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A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830-1932 by Herbert S. Lewis

Review by: Eike Haberland

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of modern Nigeria. She details their activities in a number of spheres—missionary, commercial, and political—and, in so doing, stresses the diversity of their interests and goals. But in Lagos (and probably in Abeokuta too, though to a lesser extent) the “Saro” formed an almost closed community, with quite a distinct style of life and perpetuating itself by intermarriage. We are told of Mr. Blaize, a prominent Lagos trader who “has a landau and a pair of greys with which he drives out occasionally—footman and coachman on the box”; but, unfortunately, no vivid picture of “Saro” society in these distant but important decades emerges from these pages.

Histoire du Niger. EDMOND SÉRÉ DE RIVIÈRES. Preface by M. Diori Hamani. (Mondes d’Outre-Mer. Série Histoire.) Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1965. 310 pp., bibliography, name index, 8 maps, 24 photographs. 33 Fr.

Reviewed by REMI CLIGNET,
Northwestern University

Both an enumeration and an evaluation of French and American studies concerned with the various regions of West Africa would undoubtedly yield valuable insights: we would discover, for example, that our knowledge of coastal zones is much richer than that of the hinterland. This is somewhat unfortunate, since the hinterland often offers a fertile ground for comparative studies. The present book suggests indeed that Niger is a case in point.

To begin with, Niger is an important region for anthropologists. It enables them to analyze the conditions under which various ethnic groups merge with one another; this problem is epitomized by the interaction between the Sonhrai and the Djerma. Anthropologists in Niger are also in a position to analyze the patterns of growth and differentiation of ancient social organizations, such as the Azna. Moreover, Niger offers to anthropologists an opportunity to determine how nomadic people become sedentarized, at the same time retaining some of their original traits, or, using the Peuhl as an illustration, to show how nomadic peoples interact with settled agriculturalists.

Secondly, Niger is an important area for historians. It has been claimed that West Africa presents many similarities with the northeastern part of the continent, with which it could have maintained long lasting contacts. Niger is an appropriate place in which to examine architectural, linguistic, and social regularities between Black Africa and Ancient Egypt. Niger’s location at the very heart of the zone where contacts between Islam and local animistic religions were first established, constitutes a unique opportunity to improve our knowledge of the westward diffusion of Moslem ideas and practices. Furthermore, Niger has been the core of highly important precolonial empires such as Sonhrai and Bornou and has provided shelter for crucial flows of

migrants (Peuhls, Tuaregs), whose presence has influenced the contemporary political development of Niger and adjacent countries.

In short, *Histoire du Niger* is an excellent reference source for scholars interested in comparative anthropological analyses or in precolonial history. It presents, however, all the positive and negative features of the case study. Thus, the material presented is very rich, but so rich that the reader is sometimes lost in a maze of details that he cannot fully appreciate if he is not already very familiar with the environment. It is equally unfortunate that the reader is not given a conceptual framework that would help him transcend the mere consumption of facts. Much of the discussion of the Colonial and post-Colonial period is characterized by an elementary treatment of available evidence, and this prevents the scholar from assessing the extent to which so-called French assimilationist policies have varied with the forms of local political organization. All these shortcomings will not forbid a multiple usage of the book; yet they illustrate the fact that to be simultaneously an administrator and a scientific observer (as is De Rivières) is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible.

A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830–1932. HERBERT S. LEWIS. Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965. xix, 148 pp., bibliography, chart, 8 illustrations, index, 4 maps, 2 tables. \$5.00.

Reviewed by EIKE HABERLAND,
Institute of Ethnology, University of Maine

After the great works by Cecchi (1886–1888), Borelli (1890), and above all by Cerulli (1923, 1930–1933) about the five kingdoms of Western Galla, of which Djimma Abba Djifar was the most important, this new work raises many expectations. These, however, are not met, as Lewis’ thin book contributes little, either qualitatively or quantitatively, to increasing our knowledge of the culture or history of this part of Ethiopia.

The work, mainly a historical outline, must remain a reconstruction, as the Kingdom of Djimma disappeared in 1932 while the four other Galla kingdoms ceased to exist before 1890. The book’s value is diminished by the apparent fact that the author’s knowledge of Ethiopia is not profound enough to prevent him from reaching false conclusions. A number of important works were not consulted or quoted. This shortcoming becomes most obvious in the data presented on the original culture of Galla (p. 26 ff.), the total misinterpretation of which seriously affects the entire work. Rather dubious sources, such as Massaia, who wrote his report from memory without written notes many years after his stay in Ethiopia, or the work of Martial de Salviac, who never went farther afield than Harar and who relied strongly on Massaia, are the main works used here. Such incomparably well written synopses of

Galla culture as the two works of Michels (1941) seem unknown to the author.

Space does not permit examining these errors in detail, but we must, however, point to the following assertions of the author:

The Galla of Ethiopia do not place much importance on extended kinship as the basis for social and political activity. . . . Descent groups are not localized, do not own joint economic property . . . , do not have important political leadership, and are not the foundation for intergroup relations [p. 27] . . . there is no reason to believe that these groups [Galla genealogical groups] were based on descent, or that the alliances were mediated by genealogical relations [p. 33].

Just the opposite is the case—at least for the Galla groups who preserved their original culture and did not, unlike the Galla of Djimma on whom Lewis based his research, adopt the monarchy, an unknown sociological element to them. Thus, we still find among the Borana, Gudji, Arussi, and to some extent the Harar- and Shoa-Galla, joint property (land, wells, springs, etc.) controlled by sibs. The *gada* system is very strongly based on genealogical principles, the offices of the *gada* system being inherited in certain sibs. In legal or religious matters, it is not membership in a local community that is decisive but membership in a segmentary kinship system, these sibs being linked in a precisely fixed genealogical connection, as in the case of the Nuer or Tiv—even if Lewis maintains that “there is no reason to believe. . . .” One cannot make major assertions about several million people if one knows only a small sample, and not even a representative sample at that, and if one has not thoroughly studied the existing literature available on the majority of these people.

Let us, however, consider the nucleus of Lewis' work. According to the prevailing opinion favored by Conti Rossini and Cerulli (and shared by the reviewer), the Galla, a people with a relatively undifferentiated culture, were located in southeastern Ethiopia in the 16th century. In the course of several centuries of migration, they conquered large parts of Ethiopia and subjugated populations that had already been decimated by the Mohammedan Wars during the first half of the 16th century. While these subjugated peoples became Galla speakers, the Galla adopted from these culturally superior groups so many new cultural elements that the original Galla culture was often changed beyond recognition. If one compares the Galla of western Ethiopia (e.g., Djimma) with those of the southeast (Arussi or Gudji), he will find common cultural traits less numerous than differentiating ones. If one looks only at material culture and economic activity (agriculture), it will be found that the western Galla have adopted these complexes completely from the linguistically assimilated pre-population who resembled the Kaffa in cultural type. Up to now, the political kingdom was regarded as originating from this assimilation process. The pattern in the Galla kingdoms of Djimma, Limmu Inarya, Gumma,

Gera, etc., is similar to those in adjoining Kaffa or Djandjero, although the basically republican structure of the Galla prevented the development of fully “sacred” kingdoms as in other parts of Ethiopia.

This historical process is denied by Lewis. According to him, the Galla settled on the land of old kingdoms destroyed by them without adopting the principle of kingship. Although Lewis is forced to admit that this pre-population was not fully exterminated—their descendants are still living today and are easily identifiable by their sib names in Djimma and other former kingdoms—the book says surprisingly little about them. According to Lewis, kingship in Djimma developed through an intra-ethnic process, devoid of influence from the outside, caused by conditions resulting from Galla immigration. Lewis bases his argument—so far maintained only by himself—on the existence in original Galla culture of such institutions as “elected war leaders,” besides the “republican” *gada* system. War leaders elected independently of the *gada* system may have been the case among the western Galla, where the *gada* system had disintegrated under the influence of the monarchy, but among other Galla they are dignitaries of the *gada* system who are appointed and dismissed according to its rules. At any rate, Lewis feels that the monarchy in Djimma gradually developed out of this leadership. The numerous similarities between Galla kingship and the older adjoining monarchies (such as Kaffa) are explained by Lewis as cases of simple “borrowing.”

Here, I would like to register strong apprehension over this kind of mechanical explanations and assumptions regarding historical events. It seems odd that the Galla founded monarchies only in lands where previous kingdoms existed. Why are there five Galla kingdoms in the Djimma region, where they represent the continuation of the older states of Bosha, Gumman, and Limmu, and none in Wallaga, Shoa, and Wollo where the Galla arrived earlier? The principle of kingship, whether or not we call it sacred, and its large roster of associated traits are unknown to Galla culture but are firmly established in all the West-Cushitic kingdoms. Surely, this cannot be dismissed merely as occasional “borrowing.” If the Galla kingdoms were genuinely independent developments, then these strong conformities with the institutions of their neighbors would not be so evident. Here again, deeper knowledge of the original Galla culture would have saved Lewis from these misinterpretations.

The sacred aspect of kingship, particularly strong in southwestern Ethiopia, is treated only randomly, as *quantité négligeable*. Although it is true that this aspect of kinship has now disappeared from Djimma owing to Islamic and Christian-Amharic influences, nevertheless one would expect fuller treatment of this subject in a book devoted to historical reconstruction. Instead, kingship appears as the product of predominantly mechanical processes. The very first sentence reflects Lewis' basically unhistorical

approach: "The process of monarchical rule involves control over people through the intermediary of an administrative staff" (p. 3). We also read of "appointment of officials," "the strategy of monarchical rule," etc., whereas the "aura of kingship" (a rather weak expression for the "tremendum" of kingship) is dealt with in a few words. In this way a rather biased and distorted picture is presented. That the king always had to be "master of his administration" in order to remain king is incorrect, as part of the administration might just as well have been taken over by others, without the aura of kingship losing face. The king's religious and ritual functions remain entirely in the background in this book, and the idea of kingship as a cosmological order is not treated at all. If one reads the older descriptions by Cerulli or Cecchi about Galla kingdoms, it becomes evident that this sacred aspect was not unknown, although it did not, as stated, fully develop, owing to the basically republican structure of original Galla culture. It would have been preferable if Lewis had tried to let the historical facts speak for themselves, instead of—and this is the impression this reader gains—approaching such a complicated problem as the kingdom in southwestern Ethiopia from the present situation and with a biased opinion.

Some time ago an American reviewer wrote that one could skip the first 30 pages of German books in which the author would "try to make his peace with Kant." Nowadays, it would seem as if one could say the same of Americans and Max Weber. In any case, this book clearly illustrates this trend from the very first page. No one will deny that kingship is closely connected with the problem of power; however, that its most important feature should be the "struggle between the political or hierocratic lord and the owners or usurpers of prerogatives," as Lewis defines it in the beginning of his book with this quotation from Weber, must necessarily lead to the unsatisfactory results of this book. For the sake of kingship one would wish that Americans might discover other Continental authors besides Kant and Weber.

Half-Sun on the Columbia: A Biography of Chief Moses. ROBERT H. RUBY and JOHN A. BROWN. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series [Vol. 80].) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965. xix, 377 pp., bibliography, 12 illustrations, index, 6 maps. \$5.95.

Reviewed by THEODORE STERN, *University of Oregon*

Among major Indian figures in the 19th-century Northwestern Plateau, Chief Moses, of the Columbia River Salish (Sinkiuse), has long been passed over for special treatment. While Joseph, Kamiakin, and Captain Jack have all found their

biographers, this man had hitherto proved less inviting, perhaps because of his intemperance but also because his life, a large part of which was given to unspectacular negotiation in quest of a place for himself and his people in the new order, seemed lacking in drama. As the present volume shows, there is material here to belie such an evaluation.

The authors—a practicing physician who has previously written on the Oglala Dakota and a historian presently the Chairman of Social Studies at Wenatchee Valley College—have assembled a large corpus of materials, both published and archival, together with interviews with many Indians and some Whites, to provide a connected narrative of the life and times of Chief Moses, which, spanning the last three quarters of the 19th century, encompassed most of the major changes in Indian-White relationships. Here are traced his early schooling under Spalding, the obscure period of his warfare against white intruders, his long friendship with General O. O. Howard, and his sometimes stormy relations with the settlers at Yakima and with his conservative opposites, the prophets Smohalla and Skolaskin. (The authors find no warrant for the story accepted by Mooney of physical combat with Smohalla.) Here are recounted his persistent search for a reservation of his own, only to lose it in the end; the colorful visits to Washington; and his latter days on the Colville Reservation with the returned Chief Joseph and his band of Nez Percés.

Although it is sound and painstaking history and fills out times and places hitherto known in only fragmentary fashion, the book rarely rises above the pedestrian in narration. We can be grateful for the recovery of such figures as the eccentric, Francis Streamer, who counseled Moses and wrote about him under what he believed to be the command of a heavenly spirit; but all too frequently preoccupation with the bright bits and pieces of the history of the day deters the authors from the selective presentation of those features judged important. In consequence, the canvas is cluttered and major outlines obscured. On the one hand is a Moses seen largely in the reflection of anecdote, who does not achieve a semblance of life, and on the other, pioneer figures drawn from reminiscence or memoir, often inflated in their sense of drama. Thus, although the authors are judicious in their assessment of specific issues, a failure thoroughly to control their data leads to an overall presentation that lacks balance.

Despite its defects, this volume is a most useful beginning toward a definitive coverage of a life and an era. Anthropologists will find much yet to do in tracing the changing culture of the Indian societies of the time, but they will find here a useful historical frame within which to set such studies.