halle, and Wollamo, all Konso traders; the fourth by Assaminew who is a school teacher of mixed ethnic background; the fifth by Alemayehu, a policeman (originally from Porqud'a Konso); and the sixth by Alpha, a Tsamako employee of the Norwegian Save the Children organization.
 18. Two families, that of Arato P'oqong'a and that of the widowed sister of Ghido whose husband died in the 1991 Borana-Hor conflict, named their baby sons Tadesse. To the former I gave a goat and butter and to the latter a baby shirt. This automatically makes Arato and his wife Bokao my parents and my namesake becomes my little brother.
 19. See Tadesse (1999, 247) for details of gifts brought from neighboring groups to the cattle gates of Hor Qawots.

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