

IMPERIAL COLLEGE
OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

ETHIOPIA

1965

THE EXPLORATION BOARD.



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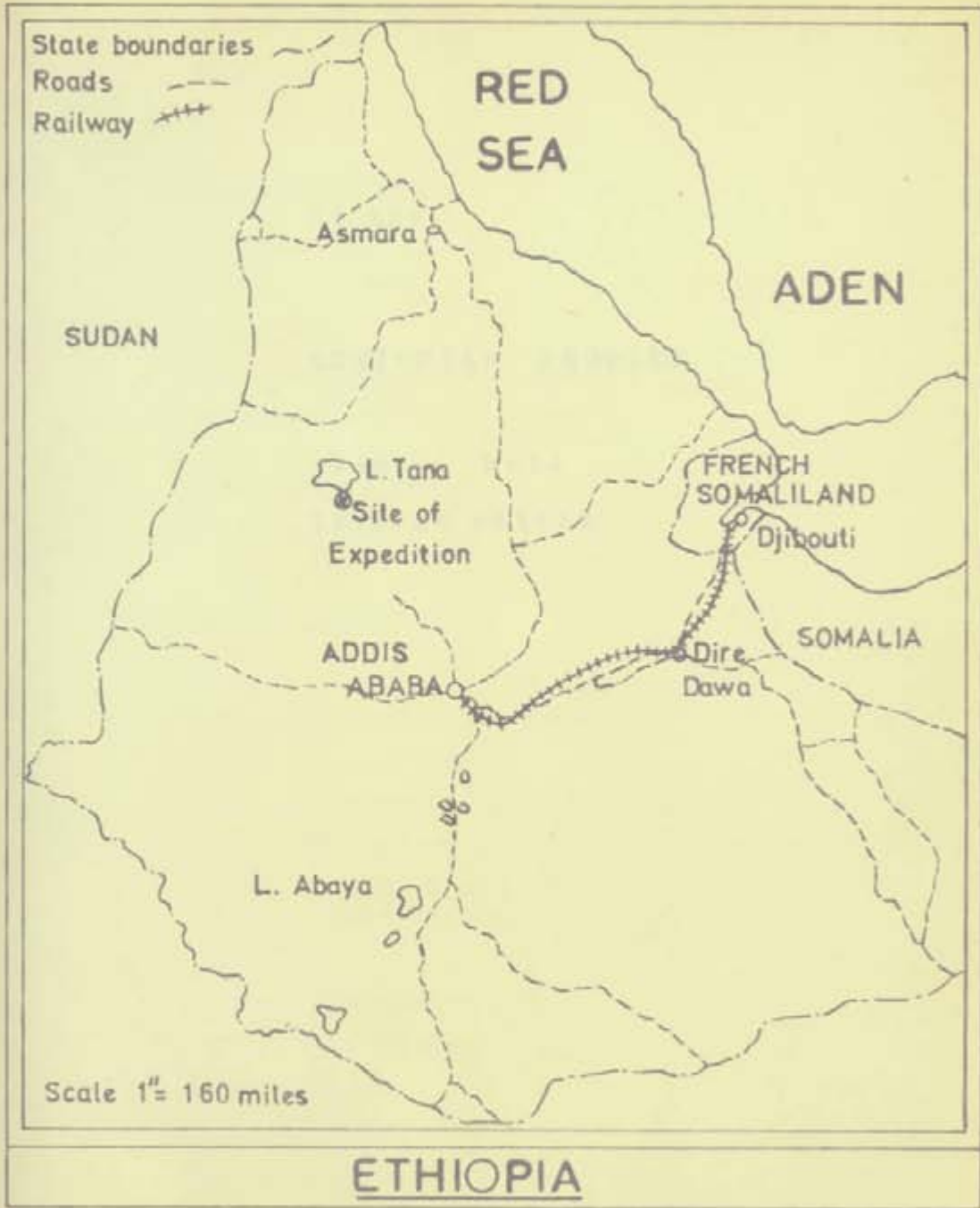
IMPERIAL COLLEGE

ETHIOPIA EXPEDITION

1965

Final Report

Imperial College Exploration Board
Imperial College
London S W 7



MAP 1

To the

ETHIOPIAN PEOPLES

whom we hold

in high esteem

CONTENTS

PART I	<u>GENERAL DESCRIPTION</u>	
	Introduction	page 1
	Members	2
	Travel	3
	Comments on Food and Equipment	11
	Medical Supplies	20
	Finance	23
	Financial Statement	24
	Acknowledgements	26
PART II	<u>SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMME</u>	
	<u>Sociology</u>	
	Report by Yohannes T. Haimanot	27
	The Homes of the Waito	57
	Exports and Imports	64
	Clothing and Jewellery	66
	Occupations of the People	
	Fishing (see Biology)	
	Basketry	69
	Stoneworking	71
	Boatbuilding (see Reeds)	
	Reeds and Reed Crafts	75
	Gediro and Ygasho	84
	Food and the Waito	90
	Games of the People	96
	Fire	104
	Burial	106
	Oral Tradition (Summary of Conversations)	108

	page
<u>Biology</u>	126
Fishing	151
The Fish	164
Transect Survey	171
<u>Meteorology</u>	180
<u>Surveying</u>	182

APPENDICES

1. Family List - Fasilo	183
2. " " - Gediro	203
3. " " - Ygasho	205
4. Full Conversations	209

FIGURES

1. Killis (or Gojo) Bet	57/58
2. Sar Bet	57/58
3. Yegidgida Bet	58/59
4. Wealthy Man's Hut	58/59
5. Domestic Articles I	62/63
6. " " II	"
7. " " III	"
8. " " IV	"
9. " " V	"
10. " " VI	"
11. " " VII	"
12. Musical Instruments	62/63
13. Tools I	63/64
14. " II	"
15. " III	"
16. Papyrus Reed Type I	75/76
17. " " " II	"
18. Gerampta Reed	"

	page
19. Woven Salein Strips	76/77
20. Reed String and Bark String	77/78
21. Tankwa Building	80/81
22. " " "	81/82
23. Akofada Making	83/84
24. K'afo Fish Trap	159/160
25. Angafra Fish Trap	160/161
26. Mereb Drift Net	160/161
27. Menz Seine Type Net	161/162
28. Mekaten - Rods and Lines	162/163
29. Maglobo - Hand Net	163/164
30. Clarias sp.	165/166
31. Tilapia sp.	166/167
32. Barbus ?Platysomus	167/168
33. Barbus ?Gorguarii	168/169
34. Varcorhinus Beso	169/170

MAPS

1. Ethiopia	Frontispiece
2. Bahar Dar	10/11
3. Plan of Waito part of Fasilo	Back cover

GRAPHS

1. Vegetation of Transect Line	173/174
2. Distribution of Dominant Species	174/175
3. Monthly Average Temperatures	180/181
4. Monthly Distribution of Rainfall	180/181
5. Daily Variation during Wet Season	181/182

PHOTOGRAPHS

	page
1. Women carrying Water	59/60
2. Typical Village Scene	59/60
3. Basketry	69/70
4. Wufchos on sale in the market, Bahar Dar	73/74
5. Roger and Cankwa beside Lake Tana	82/83
6. Laying out grain to dry	90/91
7. Woman pounding grain	90/91
8. Barbus ?Platysomus	168/169
9. Barbus ?Gorguarii	168/169
10. Varcorhinus Beso	169/170

INTRODUCTION

A successful expedition requires a considerable amount of luck and planning, and we began preliminary enquiries for a sociological expedition in November 1963. Twenty months later we left England for Ethiopia to study the lives of the Waito fishermen of Bahar Dar. Sponsorship was generous and our list of acknowledgements is perhaps the best testament to the help we have received from virtually every source, and we must confess that the final research programme was hardly our own but rather a conglomeration of other people's ideas.

Other than Yohannes Tekle Haimanot - the Ethiopian member of our group - we are not sociologists, other than by inclination, and as far as possible have endeavoured to present our information as straightforwardly as we could without either bias or interpretation. A thorough survey of the lives of one particular community was closely studied and contrasted with those of two smaller groups further from the town. The study includes sections on the biological environment, meteorology, topography, social customs, economics, religion, occupations, games, etc. We have tried to produce this report as soon as possible after returning, at the risk of minor faults, to ensure that the major part of the work is still fresh in our minds.

The report covers the factual basis of our work and experiences, but I need hardly say that to us the expedition means far more. We have made many friends of many nationalities and experienced a new way of life and a new culture. We have returned with a great respect for the Ethiopian peoples and the desire to visit them again.

This report stands as a monument to those who have helped the Expedition to a successful conclusion.

EXPEDITION PERSONNEL

Case histories as at June, 1966.

Mal Baron - Age 22. Reading Civil Engineering. Co-Leader and Surveyor.

Pete Davies - Age 21. Reading Chemical Engineering. Meteorologist and Assistant Surveyor.

Rog Kitching - Age 21. Reading Zoology. Biologist.

Neil Sunderland - Age 21. Reading Chemical Engineering. Co-Leader and Sociologist.

Yohannes T. Haimanot - Age unspecified. Reading Sociology at University College of Addis Ababa. Sociologist and Interpreter.

As regards the leadership, Mal was responsible for the journeys to and from Bahar Dar and Neil for the time spent in Fasil. This worked out as it happened for us, but the consensus of opinion was that one leader was preferable for an expedition.

Sociology was the main part of the study and so even those people designated for other things gave a hand at specific topics of the sociology.

TRAVEL

Of all the modes of transport studied, the one thought to be the most sound and most economical was a combination of van, boat, plane and train. This consisted of van from London to Marseilles, boat from Marseilles to Djibouti in French Somaliland and then plane for two people to go to Addis Ababa to make arrangements with various authorities and train for the two others with the baggage. Because of the cheap internal airways system in Ethiopia we decided to go to Bahar Dar by plane. As will be told later, we changed our minds and went by bus.

On the way back the only difference was that all four of us went by train from Addis to Djibouti. The van was still in its garage in Marseilles when we arrived and finished the journey to London in grand style.

We had investigated the possibility of travelling overland, but here there is the disadvantage that the roads in Southern Egypt and the Sudan are unsuitable. Travel down the Eastern side of the Red Sea is not possible at all and after the trouble that the 1962 Ethiopia Expedition had with shipping a vehicle down the Red Sea the whole idea of travelling overland was dismissed.

Those expeditions that do travel overland over long distances are often accused of spending 90% of their time travelling and 10% on the actual work of the expedition. We could not afford to spend only 10% of our time on the work as there was such a large quantity to be done.

In this report on travel it is thought better to be more specific about places and organisations rather than to be more general and not offend anyone.

We were fortunate in that we had a contact in the firm of Sheba World Travel Ltd. who was able to help us with travel arrangements. They handled all our bookings and arranged for their agents to help us on route. They were very understanding - particularly because they knew we had to economise and look for the cheapest of everything.

The Underwater Club were very generous in allowing us to use their vehicle for the trip to Marseilles and back for the nominal sum of £10. Initially, they wanted us to take some of the Morocco Expedition personnel down to Marseilles with us. As things happened this was unnecessary and so just the four of us travelled in the van, together with 10 tea chests and a large sack.

We left London on July 28th from the College Halls of Residence and headed towards Dover. The car ferry left at 3.00 taking us into Boulogne. This was where we had our first encounter with Customs officials. No Customs Officer can resist stopping a van loaded with 10 sealed tea chests. We were politely ushered into a small bay, where the interrogation began. Vaguely French words like 'l'expédition sociologique' and 'la nourriture' were used, but success was only achieved when we classified ourselves as 'les étudiants'. A broad French knowing smile and we were on our way.

For each of four nights we found a quiet spot just off the main road to sleep. This caused quite a lot of amusement to the local population first thing in the morning and we were quite used to hearing phrases like 'les foux Anglais'.

On Thursday, 1st July we arrived in Marseilles and found a nice spot to stay just outside the town on the cliffs.

The following day we left the luggage at the Quai Cap Janet, sorted out the necessary Customs difficulties and then took the van to the Garage Pignon Frères. We were to leave the van there for 3 months, so it was with mixed feelings that we jumped into a taxi and left the Garage.

Messageries Maritimes run a very reasonable boat service from Marseilles to Djibouti for just £39 return per person in third class. It was this cheap fare that we were taking advantage of.

The 'Ferdinand de Lesseps' was to take us from here to Djibouti in just 10 days. The cabin we had was functional and the food very commendable (as far as French food can be).

During the boat trip we were able to make a more detailed programme of what we intended doing in Ethiopia. The boat called in at Port Said where we were able to have a look round the town for a few hours. The people that the casual visitor comes into contact with give a very poor impression of the Egyptians as a whole. The average Arab in the street who is trying to sell something, whether it be fez, knife or postcard, is not just selling it for a fair price, he is trying to cheat in every way he knows how.

Before we got to Port Said we were warned about the tricks of the Arabs but didn't believe half we heard until we met them ourselves. Still it was an experience that none of us would have missed. One thing that amazed us was the ability of these people to converse in a multitude of languages to some degree or other. This comes about through necessity, but was still able to shame our 'O' level French efforts.

The Egyptian Government forbids the taking of photographs in the Suez Canal because of the military emplacements on the sides of the canal. We found out that the military emplacements visible from the ship were however limited to 8' x 8' huts surrounded by barbed wire.

Through the Red Sea the temperature got progressively hotter and so we had to spend rather a lot of time in our excuse for a swimming pool. Because we came relatively slowly southwards, we were able to become acclimatised to the heat quite nicely. After 10 days at sea we came to Djibouti, the capital and only town in French Somaliland.

Our Agents in Djibouti, Michell Cotts - a subsidiary of the Ethiopian based firm, met us from the ship and whisked us into the town itself. There are a tremendous number of French troops of all descriptions here, probably on the same scale as Aden for British troops. Together with these, there are the civilians, who run just about everything else in the town.

For the visitor to the town, everything is expensive. We were taken by the Agents to the Hotel Europe which, despite its rather fine appearance, was quite reasonable in price, or so we were told by the Agents. As things happened, this was an expensive mistake on our part,

which we put down to experience. For anyone who is ever in Djibouti, the Hotel Continental across the road is a much better bet for about a quarter of the price.

Whilst in Djibouti, we had some difficulty in getting our tea chests from the docks to the railway station. The chests were rather heavy for the Somali dockers who were demanding fantastic money to load them onto a lorry. When we told them we would do it ourselves the tune was changed somewhat.

One sound policy that we learnt whilst in Djibouti was to decide on a price with a taxi driver before setting foot inside the cab. This sometimes takes a long time but in the long run is cheaper and certainly more entertaining.

We were glad when we stepped onto the plane at the airport and got away from the heat and the tourist parasites. Neil and Mal went by plane to Addis whilst Roger and Pete had the job of getting the equipment to Addis by train.

As has been mentioned before, Ethiopian Air Lines (E.A.L.) run a very good service internally and we were very pleased with the flight. Yhannes was there at the airport to meet us and so we were able to resolve the Customs difficulties that arose. It was quite a shock to us getting onto the plane at 125°F in Djibouti and off at 58°F in Addis but it isn't to be wondered at as the difference in altitude is over 6,000 feet.

Whilst Neil and Mal were sorting things out in Addis, Pete and Roger were somewhere along the railway between Addis and Djibouti. The railway in Ethiopia we found to be one of the most unreliable of any

country. Trains which were scheduled to leave at one time left at another and trains arrived that never should have arrived at all.

The officials at one station had no idea what was happening at the next station down the line. This we found particularly annoying when Pete and Roger arrived two days late in Addis without the luggage. They put the chests on a train going to Addis, but when it arrived there was no sign of them. Many phone calls eventually traced the chests and after much moaning they eventually arrived. This was only the beginning of the troubles.

We declared the contents of the chests to the Customs officials who said that they would have to charge us at least 1,000 Eth. / (£150) duty on the food. This was financially impossible on our part but was due to lack of reliable information in this country about customs.

After taking the advice of several people, we decided to leave Neil in Addis to sort things out while the rest went to feel the ground up at Lake Tana. It was found that an excellent bus service existed in Ethiopia as well as the plane service. We were told in London that there was no bus service due to the bad roads and hence the plane bookings.

With the threat of £150 to pay the Customs, we had to economise wherever possible and so all the plane tickets to Bahar Dar were cancelled and we went by bus. Hospitality in Addis Ababa was provided very kindly by both John and Jean Tiffin at the General Wingate School and Geoff and Margaret Last next door. They gave us the complete run of their houses and made us feel very much at home. They were also able to provide an enormous amount of information about local customs, habits,

conditions, etc. which proved invaluable.

The buses are huge single decker Fiats and the amount of luggage that they can carry is boundless. The local population use the buses freely and think nothing of carrying livestock on board. There is just one night stop en route to Bahar Dar, this being at Debra Markos, the provincial capital of Gojjam.

During the day's journey, we had passed from the high plateau into the Blue Nile Gorge and then back up the other side onto the plateau again. This was quite an experience, going from rolling grassland to the hot tropical vegetation at the bottom of the gorge, and then back again in the space of about one hour.

We slept in the bus, as this was cheaper than the rest house, and then at 5.00 a.m. started off towards Bahar Dar. We arrived there at lunch time and went straight to the Polytechnic Institute where we delivered a letter of introduction to the Director from the President of University College, Addis Ababa. The Director immediately offered us the use of one of his classrooms for sleeping and eating. This provided a useful base for us while we found the best camp-site and the best village to study.

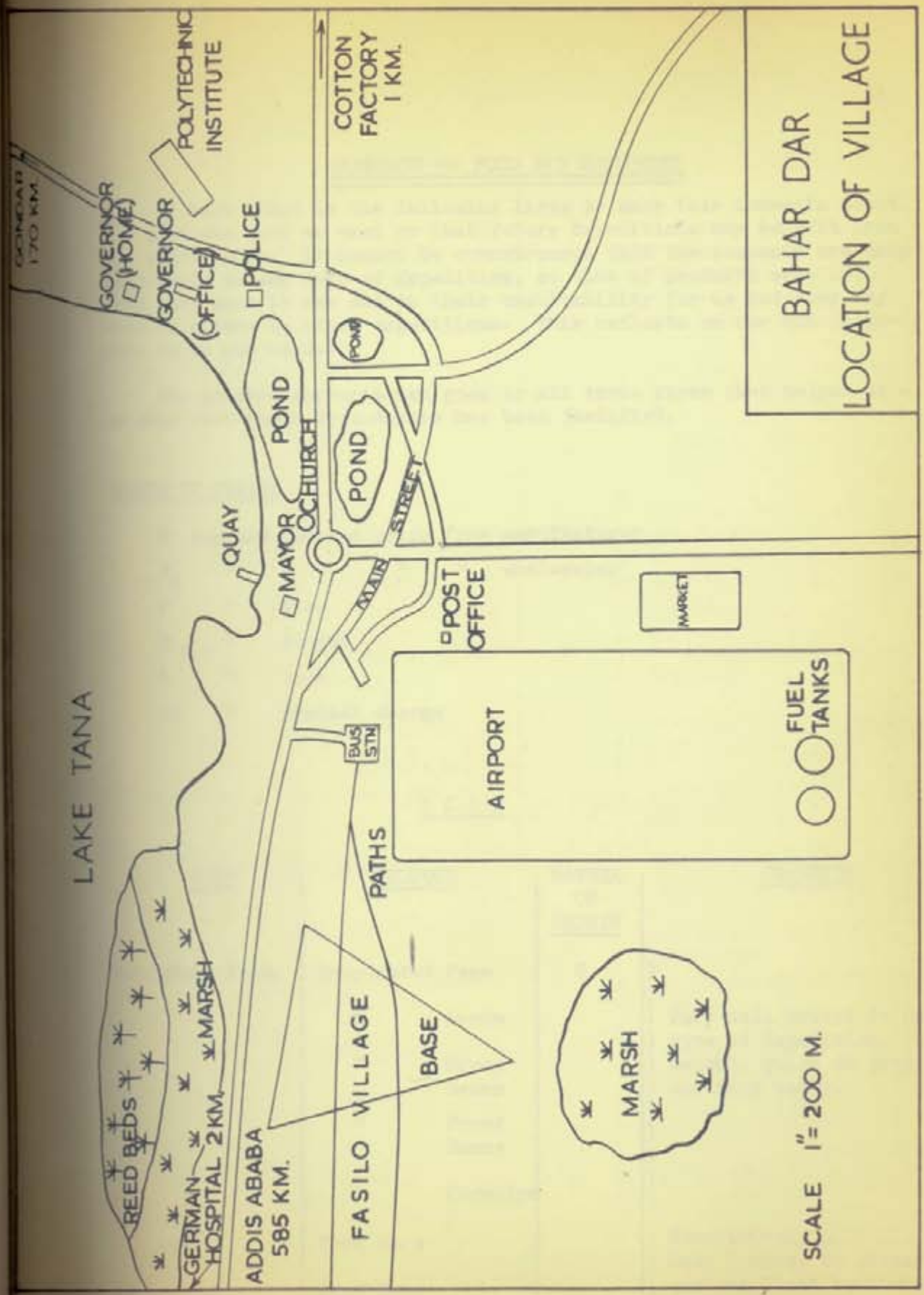
This is a suitable point at which to finish the travel to Bahar Dar. Needless to say, Neil also came a few days later with the luggage on the bus, much to our relief - we'd almost given him up as lost.

As regards the return journey, the only difference was that all four of us had the experience of travelling to Djibouti from Addis by train due to a money shortage. We stayed at the Hotel Continental in Djibouti for our four-day stay there, where we managed to brave the heat in moderate comfort.

The boat back to Marseilles was the S.S. Laos, which was bigger and better than the Ferdinand de Lesseps and only took 7 days, instead of 10, as on the outward trip. Fortunately, a letter sent from Ethiopia to the Garage in Marseilles asking for a service to be carried out had the required effect and in 32 hours we were back in London. The only accident we had in that distance was when a car ran into the back of us in Tottenham Court Road at 2 a.m.

A short list of approximate prices is included to give a comprehensive picture of the travel.

	£
Marseilles - Djibouti Return per person	89. 0.0.
Cross-Channel fare Return per person	4.10.0.
Cross-Channel fare Return for 30 cwt. van	24. 0.0.
Djibouti - Addis Ababa by train Single per person	3. 0.0.
Djibouti - Addis Ababa by plane Return per person	15. 0.0.
Addis Ababa to Bahar Dar by bus Single per person	1.10.0.
Addis Ababa to Bahar Dar by plane Return per person	11. 0.0.



BAHAR DAR
LOCATION OF VILLAGE

MAP 2

COMMENTS ON FOOD AND EQUIPMENT

We have tried in the following lists to make fair comments about the products that we used so that future Expeditions may benefit from our experiences. It cannot be overstressed that the comments are only applicable to one type of Expedition, so that if products were not used very much it was due to their unsuitability for us and they may well be a boon to other expeditions. This reflects on our bad judgment as to our needs!

Our sincere appreciation goes to all those firms that helped us - we hope that their expenditure has been justified.

NATURE OF ORIGIN

R denotes reduced price from manufacturer
 R_W " " " " wholesaler
 F " free
 B " bought
 L " loan
 NC " nominal charge

FOOD

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>NATURE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Batchelors Foods	Dehydrated Peas	R) Very well suited to our) type of Expedition. Light-) weight, quick to prepare) and very tasty.)))))) Surprisingly palatable.) Only 5 mins. to prepare and) are excellent by themselves) or in stews.
	" Jacks		
	" Green Beans		
	" Broad Beans		
	" Parsnips		
	Pork Bars		
Beef Bars			

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>NATURE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
	Chicken Curry		) Another useful and tasty) food. Not too hot so could) be used in stews or as a curry with more curry powder.
	Beef Curry		
Alfred Bird & Sons	Coffee	F	The life blood of the Expedition!
	Custard		A luxury, but well worth taking.
Bovril Ltd.	Bovril	R	Used in small quantities for flavouring.
	Corned Beef		Many varied uses - very useful.
Cadbury Bros.	Drinking Chocolate	R	Good as a 'special' occasion drink.
	Milk Chocolate		Used in France - would not have withstood boat trip.
Chiver Hartley Ltd.	Assorted jams	F	Ideal for snacks in journey across France.
J. & J. Colman Ltd.	Dehydrated potato	R	Very good indeed. Tasty and quick to prepare.
	Mustard		Appreciated in small quantities.
W.H. Cullen Ltd.	Assorted Tinned foods	F	Due to weight used across France.
	Lemonade crystals	R _w	Another luxury but a pleasant change from water.
Felton & Crepin Ltd.	Dried Egg	B	Good for scrambled egg, cakes and puddings.
Fitch & Co. Ltd.	Spaghetti	R _w	) No faults with either of) these products)
	Salt		

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>NATURE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Glaxo Labs.	Complan	F	Extensive use was not necessary as we had a sufficiently nourishing diet.
	Ostermilk		Invaluable as a substitute for milk especially as we were in a TB ridden area.
C.M.P. Harris Ltd.	Bacon	R	Liable to fragment on removal from tin. Could have been the heat. Quite tasty.
	Steak and kidney pudding		)Both of these items were used)in France and found to be)be ideal for the circum-)stances.
	Hamburgers		
Knorr Swiss Soups Ltd.	Assorted soups	R	Excellent by themselves or as a base for stews.
Landauer & Co.	Nuts	F	)More luxuries but very good)as a source of vitamins and)proteins.)))
	Dates		
	Raisins		
	Mixed Fruit		
MacDougall Ltd.	Self-raising flour	F	Used for cakes, gravies, stews, etc.
Oxo Ltd.	Corned beef	R	Could be used in stews, sandwiches, fried, plain or battered, etc.etc. Very Good.
	Oxo		Used continuously for flavouring stews, curries, meat etc.
Quaker Oats Ltd.	Oats	F	Provided a very good breakfast for us most of the 7 weeks at camp.

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>NATURE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Blacks Ltd.	Ancraks Washing Bowls Capes and Hats Felling Axe Hanging Ladder Mosquito nets Socks Sleeping Bags Waterproof Trousers	R	Good and very waterproof. Very good design and useful. Not entirely waterproof. Unnecessary due to timber restrictions. Useful due to profusion of flies. Unnecessary as the inner tents were mosquito proof. Very hard-wearing. Excellent. Good in heavy rain.
Boots Pure Drug Co	Medical supplies	F	Gratitude for these must not only come from ourselves but from the many people who benefited from the supplies in Bahar Dar. The medical chests were certainly ideal for our needs and all the drugs that weren't used are now in the German Hospital in Bahar Dar.
Bowater Paper Corp ⁿ . Ltd.	Writing paper Drawing "	F	) Both types were used) exclusively for our results.
British-American Tobacco Co. Ltd.	Cigarettes Tobacco	F	) Appreciated both for personal) consumption and to a lesser) degree for gifts.
British Bata Shoe Co. Ltd.	Chukka Boots	F	Worn constantly when mosquito boots weren't necessary. Showed signs of wear after 3 months.
British Industrial Plastics Ltd	Cups, saucers, spoons, plates	F	Extremely useful - we found the tableware quite unbreakable.
Bronco Ltd.	Toilet paper Paper towels	F	Much used. This is about the most important commodity that we brought. Used for packing, towels, handkerchiefs, general dusting, washing up and in a plant press.

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>NATURE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Brown Best Ltd.	Rucksacs	R	Well designed and hard-wearing.
Bryant & May Ltd.	Matches Lifeboat flamers	F	Very useful. Good for outdoor fires in any conditions.
Chemical Supply Co. Ltd.	Formaldehyde Ethyl Acetate	F	) Useful in the biological) programme.
A. Christie	Sweeping net bags	F	Very hard-wearing.
Coop & Naylor Ltd.	Rapidograph + Ink Rubber bands, Folders, Paints, Brushes, Pencils, Labels, Sellotape, Envelopes	F	) All these products were) used in our work and found) to be very useful. Rapid-) ograph was indispensable as) results will show. All maps) and drawings done with this.
B. Edgington	Windover 'Vis a Vis' tent	R	Ideal for our kind of expedition. Plenty of room for working under cover. Inner tents mosquito proof - tent was capable of withstanding very heavy rain. Plenty of storage space.
Eride Batteries Ltd.	Torches, batteries, bulbs	F	These were found to be necessary as darkness fell at 7.0 p.m. Withstood heavy weather. The batteries were also used for the tape recorder.
Gilbeys Ltd.	Vodka	F	A great morale booster.
Gillette Ltd.	Razors, dispensers, blades Scalpels, blades	F	Faultless use. Much used for dissection.
Halex Ltd.	Toothbrushes	F	As we had a large number of these we were able to give a few away to the villagers. These and indeed our own were very welcome.
Leonard Hays Ltd.	Binoculars	F	Invaluable in the zoological field especially for ornithology.
Hilger & Watts Ltd.	Microscope	L	Good for parasites. Limited in use due to only one objective.

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>NATURE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
J. Holland Ltd.	Films	F	Results will show the good quality of the films.
S.R. Johnson Ltd.	Millbank bags	F	Made local water supply drinkable.
Kimberly Clark Ltd.	Paper Towels	F	As with those of Bronco, these were invaluable.
Kivi Polish Ltd.	Show Polish Wet Pruf Polish	F	The wet pruf was particularly useful due to the heavy rain.
Kodak Ltd.	8mm. movie camera	L	The usual excellent Kodak quality. Invaluable for our sociological work.
	35 mm. still camera	F	
	tapes	NC	
	films extras		
Marks & Spencer Ltd.	Sweaters	F	Useful on cold Ethiopian nights.
	Underwear Shirts		) Good under hot conditions,) used constantly from London) to London. No sign of wear) in 3 months.
Metal Box Co. Ltd.	Specimen tubes	F	White ones very good. Transparent ones apt to get broken.
	Biscuit tins Paraffin cans		Good for storing odds & ends. Very efficient for petrol and paraffin.
	Water containers		Invaluable as water had to be transported a long way to the camp.
	Storage tins		Very useful for food storage and as seats.
Optimus Ltd.	Petrol stoves	R	Excellent - quick to light, easy to operate.
	Solid fuel stoves	R	Good as a supplement for two petrol stoves especially for simmering.
Paragon Razors Ltd.	Dissecting kit	F	Good service in the biological work.
	Razors, blades		These also gave sterling service.
Fascall Sweets Ltd.	Assorted sweets	F	Used effectively as a goodwill token to the Waito people and for our own consumption.

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>NATURE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Pfizer Ltd.	Terramycin Terracotril	F	) Both very good for) general use.
Pneumatic Tent Co. Ltd.	Camp beds	R	Faultless use.
Proctor & Gamble	Daz Fairly Soap	F	) Very useful as we did our) own washing all the time.
Rabone Chesterman Ltd.	Flexible Steel Rule Jointed Steel Rule	F	) Useful for measuring bio-) logical specimens, tools,) implements, houses, etc.)
Romney Ltd.	Kendal Mint Cake	R	Very enjoyable - good as a source of sugar.
Romson Ltd.	Gas Lighters	F	Invaluable for lighting stoves, fires, cigarettes, etc.
Sellotape Ltd.	Vingl. tape electrical " pipe wrap " waterproof " reinforced " double-sided"	F	General use - mending polythene bags, labelling. Not used in large quantities. General purpose - strong adhesive. Useful for tent repairs - withstood heavy rain. Very useful for sealing packing cases. Good for sticking two surfaces together.
Swan Morton Ltd.	Scalpels, blades	F	Used constantly in dissec- tion.
Tern Consulate Ltd.	Shirts	F	Used for more official occasions - meeting officials of the University, Tourist Office, Governors, etc.
Unilever Ltd.	Lifebuoy Soap Asepto " Surf Toothbrushes Toothpaste	F	This was used rather less than the Asepto soap. This was used constantly due to the amount of disease in the area. Used often as clothes became dirty quickly.) Both very useful and very) necessary.

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>NATURE OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Vitamins Ltd.	Juvel tablets	F	Excellent for supplementing our diet.
Waller & Hartley Ltd.	Barley Sugar	F	Invaluable for promoting good relations with the people and for personal consumption.
A. Windsor Ltd.	Sweaters	F	Very high quality - used in France and for the cold nights in Bahar Dahr.
Wrigleys Ltd.	Chewing gum	F	Very useful indeed. Again a help to win the people over.
Xlon Ltd.	Polythene bags Polythene tubes	F R	Many varied uses. Durable - attached top very good.

MEDICAL SUPPLIES

The following is a list of medical supplies taken with us to

Bahar Dar.

Soltan Cream	For prevention of sunburn
Efferescent Saline Tablets	For prevention of heat fatigue
Potassium Permanganate Crystals	For sterilisation of water for cooking vegetables
Dermene Cream	General purpose antiseptic cream for treatment of minor abrasions and burns
Strepsol	Concentrated antiseptic suitable for preparing a gargle or lotion for cleansing wounds, etc.
Asprin Tablets) Tab. Codeine Co.)	Analgesic and antipyretic preparations
Mijex Tablets	Antacid preparation for gastric upsets
Cascara Tablets	Laxative
Flurivite M Pellets	Vitamin supplement
Sped Foot Powder	Antiseptic and antifungal foot powder
Tussils	Cough linctus in lozenge form
Viso Eye Drops	For treatment of minor eye irritations
Golden Eye Ointment	
Tooth Tincture	
Temporary Tooth Stopping	
Screen Tablets	For prevention of travel sickness

Halazone Tablets	For sterilisation of drinking water
Mylol Cream	Insect repellent
Magnet Fly Spray, Aerosol	
Magnet D.D.T. Dusting Powder	
Balca	Rubefacient for muscle sprains, etc.
Dermene Dusting Powder	For prickly heat

The above supplies do not include specialised drugs - antibiotics, sulphonamides, etc. These should be considered on advice from a Medical Practitioner.

FIRST AID EQUIPMENT

Absorbent Gauze
Absorbent Lint
Cotton Wool
Bandages, W.O.W., 2"
Bandages, W.O.W., 3"
Crepe Bandages
Elastic Adhesive Bandages
Triangular Bandages
Emergoplast Strip Dressing, 1½"
Emergoplast Strip Dressing, 2½"
Zinc Oxide Adhesive Plaster ½" x 5 yds.
Wound Dressings, No. 13., small
Wound Dressings, No. 14., medium

Wound Dressings, No. 15., large

Safety Pins

Thermometer

Scissors, Nurses'

Eye Shade

Eye Bath

Splinter Forceps

Telescopic Splints

Medical Supplies

Wound Dressings, No. 15., large

Safety Pins

Thermometer

Scissors, Nurses'

Eye Shade

Eye Bath

Splinter Forceps

Telescopic Splints

Medical Supplies

As used in the following table, each figure represents the number of units of the material listed in the column headed by the name of the material.

FINANCE

An expedition can make do without a lot of things but there is no substitute for money. We were very fortunate in that many people helped us with financial donations.

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We would like to sincerely thank these people for their help and hope that they think our work justified their expenditure.

FINANCIAL STATEMENTIncome

	£
B.P. Limited	50. 0.0.
Ciba Laboratories	25. 0.0.
Messrs. Coutts & Company	10. 0.0.
Ethiopian Tourist Office	14. 5.7.
Ford (Dagenham) Trust	75. 0.0.
Gilchrist Educational Trust	75. 0.0.
Imperial College Exploration Board	437. 0.6.
Joseph Lucas Charitable Trust	5. 0.0.
Rotax Razor Co. Ltd.	5. 5.0.
Royal Geographical Society	150. 0.0.
Private Donations	18. 7.0.
Personal Contributions	240. 0.0.
	<hr/>
	1104.18.1.
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Expenditure

Travel	639.16.1.
Equipment	127. 8.6.
Food	106.10.4.
Interpreter	60.16.2.
Customs and Dock Charges	62. 9.0.
Accommodation	45. 0.6.
Printing, Stationery, Stamps, Visas, Films, Porters, Tips, etc.	62.17.6.
	<hr/>
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In excess of their grant, Imperial College Exploration Board also paid £52 for insurance policies on our behalf.

FOOD AND EQUIPMENT

Without the generosity of the firms listed below we would not have been able to contemplate the Expedition. They supplied us with food or equipment mostly free, or in some cases at a reduced price, and we would like to take this opportunity of thanking them for their very welcome help.

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The following work is the result of extensive research in the libraries of Addis Ababa by Yohannes T. Haimanot. It has been left as a section alone and not edited. Although this has resulted in a certain amount of duplication, we feel the overall result is more satisfactory.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE
IMPERIAL COLLEGE EXPEDITION TO BAHAR DAR

Yohannes Tekle Haimanot

INTRODUCTION

This essay is the result of the sociological aspect of the Imperial College Expedition to Bahar Dar, which took place from July to September, 1965. It deals particularly with the Waitos of Fasilo, and more generally, with those of Ygasho and Gediro, villages about ten to fifteen kilometres away from Bahar Dar, and about three kilometres from each other, on the south-eastern shore of Lake Tana.

The Waitos of Fasilo number 185, those of Gediro 25 and those of Ygasho 47, including children and babies. Estimates of the number of Waitos vary from 200 or 300 to 1500. The three Waito villages, with which this paper is concerned, are the most populous. Although there are some Waitos living sporadically on the shores of the Lake, it is doubtful whether the total number of Waitos exceeds 350.

The Waitos are looked upon with contempt for many reasons. In Bruce's day, they were looked down upon for eating hippopotamus and crocodiles, and for being sorcerers who killed men by charms. Today the Amharas think they are indiscriminate about their food habits.

They eat everything including the hippopotamus. This allegation is, however, not true, because they no longer eat the flesh of the hippopotamus as the Government has forbidden them to kill it.

The Waitos themselves think they are discriminated against because of their poverty and on account of the fact that they constitute a minority. It must be stressed at the outset that, although the Waitos are discriminated against, the intensity of discrimination has been and is, decreasing with time.

The Waitos have a subsistence level of economy. The Dengal, whose bark the women use to make baskets, and the grinding stones are the chief means of livelihood. Although their knowledge of the Koran is limited, they are Moslems.

The Waitos are among the least studied peoples of Ethiopia. The present work is by no means an exhaustive study, therefore, the incompleteness of this essay need hardly be emphasised.

Addis Ababa,
April 10th, 1966

<u>CONTENTS</u>	page
Introduction	27
Acknowledgement	29
Etymology of the word Waito	29
Oral tradition	31
Political life	36
Economic life	37
Religious life	43
Some interesting Institutions	48
Bibliography	56

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Dr. Pankhurst, Head of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, gave me useful advice on the bibliography. I thank him very much for that.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD WAITO

The root of the word Waito is not yet known. To the Gojjam Amharas, it is merely a word of abuse. When the Amhara children play games, they use the word to insult the dishonest and cheats. They could not have thought of a worse insult. It is the bitterest insult.

Simoons¹ states that Cerulli has identified the word with Wattata, which means 'to wander without permanent occupation'. Simoons himself thinks that as some hunters in some parts of Ethiopia call themselves Watta, it is possible that the Waitos themselves use the word as their name.

Grottanelli², however, finds the root in the word 'Wuhito', which literally means 'he who eats everything'. He also tells us about Lincoln de Castro's opinion of the word's root. Castro thinks that the word Watta or Waito reminds one of the 'Uauaitu', a name given by the ancient Egyptians to the Negroes, against whom the Pharonic expeditions were sent. The Negroes lived in the land of 'Uaut', in ancient Southern

¹Simoons, 1960: 47

²Grottanelli, 1943; 11: 177

Egypt. This is an interesting account because as we will see in the oral tradition, the Waitos told us that their ancestors lived in Egypt in a place called 'Along', which in their opinion gave rise to the Amharic word 'Alonga', which means 'whip'.

Maleka Taye¹ writes of two waves of Waito immigrants, one in about 3032 B.C. and another in about 747 A.D. Both of them lived in Southern Egypt and the Sudan, and both of them migrated because there was a famine in those areas. Their name, he writes, is that of their fathers. A certain Semri had a son called Watto, whose children took his name, but as time went by, other South Arabian immigrants called Ag'Azian came after them and the name of Watto has since changed into Waito. The Ag'azians called them Wuhito, which means one who eats all without any regard to food taboos.

Akin to the word Wuhito is the Tigringna word Wuhit. This word has two connotations. It means a glutton, one who eats too much, and also means one who eats everything. In both senses, it is a word of abuse.

Dr. Pankhurst, Head of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, drew my attention to another Tigringna word, Watta, a name given to the specialist in music. Music is regarded as a low grade occupation. Like other people of low grade occupation, the Watta cannot intermarry with the rest of the population. The Watta, like the smiths and craftsmen, is discriminated against on account of his musical profession. The Waitos of Behar Dar are discriminated against primarily by reason of their food habit. The similarity of these words, Watta

¹Taye, 1963: 16

and Waito, is perhaps coincidental and it does not seem that the Wattas and Waitos are related in any way.

The Waitos have their own story to tell about the origin of the word. They say there was a widespread famine in the distant past. Their fathers killed the hippopotamus and ate it. When the fathers of the Amhara people saw this, they were disgusted and said 'Watew', which literally means 'he swallowed it'. Later on, this word 'Watew' changed into Waito.

It is very difficult to say which one of the above accounts is true. It seems very likely that the word has its root in and around eating. Hence Grottanelli's and Taye's accounts seem to be the most probable.

ORAL TRADITIONS

The Waitos have an interesting oral tradition regarding their place of origin. Let us first consider what the Amharas and some authors say about the original home of the Waitos.

The Gojjam Amharas told us that the Waitos came out of wood and they call them 'Children of the wood'. Haleka Taye¹ says they are Egyptians who fled their country following the famine that took place in about 3032. Taye's information is not backed with concrete evidence and thus he should be held with great reservations.

Grottanelli² records that the Waitos claim to have their origin in Palestine. They came to Lake Tana from Egypt following the Nile. He also writes that scholars like Conti Rossini and Seligman are agreed

¹Taye, 1963: 16

²Grottanelli, 1943: 177

that the low occupation groups, which include the Waitos, are the remaining aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Hence they must have been in the country before the arrival of the South Arabians in the first half of the first millennium. They remained unassimilated with the South Arabians on account of their unorthodox food habits and their despised jobs. These are by no means the only factors but 'the widespread notion that peoples of other religions, or even, in some cases, people of the same religion but of different groups, are ritually impure, and that one should . . . avoid contact with them as much as possible'¹ is also responsible for the non-assimilation.

James Bruce, who travelled in Ethiopia at the close of the eighteenth century, witnessed an even more acute group difference. He writes of the Waitos who were held 'in utter abhorrence, so that to touch them, or anything that belongs to them, makes a man unclean all that day till the evening, separates him from his family and friends and excludes him from the church and all divine service, till he is washed and purified on the following day'.² It must be noted that today the Waitos and the Amharas live together in an economic interdependence, as we shall see later on.

The Waito elders told us that their place of origin is in Israel. They, like the Amharas, are descendants of Adam and Eve. The split came when two brothers, Isa or Esau and Jacob, had two different beliefs. Jacob became a Christian and Isa a Moslem. The Amharas followed Jacob and became Christians; the Waitos, however, followed Isa and became Moslems.

¹ Simoons, 1960: 23

² Bruce, 1790, III: 402

If they think their place of origin is in Israel, how do they explain their presence in Ethiopia? They have the following to tell. Since the Babylonian Captivity, the ancestors of the Waito were living in Egypt. The place where they lived was called 'Aleng'. When Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, the Waitos set out with him. But when he parted the Red Sea into two and asked them to cross with the rest of their Israelite brothers they declined (perhaps with thanks) because they thought it would wash them away. Moses was very angry with them when he saw their faithlessness. He cursed them, saying:

"ሠ-ፍገ ሠ-ፍገ፣ ኪ ይ ሃጠካ ፍገህ፤ ኪ ሠ-ፍገህ፣ ሃገገ ሠ ፍገ። "

A rough translation would be something like this:

"Let not doubt depart from you, know you not your leader!"

Hence, when their kinsmen crossed the Red Sea, the Waitos stuck to its shores on the East side. They could not return to 'Aleng', their place of residence in Egypt, lest the Pharaoh destroy them. While in Aleng, they were famous for their skill of whip making. When the Pharaoh of Egypt heard that the Israelites of Aleng were on the shores of the Red Sea, he sent an expedition against them. The members of the expedition asked everyone they met on their way if he had seen the people of Aleng, the whip makers. The expedition failed to meet them, and as time went by, they came to Ethiopia following 'Sea-routes'. Meanwhile, they cultivated the skill of boat making and hunting. Hippopotamus was among the animals they hunted for food. When they arrived in Ethiopia, they abandoned eating it, until famine forced them to resume the habit.

The Kalicha, as they call their scholar, said that the object of their being discriminated against is not only the practice of hippopotamus eating, but also the curses of Moses being fulfilled.

Grottanelli¹ records Rava's oral tradition as the following. Esau and his four brothers were living on the shores of Lake Tana. One day Esau killed a hippopotamus and ate it with his children with a lot of merry-making. When his brothers saw this, they were deeply grieved and remarked in disgust, 'Do you eat meat prohibited by God! Be cursed'. Thereafter, the children of Esau came to be called Waito, who considered themselves as slaves and inferior to the Amharas.

The validity of the oral traditions is often hard to determine because they are inconsistent and self-contradictory. If we take the oral traditions which they told us and turn to Exodus 14:21-23, we have this:

'And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the Children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. And the Egyptians pursued . . . even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots and his horsemen.'

It must be noted that this passage does not tell us of some Israelites who refused to cross the sea. The expedition which Rava mentions and to which the Waitos referred may concern the last part of

¹ Grottanelli, 1943, II: 173

this quotation. Apart from this, this passage does not prove the oral tradition true. This is, however, no sufficient ground to believe that their account is absolutely false. To think so would be to believe that the Bible is the most accurate source of information and that anything said, not mentioned in the Bible, is wrong. The least said about this the better, because there is no concrete evidence to prove or disprove it.

Cheesman¹ thinks that the Waitos are of Hammitic origin and expressed disappointment for their having abandoned their own language and religion in favour of Amharic and Islam. Bruce² thinks they are a distinct group in race and in language. Grottanelli thinks they are of Nilotic origin as distinct from Cushites and Semites, although we have not witnessed any noticeable differences in physical appearance between the Waitos and the Amharas. Simoons rightly remarks that 'the Lake Tana Waito are not negroes, nor can they be distinguished physically from the other peoples of the highland areas of the north west'.³

Bruce's account that they had a language of their own is difficult to accept. They speak Amharic and considering the lapse of time which is about a century and a half only, it is tempting to ask how they could have had their own language and yet they could have forgotten all about it in such a short time. Cheesman also agrees with Bruce although he did not witness it himself.

Hence the origin of the Waito people, like the meaning of the word, remains a moot point.

¹ Cheesman, 1936: 93
² Bruce, 1790, III: 402
³ Simoons, 1960: 47

POLITICAL LIFE

Simoons¹ writes that the Waitos do not comprise a political unit but they recognise an Amhara chief. We observed, on the contrary, that they have their own chief, called Negadras, who is elected on a democratic basis for life. The qualifications required of a chief are wisdom and understanding, along with a mature age - a minimum of 45. His duties include settling cases of debts, reconciling quarrelling individuals and attending marriages and divorces in conjunction with the Kadi, who is an arbiter of religious law. Problems which he cannot solve in his village are forwarded to the Imperial Government.

All males above the age of about 20 can vote. Women do not vote. 'The women,' the men say, 'have to do unquestionably whatever men command'. This is not so in practice. The man is not an exclusive bread-winner of the family. The woman makes baskets and earns some money by selling them. Young boys and girls help their fathers and mothers respectively. Everybody in the family works and so everybody in the family has a say in the affairs of the family.

The chief has no officials under him. In fact his chiefdom is a part-time job. He has to work because he is not paid by his village. Hence government among the Waito is not a neat bureaucracy of specialised individuals governing the mass, as we know it. The chief is there to settle minute problems like those mentioned above. Grottanelli² writes that among the chief functions of the Negadras were to impose fines and issue licenses for mill commerce and hand the money collected in this way to the Government. This might have been so in the early 1940's

¹ Simoons, 1960: 52

² Grottanelli, 1943, II: 187

but now the chief does not have these functions because the Government exempted the Waitos from all sorts of taxation on account of their poverty.

One may ask since the chief cannot somehow impose his will or the will of his community on troublesome individuals, what is the use of having him? For one thing, the central Government wants them to have a chief so that if the court, for example, wants one of the Waitos for testimonial purposes, it contacts him through the Negadras. In other words, the Government wants a chief for administrative purposes. For another, the Waitos themselves cannot go to the court for every petty misunderstanding. They can clear their differences before the chief.

The chief has certain privileges. Every person in the village invites him whenever he holds a party. Everybody respects him and greets him reverently. He enjoys high prestige.

ECONOMIC LIFE

There is a clear division of labour between the sexes. Women's occupations are two, basket making and housework. Some of the baskets they make are:

Mesob (መጠን)	Sefed (ሰፊ)
Agelgil (አገልገል)	Satin (ሳቲን)
Mesabia (መገልገል)	Wurinta (ወርታንታ)
Lemat (ሌማት)	Kib Siru (ካብ ሰሩ)
Mudaye (ሙዳይ)	Wonfit (ወንፍት)
Kelemshash (ቀረጽ ገሰጽ)	Woskenbia (ወሰክንቤያ)
Yedist Ephia (የድስት ስፍራ)	Kuna (ክህና)

The housework includes washing the family clothes, occasional dusting of the house, nursing children and making the family food.

Male occupations are four: Tankwa or boat building with a kind of reed called Dengul, Fishing, stone cutting and other miscellaneous work like making wooden spoons, forks and combs.

The Waitos produce all these and others, not only for themselves as necessities, but also for the Arada market in Bahar Dar. Due to their proximity to the town they are influenced by modern economic systems. For example, the use of money as a medium of exchange is replacing the traditional barter exchange.

They may be said to have a subsistence level of economy. Their thatched huts are small and of crude construction. Two to six people share the same hut. Their food is cooked there. They eat there. They sleep there. They pray there. They have an average of two meals a day. They are poorly clothed. They do not wear shoes, because they cannot afford to buy them.

Grottanelli¹ observed that the Waitos are distinguished from the Amharas by the appearance of major poverty and their reduced size of huts indicate inferior type of construction to those of the Amhara huts.

Cheesman writes that since 'they do not cultivate crops, they may be said to subsist mostly on fish'.² Bruce writes that the Waitos kill 'the crocodile and hippopotamus, which they make their daily sustenance'.³

¹ Grottanelli, 1943, II: 197

² Cheesman, 1936: 93

³ Bruce, 1790, III: 402

Some men fish, but the yield is so meagre that it only meets the demand of immediate consumption. The Waito fishermen do not catch a lot of fish because fishing is not their monopoly. What is more, the Amharas have better nets and more efficient techniques of catching the fish.

With the advent of modern grinding machines, the motor boat and new techniques of fishing, and with no monopoly of basket making, the economic security of the Waito is jeopardised. How are they to live?

Grottanelli¹ writes that they had begun to practice a semi-agricultural economy. This is true of the Waitos of Ygasho and Gediro. Each Waito family uses the small piece of land which is around its hut to grow corn. The land is not theirs. It belongs to the Amharas. They do not own cattle either. When they want to till the piece of land around their huts, they enter into a contract with an Amhara who comes to their huts with his pair of oxen to till their land. In return, the Waito discharges his obligation by working for five days on the Amhara field, for each day of work the Amhara spends tilling the land of the Waito. The work the Waito does in return includes weeding and harvesting.

The Waitos of Bahar Dar told us that the Government has given some plots of land to nine families. But since they do not own cattle, they do not use the land for agriculture. Instead, we are told, they sell the land.

Under prevailing circumstances, they cannot depend on any one factor for their livelihood, as they could in the past. The same question raised above comes to mind. How are they to live?

¹ Grottanelli, 1943, II: 187

Perhaps part of the answer is found in the Cotton Factory. So far about half a dozen young men and women are employed in the Factory. Many more are applying. Some are seeking Government employment as guards. Some are joining hands in the construction of roads and houses in the fast developing town of Bahar Dar.

At this juncture, one is tempted to muse over the future of the Waito, as Simoons has done. Simoons¹ predicted that since the Waitos have abandoned hippopotamus eating and engaging themselves in low grade occupations such as making pottery, iron products and leather goods, which have long been causes of prejudice and misunderstanding, the Jabartis, the Moslem Amharas, will accept them as Moslem brothers. This is likely to happen in view of the fact that some Waito holy men are studying the Koran in Moslem centres such as Mecca, Eritrea and the Sudan. This, he thinks, will help them know the essence of Islam, and upon their return will teach the people. The better knowledge of Islam will put them in a better relation with the Jabartis.

We have met nobody who claimed to have studied Islam abroad. Nor have we heard of anyone who left to do so. Hence this claim of Simoons that Waito scholars will revive the religious life of their people does not seem to have materialised. However, there is another factor which Simoons thinks will help the assimilation of the Waitos with the Jabartis. It is the practice of agriculture. Our observation of the Gediro and Ygasho semi-agricultural Waito communities seems to comply with this. But in those areas, there are no Jabartis. Hence the chance of assimilation is with the Christian Amharas and not with Jabartis. As we have seen before, the Christian Amharas and the Waitos live in an agricultural and

¹ Simoons, 1960: 52-53

economic interdependence. The Amharas lend them oxen and their service, which is repaid by the Waitos in the form of labour, as we have discussed earlier.

The Jabartis and the Waitos of Bahar Dar live at Fasilo side by side. Both of them are looked down upon by the Christian Amharas, although the intensity of contempt is greater for the latter. Both of them are a minority and the latter even more so. The Waitos of Bahar Dar number 185 including babies. We did not count the Jabartis but they are definitely much more numerous.

The Jabartis look down on the Waitos for the latter's loose religious life and unorthodox food habits. Considering this, it seems unlikely that the Waitos will be assimilated with the Jabartis.

Their occupation will in future, it seems, take them to urban centres. Some more will join the cotton factory. Others will join hands in the construction of roads and houses as manual labourers. Still others will flock to bigger cities like Addis Ababa. Hence it seems that they will not be assimilated with the more orthodox Jabartis, but they will most likely become part and parcel of the newly emerging working classes in Bahar Dar and elsewhere in the Empire. So much for prophecy.

It has been mentioned that the Waitos live with the Amharas in an economic interdependence. The Waitos present their products, mainly basketry and stonework. The Amharas produce mostly food items and clothing.

At the market they sell their products for cash. With the cash they earn in this way, the Waitos buy mostly food items, implements, utensils and more rarely clothes.

The grains they buy include tef, dagussa, maize, wheat, barley, beans and peas. The vegetable items include cabbage, potato, onion and duba. Spices like pepper and ginger are also bought. They also buy other important food items such as butter, oil, sugar, tea-leaf and coffee, but the last item is rarely bought and is considered an expensive luxury.

Household utensils they buy include mugs, dixies, tea pots, blades, safety-pins, pots and pans, needles, wooden coffee trays, etc.

Some of the implements the men buy are sledge hammers, spades, pick axes, levers, sickles and big iron sticks. It is clear from this list of sold and purchased articles that the Waitos and Anaharas live in an economic interdependence.

Although the demand for the Waito grinding stone is declining in urban areas, rural populations still use the Wufcho. They depend very much on the Wufcho products of the Waito. Hence Bruce's observation that touching the Waito belongings made one impure is completely out of date.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

As mentioned previously, the Waito people have a very superficial knowledge of Islam. Their knowledge about the Koran is rather vague. They cannot, therefore, be expected to comply with all its principles. Simoons has to say this about their religious life: "They neither participate in prayer regularly nor perform ablutions, nor are they devout in their beliefs".¹

¹Simoons, 1960: 50

There is much evidence that can be forwarded to substantiate Simoon's assertions. For example, they wear pieces of cross on their necks. Only Christians are supposed to wear crosses. Not only this, but they also drink alcoholic beverages. A true Moslem is not supposed to drink alcohol. Although there is an attempt to be regular in prayer, it is not strictly held.

Natural phenomena such as lightening and thunder are explained on the basis of the Tales of the Christian Amharas. For example, the Kalicha had to say this about the cause of thunder. The earth is carried by a host of devils on its edges. When St. Gabriel is angry with them, they tremble into fits of fear. As they shake in fear, the balance of the earth is upset. As a result, thunderous noise occurs in the sky. The orthodox Christian Amharas give similar explanations. All these examples show us that the Christian influence is immense.

Allah, they say, is the creator of the sun, moon, stars, lightening and other visible and invisible objects. He gave them to us. He gives us rainy and dry seasons alternately, so that we can work and produce enough food. He cares for us. He is the final answer to all our questions.

They pray to Allah and more rarely to Mohammed, for the country's welfare, good rulers, good health, peace and good weather. Prayer may take place either in the mosque or in private houses.

Despite other people's belief that the Waitos eat everything, the Waitos have food taboos. They say their religion forbids them to eat python, snakes, all dead animals and all flying birds except two of them - jigra and kok (i.e. Guinea Fowl and Frankalin).

We did not observe any kind of witchcraft or magic. Neither did we witness any of their marriage ceremonies, nor their birth and burial ceremonies.¹

Dreams, they say, may either be of happiness or sorrow. A long time ago only holy men were capable of dreaming. But as time went on the power of the devil on earth grew. The devil with his power is able to put dreams into the minds of even sinful men. In connection with dreams, there is an interesting institution called Sedeka, which we will discuss later on.

There are three important religious holidays. The birth and death of Mohammed, the Arefa and the Aljuma. The Arefa which can be held any time of the year is preceded by thirty days of fasting. On this holiday it is believed that the doors of Mecca are opened. It is a very big holiday. Everybody puts on the best clothes he has. Every family eats the best of food - chicken and meat, cooked with a lot of butter.

Aljuma is to the Moslem just like Sunday is to the Christian. It is held on every Friday of the week. In theory, no one is supposed to work on this day, but in practice many people do. The Kalicha admonishes them very strongly if he sees some working on Fridays. "Why do you work on this holiday", he says, "do you want us to incur Allah's wrath?"

Monday is said to be the birthday of Mohammed. They also believe he died on a Monday. They do not stop work on Mondays, but they remember him in their prayers.

Although as Simoons² says there is no regularity in prayers, we have noticed that there is an attempt to be orderly in this respect.

¹ I witnessed the burial ceremony of the Moslem Amharas. A Waito told me that they do it the same, but I refrain to tell it.

² Simoons, 1960: 50

To be regular in anything a good way of measuring time is necessary. They do not have watches. On quiet days, they can hear the siren of the Cotton Factory. But they cannot wholly depend on this to be regular in their prayers. So they fall back on their traditional way of measuring time.

The Waitos divide the day into six parts:

- a) Maleda (ሀላዳ) - early morning at sunrise.
- b) Derek refad (ደረቅ ሪፋድ) - literally late morning. This is about 10-12 a.m.
- c) Ken Ekul (ክን ጁኪ) - midday.
- d) Zihur (ዝሁር) - this is about 2-4 p.m.
- e) Aser (አሰር) - this is about 4-6 p.m.
- f) Makrib (ማቅሪብ) - evening.

How do they fix this division of the day into parts? The sun, the cock's crow and the braying of asses are time determinants. The sun's position in the sky is the most common way of determining time of day. When the sun appears on the eastern horizon at dawn, they say, now it is maleda.

As the sun goes up in the sky, it becomes derek refad or late morning. At Ken Ekul or midday, the sun is overhead and the shadow of all things is at its shortest. As it descends to the west after it has reached its zenith, it is early and late afternoon, followed by the evening at sun-set. On cloudy days, they said they know the time by experience.

If this is how they determine the time of the day, the cock's crow and the braying of asses help them to determine the time of the night. The ass brays shortly before the cock crows at intervals throughout the night. The cock crows three times in the course of the night, once at

midnight, once at about three and once at about six in the morning.

The Waitos have superstitious beliefs. When some of their firstborn children die, which happens frequently as infant mortality is high, the head of the living children is shaven in such a way that there are two or more lines of unremoved hair on the head. This is supposed to serve a twofold purpose. It is decorative as well as protective; protective because it is believed to drive away evil spirits and thereby minimize the danger of death. Men, women and children wear fetishes and amulets. These protectives vary from charms inscribed with magical incantations to big iron rings worn on the ankles.

Why they are not devoted to Islam is a subject of hot debate. Simoons¹ quotes Maurizio for having said that the Waitos were originally Moslems who settled on Lake Tana. They soon found themselves isolated in their new habitation. There was no religious enforcement; which led to the deterioration of their belief. When the more orthodox Moslems saw them, they disowned them. Simoons refutes this on two grounds and he explains their loose religious life by the fact that they are Moslems of recent conversion. He says this because Bruce has described them as pagans. Besides, he believes that since Gondar was a minor centre of Moslems, the isolation which Maurizio thought was responsible for the degeneration of their faith is questionable.

Although Simoons' argument that they are of recent conversion seems to be more weighty, it is very difficult to conceive who introduced Islam to them in view of the fact that neither the Christian Amharas nor the Moslem Amharas were friendly with them. Maurizio's view is backed by that of Maleka Tayo's who maintains that the second wave of

¹ Simoons, 1960: 48

Waito immigrants who arrived in about 750 A.D. from Egypt introduced Islam to their kinsmen. But their knowledge of the Koran is limited and they do not comply with the Islamic principles of fasting and worship.

To side with any one of the above contentions is very difficult. The Waitos did not tell us of anyone who studied the Koran abroad. If there were some, we would have perhaps thought they are of recent conversion. Nor is it safe to accept Maurizio's and Teye's views because they lack concrete evidence. This subject needs an exhaustive study before a sound judgement can be passed.

SOME INTERESTING INSTITUTIONS

In this society, as in many others, marriage is the recognised institution of starting a family. The normal way of marriage is arranged by parents. But marriage by abduction and elopement are also practised although they are rare.

Marriage by arrangement may take two forms. One, in which both partners contribute equally for the success of their married life, and another in which only the man provides all.

In the form of marriage in which both the girl's and boy's parents contribute equally, the boy's family contribute a place of residence, while the girl's family contribute mostly utensils. The second one in which only the groom contributes all the necessities of life is in accordance with the Moslem practices of marriage.

Both types of marriage are arranged by parents. This is how the father of the boy proceeds to get a wife for his son: he thinks which one of his friends has a beautiful daughter. When he has thought of one, he

discusses the matter with his family and a small circle of friends. If all his friends and family approve of his selection, he sends a middleman, called "Shimagille", which literally means old man, to the father of the girl to ask for his daughter's hand. The Shimagille goes to the house of the girl's father and bows reverently to him upon meeting him. He tries to be as humble, diplomatic and tactful as he can and proceeds in this way to ask for the girl's hand.

"How are you, my master", says he by way of greeting. "It is quite long since we met", he adds.

"I am quite well, thank you, Allah be praised. I hope you have come to me with good news", answers the father of the girl.

"Oh, I do not have bad news. How are your children", says the Shimagille.

"They are quite well, and what about yours", says the father.

"We are alright, thank Allah, the Almighty".

After a lengthy greeting the Shimagille tries to tell the father of the girl why he is there by introducing a lot of irrelevant issues. He would say, among other things, "Your family and your ancestors have always been men of good character. They have been a blessing to our community. Their name has never been mentioned in connection with bad deeds. They have devoted their whole life to peaceful purposes. Everybody likes and respects you for your good behaviour. Everybody tries to have your friendship through marriage and other bonds of friendship. Last night I was talking to Atto*so-and-so (mentioning the boy's father's name). You know that he is incidentally a good man. We were talking about everything including the fact that since Adam and Eve, men are supposed to multiply and fill the earth.

* Ethiopian equivalent of Mr.

"We were talking about you too. He thinks you are a wonderful man. He begged of me to ask you for your daughter's hand to his son. When he first asked me to be his middleman, I was happy when I knew that I was coming to you. In fact I told him at the outset that you are my best friend and that you will not turn me down. For this reason, I hope you will not let me down."

The girl's father does not say yes or no on the spot. He is very tactful in his reply. "I know we have always been friendly to each other since ancient times. I cannot think of a better family than that of Atto so-and-so to whom I can give my daughter. I know Atto so-and-so and his son is a humble boy. So you can see that as far as I am concerned, it is alright. But as you know, I am not alone in making the decision. I will talk about it with my relatives and let you know soon."

The Shimagille would reply "I am confident your final decision will be positive. I hope you will do anything within your power to make our request a success. The words of big men like yourself are not without significance. I am sure you will give your daughter to us."

The girl's father, even if he does not really want to give her and even if he knows his relatives would object, says "We only hope everything will be acceptable to my relatives. I see no reason why they should object to it".

The Shimagille thanks the girl's father and takes leave by bowing reverently. The Shimagille then goes to the boy's father and tells him all the details of the story. Meanwhile they wait eagerly for the reply of the girl's father.

After a week or so, the girl's father sends a reply. If it is yes, the middleman, the boy's father and some friends from both families are invited for a party at the girl's father's house. The fathers promise each other that they will give their children in marriage, before some witnesses and the Kadi (i.e. Priest). This is a formal engagement. The boy and girl involved are told about it, but usually they do not know each other. A date is fixed for marriage at the time of the engagement.

Since marriage is considered an important occasion, all near relatives contribute for its success. Some contribute a few injeras, local bread, others bring thela, local beer, and still others supply wood which will be used as a fuel for cooking and light. A das, temporarily built with wood and leaves, provides shelter and it is built outside the huts. It is big enough to accommodate many people. It is used as a dining and dancing hall. After the food is served, people arrange themselves in teams to sing and dance. The songs are mostly short verses which praise the groom and his bride. This kind of arrangement is made in both the girl's and boy's homes.

When darkness falls, the groom with a few friends called Mizewoch goes to his fiancée's house to bring her over to his home. At the girl's home there are a lot of intriguing tricks which the Mizewochs have to overcome. The groom stays at the das, while his friends go to the hut to get the bride. The bride has many friends who dress in the same way as she does. The motive behind this is to confuse the Mizewoch who can only take the bride by giving her good clothes and necklaces. In many cases this is a very tough trick. Should the Mizewoch fail to identify

the bride and give all the presents to one of her friends, they will be in trouble. They will have to buy another set of presents to give to the right one. Not only is it economically risky, but also socially shameful. They will be laughed at by their people.

To avoid such mishaps, the Mizewoch in most instances make a pre-arrangement with one of the bride's friends, who will show them by giving furtive glances, in return for a bribe.

When the Mizewoch identify the right bride, they take her away from the hut to the das, where her groom is awaiting her. The bride and groom eat together. After this the Kadi unites them in marriage by blessing them. They do not make any kind of oath.

The Mizewoch are expected to swear before the priest that they will be as honest and helpful to the newly weds as they can. They promise that they will protect and support the bride in case her husband dies. They say:

"ከከረቲ፡ ገረገሃህ ለ ፍ፡

ሂህ ፍ፡ ያህ ገደ ገፍ " "

which roughly means, "If I give her less consideration than I would to my sister, let the prophet beat me."

After all this, the groom, his bride, and his friends return to the groom's home. The following three to five days is a period of honeymoon. During these days the bride does not go out of the hut. Special arrangement is made for her adjoining the hut to meet the necessity of going to the bathroom. The newly weds are given the best food available. The Mizewoch come to chat, sing and dance with them. Many relatives and friends visit them and wish them a happy union.

After the honeymoon is over, the boy gives a party which marks the end of the marriage and the beginning of a married life. All those who took part in the last party wish them all the best.

If such a married life is unsuccessful, divorce takes place. The Negadras and the Kadi attend to the grievances of the couple. After hearing it they can grant a divorce. If the marriage was that of the Moslem principles by which the bride did not contribute anything, all the property which they owned after their married life goes to the man. But if both have contributed on their marriage, all property owned during the married life is shared equally between the divorcees.

Let us now consider marriage by abduction and elopement. Both of them are illegal and rare. If a boy cannot marry the girl his father has chosen because of her parents refusal, he secures the help of a few friends who would help him to carry her away. The best opportunity is when the girl is alone. It is usually convenient to abduct her when she goes to draw water from the village well or even when she goes to the market.

Whenever abduction occurs, it is not passed unchallenged. The girl's relatives consider this the greatest misfortune. They think their familial integrity is violated. It is insulting; it is debased. Revenge, in some way or another, is sought. They entertain ill feeling against the boy's family.

The Negadras and the elders do not idly stand by and watch the headlong clash of the two families; reconciliation is attempted. If the elders succeed in settling the differences between the two families, the girl and the boy are accepted as lawful husband and wife. If reconciliation

is impossible, the boy's father pays a certain amount of indemnity determined by the elders. The father of the girl arranges a marriage with another boy of his own choice.

In a very rare case, a boy and girl who are raised together in the same neighbourhood may fall in love. The boy tries to persuade his father to ask for the hand of the girl he loves. If their parents disagree, they may elope and live in a remote Waito village. After some time they return to their home village and secure the pardon of their parents. This, they said, might happen once in four or five generations.

They also told us about the traditional form of marriage. In the past, young men had to prove that they were capable hunters if they wanted to marry. One who wanted to marry had to kill a hippopotamus. Upon killing it he had to show his bravery by singing:

ገላገሎ፡ገፉ፡ኅንዖጋ፡ኅንጅና፡ኅኔ፣
 ስጋ፡ጦር፡ገላገሎ፤
 ስገር፡ገ-ሆ፡ደግ፡ኅገገ፤
 ገግገ፡ገጋ፡ወገገ " "

Literally it reads:

"Come hippopotamus, let us fight, you and I,
 With which of my lances? With my Zagar lance.
 Let the small point of my lance hit your father.
 When I struck you, you gave forth blood."

After one kills a hippopotamus, he puts butter on his head. This has two significances. It shows that one was courageous and bold enough to kill a hippo, and it entitles one to get married. It was also supposed to improve his power of thinking.

¹ Ethnological Society Bulletin, 1961, II no. 1: 29

If a man killed after marriage, it meant more prestige. He held a party for the neighbours when he had killed a hippopotamus. Grottanelli¹ records that if a man killed a hippo, his wife breaks utensils as an expression of happiness. 'Addoscebae' is ten days' feasting on the hippopotamus meat, which is cooked with much more butter than usual.

Except for the good hunting quality required of a young man, the traditional marriage was carried on in the same way as they are now. Even the songs, they say, are not very much changed. Their musical instruments included the kiras, local guitar, drums and local flute.

Other institutions, besides the marriage, are Tertib, Wobera and Sedeka. Tertib is an institution which regulates the turn of making coffee. Everyday in the afternoon the Waitos have a mosque fellowship. It is a fellowship that is open to everyone interested. The fellowship is presided over by the priest-scholar. They have a short prayer followed by a longer chat over a cup of coffee. One family makes coffee for one afternoon. The turn is determined by lot. If a family has had its turn, its name is excluded from the next draw of lots. When every family has had a turn, the process begins all over again.

Wobera or Debiat is an institution by which an individual acquires the help of volunteers in order to complete a job within a shorter time. This may mean making many wufchos or baskets in a week. The man or woman for whom the work is done provides one meal a day. The man or woman repays their assistance by working for them whenever they need help. Wobera or Debiat occurs when a man or a woman enters into a contract to make so many wufchos or baskets in a short time.

¹ Grottanelli, 1943, II: 190-191

The Sedeka is a religious institution. If a man dreams a bad dream he holds a party. Those who come to the party are supposed to pray that the bad dream be good. It is believed that had the party not been held, an evil thing might have happened to the dreamer. It is only in this way that one who has a bad dream can get rid of it before its fulfilment.

In concluding this paper, it must be noted that most of the material treated with here is the subject of conjecture. This is especially so because the Waitos, like many others, are not studied. Although most of the information we can get from the Waito is oral, it is believed that with an extensive study, a sound historical account can be composed.

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THE HOMES OF THE WAITO

HUTS

The huts may be divided into two types:

- a) The KILIS or GOJO BET (see Figure 1).

These huts are small (~ 6 ft. radius x 12 ft. height) and there are few variations on the basic design. As the other huts, they are basically made from eucalyptus branches and straw tied with reed string.

Uprights of about 2-3" diameter are pushed into the ground and haphazardly placed from 6" to 18" apart in a rough circle. These are bent round and fastened at the top to form the basis for the hut. Smaller diameter sticks are now tied around the circumference in twos and threes every ~ 20" apart. A simple porch is constructed around the entrance and the whole is covered with straw sheaves, tied down with reed or thin sticks.

- b) The SAR BET and YEGIDGIDA BET (see Figures 2 to 4).

This hut has many variants depending on the wealth of the individual. A central pole is usually required for roof support but in the smaller huts it is unnecessary.

The walls are constructed from eucalyptus branches and reeds and the better the house the more closely packed are the reeds. Forked sticks are used to support the roof. Straw sheaves are always used as the roofing material and it is fastened down by reed string. Large eaves give protection against rain and sun, and are used for storage of brushwood etc. Hence a poor family may have



b)

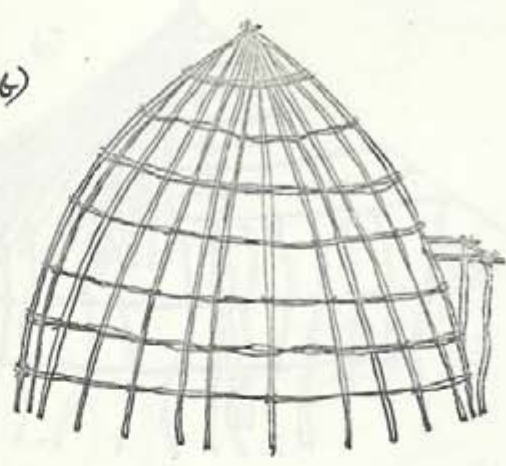
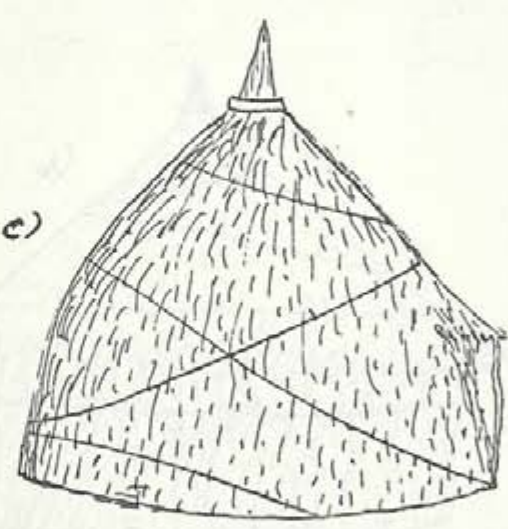


FIGURE 1.

THE KILIS (OR GOJO) BET

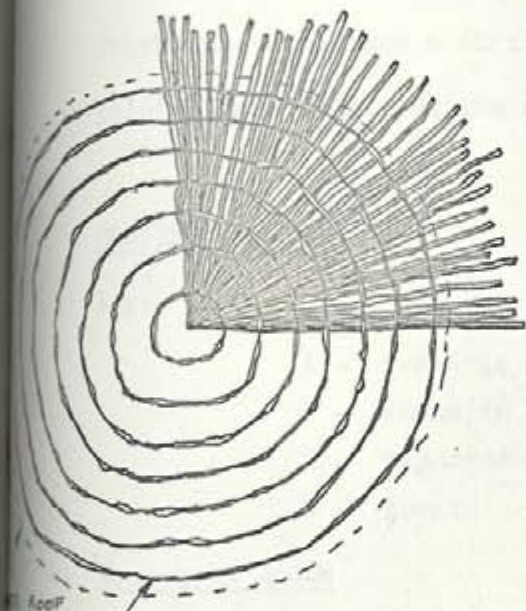
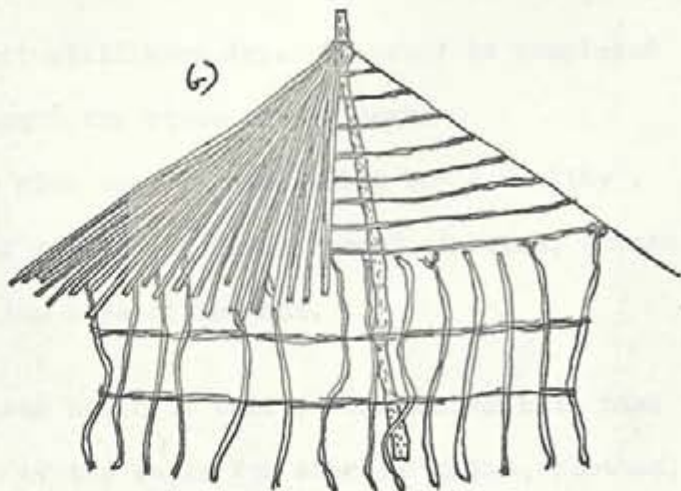
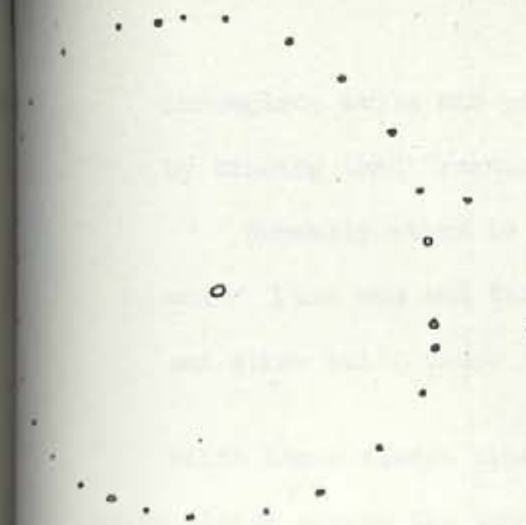
c)



SHEAF OF STRAW
AS USED FOR ROOVES.

d)





ROOF
OF 2 or 3 THIN
RODS AND
THE REEDS

A POOR MAN'S SAR BET

FIGURE 2.

incomplete walls and yet still keep dry. The roof is completed by binding (and "banding") the straw into a peak.

Normally straw is also used for the walls but a wealthy man will use mud and tef straw with "side rooms" of reeds, sticks and straw built under the eaves of the hut.

Waite homes always appear untidily built. The larger huts have poles placed across the top of the walls for storing tankwa, clothes, brushwood, etc., and a circular stone is placed beneath the supporting pole(s) as a seat. Sticks may be included in the roof for added strength.

CONTENTS OF HUTS

Key:

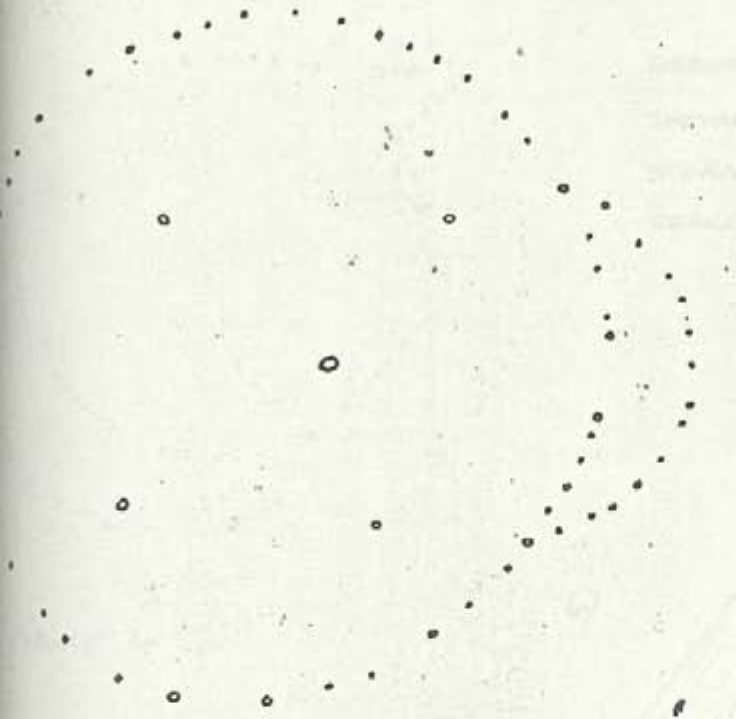
A - found in most homes	Refs: 1 - Reeds section
R - found in few homes	2 - Gediro section
I - imported	
L - local	

a) Household Goods

- i) Beds - All homes use salein matting¹(AL). Reed beds are often made on the pattern of the doors and may be used for both purposes¹(L). Raised stone (and mud) beds are found in several homes, about 8" high (RL), but the wealthiest families prefer the raised wooden beds (RL) with reed beds and salein matting.

Beds are often found in the alcoves off the main hut and children are given rougher beds than their parents.

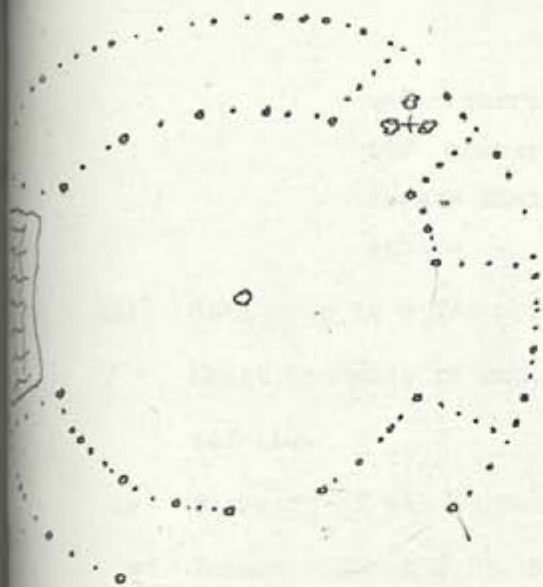
- ii) Gourds (Kils) - various sizes repaired with gerempta reed. Gourds (AI) are very common with a wide variety of uses:



A "WEALTHY MAN'S"
YEGIDGIDA BET
SHOWING SLEEPING PLACE.

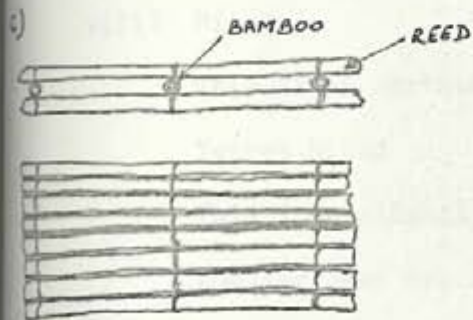
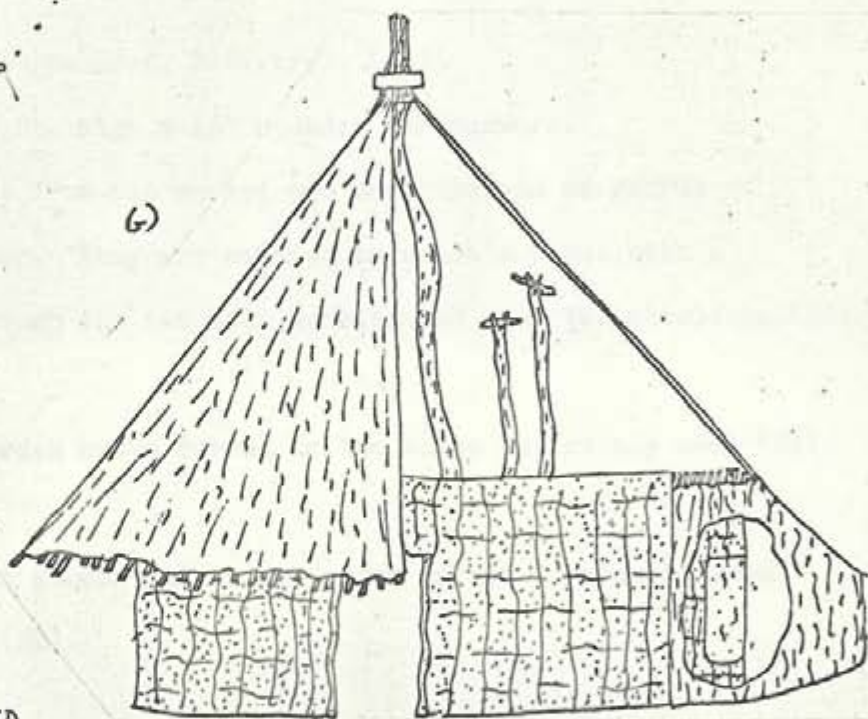


FIGURE 3.

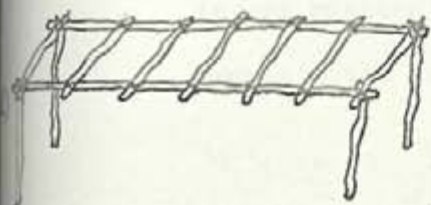


GROUND-PLAN OF A WEALTHY MAN'S HUT
SHOWING DOUBLE WALLS, FIRE PLACE,
STORAGE SPACE AND TWO SLEEPING
PLACES - ON RAISED.

FIGURE 4



REED BED



WOODEN BED OWNED BY
A WEALTHY MAN.

water carrier
 tef storer (ground and not ground)
 injera mixing, leavening and pouring
 kebero

iii) Gota - up to 4 ft. x 2 ft.

These are made of mud, excreta and straw and used for storing tef (L).

iv) Basketry of all sorts (ref. Basketry). (ALI)

v) Ensera - about 2 ft. high x 18" round; earthenware.

Ensera are bought from the market and used instead of gourds for carrying water. They are carried on women's backs with a rope passing through the two side handles and over the shoulders. (RI)

vi) Chilfa

A chilfa is a wooden spoon carved by the Waito but rarely used (RL).

vii) Manka

A manka is a flat wooden stirrer and spoon carved from solid wood but rarely used (RL).

viii) Mitad

This is an earthen surface (flat) used for cooking injera (RL).

Yebret Mitad

This is a slightly curved thin metal dish of various sizes. The smaller ones are used for roasting coffee (~ 9" dia.) and the larger ones (~ 2 ft. dia.) are used for frying or cooking injera. (AL)
 Either mitad is wiped with linseed oil before cooking injera, the injera mixture is poured on and a lid (ophia) placed in position to complete the 'oven'.



Plate 1 Women carrying Water



Plate 2 Typical Village Scene

ix) Ephia - lid

This is made of mud, excreta and straw spread in layers on top of each other. Each layer is allowed to dry before the next is added. Ash on a mud format is used to prevent sticking and enable a ready start. It is used as a lid for the Gota or to complete the (L) injera oven.

x) Gebeta²

A gebeta is a wooden bowl of about 12" diameter. They are repaired, when necessary, with metal plates and nails and are used for:

- Water containers to moisten the gerampta reed for basketry
- Bowl for catching ground tef, etc. from the wufchos
- Storing injera (interleaved with eucalyptus leaves) (AL)

xi) Gilgil and Mogajo - pestle and mortar

These are carved from a solid block of wood and used for crushing coffee (~1ft. x 5") and tef (~2ft. x 3 ft.) The Fasilo community only uses the smaller types (AL) whereas the Gediro and Ygasho communities use the larger types for their tef, since they must buy wufchos (L).

xii) Wufchos

Small grinding stones are used for berberry and larger ones for tef (AL) etc.

xiii) Mourier (25c) - plaited bark and 'pine' needles or grass made by Waito

This is a brush used for sweeping tef etc. from the wufchos (AL).

- xiv) Agmuada
Tef sacks of hide (agmuada) are bought from the market (82) (RI).
- xv) Akofada
Akofada are used for storing clothes etc. and made from the central part of the dongal (ref. reeds) or from salein: (RL).
- xvi) Sahanie
This is a tin plate bought from the market and used for wot and injera (AL).
- xvii) Yawot Tofa (50c)
This is an earthenware pot used for cooking the wot (RI)
- xviii) Korkorra
Tins of all sorts are used for filling the larger water containers, etc., etc. (A)
- xix) Wot bowl
Enamel bowls are bought from the market and used for wot (RI).
- xx) Coffee pot
Coffee pots and kettles (tin) are very common (AI)
- xxi) Coffee cups
Small pot cups (2" high x 2") are used for drinking coffee (AI).
- xxii) Sedeka
This is the small coffee tray carved from wood (RL)
- xxiii) Mizan
Scales are rarely found - carved wood (RL). A suspending string is placed centrally and dishes are suspended by four strings from the two ends.

xxiv) Knives

Knives of many sorts are bought from the market and used for carving, cutting up food, scaling fish, skinning meat, etc. The people shave with razor blades or glass (AI).

xxv) Salein matting

This is used for sleeping on and sitting (AL).

xxvi) Clothes (AI) - ref.

xxvii) Odds and ends

Every hut contains numerous bits of broken gourds, etc., pieces of bark and bark string, reed string, bits of basketry. Many of these are pushed up into the roof - more precious things in Mudaye. Brushwood is also found in most huts (dongal is also used as fuel) either on the floor, under the eaves or tied to the walls (AL).

xxviii) Fires

Most huts have smouldering fires for cooking and warmth and light (ref. fire).

xxix) Paraffin lamps

Small paraffin lamps are bought from the market (RI).

xxx) Chickens (A) (ref Biology)

xxxi) Mogadavia - incense burner

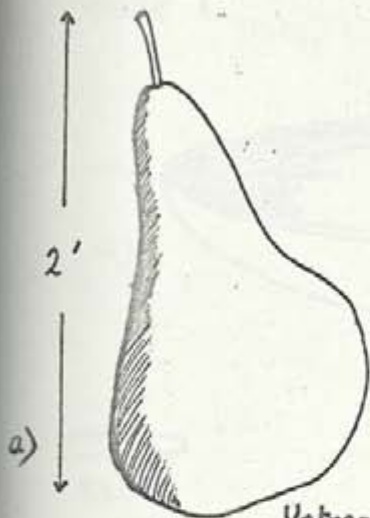
These are found in huts and mosques. When coffee has been prepared, the embers are placed in the burner with hydroos (incense). (RI)

xxxii) Umbrellas

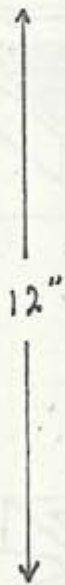
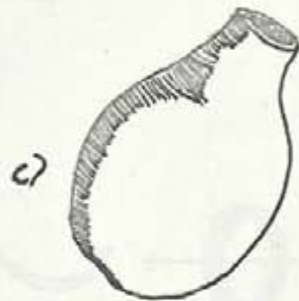
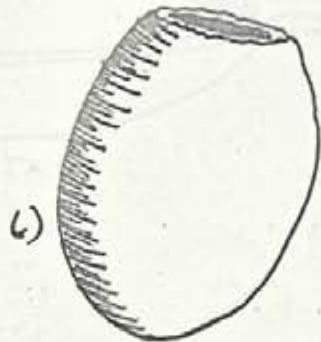
A rare status symbol is the umbrella (RI).

PESTIC ARTICLES I
Gourds

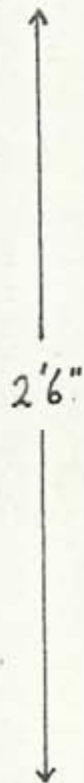
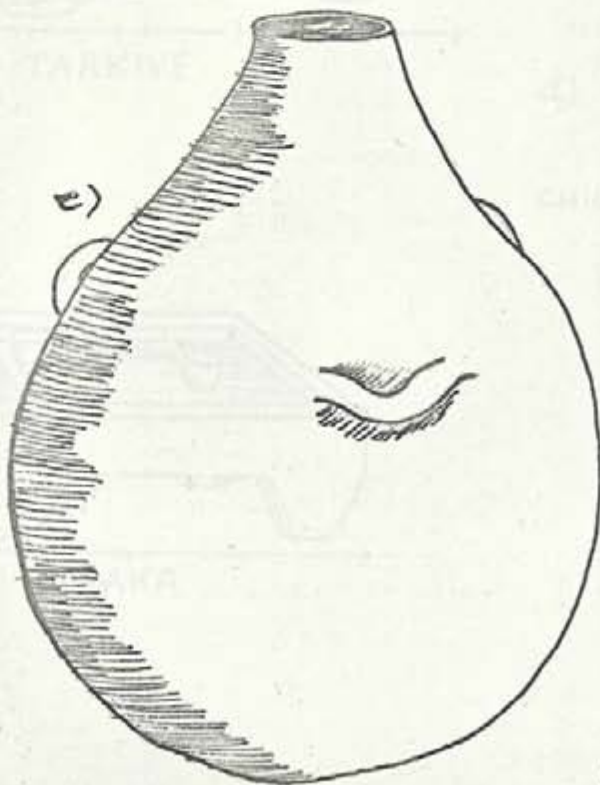
FIGURE 5
KIL



Untreated
fruit



JEBENA

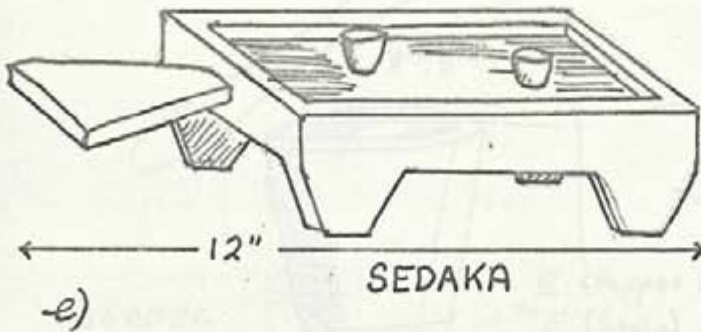
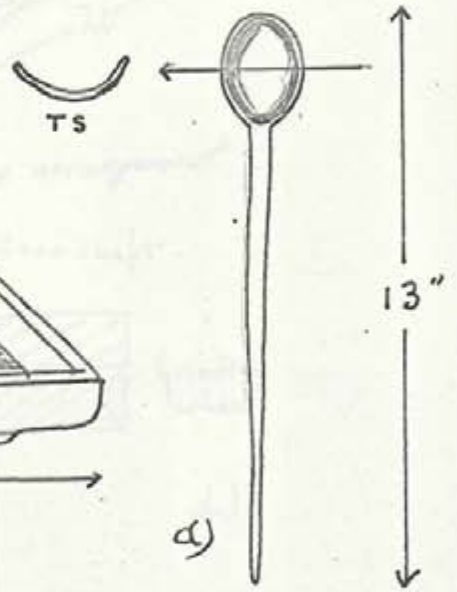
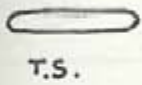
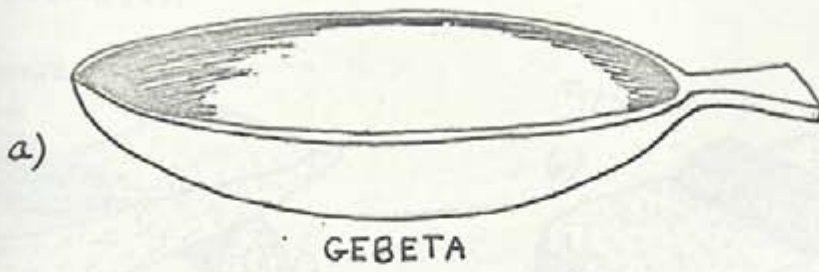


ENSERA

DOMESTIC ARTICLES II

Wood work

FIGURE 6.



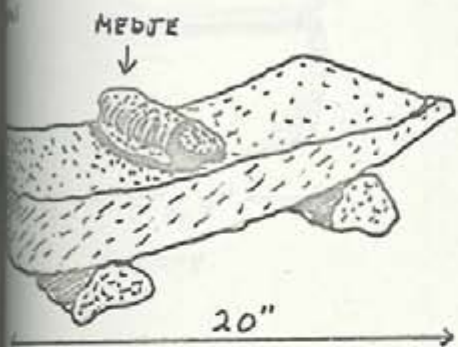
DOMESTIC ARTICLES III

Grinding utensils

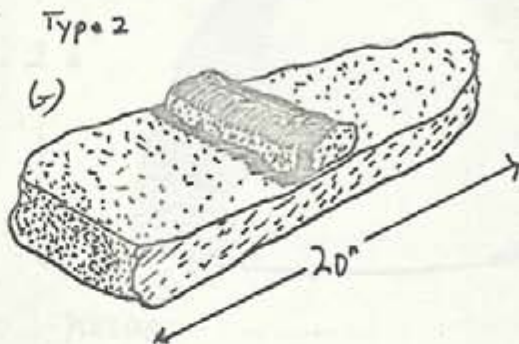
Wufcho of stone
Mogadjo of wood

FIGURE 7

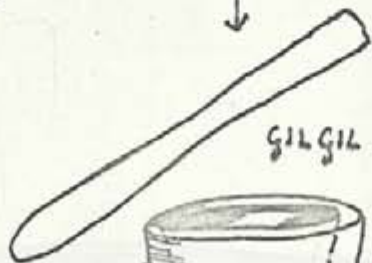
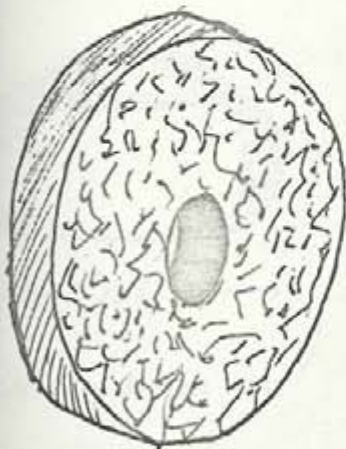
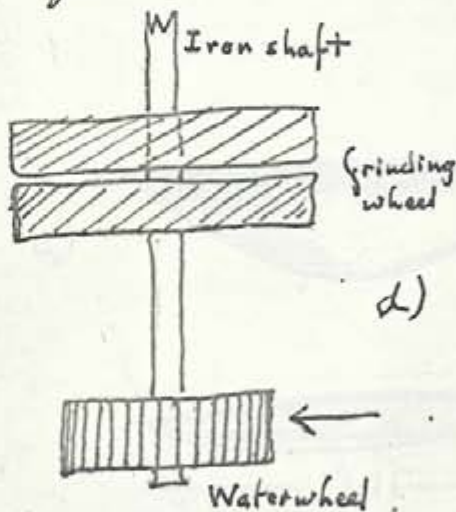
WUFCHOWATCH



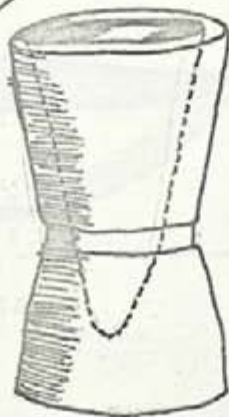
Type 3
Large grinding wheel



Grinding arrangement.



MOGADJA

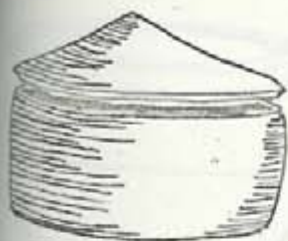


1 1/2' (Pepper or Coffee)
3' (Grain)

DOMESTIC ARTICLES IV

Basketwork

FIGURE 8



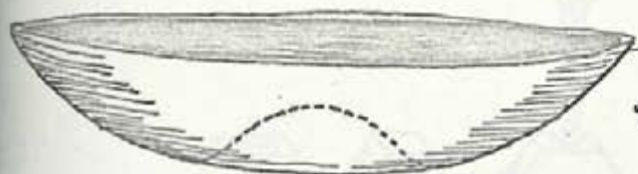
← 5" to 8" →

MUDAYE



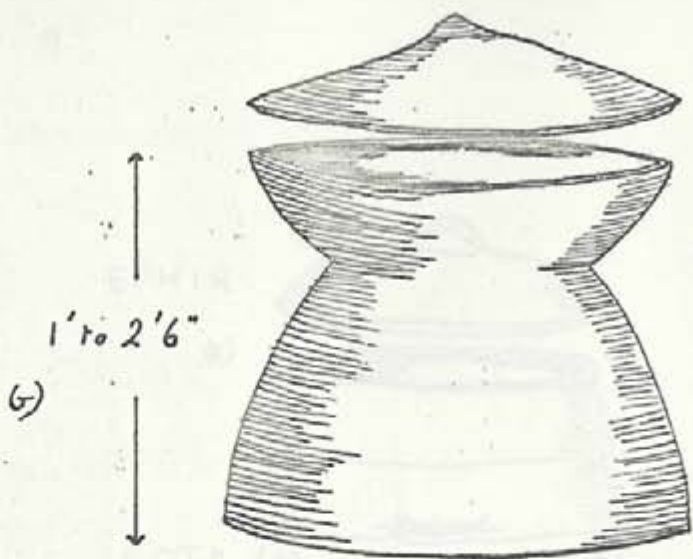
← 3" to 6" →

AGELGIL or SATIN



← 1'6" to 2' →

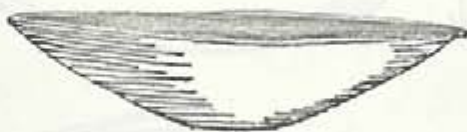
WURINTA or KIBSERRA



1' to 2'6"

g)

MEGOS



d)



← 1' to 1'6" →

SAFED

e)

FIGURE 9

5"



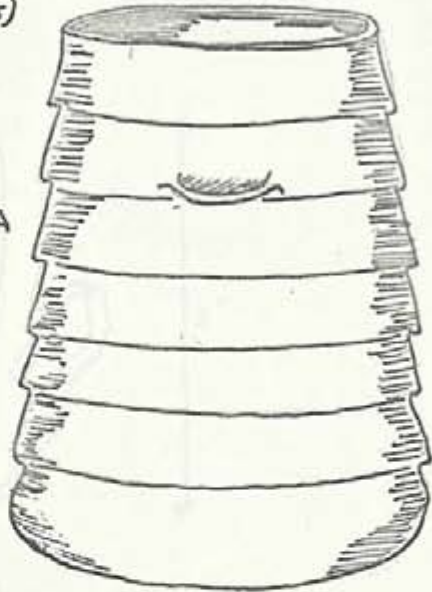
YAWAT TOFA

EPHIA

(5)



GOTA



2'6"

MOGAOAVIA

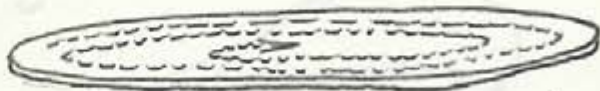
Incense
+
Embers



9"



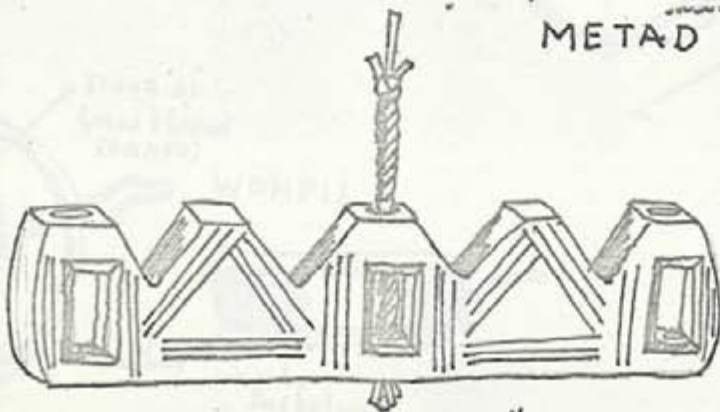
d)



2'6"

METAD

Path of spreading
injera mix.



e)

8"

MIZAN

↑
↓
of
action

1'

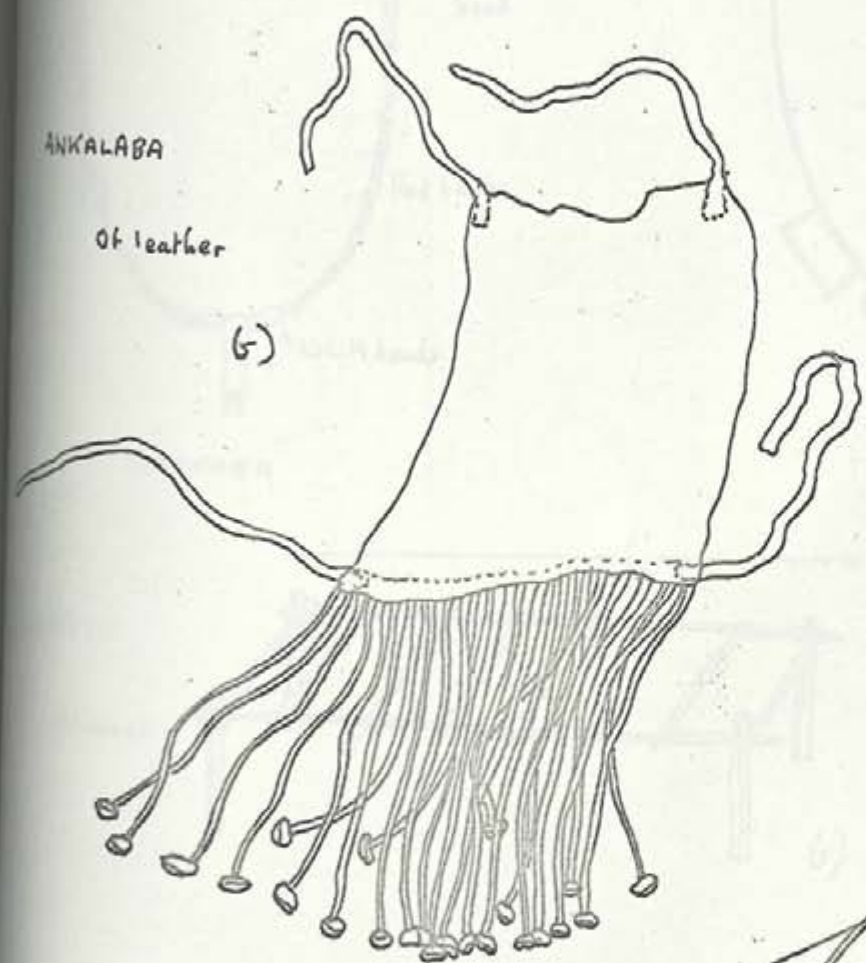


a)

CHERRA

ANKALABA
of leather

(5)



2'

Cowrie shells

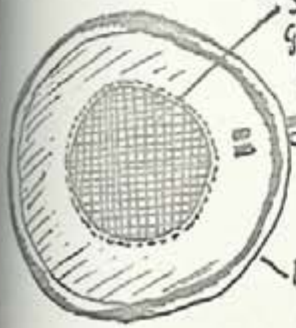


10"
KIRKAB

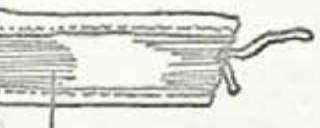
c)

Sieve of
grass thread
(GAKHO)

WONFIL



Leather



Basketwork

Top view

FIGURE II



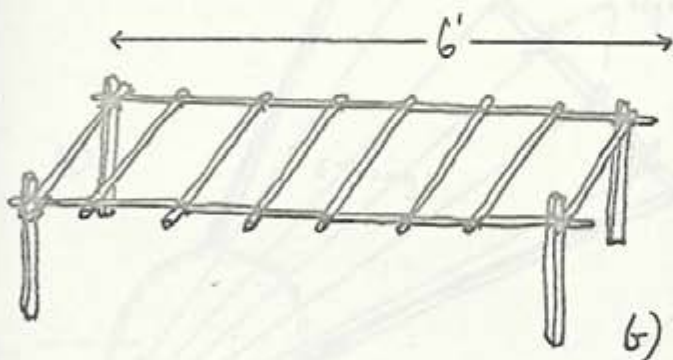
MASKABA



Leather thong

LAWATCH

of wood



(b)

Of reeds

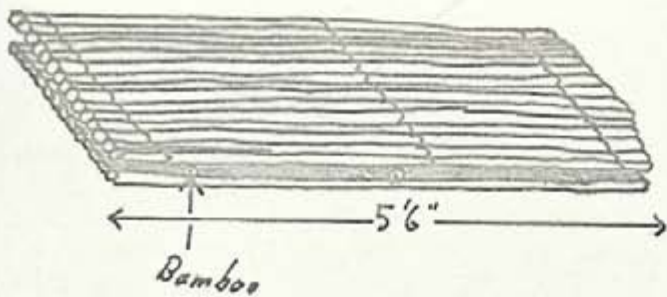
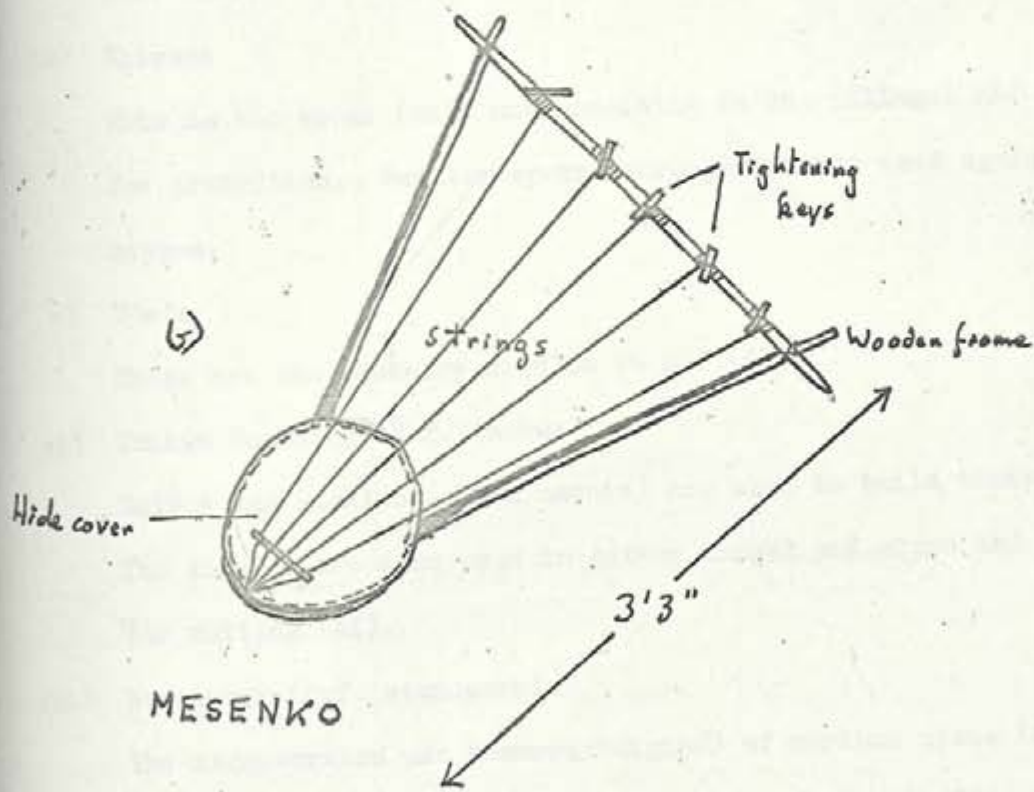
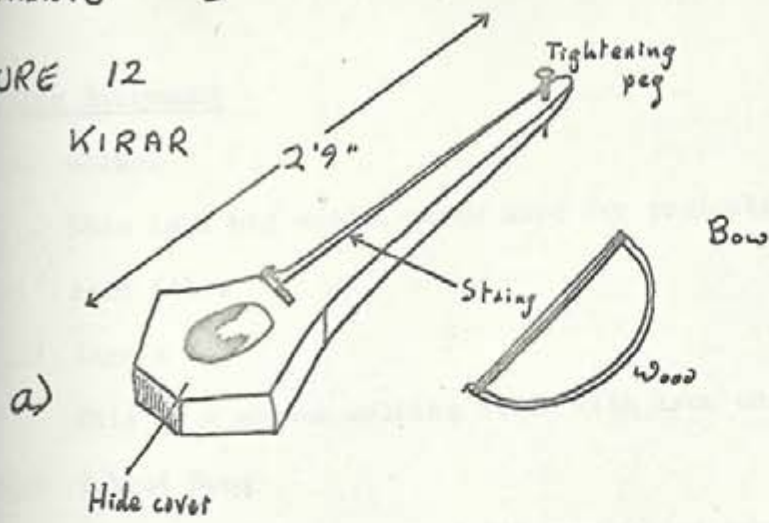


FIGURE 12



W) Working Equipment

i) Shimel

This is a big wooden stick used for protection and stored in the roof (AI).

ii) Kazara

This is a wooden walking stick with iron ends (RI).

iii) Yebret Zeng

This is an iron bar used for protection against wild animals, etc. (RI).

iv) Shiveda

This is the spear (only one remaining in the village) and is used for protection. Smaller spears were previously used against hippos.

v) Wosfo

These are the basketry needles (~ 6") (AI).

vi) Tankwa Building (Ref. tankwa)

Knives and sickles (albin machid) are used to build tankwas.

The sickles are also used to gather dongal and crops and generally for cutting (AI).

vii) Stonework (ref. stonework)

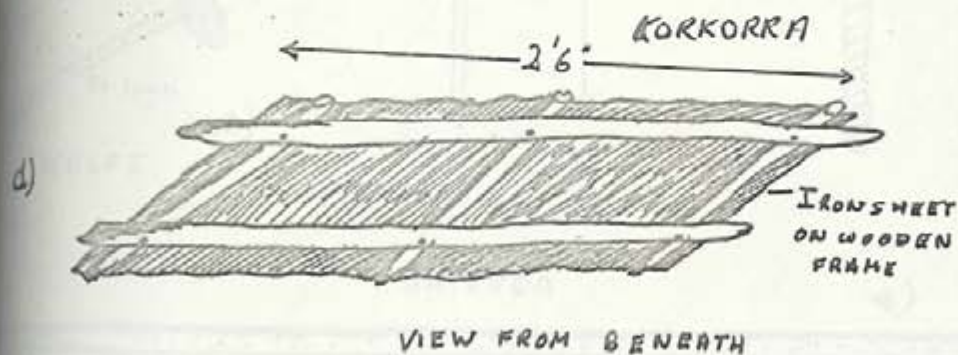
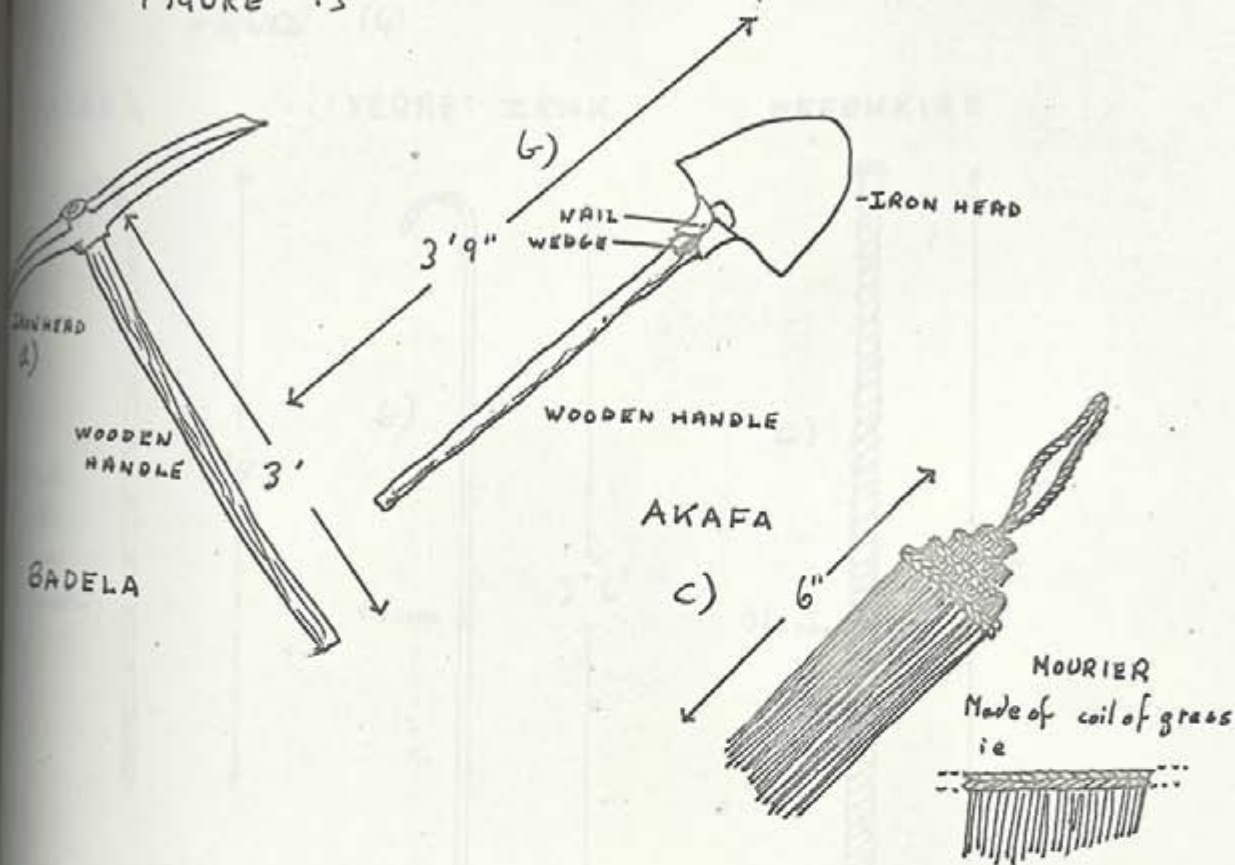
The stoneworkers use hammers (digino) of various sizes (AI), iron bars (AI), spades (akafa) (RI), pickaxes (Badela) (RI) and korkurra (RI). A korkurra is a stone carrier of flat metal on a wooden frame.

viii) Fishing (ref. fishing)

The large merab nets are stored in cloth in the roofs of the huts during the rainy season. Other equipment remains in the huts unless drying.

TOOLS I

FIGURE 13



DIJINOWATCH - All handles of wood: all heads of iron

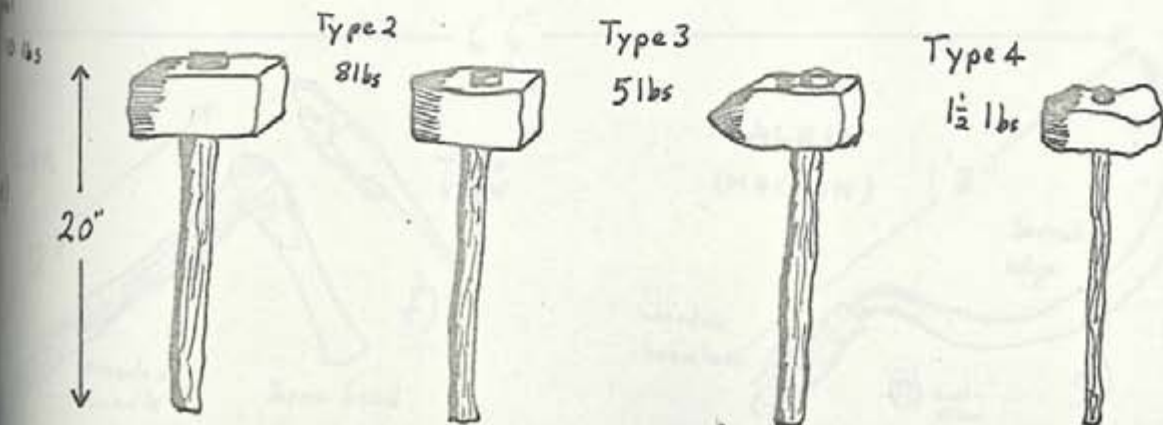


FIGURE 14

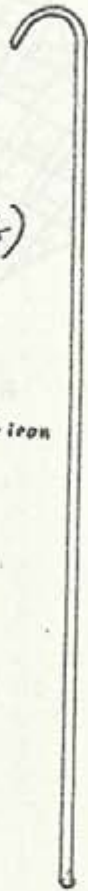
KAZARA

YEBRET ZENK

MEFENKIRE



2'9"



3'6"



3'6"

Of iron

Of iron

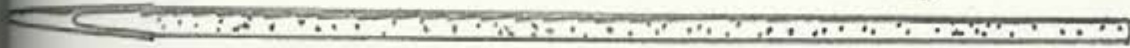
a) covered with handle tip and decoration



WOSFE

SHIVEDA

e)



Wooden shaft

6'6"

KAZAR

ALBIN (MACHIN)

2'

1'3"

Serrate edge

Iron head

TOP VIEW

End view

Wooden handle

Iron head

Wooden handle

g)

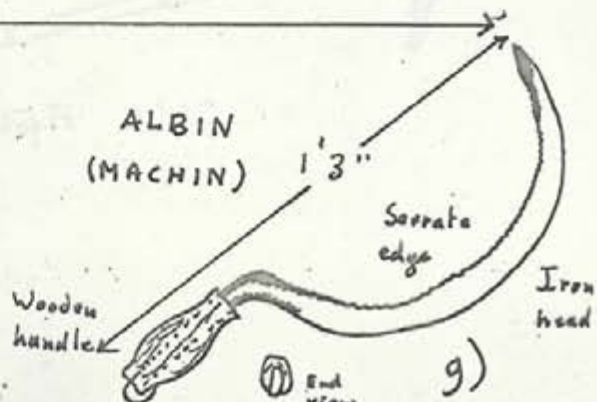
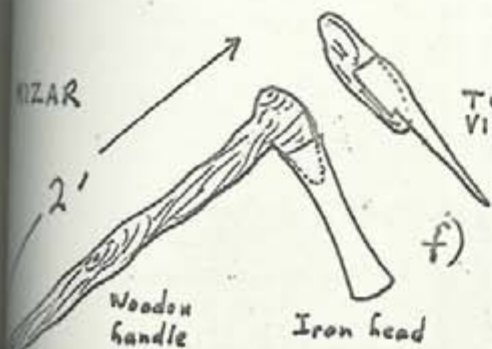
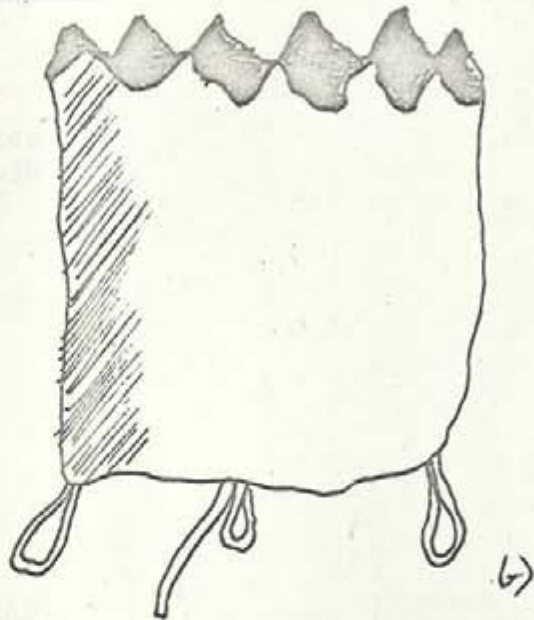


FIGURE 15



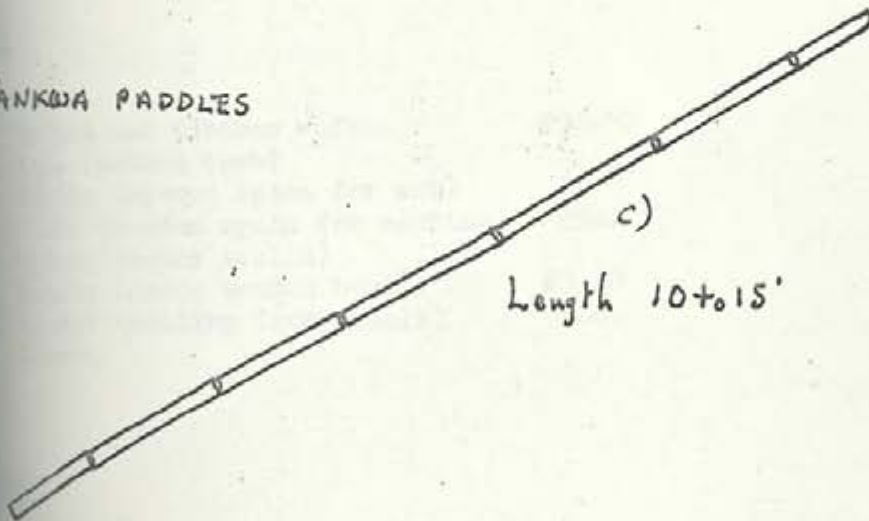
AKOFADA

2'6"

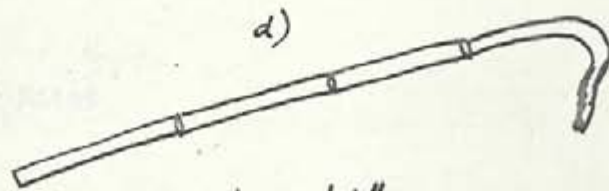


AGMUADA

TANKWA PADDLES



Length 10 to 15'



Length 2'6"

EXPORTS AND IMPORTSEXPORTSWomen's

<u>Basketry</u>		Price
	(plain)	\$7.50
Mesob	(dec.)	\$15
Agelgil		
Satin		
Mesabia or Lemat		
Sefed		
Wurinta		
Kib Sera		
Yodist Ephia		
Kalem Shash (decorated basketry)		
Woskenbia		
Kuna (measure)		
Wenfit (sieve)		
Akofada (also men)		
Mundaya	(dec.)	60c.

Men's

Tankwa		
Wufcho and Yebabur Wufcho		\$30-50
Mido (wooden comb)		
Chilfa (wooden spoon for wot)		
Manka (wooden spoon for cooking)		25c.
Mizan (wooden scales)		
Gobeta (crude wooden bowl)		\$3.30
Mentaf (matting from salein)		50c.
Korshi		

IMPORTSHousehold Goods

All clothing
 All jewellery but for Kitab
 Pots and pans
 Umbrellas
 Water tins
 Tea pot (coffee)
 Cups and mugs
 Rubber shoes (for wealthy)
 Petrol (paraffin) lamps
 Wooden coffee tray
 Blades
 Enamel bowls
 Tef sacks

Instruments

Basketry Needle
 Digino - hammer
 Akafa - spade
 Badela - pickaxe
 Mefenkeya - iron lever
 Albin Machid - sickle
 Yebiret Zeng - iron stick

Foods

Butter
 Salt
 Pepper
 Tef
 Peas (Ater)
 Grain (Shimbra)
 Beans (Bakela)
 Linseed oil (Zeit)
 Ginger
 Onions
 Barley-like grain (Gya)
 Barley
 Wheat
 Small tef-like grain but darker colour (Dagussa)
 Maize
 Cabbage (Goman)
 Potato
 Duba

CLOTHING AND JEWELLRY

The clothing of the Waito living in Fasilo is influenced by the town of Bahar Dar but is still based on the inexpensive shamas (~ \$3). These are oblong pieces of cloth with strips of embroidery along the two shorter ends and have many uses:

- i) blanket
- ii) shelter against sun and rain
- iii) clothing - many personal variations as Amhara

Men also wear white (dirty cream) jodhpurs occasionally, but more often shorts (very baggy). The shorts are blue or whitish. Long shirts reaching down to the knees are sold in the market and are often - particularly in Gediro and Ygasho - worn alone. Most clothing is the same off-white colour.

Shoes (status symbol) are bought from the town by very few wealthy men. Most people wear no shoes. Some men carve themselves kerkab. Shoes are often hung from the central pole of a hut; tyre shoes from the market are fairly common.

Children wear tatters or very simple shirts.

Women wear ragged dresses or shama - usually brown.

The women carry their young children on their backs in an Ankalaba. This is made of hide and bought from the market, decorated with cowrie shells.

JEWELLRY

The jewellery may be divided into two groups:

- a) ornamentation
- b) Fetish - religious charm for the avoidance of evil

Religious

Meskel - this means 'cross' and is a cross. Many of the Waite Moslems wear this sign of Christianity.

Miskava - wooden necklace used as a rosary.

Kitab - leather pouches containing writings from the Koran. They are given by the priest to sick people or anyone else who needs protection against evil spirits (worn on leather thong).

Non-Religious - generally multi-coloured

Marda - bangle worn round ankle

Zagol - cowrie shell

Erban - necklace of small beads

Jenet - large bead

Shami - elaborate necklace of small beads

Zelebet - necklace of larger beads

Dori - necklace

Gutecha - ear-rings

Ambar - bangle or bracelet

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Women

All women spend most of their time with basketry which is sold in the local market of Bahar Dar. The main market is held on Saturday at a place called Arada Geboya. Cooking is completely in the hands of the women as is occasional cleaning of the home and its contents, and the birth and upbringing of children.

Men

The three basic occupations of the men are:

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| a) tankwa building) |) see appropriate section |
| b) fishing | |
| c) stone working) | |

Most men are capable of performing all three jobs, depending on demand but they do specialise.

The men also produce wooden articles, e.g. spoon, comb, but in Bahar they have no important agriculture. About four young men work in the cotton factory and there is a little trade with other lakeside communities, e.g. wufchos and maize.

All buying and selling (virtually) is conducted at Arada Geboya. This is the market place of Bahar Dar.

A job demanding hard work for a low financial return is despised, e.g. carving, selling firewood.

Conversely well paid, relatively easy jobs such as farming and trading are honoured.

BASKETRY

The reeds are prepared as described under the reeds section. Dried strips of skin from the dengal is used as 'filler' and gerampta is bought and used as the outer covering.

When the basket is begun very few inner pieces are used but the number may increase up to about 50 for a large mesob. Normally about 30 inner strands are used but the number is arbitrary.

The wosfe (basketry needle) is pushed through from the 'inside' and the gerampta reed is passed through and pulled round from the outside. This is repeated spiralling outwards and shaping the basket progressively. One turn is fastened to the lower turn by pushing the needle through the lower turn and hence forming a joint. Kalem Shash (coloured gerampta normally bought from the market) is incorporated at this stage. The base is an off-white colour. When finishing the number of internal strands is decreased but the method is constant.

A large basket (e.g. Mesob) may be made in 21 days but this is largely because they are not worked on continuously. Basketry fills all the women's 'free' time but if they were to work continuously the same basket could be finished in 5 days or less. A plain mesob will sell for about 10 dollars in the market and a decorated mesob for about 15 dollars. Prices vary considerably from 60c. for a small Mudaye to \$15 or even more.

Basket Types

Mesob - this is the large injera basket on which the women spend most of their time (sells for ~ \$7-15).

Satin or Agelgil - this is a box with a lid, normally plain, which is used for carrying injera, storing tef, etc. etc. Most families



Plate 3 Basketry

own at least one. The better agelgils are covered in leather with thongs for securing the lid. The leather is reddish-brown and bought from the market. Leather is also used to decorate mesobs or to strengthen the edges of baskets.

Mesabia or Lemat - this is a flat straw plate used for snatching the injera from the 'oven'.

Sefed - this is a very shallow bowl (almost a tray) used for winnowing and storing tef.

Warinta - shaped like a Mexican hat and used for storing tef, etc.

Woskenbia - Yedist Ephia - lid of straw for anything (always decorated).

Kuna - measure for tef, etc. It has no lid. A single kuna of tef sells for about \$2.50.

Wonfit - this is the straw sieve used for removing foreign matter from the tef. The central part of the sieve is woven from gerampta (or is metal).

STONWORKING

The stoneworking around the village is limited to the manufacturing of tef grinders or wufchos (Figure 7). Of the 56 men in the village, 23 work stones as their major occupation, although most of the men are capable of doing so.

Most of the work on the rocks (dengya) is carried out at a place called Shimbat between $\frac{1}{2}$ -1 mile from Fasilo, quite close to the Getman Hospital. The stone is outcropped as boulders along the main Bahar Dar - Debra Markos road and is a hard basic (dolerite) rock.

First, the rocks are dug out with pickaxes (badela) (Figure 13 a)), spades (akafa - Figure 13 b)) and iron bars used as levers, selecting the best shaped rocks to excavate.

The mason now begins to break the rock into the general shape of a wufcho or medge by use of the Tillige Dijinou (big hammer - Figure 13 b)). Medge is the name given to the top part of the wufcho, the lower part also being called wufcho.

When it is near the required shape, the mason either starts working on it with a small hammer (tinish dijinou) at the spot where he dug it out, or else, which is more usual, he takes it home. If he has a korkorra (Figure 13 d)) he and a friend can carry their stones back to Fasilo on it but normally they carry the stones on their shoulders.

The method of breaking the rocks with the tillige dijinou is just by repetitive slogging with occasional use of the iron bar as a crow bar. For shaping to the completed stage the mason uses the tinish dijinou and makes the wedge in its final form. Once the wedge is made the wufcho is then fashioned with the tinish dijinou, the mason repeatedly trying the wedge on it so as to match the two together.

A good time for the total manufacture of a wufcho is 6 hours and the price for it is between \$1.50 and \$5 depending on size and quality. The mason will either sell his products at the market or else make one to fulfil an order from a customer. (See note 1).

Usually a better price is paid for ordered wufchos because they are made to a certain specification. At the market, all the Waito masons sit round in one particular spot with all the wufchos on display. They try to sell together rather than in opposition to each other.

Occasionally the masons will make a tillige wufcho (Figure 7c) for a specific order for the Amharas of the district. In order to make one, one man will accept the order and invite two or three friends to help him out. As a tillige wufcho will take four men about five days the work will not be carried out on consecutive days but will be done when the mason feels so inclined. During the time that his friends are helping him out, the mason will feed and supply them with drink. This system is known as Debraiit or Wobera. The contracting mason is more or less bound to help his friends in return if they take on a similar sort of job.

The price for a tillige wufcho varies from \$30 to \$50 and the weight on each wheel is of the order of 400 kilos, it needing 10 men to carry it. More often than not the purchaser will arrange for a lorry to collect the two wheels but it can be carried or rolled.

The big grinding wheels are used in the mills for corn grinding and are finished off before going into service by a specialist in Bahar Dar. In the mill the wheels are mounted on an iron shaft, the lower one being fixed and the upper one being fixed (keyed) to the shaft. The shaft is propelled by a vaned wheel also keyed to the shaft utilising water power (Figure 7 d)).

Nearly all the implements used in the stoneworking are from Bahar Dar, the only exception found in the village being the chief's tillige dijinou which was from Gondar.

A small number of the stonemasons have three hammers but mostly just a tillige and tinish dijinou are employed. This medium sized dijinou (Figure 13e)) is just as much a status symbol as a useful implement.

As for the cost of dijinouwatch, the tillige was about \$11, the medium size \$5 and the tinish about \$1-1.50. All implements are freely lent to help friends, although this is not often necessary.

There are no particular areas over which a particular mason holds claim of any rocks - a man just goes and finds a suitable rock and begins to work it.

When the children (boys) are about 6 or 7 years old the fathers normally start teaching them to use the dijinou and quite often the children can be seen carrying their fathers' dijinouwatch to work in the mornings. They would then use the tinish dijinou while their fathers used the tillige dijinou on the rocks.



Plate 4 Wufchos on sale in the Market, Bahar Dar

Generally, the masons are hard-working people and are rather dissatisfied, as with the advent of machinery their prices will be undercut and so they will lose a source of income. The finished goods, although not elaborate, are carefully and expertly made, the quality obviously varying with the mason.

These people are craftsmen, even though the work of breaking rocks is thought to be degrading by the Amhara. They are the only people in the district doing this work and it would not be surprising if they were unique in this particular field.

Notes

1. For every wufcho made, one may be broken.
2. When finishing a wufcho the type of hammer used depends on the type of stone.
3. A man may produce anything from one to six wufchos per week depending on how many break, etc. These he will sell for approximately \$1.50 each.
4. Trading by carrying wufchos across the lake to Gorgorra and Dembia.

REEDS AND REED CRAFTSREEDS - POPYRUS OR DENGAL

The reeds, less the top fronds and the roots, are brought in bundles from the lakeside.

a) Green Reeds

- i) The thick green outer skin is peeled off by hand into narrow strips about 3 ft. long. Any wide strips are split to keep the strip width between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The strips are spread out to dry in the sun, causing them to curl at the edges. The dried strips are used for making string and for the 'filling' inside the basket coils. They are not usually used to bind or sew up the baskets as the strips are not very strong. Ref. Basketry. The strips are always wetted before use.
- ii) As the white pithy centre, which is left when the outer green skin has been removed, is soft and pliable, it is used either to make beds or to lay on top of the beds made of the old big reeds. The pithy centre is pliable and strong and is used as a general binding material. Its uses are numerous: binding up bundles of reeds and reed battens, lashing joints in the framework of houses, tying on the grass used as thatching, repairing damaged tankwas, etc. etc. It is also dried and used as a fuel.

b) Old dead Reeds

Before use these are spread out to dry and then stacked in bundles on end. When actually using the reeds, the structure is often sprayed with water, this presumably making the reeds easier to bend. The bundles of reeds are roughly sorted into sizes:

TYRUS

TYPE I - SIMPLE HEADS

SOUTH SHORE
DAR
1965

FIGURE 16

Measurements
of collected
reeds (metres)
(TYPES I AND II)

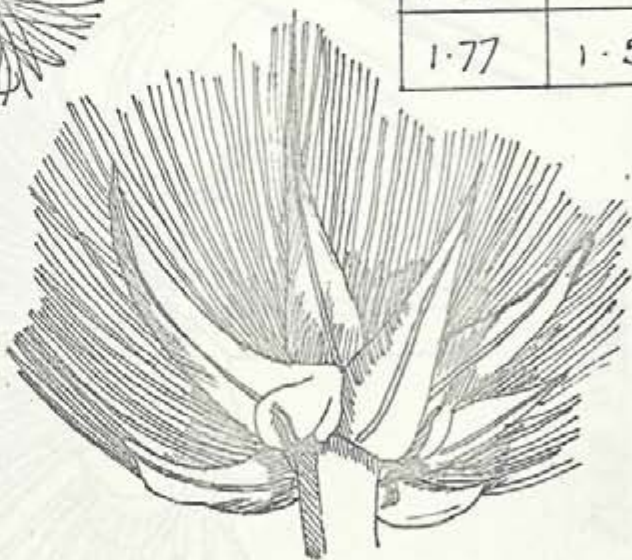
<u>WHOLE</u>	<u>STEM ONLY</u>
2.47	2.22
1.87	1.68
2.59	2.23
2.27	2.06
2.72	2.21
2.08	1.86
2.07	1.86
2.31	2.11
1.77	1.56



Section x1



Scale $\times \frac{1}{11}$



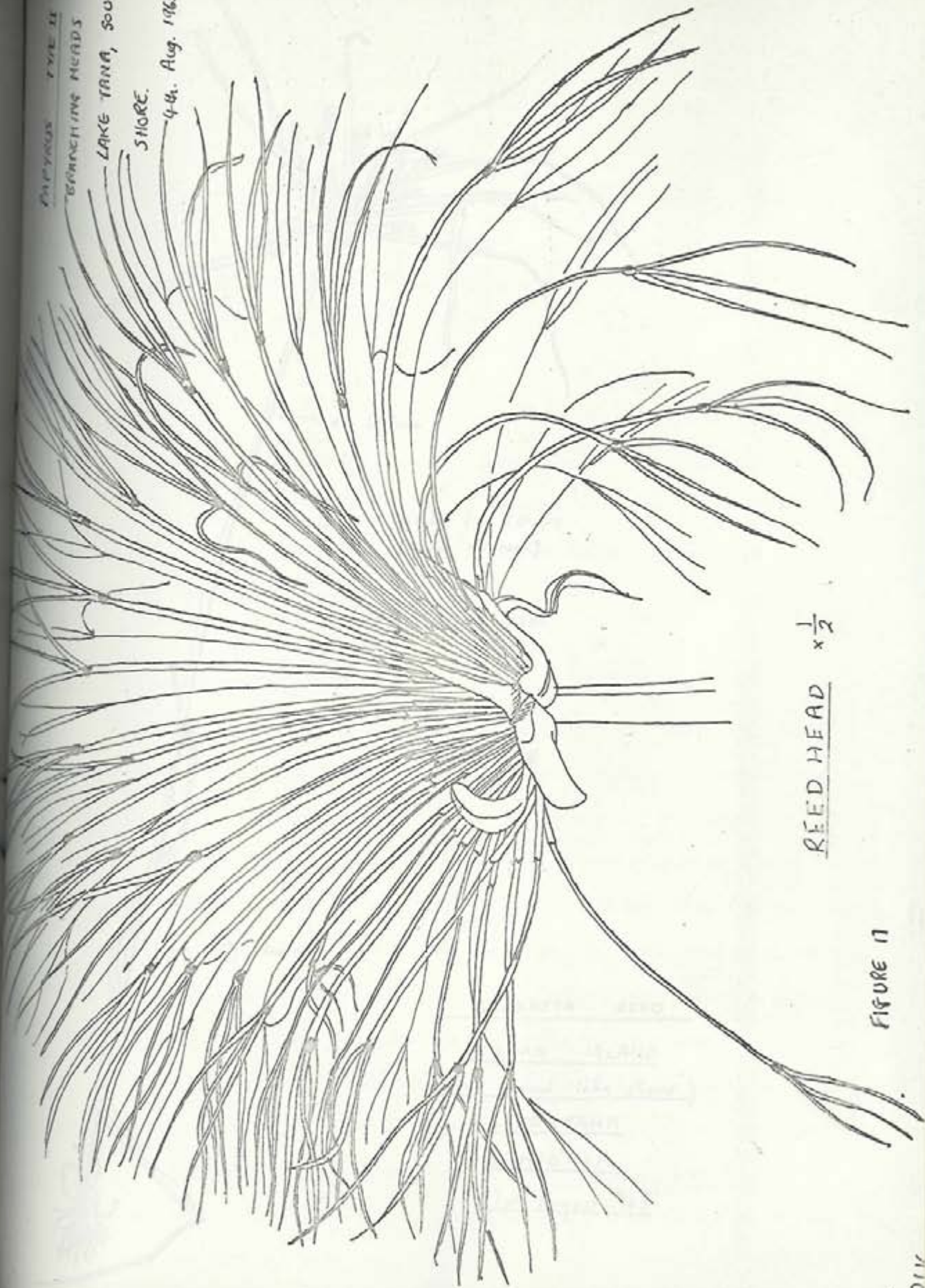
$\times \frac{2}{3}$

BASE OF REED HEAD.

PAPYRUS PYLE II
BRANCHING HEADS

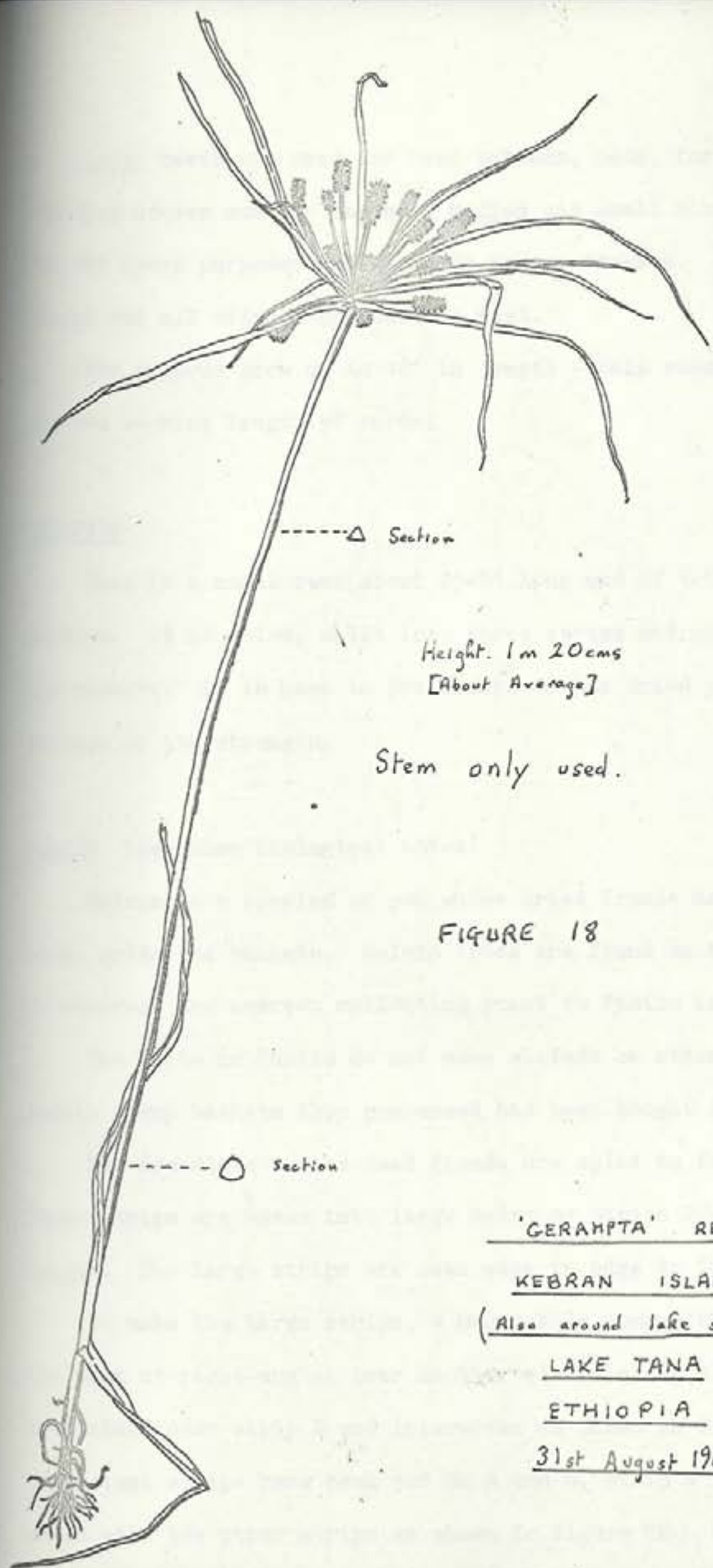
LAKE TANA, SOUTH
SHORE.

4-4. Aug. 1965



REED HEAD $\times \frac{1}{2}$

FIGURE 11



Height: 1m 20cms
[About Average]

Stem only used.

FIGURE 18

'GERAMPTA' REED

KEBRAN ISLAND

(Also around lake shores)

LAKE TANA

ETHIOPIA

31st August 1965

large reeds are used for reed battens, beds, for repairing and building houses and for fences; medium and small sized reeds are used for the above purposes and also for making tankwas. Any very thin pieces and all offcuts are used as fuel.

The papyrus grow up to 12' in length - this seems to be the maximum working length of reeds.

GERAMPTA

This is a small reed about 2'-3' long and of triangular cross-section. It is dried, split into three strips and used for sewing up the baskets. It is used in preference to the dried papyrus skin because of its strength.

SALEIN (see also biological notes)

Salein is a species of poh whose dried fronds are used for making mats, belts and baskets. Salein trees are found on the banks of streams or rivers; the nearest collecting point to Fasilo is the Abbai.

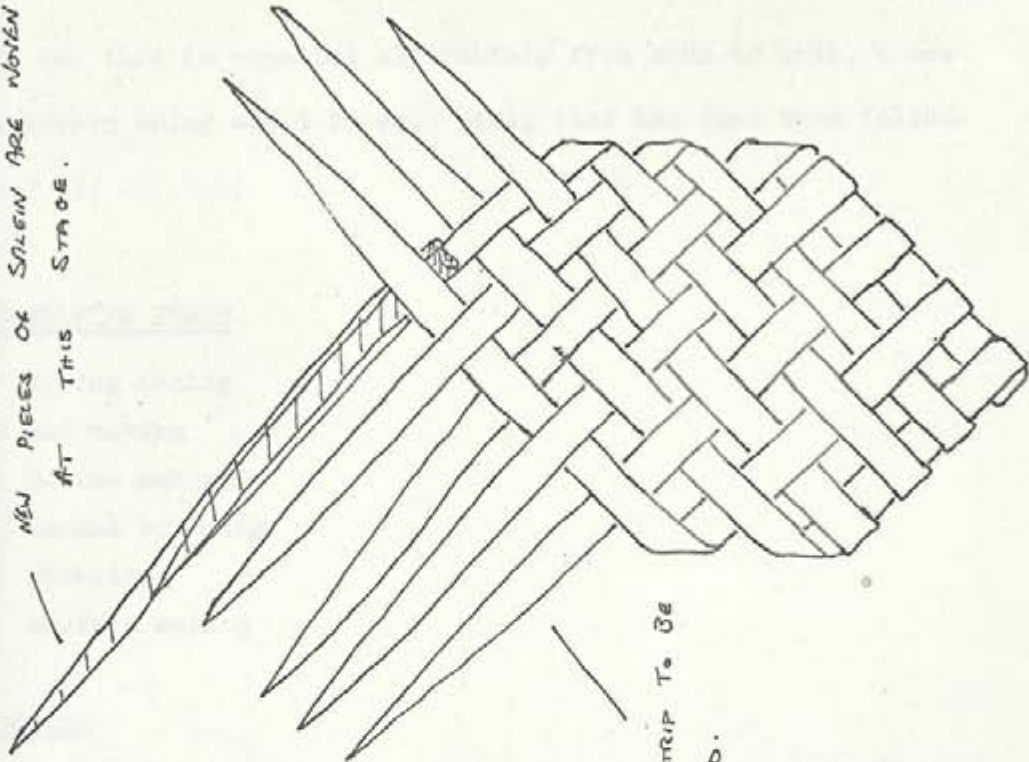
The Waito in Fasilo do not make akofada or other baskets out of salein - any baskets they possessed had been bought in Bahar Dar market.

The frondlets on the dead fronds are split to form 'blades' or strips. These strips are woven into large belts or strips 2"-3" wide and any length. The large strips are sewn edge to edge to form mats.

To make the large strips, a manageable number of strips, i.e. 4 or 5, are bent at right-angles over another strip (strip A). 3 or 4 strips are folded over strip B and interwoven as shown in figure 19 a). When sufficient strips have been put on A and B, strip A is folded and interwoven with the other strips as shown in figure 19b). Strip B is treated

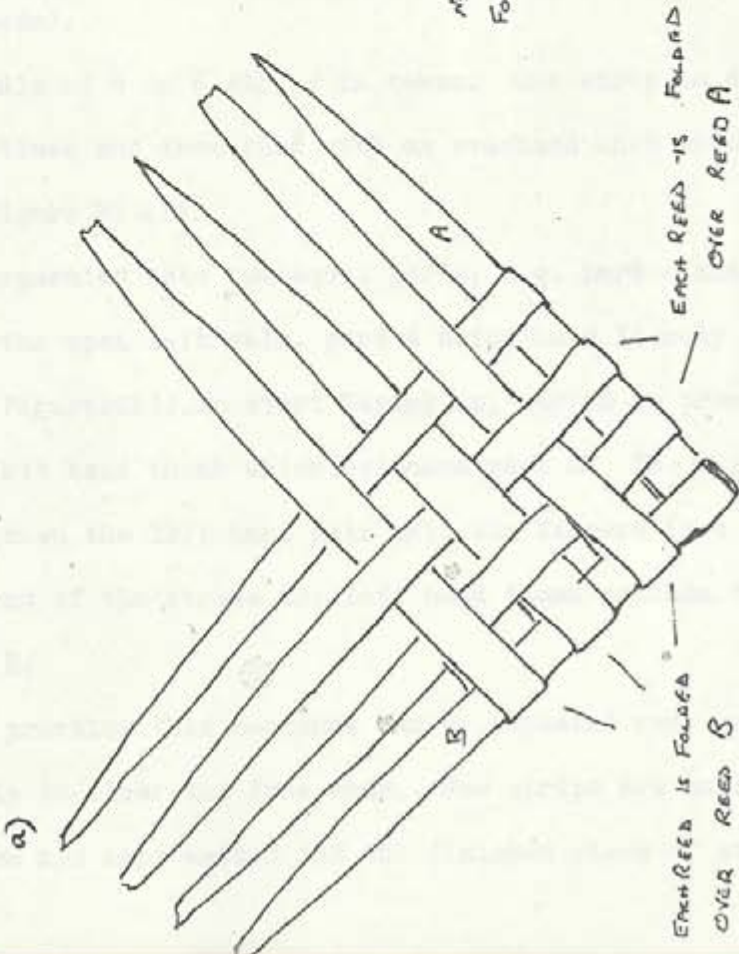
FIGURE 19

NEW PIECES OF SAILIN ARE WOVEN IN AT THIS STAGE.



NEXT STRIP TO BE FOLDED.

REPETITIVE STEP.



EACH REED IS FOLDED OVER REED A

EACH REED IS FOLDED OVER REED B

INITIAL FORM

similarly and this is repeated alternately from side to side, a new piece of salein being added to each strip that has just been folded.

(Figure 19 b))

GRAFTS INVOLVING REEDS

- 1) String making
- 2) Bed making
- 3) Batten making
- 4) Tankwa building
- 5) Basketry
- 6) Akofada making

a) String making

One type of string is made out of the dried strips of green reed skin. (See under Reeds).

To start, a bundle of 4 or 6 strips is taken. One strip is drawn back, wound several times and then tied with an overhand knot around the remainder (see Figure 20.a)).

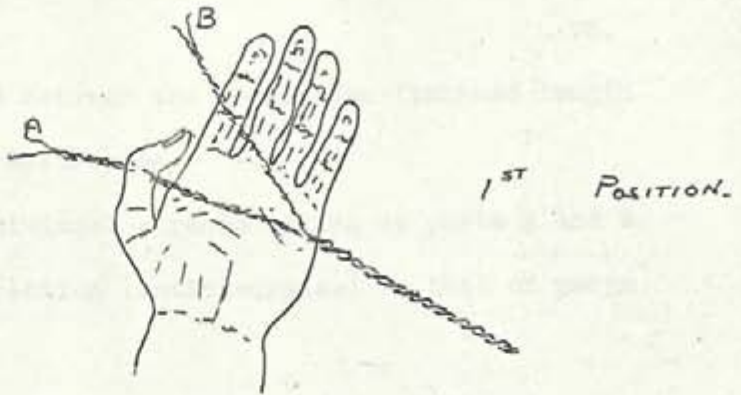
The bundle is separated into two equal parts, e.g. part A and part B. A and B are laid on the open left palm, part A being held loosely between thumb and palm (see Figure 20b)). To start laying up, part B is brought over to behind the left hand thumb which releases part A. The right hand palm is rubbed down the left hand palm onto the fingers (see Figure 20c)). At the end of the stroke the left hand thumb catches the nearest part - part B.

After a bit of practice this sequence can be repeated very quickly, stopping periodically to clear the free ends. New strips are woven in when necessary. The palms are kept wetted and the finished piece of string is

REED STRING

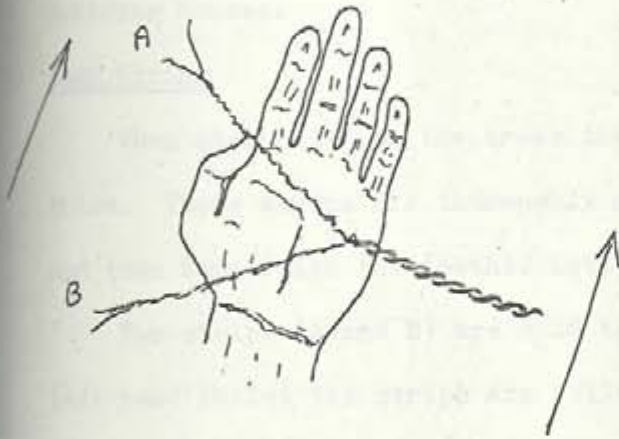
FIGURE 20

INITIAL BUNDLE
OF STRIPS



b)

a)

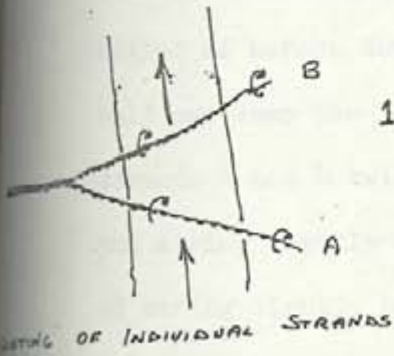


2ND POSITION

ARROWS SHOW MOVEMENT
OF RIGHT HAND.

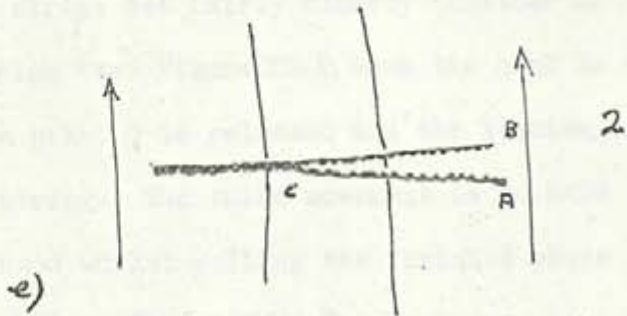
c)

BARK STRING



UNTWISTING OF INDIVIDUAL STRANDS

d)

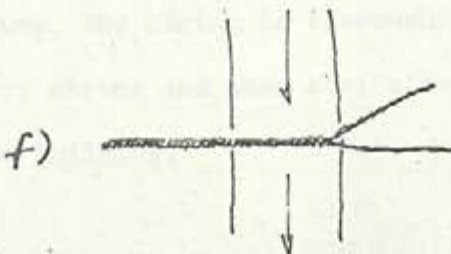


TWISTING OF A + B AROUND EACH OTHER

e)

3.

FINISHING MOVEMENT



f)

pinned to the ground or gripped between the toes. The finished length of string is stretched by hand before use.

As with most rope, the individual strands making up parts A and B are twisted in the opposite direction (anticlockwise) to that of parts A and B (clockwise).

The string is stiff and not easily knotted. It is used for tankwa building, for making beds and battens and occasionally for building houses.

2) Bark String

When stripped from the trees the bark is in wide strips about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. These strips are thoroughly soaked and worked until pliable and then torn (with the teeth!) into strips about $\frac{1}{8}$ "- $\frac{1}{4}$ " wide.

Two strips (A and B) are held together with the left hand whilst the strips are rolled with the right palm down the right leg towards the knee (see Figure 20d)). At this stage the two strips are still separate. The string is held at point C so that the strands do not unwind and the two strips set fairly closely together are rolled as before down the right thigh (see Figure 20e)). When the hand is about half way down the leg, the grip on point C is released and the tension in strands A and B twists them into string. The third movement is to hold the string tightly with the left hand whilst rolling the finished piece of string lightly back up the thigh (see Figure 20f)). This sequence is repeated, new strips being wound in when necessary.

Before use, the string is thoroughly soaked and redried. The bark string is very strong and when available is preferred to grass string for use in tankwa building.

2) Bed Making

Lengths of reed battening may be used as bedding. There is, however, a more elaborate bed made from bamboo with a covering of reed battening. The bindings above and below the bamboo are staggered. The beds are short and the reeds do not taper much along the length; however, they are usually placed head to tail.

Sticks are sometimes used in place of bamboo.

3) Reed Battening

To get approximate uniformity in thickness reeds are placed head to tail. Two or three bindings are used depending on the final width. The free ends of the string are tied with a granny or reef knot.

The finished batten is trimmed with a small sickle and sprinkled with water before being rolled up. The bundles are always stacked on end, presumably to avoid excessive rotting.

The battening is used by the Waito as doors, cheap beds, and occasionally for repairing houses.

Most of the battening is sold to the Amhara, who use it for doors, beds, fences and for repairing houses.

4) Tankwa Building

As with most boats, the keel of the tankwa is constructed first. It is made as long as the full length of the boat and as shown in the diagram (see Figure 21 a)) It consists of bundles of reeds surrounding a thin wooden pole (approx. 1" dia.). If the tankwa is very long, two or more branches are used.

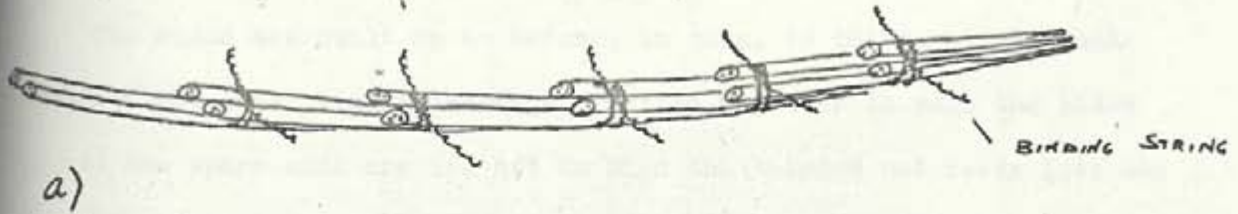
The binding strings are spaced at 1-1½ ft. intervals, depending on the size of the boat, and they bind the keel with two round turns and an overhand knot. Starting with the string nearest the bow, a few reeds are selected and placed in position with their butts pointing towards the bow a few inches from the binding string. A few outside reeds are drawn forward to form the eventual bow piece. The builder works his way down the boat putting in new reeds at each binding string. The wall thickness is varied to suit the size of tankwa - a thickness of 3-4" is suitable for a 15 ft. fishing tankwa. The type of knot used is shown in figure 21 b), c) and d). The last two stern strings are left until several layers of reeds have been tied in.

This sequence is repeated until 5 or 6 knots have been tied, when the boat is rolled over and the other side is built up to a similar height. At this stage the tankwa is placed on two rocks with a weight in the middle to push it into shape. (see Figure 21 e)). The stern reeds may now be trimmed with a small sickle and tied into place.

The reeds and bindings are thoroughly wetted (to make them pliable) and a piece of green reed is tied round the bow to pull the sides into the required shape.

TANKWA BUILDING.

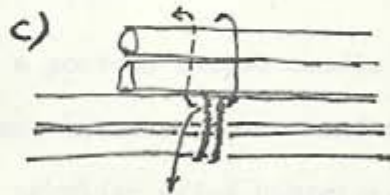
FIG 21



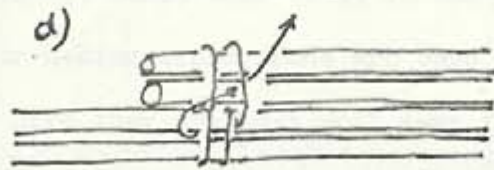
A THIN BRANCH IS BOUND IN THE CENTRE



INSIDE OF HULL



OUTSIDE OF HULL



COMPRESSION OF KNOT ON INSIDE OF HULL

WHAT USED IN HULL

e)



THE HULL

The sides are built up as before, in turn, to the required final height. The stern binding strings are tied together to pull the sides in and the spare ends are led aft to bind the thinned out reeds into the characteristic stern shape (see Figure 22 a)).

The same method is used on the bow - the reeds are thinned out, the binding strings from each side are tied together and the spare ends are led forward to bind the thinned out reeds into the pointed bow shape (see Figure 22 b)).

The tankwa is soaked with water and is pushed and pulled into the right shape. The finished tankwa is quite light - a 15 ft. tankwa can easily be carried on the head.

When in use, the tankwa is filled with a pontoon shaped bundle of reeds. This pontoon is tied up using the same knots that are used for building the shell. Presumably the pontoon provides added buoyancy, a drier surface for walking and storing goods on, and helps to keep the tankwa in the correct shape when it is in the water.

Only thin or medium-sized reeds are used to build tankwas. If large reeds are used they are kept well away from the water, since the larger reeds become waterlogged more quickly.

Bark string is preferred for use in binding but grass string is sometimes used for cheapness.

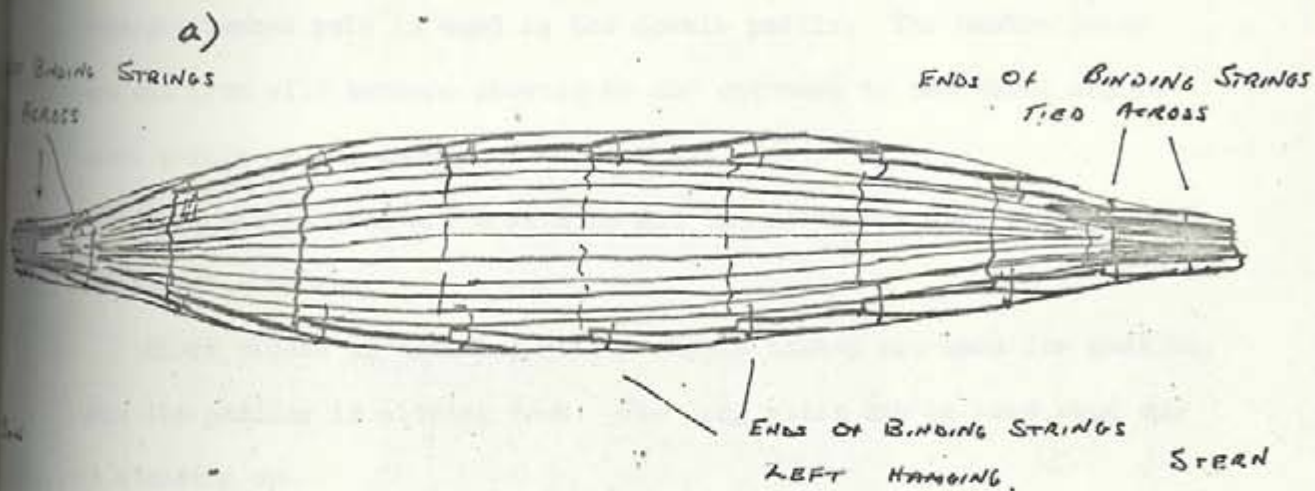
Refs. Some general points about tankwas

Des. A small 15 ft. fishing tankwa can be built by an experienced man in 5-6 hours.

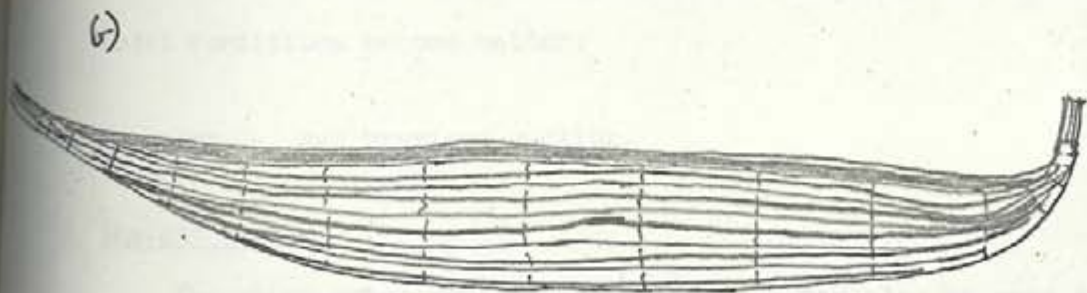
Des. A heavily loaded and continuously used tankwa will last for perhaps two weeks, whilst a lightly used tankwa which is occasionally dried out will last up to 5 weeks.

TANKWA

FIGURE 22



USE OF BINDING STRINGS TO PULL THE BOW AND STERN INTO SHAPE.



SIDE VIEW OF A FINISHED TANKWA. 15-25 ft. in length.
2 or 3 ft in width.

Fishing tankwas are paddled in the same way as a kayak. A long straight bamboo pole is used as the double paddle. The bamboo poles are cut from wild bamboos growing at the entrance to the Abbai and at other points on the shores of the lake.

Worn out tankwas are broken up and the reeds are used for fuel and for building houses.

Short pieces of 'walking stick' shaped bamboo are used for paddling when the paddler is sitting down. The long poles may be used when one is standing up.

Even if a tankwa overturns the life of the people is always safe since the reeds are never completely waterlogged and will always float.

The Waito do not seem to use the stars for navigation. They can usually see their destination across the lake during the day or in the bright moonlight. If visibility is bad the majority prefer to hug the coast. If visibility becomes very bad or if the moonlight fails at night the majority of Waito prefer to head for the shore and to sleep until conditions become better.

5) Basketry - see previous section.

6) Akofada making

The pithy inner part of the green reed may also be used to make the akofada or clothes baskets.

Suitable reeds are laid out on the ground and a thin reed is used to bind them up tightly. (see Figure 23a). The long reeds are folded about this first binding which is continued vertically round the basket. The method of weaving in new lengths of binding reed is shown in Figure 23b. New reeds may be put in the walls of the basket if necessary. One side of the



Plate 5 Roger and Tankwa beside Lake Tana.

basket is trimmed short whilst the other forms a flap. The flap is usually tied down with string. (See Figure 23.c)).



Fig. 23.c



Fig. 23.d



Fig. 23.e

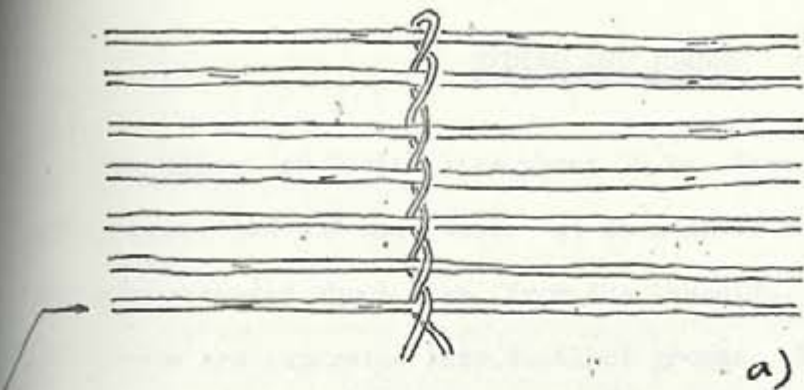


Fig. 23.f

Fig. 23.g

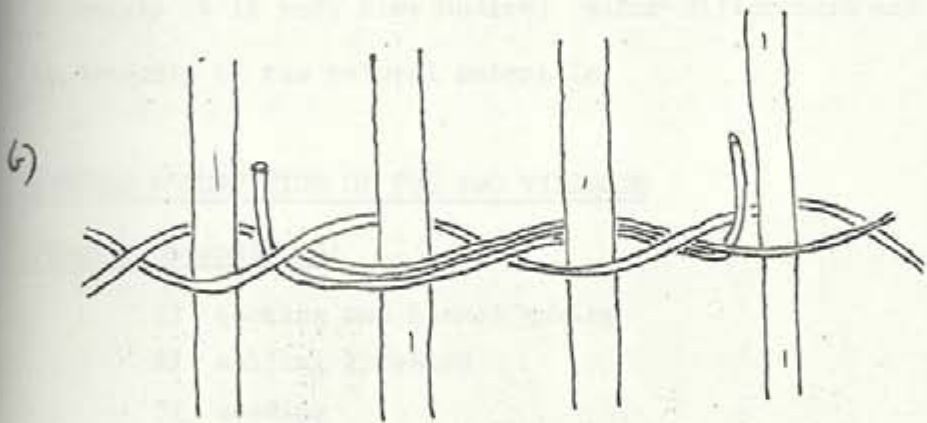
AKOFADA MAKING.

23



1st STEP.

COPIES OF GREEN REEDS.



METHOD OF FIXING IN NEW BINDING REEDS.



FLAT FOLDS OVER.

c)

THE FINISHED AKOFADA.

START OF BINDING.

GEDIRO AND YGASHO

The village of Gediro lies about 10 km. from Bahar Dar on the south eastern side of Lake Tana. It is a small mixed Waito/Amhara community situated about 1 km. from the lakeside. The Waito and the Amhara huts are separated into distinct groups. The Waito part consists of 9 huts and a mosque, with 25 Waito inhabitants.

Ygasho is a pure Waito village of 46 inhabitants situated on the shores of Lake Tana about 40 minutes' walk north of Gediro. Basically it is very like Gediro; minor differences are due to abundance or scarcity of raw natural materials.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO VILLAGES

Women's occupations:

- 1) cooking and basket making
- 2) selling firewood
- 3) weeding

Men's occupations

- 1) farming
- 2) woodworking
- 3) making things out of dengal
- 4) trading

1) Farming

In both Gediro and Fasilo and in the other villages farther round the lake, Waito villagers own small plots of land. Because these plots of land are small there would not be sufficient grassland to provide grazing for oxen. The oxen are also very expensive to buy initially. For these reasons the Waito do not own oxen and therefore do not do their own ploughing.

All the ploughing is done by the Amharas, the Waito paying for this service not with money but by working for the Amhara during seeding and harvest times.

It may seem surprising that the Waito do not grow tef (see the attached list). The wooden single ploughs drawn by the oxen do not plough very deep and therefore the land must be ploughed many times before it is suitable for sowing. Land for tef must be ploughed at least seven times, whilst land for baccalo (sweet corn) need only be ploughed three times.

The Amhara are reluctant to plough the Waito land so many times and the Waito are therefore restricted to growing baccalo.

Plants grown: (see Botany Report)

Baccalo (maize or sweet corn) - extensively grown

Peppers (burburry) - quite common

Duba (like a small marrow - quite common

Tchat)
) not common
 Eucalyptus)

2) Woodworking

Wood is plentiful away from the towns like Bahar Dar and one sees plenty of gebeta, wooden sandals and upright wooden grain pounders in the two villages.

It is interesting to note that the wooden bowls, the gebeta, are carved out of solid blocks of wood in stages. In between periods of hollowing out, the hollow is filled with water and allowed to stand. This makes the wood softer and easier to carve.

Firewood is collected and sold for 50c. a bundle in Bahar Dar market. From Gediro the bundles are carried on the backs of the women, whilst from Ygasho the bundles are taken by tankwa.

3) Dengal Working

As in Fasilc, tankwas are built for personal use and also to be sold to the Amhara.

In Ygasho, the house walls were made out of salein leaves and baccalo stocks in place of the usual reeds or grass. Bundles of reeds, reed battens and reed doors are made for home use and also for sale.

Also in Ygasho it was noticed that thin round green reeds had been collected and were being woven into akofada or clothes baskets.

Lianas are collected and used for binding up firewood, etc.

4) Trading

The Waito of Gediro and Ygasho do not do any stone-working. However, some buy stone articles in Bahar Dar and sell them for a small profit in other Waito communities farther down the lake. The most popular village for selling stones in seems to be Fogera.

ORAL TRADITION

From a conversation held in Gediro with:

Wofa Bifew - about 60 years old

Yisa Dibe - " 40 " "

Zenu Muhammed

Talking about their origin, they said that both the Waitos and the Amharas are Israelites and are both the descendants of two brothers,

Isa and Ya'icob. Isa and Ya'icob are direct descendents of Adam and Eve. Isa is the father of the Islamic peoples whilst Ya'icob is the father of all Christian peoples. Hence, they said, every man is a descendent of Adam.

They do not agree with the views held by some Waitos, i.e. that the Waito are Pharaoh's descendents, and regard as very foolish the idea that the Waitos came out of wood.

As with the other Waito communities, they complained that they do not own much land and are constantly oppressed by the landowning Amhara. They said that since both the Amharas and the Waitos are Israelites such a difference could not be fundamental and must be due to eating habits and to different occupations. The Waito are said to have come by sea whilst the Amhara came by land, thus explaining the Amharas' monopoly of the land.

From a conversation held in Ygasho with:

Eaimat Seidie)	
Shiferaw Yenus)	All were elders of the community
Aychev Aynalem)	
Alfah Beshir)	
)	

Asked about the word Waito, they believed that this was a word used to identify their forbears. They think that this word originated some time in the 'Ancient Past' during a widespread famine. A certain group of people, driven by hunger, started to eat the hippopotamus. Thus the elders think that the word Waito was intended as a term of abuse.

Asked about their origin they gave the same story as the elders at Gediro.

Concerning when they came to Tana, they merely said, 'since Ancient Times'.

As in Gediro, they thought that they were looked down upon because of their poverty and ignorance.

About dreams, they said that bad dreams must be prayed for. A man who has a frightening dream should hold a party or sedeka to which people come in order to pray that the man's dream should fortell some fortuitous event.

Some things were explained in the same way as in the other Waito communities:

Money as the medium of exchange.

Thunder and lightening, sun and moon are explained by God.

Treatment of men possessed by devils.

Present and ancient musical instruments.

In both Gediro and Ygasho, the elders complained that the Amhara were learning their traditional trades of catching fish, building tankwas, and cutting stones and thereby threatening the Waito livelihood.

Differences between the Communities at Gediro and Ygasho and Fasilo

The differences present are minor ones and are due either to the possession of land or to the relative abundance of raw materials such as reeds.

The oral traditions and the way of life of the people seem to be the same for all the Waito communities. As the Waito say, "Waito is Waito everywhere".

The most easily observable difference is of course to do with the plots of land. However, the people of Gediro and Ygasho are not a completely agricultural community. With the exception of stone working, they have all the normal activities of the Fasilo community. It is also interesting to note that although the 'agricultural' Waito own ploughs they do not know how to use them.

The availability of wood means that the Waito of the outer villages can earn money by selling firewood. One notices particularly the large bundles of firewood inside the houses. Almost every house has a raised bed as different from the Fasilo community, where these are not common. There are more wooden articles such as gebotas, sandals and grain pounders than in Fasilo.

The nearness of Ygasho to the reed beds and to the salein trees also leads to minor differences - e.g. the Ygasho people use salein leaves and baccalo stocks for house walls, they make very thick reed string and they make akofada out of the small round green reeds growing near the village.

Apart from the agriculture, the major difference between the communities is that the people of the outer villages are not stone masons, they merely trade in stone goods.

There are also slight differences in clothing; in general the people of the outer villages are more raggedly dressed. The men wear long 'night-shirts' or shmmas, but the women's dress seems much the same as those in Fasilo. Perhaps the greatest difference is in the children's dress - many of the children in the outer villages wear nothing but a small shamma slung over the shoulders. One may say that the people of the outer villages are much less influenced by the town in regard to dress.

FOOD AND THE WAITO

The diet of the Waito is lacking in variety to a large extent because they have a low income and to a lesser extent because they have always lived poorly and they are slow to accept any changes.

As with most Ethiopians the basic food is Wot and Injera. Injera, which is the main source of carbohydrates in the diet, is made from tef¹⁰ (a form of grain) or dagussa¹⁰ (black rape seed). The grain is firstly dried and then winnowed and the dirt removed by hand. It is then ground on a wufcho¹¹ and collected in a gabeta¹².

Water is gradually added to the resulting powder with much kneading between each addition. The final product - a thick grey paste - is poured into a large gourd with a little extra water and then left to leaven for about four days. After this time more water is added and the paste is mixed until it achieves a smooth runny texture.

The injera is cooked on a flat round metal plate called a metad which is first wiped with a cloth soaked in linseed oil. The mixture is poured from the gourd onto the hot metad, spiralling inwards from the outside and a lid of ephia made from dung, straw and mud is placed on top to form an 'oven'. The 'oven' is sealed with a long piece of pliable reed skin.

After about five minutes the injera is ready and in its finished state it resembles a thin grey-brown crumpet about 2 ft. diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. It is scooped from the metad onto a mesabia¹³, after which it is folded into quarters and stored in a gebeta with other injeras, being separated by eucalyptus leaves to keep them fresh. They have a



Plate 6 Laying out grain to dry



Plate 7 Woman pounding grain

sour taste and in general the 'whiter' the injera the better the taste. In Bahar Dar only the cheaper black tef is available, costing \$2.50 for a large basket (kuna) full in the market.

Wot is the 'stew' served with the Injera. It contains fried onions, oil or butter, water, peppers, salt, spices and the main ingredient, which can be vegetables, fish or meat, which are all cooked up together. As far as the Waïto are concerned, the opportunities for eating meat are limited normally to feast days or special occasions. A poor family may eat meat only once or twice in two months.

Quite often several families will club together to buy a sheep (about \$6) or an old cow (about \$15) which they divide and either eat raw or in a wot. A cow hide can be sold for basket covering for about \$5. As a chicken costs as little as 50c., they are eaten more often than other kinds of meat.

Fish, when in season, make a very popular wot, making up for the deficiency of meat in the diet. The fish are first gutted and filleted and then put into the stew.

Gomen or cabbage is the most consumed vegetable and is normally served with a wot made without a main ingredient. The gomen is cut up, boiled with salt and water, drained and then served. It has a taste very similar to the English variety of cabbage. It can be served just with injera, without the wot, but this is very dry indeed.

Fulses are also quite popular as the main ingredient for wots as are potatoes.

The wot and injera is eaten around the Masob¹³ or injera basket. A disc of injera is put onto the basket and the wot is either put directly onto the injera or else in a bowl beside it.

The technique of eating the wot and injera is as follows. A piece of injera usually 6 to 9 square inches in area is torn off the disc with the right hand and is dipped into the wot almost completely. If there are any solid vegetables or pieces of meat in the wot then they are scooped up with the injera or torn off the bone. The handful of food is then put into the mouth.

If gomen is served with the wot, the injera is first dipped in the wot and then a quantity of cabbage is scooped up with it. At no stage in the proceedings is the left hand used - even when the bones are being picked and gnawed at it is still the right hand that is used.

The most distinguishing characteristic of wot is that it is hot because of the burburry¹⁰ (pepper) that it is made with. The wots vary in degree of heat, the really hot ones being inedible to Europeans who are not used to hot foods.

When the Waito have guests for a meal, it is the duty of the host to eat with the guest. While doing this he occasionally gives morsels of food to his sons while his wife makes coffee or does her basketwork. It is her turn to eat when everyone else has finished. After the wot and injera the guests' hands are washed by one of the sons by pouring cold water over the hands from a tin.

If the husband is not at home, the wife serves up the food and leaves the guest in peace to eat his food. Coffee is normally served after the wot and injera and is black and strong. Depending on the

financial position of the family it is served with or without sugar.

The coffee is made in the following way. The coffee beans are first washed several times on a piece of tin and then roasted over the fire. This is usually done on the same piece of tin continually moving the beans round with a piece of wood.

After about 10 minutes roasting, the beans are taken from the fire and ground up in a mogadja¹² (grinder) while the water is heated on the fire.

The coffee powder is then put into the water and boiled for about 2 minutes and then served.

Coffee is the only non-alcoholic drink that the people have and very often people passing the door are invited in for a cup. When this happens there are usually one or two 'snack foods' available. Of these, the favourite is roasted maize, which takes about 10 minutes to roast over the fire.

Others include a form of injera about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick (with a similar texture and taste to malt loaf), roasted nuts, a form of damson and a plant similar to papyrus of which only the stringy pith is chewed.

The people also make a form of beer called talla. This is made from fermented leaves and grain and tastes vaguely like cold tea with a very bitter taste.

A honey drink (tej) is available in Bahar Dar but is too expensive for the Waito and so they prefer katicallah (distilled talla) which is only 5c. per glass.

The Muslim religion forbids the consumption of alcohol but although this is observed to a small degree the majority of people - even the priest - ignore it. The following things are also forbidden:

- a) all dead animals
- b) snakes
- c) all flying birds except Frankolin and Guinea Fowl

Nearly all the food is imported into the village, as this group of Waito have little land. There are a few plots around the village which grow only a limited quantity of food (see biology).

The foods consumed include butter, salt, pepper, tef shimbra (a type of grain) gya (another type of grain) degussa, maize, cabbage, potatoes, beans, peas, wheat, barley, onions, ginger, linseed oil, fish, chicken, sheep and cows.

There are only two main meals per day, these being misa at midday and irat in the evening, both consisting of injera and wot. Coffee only is served up in the morning for breakfast. Any fried food that the people have is called Kollo¹⁴ and injera with a pulse wot is called injera beshiro.

There exists a system¹⁹ in the village whereby if a man has no money and no food for any reason, whether it be illness or robbery or whatever, then his close relatives will feed him for two or three days. After that if he still has no more food his more distant relatives help him. The last stage in the system is when the whole village helps out.

In this time, the man or his wife must if possible attempt to get money but they will be supported until they manage to do this.

Also in the village there are quite a lot of widows that live by themselves. These people have very few possessions and normally eat with a nearby household or with relatives. For this privilege they must help with the housework and contribute to the housekeeping money by making baskets.

As regards food, eating habits and customs, there is very little difference between the Amharas and the Waito. The Amharas tend to be richer and therefore have meat more often and have a few extra 'luxuries', but on the whole there is very little difference.

References and further points concerning food:

- 10 - Botany report
- 11 - Stone masoning
- 12 - Occupations of the people
- 13 - Basketry
- 14 - Cvs., 4th August XIX
 - Cvs., 9th August IV and IX
 - Cvs., 14th August III and IV (XXIII)
 - Cvs., 26th August XI
 - Cvs., 29th August - The Waito eat raw meat when they can afford it.
- 19 - Cvs., 27th August XIV

GAMES OF THE PEOPLE

1. GEBETA

This game is played throughout Ethiopia by men and women of all stations.

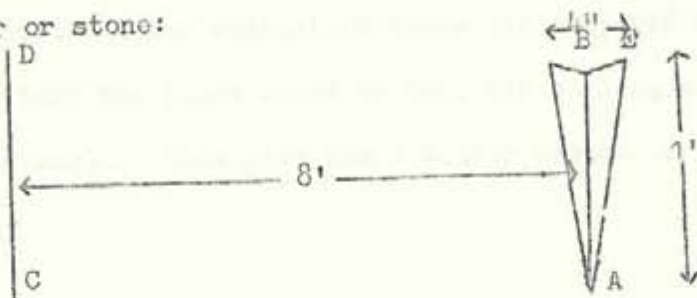
Each person takes an equal number of holes. There are 12 holes and hence the number of people playing must be divisible into 12. Each hole contains 4 counters and play is anticlockwise. The first person to go takes the counters from one of his own holes - he may only begin from his own holes - and places one counter in each consecutive hole as he moves until he is left with only one counter to place in the final hole. If this hole contains further counters, he removes them and continues as before until his last counter falls in an empty hole. The next person now goes.

The players endeavour to complete a set of 4 in another person's hole by finishing off their play by putting the last counter in a hole containing 3 counters. This hole then becomes the property of the person to complete the four and he owns each counter placed in that hole. This hole is then equivalent to an empty hole for the owner of that hole. Any other player who finishes his turn by landing in this hole removes the counter and one other from the hole. He then has another turn until he finishes in an empty hole. If a person's final counter falls in an empty hole owned by another player, he simply takes the one counter.

The winner is the person to have most counters 'in his hand' and his 'holes' (i.e. those in which he has completed a 4) when no-one can play.

2. KAST

The game is played with pieces of baked clay (clays) about 1" square and $\frac{3}{16}$ " wide. First of all a shape is made on the ground with a finger or stone:



The children can have any number playing but more usually two or three. Each player has a certain number of clays and the object of the game is to win more.

A line is drawn about 8 ft. from the shape shown and it is from behind this line that the player throws his clay initially.

First of all each player stands one of his clays on the line AB near to the apex A, next to the other contestants' clays. The players must then get behind CD and throw their clays to get as near to AB as possible, but in any case, past AE (note 1).

Once the clays are thrown the contestants go to their respective clays and the furthest from the clays on AB throws his clay to knock those clays over. There is often a lot of arguing over who is further and so distances are measured with feet, elbow-finger, and finger spans (note 2).

The player throwing marks the point where his clay landed and puts the back of his front foot on this mark. It takes a great deal of skill to knock them over from over say 5 ft. but someone at about 3 ft. can just lean over and knock them over. The person knocking the clays over then wins them.

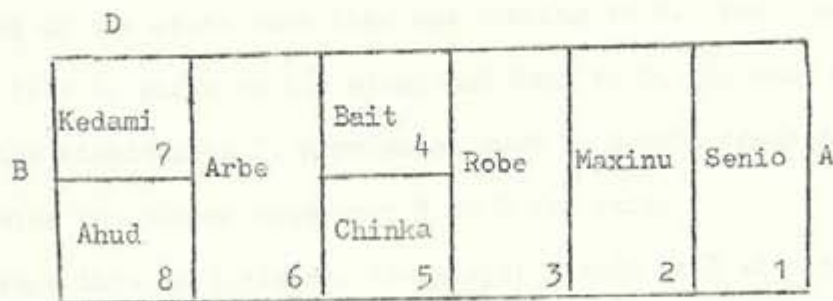
If no-one knocks them over on the first try after everyone has tried the same procedure is followed, the furthest from the clays throwing first until the clays are knocked over.

If on any throw the contestant finds his clay off the line of the clays he can turn the clays round to face him as long as they remain within the triangle. This give him a better chance of knocking them over.

Notes

1. The contestant loses his clay if he doesn't get past AE.
2. A rethrow takes place if people are an equal distance from the clays.
3. SENIĆ MAXINU (or Chinka bait) (Hop scotch)

The playing area for this game is marked out on the ground with a stone thus:



First of all, one of the players stands at A (any number can play). He then throws a small stone onto 1 and jumps into 2 on one foot, then onto 3 on one foot, then one foot in 4 and one in 5 at the same time, one in six (hopping) then one each in 7 and 8 at the same time. He then turns round to face A and hops back as before.

When he reaches 2 he must pick up the stone in 1 and throw it to A (hopping to A over 1). He then throws the stone to 2 and hops from A into 1 and then over 2 into 3 and does exactly the same as before, i.e. stops on the way back at 3, picks the stone up, throws it to A, hops over 2, then to 1 and A.

The same procedure for 3 and then for 4 the player hops from 3 to land with both feet in 5. Likewise with 5, then onto 6 as with 3, then 7, which just means landing with both feet in 8 and coming back.

For 8 the same procedure is followed, landing with both feet in 7, then the stone is picked up and the player asks the permission of the other players to step out from 7 to B. If this is not granted (it usually is) he must throw the stone to A, hop back and repeat the drill for 8, not having to ask permission to go to B this time.

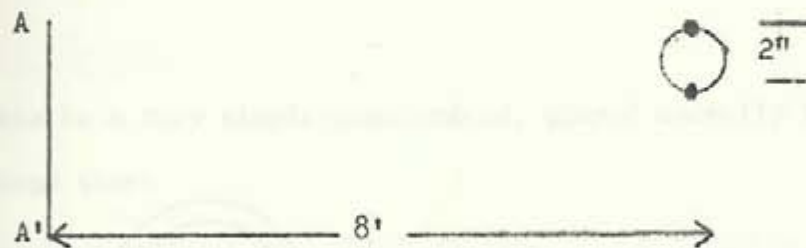
From B the player throws the stone to 1, hops as before to 2, then picks up the stone from 1 and takes it back to B. Then to 2 and so on, picking up the stone each time and working to B. For 7 he throws from C, steps into 8, picks up the stone and hops to D, the same in reverse for 8. When standing in 7, permission must be sought again to go to B otherwise the player hops over 8 to C for exit.

When this is finished, the player stands at B with his back to A and throws his stone over his shoulder with the object of landing in a square which is then his 'house'. He has three chances to get into one of the squares -- if he fails to do so he is out. A person is also out if they put a foot in the wrong square, if the stone misses the square or lands on a line or if a foot touches the line.

If the player completes the game and has a 'house', succeeding players must not put a foot in or throw their stones into his house. This means that at times the players must jump over two squares or lean over one. A player is out if he lands with any part of his foot in someone's house or if he puts his hand in while leaning over for his stone.

Things become more complicated when people have houses next to each other and people must jump 3 squares. When this happens players are soon out and the winner is the person who stays in the longest.

4. BIYE



Any number of people can play but assume only two are playing. Both players put a marble on the circle shown and then stand back behind AA'. They throw another marble to get as close to the circle as possible. The closest then flicks his marble to hit one of the other two on the circle.

If he knocks it out of the circle then he flicks the throwing marble from where it lands to knock the other marble out of the circle. If he knocks both out they are then his. The other contestant then tries to hit the first person's knocker and if he does he wins the marbles the first person previously won.

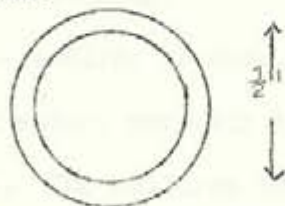
If the closest player to the marbles misses the marbles in the circle then it is the other person's turn. Turns are then taken until both marbles are knocked out of the circle, the person knocking a marble out winning it.

The player who did not knock the last marble out of the circle then tries to hit his opponent's knocker to win back the marbles in his hand. If a player's knocker knocks one of the marbles out of the circle but stays in the circle itself, the player then wins everything lying outside the circle.

The game continues until one person loses all his marbles or else becomes disinterested.

5. MARDA

This is a very simple game indeed, played normally by two people with rings thus:



The playing board is the front of a shamma when the wearer is in the cross-legged sitting position. The front edge of the shamma is slightly held up and one person rolls his ring down. The object is to cover partially (or wholly) the other person's ring with one's own so to this end the second person rolls his ring (marda) down the shamma.

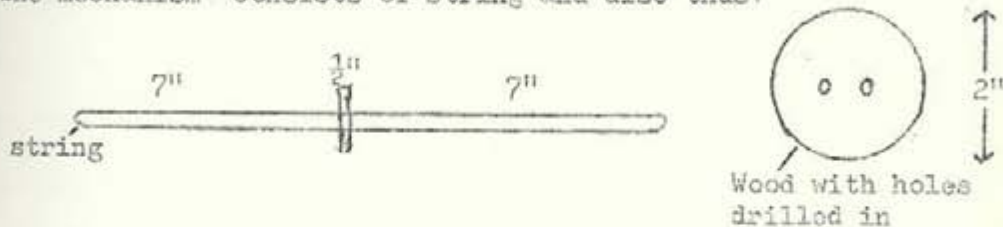
To put it on the right course it is permissible to make a small groove in the shamma from the other person's marda to the top edge of the shamma, so that there is a good chance of being in the line of the other marda.

The game stops when one person is losing too many mardas.

6. FUGANATI - Italian origin?

This is just an amusement intended for one person - very similar to a game in England also on the same style as yo-yo.

The 'mechanism' consists of string and disc thus:



Two fingers are inserted in the string, one at each extremity and the string is 'wound up' and then the fingers are moved away from each other and the string unwinds and the wooden disc spins; if this is repeated the string winds more and the disc spins faster.

7. ASSORTED PASTIMES

- i) Hide-and-peek - this is just as in England with everyone hiding and one person seeking.
- ii) Sliding - a slide is made by finding a bare patch of soil and bringing water, normally by mouth or any other available means, to the soil. The children then slide about.
- iii) Wonchif - this is a sling and it is made of bark, grass or pith of reeds. It is normally about 4 ft. long and the children become quite proficient.
- iv) Whipping - as the Waite are not agrarious this is not practised very often, but the children often make whips for their own amusement out of the pith of the reeds. These are only temporary things and last perhaps a few days.

v) Sports - the children sometimes try their skill at things such as long jump, high jump (using two sticks and a reed), tests of strength (press-ups with one hand) tests of balance (head stands) and general acrobatics.

The children also enjoy the following activities...

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FIRE

Matches are now used.

Previously, however, a flame was produced by rubbing two sticks together; a soft wood - not readily available and found near the banks of the Nile - and a hard wood found in most areas.

A dead stick of the soft wood, about 1" diameter, is taken and split down the middle. A notch is cut about $\frac{1}{2}$ " into one of these halves and acts as a centre for the fire. Just to one side of this notch, towards the centre of the stick, a small hole is cut. At this point the stick of hard wood - only about $\frac{1}{3}$ " diameter, is revolved.

Two or three men sit on their haunches in a circle and cover themselves with a shamma to reduce the wind. A piece of dry cloth is placed beneath the length of soft wood and, taking turns, the men rotate the hard wooden stick on the spot chosen, holding the soft wood in position with their feet. The smaller stick is rotated as rapidly as possible between the palms and a small pile of red hot charcoal accumulates on the cloth pushed into the notch. When this begins to smoulder the wood is removed and the cloth plus charcoal cautiously blown. Dry straw and small sticks are now added and, with luck, begin to burn.

As far as possible, fires are kept smouldering and not allowed to go out. When the fire does go out a family will borrow some embers from a neighbour and return them when their fire is burning.

Fires are found in most homes, in an alcove if the family is wealthy, but more normally to one side of the hut. The fire is used for cooking

(and to a lesser extent as a source of warmth). Brushwood or dengal stored on the walls is used as fuel economically, and normally the fire is kept low.

Generally three stones are placed around the fire to support the sitad when cooking injera, etc.

N.B. The local name for the soft wood used for lighting fires is Asta.

BURIAL

Burial (Islam Amhara, but identical to the Waito ceremony).

When someone dies, men go to the burial ground to dig the grave. They carry large stones, required for the grave, with them to the burial site.

A large rectangular hole ($2\frac{1}{4}$ m. x $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. x 4 elbow lengths and a hand's span deep) is dug N-S. Along the western side of the grave a groove is cut into the wall of the grave, about 40 cms. deep at the level of the bottom of the grave. This is the space into which the corpse is placed.

Whilst the grave is being prepared, others including the priests bring the corpse slowly to the burial area on a wooden board very much like a stretcher with handles branching off the four corners. This is called "ጥሬሃ".

Until the grave is finished, the priests lay the corpse on the ground and, facing west, they pray for the dead. When this is finished (about 15 mins.) all the priests remove their shoes. Then, about 4 men go to the place where the priests stand and carry the corpse to the grave. Three people standing in the grave now lower the body from the bier into position whilst two people standing at ground level alongside the grave wave two outstretched shammās rhythmically.

The join between the part of the grave wherein the body is interred and the larger space is now sealed with stones and mud. The people in the outer grave come out and the shamma waving stops. Finally the 'outer grave' is filled with soil and stones are laid on top - one per person. Osman states that this is done so that the place is known as a grave and revered as such.

Meanwhile the priests sit in a circle about 30 m. away praying silently. There was one priest in the centre of the circle.

As soon as the burial is complete two people lay a shamma on the ground and each mourner files past putting about 10c. on the shamma for the deceased's dependents. The priests begin this.

The people now disperse.

Thereafter the Waito could not return to Egypt because they were afraid of the Pharaoh, so they remained on the shores of the Red Sea and started boat-building and fishing. They met the hippo' and hunted it for food.

ref. The Waito have lived 'on waters' (or Lake Tana) since 'Ancient Times'.

0(ii)

ref. Whilst in Egypt, the Waito lived in a place called Aleng.

(b)

The Pharaoh sent people to catch the escaping Waito and the people of the Pharaoh asked everyone they could find if they had seen the 'people of Aleng'. Meanwhile the Waito had settled on the shore of the Ethiopian border and become famous for their skill of whip-making from hippo' hide. Hence the whip became known as 'Alengwoch'.

ref. &
Igabo

The Amhara are said to have come by land and the Waito by sea, hence explaining the land owning predominance of the Amhara.

Creation took 7,000 years and God made a series of seven creations each of 1,000 years. Man appeared in the last stage of creation.

It is interesting to note that most people are ignorant of any oral tradition.

B. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

a) Birth and Child Care

ref. Women have children at the will of Allah. Birth is the responsibility

(iii)

(xiv) of women alone.

ref. Birth is a time of great happiness and rejoicing but a baby boy merits


(b)

greater rejoicing.

ref. Often, if the family can afford it, a new born baby is fed a piece of

(a)

fresh butter (not rancid) before breast feeding begins. This is custom.

It is thought that unless the uvula is removed a child will be unable to swallow. Hence the uvula is removed repeatedly until the child is free. The first operation may take place when the child is only 7 days old and could be repeated for 8 years. One man and one woman are present at the time of operation and certain men of the village are 'qualified' to perform it. The observers are not necessarily parents. The child's mouth is forced open and a cutter (shaped ) is used to remove the soft flesh. The custom is not religious.

After the birth of her child a mother will only remain in her hut for 7-8 days - i.e. long enough for her to regain her strength.

When the time comes to wean the child (normally at 2-3 years but perhaps because the mother becomes pregnant again or her milk dries up), the mother puts something bitter, e.g. the leaf of arot, on her nipples and the child stops drinking the milk. The child begins eating wot and injera immediately.

Young children are named by their parents and/or priest at an informal meeting. This name is equivalent to a 'Christian' name but is never used and is after one of the books of the Koran, e.g. Abdella.

Hair is shaved from the heads of children, particularly if a child of the family has already died. This is believed to give protection if two tufts of hair are left - one on each side of the head, but all other styles are decorative.

Girls are excised and boys are circumcised when they are young by 'those who know how'. This is custom and has no religious significance.

2) Marriage

Previously boys could marry at 20 years and girls at 15 years (these ages should be treated with reservation as the time sense of the people is very poor).

A man may have more than one wife but economic pressures usually prevent him.

A couple may be married by two systems:

I. By arrangement through the parents.

(i) According to the Moslem practice. In this form of marriage the property is exclusively the man's and the girl contributes nothing.

(ii) According to Ashera practice. This is a relatively new innovation and the boy and girl contribute equally. N.B. This is not widely practised.

Marriage and pre-marital arrangements are arranged by parents. The father of the boy discusses the choice of a suitable girl with his friends and normally selects a friend's daughter. He then sends a representative - Shimagillo (literally Elder) - who goes to the girl's father and politely asks for her hand. The parent does not reply immediately but discusses the matter with friends and relations, and replies as soon as possible.

If relatives approve of the marriage the girl's father holds a party and here the fathers swear to marry their children. This is an engagement and, although the children are told about it, they generally do not know each other.

Marriage normally occurs as soon after the engagement as is convenient to the two families. Talla and injera are prepared and there is a big feast with dancing and much merry-making.

The groom, with a few close friends - the Mizewoch (ᲘᲗᲗᲚ) - goes to his bride's home and returns with her. If the bride's father is rich the groom spends the whole night at her home. If not, the groom returns to his home with the bride and for 5 days (or 10 days if the family is wealthy) they remain in the groom's home eating the best food available. The wedding is consummated on the first night unless the girl is too young. If the girl is too young and the groom forces her, he may be punished. There is no inspection for virginity.

On the fifth day the groom's father holds a party which is attended by elders and a few members of the family circle. This is a big feast and, at the end, friends give their best wishes to the couple. The Mizewoch swear to the bride that they will treat her as brothers and would, as friends, be as helpful as possible. Should they fail in this, they say:

"Თ Თ Თ Თ: Თ Თ Თ Თ Თ Თ: Თ Თ Თ. Თ Თ Თ Თ Თ Თ"

"Let the prophet annihilate us".

These friends may not marry the girl if she is divorced.

The marriage ceremony is performed by Kedi (fukra or priest) and close relatives contribute food and drink.

Marriage is possible only if the partners are separated by at least seven generations and have the consent of the fukra.

Marriage presents are given by the man only and must include two dollars and a wedding gown. This is a legal marriage - known as Yenekaha - and everything earned after marriage is equally divisible between the two on divorce.

II. Elopement

If the couple is in love and cannot get married because they are close relations, or because the parents concerned are bitter enemies, then they flee and go to 'strange lands'. After some time they may be accepted as members of the society and become reconciled with their parents.

Previously the man had to kill a hippo' if he was to marry. This practice, however, is abandoned since the Government forbids it. Moreover, the hippo' is rarer and it is no longer necessary to kill one before a man may put butter on his head. This is thought to increase one's brain power.

Marriage is only possible if the couple is separated by at least seven generations and only recently has marriage outside the Waito communities been tolerated. If a man cannot find a girl in his own village he tries to find a Waito girl in a neighbouring community. Incest is not practised.

Nowadays, however, Waito men can marry Moslem Amhara women if they win the love of the women.

Normally children marry because the parents wish it.

Marriage partners have no religious obligations and do not swear to be faithful to each other. However, faithfulness between partners is cherished and failure on the part of either partner may result in divorce.

Previously a girl who was found to have had intercourse before marriage was punished 'by law'. Nowadays this is relaxed. Pre-marital and extra-marital intercourse is very much looked down on but, in general, men are

freer than women. Prostitution is thought very wrong. It is considered essential to wash after intercourse, particularly before prayer, to avoid misfortune.

Residence is mostly patrilocal except in very rare cases where the (vi) parents-in-law ask their son-in-law to live with them.

The man is the undisputed head of the family because he earns most (viii) of the family income, but the woman also plays an important part in (ix) some decisions. The husband-wife relationship is one of mutual partnership.

c) Divorce

Divorce occurs when the partners cannot stand each other. There may be reconciliations before the final break. The ceremony is simple and is conducted by the local chief or learned men.

Women married according to Moslem practice will receive nothing at the time of divorce. Those married according to Amhara practice will withdraw all the property they have contributed and will have an equal share of the property secured during marriage.

d) Burial

(b) When a person dies he is washed thoroughly to cleanse him of his (viii) worldly nature, wrapped in a new cloth and tied by seven strings (the (ix) Kalicha's story of 'seven shrouds' appears incorrect and does not tally with information received from the local hospital).

Men go to the burial ground and dig the grave. They carry large stones, required for the grave, to the burial site.

A large rectangular hole ($\sim 2\frac{1}{2}$ m. x $\sim 1\frac{1}{2}$ m. x 4 elbow lengths and a hand's span deep) is dug N-S. Along the western side of the grave and on a level with the bottom of the grave, a groove is cut into the wall about 40 cms. high. This is the space into which the corpse is placed. The grave is dug in this manner 'so that the dead can sit up and pray for their sins'.

Whilst the grave is being prepared others, including the priests, bring the corpse slowly to the burial area on a wooden board, very much like a stretcher, with handles branching off the four corners. This is called "سكف" ".

Until the grave is finished, the priests lay the corpse on the ground and, facing west, they pray for the dead. When this is finished - about 15 mins. - all the priests remove their shoes. Then about four men go to the place where the priests stand and carry the corpse to the grave. Three people standing in the grave now lower the body from the bier into position whilst two people standing alongside the grave wave two outstretched shammās rhythmically.

The join between the part of the grave wherein the body is interred and the larger space is now sealed with stones and mud (wood is sometimes used). The people in the outer grave come out and the shamma waving stops. Finally, the outer section of the grave is filled with soil and stones laid on top - one per person present. This is done so that the place is known as a grave and revered as such.

Meanwhile the priests sit in a circle about 50 m. away praying silently. There is also one priest in the centre of this circle.

As soon as the burial is complete, two people lay a shamma on the ground and each mourner files past putting about 10c. on the shamma for the deceased's dependents. The priests begin this.

Finally the people disperse.

e) The Chief - Negadras - and Elders and Social Prestige

It is interesting to note that Negadras is an expression used for the leader of a trading group.

ref. (a) The chief is elected by the people and is recognised by the
 (b)(xii) Government. Any married man may vote and the chieftanship is not
 (c)(xiii) necessarily hereditary, although the chief's son has much influence.
 (d)(iv) The chief must be wise and old (at least 45 years). He is expected
 to:

- a) reconcile quarelling parties
- b) perform marriages and divorce
- c) maintain peace by diplomatic means
- d) settle cases of debt
- e) support the poor
- f) give over to the Government people who harm the society
- g) cooperate with the Government, e.g. by sending people to court when required

The local judges are not trusted.

ref. (i)(vii) There is no fixed group of elders. The social structure is very lax. An elder is wise and necessarily old. Reconciliation ability is a prime quality.

ref. (a)(viii) A man is respected:
 (b)(viii)
 (c)(ii)

- a) for his religious activities - working for the soul
- b) for giving valuable advice - wisdom
- c) for reconciling quarelling parties

- d) for old age
- e) for impartiality
- f) for showing patience

f) Leisure (Games)

Leisure time is very limited as most time is spent working,
but the leisure time activities include:

- a) prayer - very important
- b) chatting over coffee
- c) sleeping
- d) trips - mostly into Bahar Dar

Previously the people used to play the Kirar and the Mesenko,
but nowadays only the Kebero (gourd drum) is played. There are no
professional musicians and the people clap out the rhythm and sing.

Conversational topics include:

- a) whether or not they will have a bad year
- b) whether or not someone will have them make something
- c) whether or not they will be busy the following day

g) Relationships with Others

The Waito believe that all men are basically equal and spring from
a common origin, but some are hard working, some are lazy, some have
opportunities and wealth and others do not.

They believe themselves to be oppressed but this is largely a
legacy from the past. To be called Waito is an insult but material
opportunities are very similar for the two groups, i.e. Amhara and Waito.

Previously they were discriminated against because:

- a) they were ignorant in comparison with the Amhara
- b) they were not economically well off
- c) they are Moslems
- d) they practised unorthodox food habits; they ate hippo' and meat which had died a natural death. Both these habits were forbidden by neighbouring communities and the Waito no longer practise either.

It is interesting to note that the meaning of Waito in Ge'ez is 'one who will eat anything'.

Most Waito have no idea of the meaning of their name, but it is said that in ancient times, during a famine, their forefathers began to eat hippo'. The Amhara did not eat it and remarked 'ፆጠራ' (literally 'swallowed'). From this word derived the word 'ወይቲ' (Waito) which has since become a term of abuse, although the people themselves seem proud of being Waito:

"አገሪ ስጦታ ስጦታ ስጦታ ስጦታ"

The Italians showed that the Waito were no less talented than their neighbours and gradually barriers are breaking down. In general Waito-Moslem Amhara relationships are better than Waito-Christian Amhara relationships. Previously, no Amhara would enter a Waito home, let alone eat or talk with a Waito. Nowadays, however, Amharas - especially travellers - visit some Waito homes and eat with them. The Amhara say 'grain is grain'.

Married women must be accompanied by a male relative when attending a social gathering, but unmarried women are freer. Widows may attend alone but fathers and brothers caution them to behave themselves and to maintain their family honour.

Schools are considered a good thing but modern education requires expensive equipment.

Waitos do not come from other communities to live in Fasilo. All Waito regard each other as brothers and some leave to live elsewhere, e.g. Fogera, Dembia, Addis Ababa, but this is normally due to the wife's influence. If a wife wants to live in another community with her children, the husband will follow rather than abandon the children. Obedience is a great virtue but in general parents are very lax with their children.

C. RELIGION

The religion of the Waito is no different from that of the Moslem Amhara but they worship in separate mosques because the Waito are poorer. Christian influence is considerable.

There are two types of dream - those of sorrow and those of happiness - and both types are subject to personal interpretation. In the beginning it was only possible for saints to dream but, as the power of Satan grew, it became possible for even evil men to dream.

Sickness, changes in the weather and seasons, thunder and lightening are all explained by Allah. Anything inexplicable is explained by Allah. Thunder and lightening indicate his wrath and the people pray as a storm approaches. The Kalicha's theories, whilst ingenious, are his own and were not collaborated.

If a man is possessed of an evil spirit the people pray for him in groups but if this has no effect they chain him for a few days and finally give him over to the Government.

The community prays to Allah and Mohammed - the prophet who brought the Koran. They pray for the country's welfare, good rulers, good health and peace for everyone, etc., etc. Men and women only pray together in their own homes. Only men pray in the mosque and all services in the mosque follow the same pattern. The fukra (priest) sings various sentences and the congregation replies. Prayers are always said, either aloud or silently, facing east.

Group prayer in which the men pray together in the mosque and drink coffee prepared by the women, is known as Dua.

The Waito pray five times per day:

- a) Maleda - sun rise
- b) Be Simint Se'at - around 2 o'clock
- c) Be Aarahulet Seat - around 6 o'clock
- d) Lem Gibi - 'after all the cows are in' - evening
- e) Isha - any time during the night

The day of rest - Aljuma - is not widely observed (Friday). Apart from Fridays, the Waito celebrate two major holidays:

- a) Arefa - this is the day 2 months and 10 days after the fasting period of Ramadan finishes, on which Mecca is believed to be opened.
- b) Etra - this is the day on which the fasting period of Ramadan finishes (30 days of fasting).

The feast of Arefa is very similar to the Ethiopian holiday on the Sunday after Easter Sunday. Meat and chicken are eaten on feast days and much is drunk. Their religion forbids them to eat:

- a) naturally dead meat
- b) snakes
- c) any flying birds except Frankolin and Guinea Fowl

Children are not formally taught the Koran although they may attend the Moslem Hall in Bahar Dar and learn informally. To learn much they must travel about learning from learned men.

The mosques are built by the men of the village. Each contributes material and labour.

The people drink coffee in the mosque once during the morning and once during the afternoon. These are fellowship meetings and the morning coffee is prepared by a different family each day. This is arranged through an institution known as Tertib. Lots are drawn each day and the family drawn makes the coffee; their name is then withdrawn from the draw until the cycle is completed.

Afternoon coffee is prepared by any family which has coffee. People are called to the mosque for a social gathering and afterwards they thank the family who provided the coffee - Allah Yistilin - and return to their respective jobs.

The Waito have no quack doctors and use no herbs or drugs apart from tchat. When ill they are in the hands of Allah alone. Sometimes, however, they may visit a doctor of reputation if they want.

D. ECONOMICS

The Waito used to trade by barter. Nowadays, however, all is based on a cash economy. They trade corn and wufchos with the neighbouring communities of Dembia, Fogera, Gorgorra, etc., carrying as many as 80 wufchos in a single tankwa. What they buy for £1.50 in Bahar Dar they can sell for £3.50 or £.00 in other communities.

The Waito are not taxed and on average probably earn about \$1 per day, but a stoneworker employed by the Government earns \$2 per day.

Contracts are signed when the parties concerned do not trust each other "N^un go 7#⁴/k h 6::"

Payment takes two forms - monetary and labour. Webera or Dobia is an institution by which a man with a great deal of work to do acquires the help of his friends in order to complete the job in a shorter time. The man for whom the work is done must provide at least one meal and he must repay his friends in kind.

The Waito work about 8 hours per day.

Children begin to learn to make baskets, wufchos, etc. at about seven years of age. A girl can learn to make baskets in about one year but a boy may take seven years to make wufchos and build tankwas as well as his instructor. The time required varies greatly with the ability of the child. A boy reaches manhood when he can support himself.

The prevention of hippo' hunting has decreased the wealth of the Waito since previously they could eat the meat and use the skin for making whips and horses' bits to sell.

Although many Waito communities do own land the Fasilo community do not, probably because they preferred to live near the town. Nine residents, however, do own land, but they have not collected their deeds and, since they threatened to sell the land, the Governor stopped issuing land to the Waito. This is contrary to what the Waito say, although the plots are not used. Only small plots within the village are cultivated.

(iii)
(iv) If a man cannot work because of his sickness his family will take care of him. If they or other relatives cannot help, the whole Waito community will help. People with insufficient food to feed themselves are fed by friends. A family will feed a man for 2-3 days but after this he goes to another home. In general, lending and borrowing is frequent, free and easy.

Apart from basketry, carving, tankwa building and masonry, etc. one man in the village had learnt to weave shamma, although he rarely practised the craft.

(iv)
About four young Waito men work in the cotton factory. Here there is certainly no discrimination against them and more people want to work there.

(xvi) Asked whether they had considered improving their tankwas, they said 'Dengal is dengal. We cannot improve it'. They have an imitative spirit and hate deviations from the practices of their forefathers. The Waito believe that modern innovations, such as powered boats on the lake and members of other communities learning Waito crafts, have robbed them of much trade, ferrying, etc., which were previously Waito monopolies.

Chickens cost ~ 70c. each.

An old cow ~ £15 with a £5 return on the hide.

A good oxen ~ £100.

Eggs ~ 10c. for 4 or 3.

(vii) There is a difference in the wealth of the individuals in the village but differences are small and there appears to be no single rich man in the village.

(iii) There are only four men literate in Amharic in the village. The
 (iii) Kalicha is literate in Arabic.

E. MEASURES

(vi) During the day time is determined by the length of one's shadow
 (vi) and the position of the sun. On cloudy days the time is known by
 (ix) experience. The time at night is determined by the braying of asses and
 (iv) the crowing of cocks. An ass brays before a cock crows and the cock
 is supposed to crow once about midnight, once about 3 o'clock in the
 morning and once at about 6 o'clock in the morning.

The day is divided into six parts and appointments arranged accordingly:

- 1) Maleda - very early morning
- 2) Dera Karafad - about 10 a.m.
- 3) Kan Ucul - midday
- 4) Zuhur - about 2 p.m.
- 5) Assa - about 4 p.m.
- 6) Mercreb - sunset

These times are determined by experience and are associated with the position of the sun, although the cotton factory hooter is used to determine time accurately. Ethiopian time is used exclusively. This is six hours behind normal time beginning at 6 a.m. - i.e. supposedly sunrise. Ethiopian dating is also largely used.

The time of going to bed depends on the individual. Some stay awake and pray a good part of the night. Others go to bed early and others may pray for two hours. Children, however, go to bed very early and rise up a little later than their parents. Most adults rise at sunrise.

Although the Waito use scales they have no standard weight.

Distance is measured in several different ways:

- 1) a stride, elbow or hand's span
- 2) a shimel - this is a long wooden bar about three to four elbows
- 3) mechangna - this is a long length of skin measuring many elbows
- 4) kedema - this is the traditional measure of distance. It is the distance for which a ploughman would plough a furrow before (~ 30 yards) and is determined by experience. It depends on the optimum time and distance for which oxen will pull the plough before they need a change.
- 5) the metre is slowly being introduced

The Waito have a very limited concept of Ethiopia and have not heard of Africa.

Many Waito can swim. There are two strokes.

BIOLOGICAL WORK

The Waito community lived by fishing in the lake, by making baskets from locally gathered reeds, and by working stone gathered in the surrounding countryside. Their raw materials in all aspects of their daily life were derived almost exclusively from their environment, to build their houses of, to make boats with, to eat and as a main source of revenue by selling. They lived very much as one with their surroundings out of necessity and lack of choice.

The aim of the expedition was to make as complete a study of the community as possible and the various biological aspects intimated above formed an important basis for the more direct enquiries into the social structures and habits of the community. Basically this was a study of the environment itself whereas the other studies were more an investigation into the effects of the environment on the people. In this respect the work could be divided into two parts. First the zoological environment and secondly the botanical one are looked at.

ZOOLOGY

This consisted of a study of the ways in which animals affected the community and secondly, more or less the way in which the community affected the animals, mainly the fish. Thus the results are compounded as follows:

- a) Animals and the Waito - an investigation into the zoological natural history of the area as far as it concerned the lives of the Waito people.

- b) Fishing methods and fish - a systematic investigation into the most important of the activities of the Waito.

BOTANY

This part of the work was centred on a survey made of the vegetation in the village. This was considered in two aspects.

- a) A study of plant populations in a particular area by means of a metre square transect survey.
- b) A survey of the crops grown by the people - their distribution and quantity.

Botanical work was completed by a study of the wild plants used by the people for a variety of purposes.

In addition to these results set out below, a series of appendices have been drawn up as follows:

- i) Local animal names
- ii) Local bird names
- iii) Local plant names
- iv) List of birds seen and identified during the period of the expedition.
- v) Catalogues of the small insect and plant collections made.

ANIMALS AND THE WAITO

During the period of our stay the animals affecting the life of the Waito were studied in some detail. As the period of our stay was short, the information about a lot of the animals concerned had to be obtained by questioning of the villagers due to their relative rarity. In this respect, the usual technique of putting the same questions independently to different people was used. Observation was involved a good deal, however, and it was very useful in this respect to note the animals which affected us in camp life, living as we were in close proximity to the village.

The results are given below under a series of headings as follows:

1. The Hippopotamus - dealt with separately due to the great influence of these animals on Waito culture and way of life
2. Domestic Animals - including results of counts made
3. Scavengers - domestic and wild
4. Predators - on man, his stock, crops, etc.
5. Food Animals - domestic and wild
6. Animals prized for their skins - domestic and wild
7. Competitors - mainly fish-eaters
8. Insects:
 - a) Disease vectors
 - b) Domestic flies
 - c) Other house pests
 - d) Ectoparasites

Results of a study of fish are given elsewhere.

1. The Hippopotamus

Amharic - Goumari

The hippopotamus is the animal of the Waito, playing a leading role in their limited folklore. The hunting of these beasts used to be the prerogative of these people around Lake Tana and although this was banned by government legislation soon after the expulsion of the Italians thirty years ago, we heard so much about the hippopotamus during our stay of only six weeks with the people that its prime importance cannot be ignored.

The hippopotamus used to occur in great herds in Lake Tana and the adjoining Blue Nile, feeding on the still plentiful aquatic and peripheral vegetation. Nowadays, however, they are much reduced in numbers although still quite plentiful in places in the Blue Nile (especially below the Tches-Abbai falls) and in Lake Tana itself around the source of this river. Occasional specimens and small groups still occur elsewhere in the lake from time to time. In connection with this, we were told that the animals occurring in the lake were dangerous and attacked boats whereas those found in the Nile were not so, being relatively approachable and observable. As an illustration of the former case, we were told of a particular beast which inhabited the lake opposite Bahar Dar 'recently' that terrorised travellers for a long time. If these tales are true they are perhaps explicable by the fact that the isolated animals found in the lake are either small 'break-away' herds or rogues driven out of their herds because of their age or weakness and turning therefore to attacking man, or for that matter anything that crosses their path (cf. similar phenomena in the elephant or African buffalo).

As previously stated, the hunting of the hippopotamus was stopped by government order many years ago, but we were able to talk with old men in the Waito village who had actually hunted the 'goumari' in their youth. These hunts, they told us, were always carried out on land although a particular area for hunting might be reached by use of their reed boats. Hunting was done at night and the beasts were stalked and then surprised and killed. Men did not hunt alone as a group was essential to kill the animals. The weapons used apparently changed with time. In earliest times, we were told, the TOR was used. This was an ordinary spear. After this a sort of barbed harpoon or FILATA was employed and most recently TEBENYA or guns were used. None of these weapons were they able to show us because, they said, all weapons had been confiscated by the government and one must assume that after thirty years they no longer exist. Lastly, on the subject of hunting, there was one very old man who told us that in his youth they idolised a certain man who had killed over thirty hippopotami. This was the only hero they ever spoke of and from this one must assume that killing the hippopotamus was never an everyday thing and always a special event.

Connected with the hunting of the hippo, we were told of two peculiar social rules that used to exist. The first was that until a young man had killed, or presumably played a major part in the killing of, a hippopotamus, he was not allowed to marry. This fact was given to us at different times by different people and was presumably the major factor governing social structure in the Waito. The second rule was that until a man had killed a hippopotamus he could not put butter on his head, a practice still persisting, believed to make one clever.

As well as the social function the killing of the 'goumari' served there was also a practical one. The hides were used in making leather and the Waito fashioned this into whips or ALENGA and horse or mule bits or YEFERISINA YEBEKILO ZAT. The Waito, we were told, became famous for their 'alenga', which, they said, was so called because in historical times the Waito had lived in a place in Egypt called Aleng prior to moving South to Lake Tana. In addition to these manufactures, the Waito also ate flesh of the hippopotamus.

Their association with the hippopotamus, however, brought one great disadvantage which persists to the present day. Their eating of the flesh of the hippo was regarded by their neighbours, the Amhara, as unclean and despicable and for this reason the Waito were and still are discriminated against.

Thus the hippopotamus must be regarded as a real if unseen force on the lives of the Waito and is, or was, directly or indirectly one of the major factors in maintaining the individuality and isolation of this small tribe of people right up to the present day.

2. Domestic Animals

The Waito unlike their neighbours the Amharas, have no cattle, goats, sheep or any domestic animals apart from chickens, dogs and a single cat. Meat is bought or absent from their diet, being largely replaced by fish (except for very occasional supplementation with wild game).

A count of chickens was made in the Waito village and it was found that only a relatively small proportion of the families owned chickens. Of the Waito huts, only eleven owned chickens as far as could be

determined (some reticence being met with during enquiries due to people being unwilling to disclose their wealth - usually measured by ownership of chickens). Of these eleven, the least number owned by any one hut was one and the most six, although this figure may be abnormally high due to the practice of allowing the birds to wander at will and the close proximity of adjacent huts, making the ascribing of any one chicken to any one hut very difficult. The total number of chickens owned by the Waito was twenty-eight. As a general rule these chickens were thin, scraggy birds bearing little or no resemblance to modern European stock and reminding one of the ancestral jungle fowl stock.

Dogs are few in the village and most bore some resemblance to the typical African (some say typical Ethiopian) basenji stock. Three houses owned dogs, one having in fact two, the total number being four.

On top of these animals owned by the Waito the chief, Negadras Mogas Kasengne, owned a remarkably fat and docile ginger tomcat, usually kept on a lead. We were told that other cats, although much prized simply for their rat catching ability, were just not available. All cats seen in the area were therefore well looked after and carefully watched.

3. Scavengers

Scavengers are common in the Waito village due to the great amount of waste (fish heads, offal, etc.) left just lying around in the grass.

The most common scavenger was undoubtedly the domestic dog, these being generally undernourished and usually not purposefully fed at all.

They were numerous in the village (owned largely by Amharas - see above) and universally afraid of man - a raised arm sending them running.

Next one must consider the rats. Judging by their numbers and from what we were told, these must be considered the most important wild animal apart from the fish affecting the Waito to their knowledge (setting aside disease-carrying flies and other insects whose effects they do not relate to the animal concerned). Rats are in every house and occur everywhere in the village. Asked about their deprivations, one of the men said, "Ah, we eat together". They are combatted using steel traps of the conventional 'breakback' type which it is possible to buy in the town. However, they say, these catch only one a night and have no actual eradicating effect. Cats, probably the most efficacious anti-rat device, are apparently not available. Asked if they knew where the rats came from, the Waito said, "Allah creates them out of the ground" - an allusion no doubt to their subterranean diurnal habit. Ample cover and vegetation exists for rats to breed more or less unmolested.

Other scavengers were named as a type of wild cat known as the ANER, probably either Felis lybica or F. serval, and the KABERO, either a jackal (Thos spp.) or a fox, possibly Otocyon. Both aner and kabero turned their attentions to our camp rubbish tip at one time or another during our six-week stay.

Hyaenas are common all round the village of Fasilo (probably Crocuta crocuta) and were seen and heard around the camp on many occasions. This was in fact just outside the main area of habitation and we were told that they did not come into the village proper, being

afraid of man. Any rubbish left in the woods around the village no doubt received the attention of these 'DJIBBS'.

Birds also act as scavengers to a large extent and vultures must be one of the commonest birds in the area. These are almost all hooded vultures (Necrocyrtes monachus) although one or two white-headed vultures (Trigonoceps occipitalis) were seen. These birds are attracted to any dead material, especially where an animal has been killed and perhaps cut up. They were often seen in large numbers round a particular attraction.

Other birds acted as scavengers on a smaller scale. Attracted to dead meat were crows, those seen including the pied crow (Corvus albus) and the Cape rook (C. capensis). Smaller birds are a menace, eating grain and similar produce left out in the sun to dry. The main culprits in this respect are the weaver birds. The weaver birds seen included the black-headed weaver (Floceus cucullatus), Speke's weaver (P. spekei) and a black weaver of some sort. Fire-finches also did a lot of harm and the one present here is the red-billed fire-finch (Lagonostriata senegala). The grey-headed sparrow (Passer griseus) is also a pest of like sort.

Other vertebrates do no doubt act as scavengers in the village from time to time, but the above are the major ones (for insects see elsewhere).

4. Predators

The predators the Waito are concerned with may be conveniently divided into two. First, those which are a danger to the people themselves and secondly those which are predators on their stock, in this

case chickens.

Of the first, there appear to be few that the people are the least concerned about. However, one may consider those animals occurring locally which are potentially dangerous.

The hippopotamus (Hippopotamus amphibius) is feared by the people and is dealt with elsewhere.

The crocodile (Crocodilus niloticus) is common in the nearby Blue Nile where it is reputed to reach remarkably large dimensions. They are not, however, feared by the people as, they say, they are only dangerous when provoked.

Surprisingly enough both lion (Felis leo) and leopard (F. pardus) were mentioned when some of the old men were asked about dangerous animals and these, it was later explained, had been found in the area in their youth (although leopard still occurs very occasionally). None of the younger men could remember either of these animals having occurred.

Snakes, although common, in and around the village, are not feared by the people although they are always killed regardless of size (specimens of from six inches to six feet having been retrieved from the woods). Dangerous snakes such as cobras, mambas, and vipers are supposed to occur in the area but none were seen and are reputedly only numerous in the dry season. None of those asked could recall a single serious bite. Pythons (Python sebae) are common but again are regarded as completely harmless.

Insects are in no way feared and are not considered harmful or connected with any bad effects.

Lastly in this group of animals they consider, somewhat surprisingly, that hyenas are dangerous to man. This may be correlated with stories we heard in Addis Ababa of hyenas packing together when food was scarce and attacking guards.

Of the predators on the domestic chickens, five were mentioned during periods of questioning on the subject. The first of these was the fox (see notes above) and the second the wild cat. In addition to these, the civet (Civettictis civetta), and genet (Genetta spp.) and the mongoose (Herpestes ichneumon) were mentioned as occasional pests on the chickens, although the first two probably represent the commonest of the chicken-eaters.

Hawks, rats, snakes and dogs are all very common in the vicinity and must undoubtedly take their toll of the communities' chickens although never specifically mentioned as such.

5. Food Animals

(NOT including fish - see elsewhere)

Again this group of animals may be subdivided into two - domestic and wild.

a) DOMESTIC - as previously mentioned, the only domestic animals owned by the Waite are chickens and these they eat occasionally as well as using or selling the eggs. Meat is usually bought (often communally) and may be beef, mutton, goat but not of course pork (this being against both local Christian and Muslim ethics).

b) WILD - wild animals apparently form a very occasional addition to the meat diet of the people. The most common species here involved are the guinea fowl and francolin (Numida meleagris and Francolinus spp. respectively). These are the only flying birds their religion permits them to eat and they even have snares which they set for them. Hunting of these is, however, now under government restriction. Unlike their neighbours, the Amharas, they eat neither ducks nor geese.

Of the wild mammals they eat, they mention the various kinds of deer and antelope found in the forest around the lake. These include the duiker (Silvicapra grimmia), reedbuck (Redunca redunca), bushbuck (Tragelophus scriptus) and water buck (Kobus defarsa). No special method of hunting is used and the animals are merely chased whenever they are met with. They may be killed with stones or sticks or any other available weapon.

Bushpigs (Potamochoerus porcus) do occur in the area but are not eaten for religious reasons by either Waito or Amhara.

6. Animals Prized for their Skins

Skins are widely used for a variety of purposes in the village, from covering the 'kabero' drum, to clothes, to floor coverings. Those in almost universal use are those of domestic animals simply dried and completely uncured. The most common of these are those of cows, with sheep and goats also in use. They do however prize probably more the skins of wild animals, and when asked about this, the people told us

that they valued especially the hides of duiker, reedbuck and water buck (and presumably also bushbuck). These are, however, few and far between. On one occasion also we were told of a value attached to the skins of porcupines (Hystrix cristata). If caught, the spines of these beasts are used to make a kind of small spear. The skins of smaller animals killed, such as monkey, wild cat, civet, genet, etc. would probably be taken but are not particularly prized in any way.

7. Competitors

Lake Tana, as well as providing the main source of protein in the form of fish for the Waito, also does the same for a large number of other organisms. Of the vertebrates the lake supports an enormous population of birds. The food of these is basically drawn from the vast numbers of frogs and fish fry, as well as fish themselves, abounding in the lake.

White-necked cormorants (Phalacrocorax corbo) and long-tailed cormorants (P. africanus) were common among the solely fish-eaters, as was the African sea-eagle (Cuncuma vocifer). The darter was also seen on one or two occasions (Anhinga rufa). Herons, storks, ibises, egrets and related forms were very frequent and no doubt accounted for many young or small fish. The following species were seen:

Black-headed heron (Ardia Melanocephala) - very common everywhere

Goliath heron (A. goliath) - two seen in reed beds

Little bittern (Ixobrychus minutus) - elusive - one brought into camp

Great white egret (Casmerobius albus) - few always present

Yellow-billed egret (Mesophoyx intermedius) - common

Saddle-billed stork (Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis) - frequently seen

White stork (Ciconia ciconia) - one seen

Woolly-necked stork (Dissoura episcopus) - one seen in water-meadow

Open-billed stork (Anastomus lamelligerus) - extremely common

Hammerkop (Scopus umbretta) - common - usually seen singly.

Sacred ibis (Threskiornis aethiopicus) - common - usually with egrets

Kingfishers were numerous and the small pied kingfisher was one of the commonest of all the birds in the area (Ceryle rudis). Other species were present, but the only one identifiable was the pigmy kingfisher (Ispidina picta) which was also common.

Other fish-eating vertebrates were otters and crocodiles. Of the otters, none were seen, and the locals recognised neither drawings nor descriptions. Two species are however supposed to occur, the common African Lutra maculicollis and the endemic clawless otter (Aonyx capensis). Otters of any sort would no doubt account for large numbers of fish. Crocodiles were common only in the Blue Nile, but as fishing was frequent there they would be quite an important competitor with the fishermen.

A study of large invertebrates which would eat fish-fry such as dytiscids and nepids was not made.

8. Insects (and other Invertebrates)

As in every other tropical country, Ethiopia abounds in insects. In the regions of high altitude, which make up a large proportion of the country, however, they are not so conspicuously abundant as in the lowland. This may well be one of the contributory factors which has helped the W.H.O. malaria control scheme to such an extent that they have declared Ethiopia, to all intents and purposes, free of malaria. The mosquitoes however still exist in considerable numbers! The insects involved in this study laid out as given in the introduction represent but a poor survey of the insects of economic importance in the region due to the short time available for the study and the inefficiency of the sampling methods involved.

a) Disease Vectors

The insects involved primarily in this category were mosquitoes, and the information given below is based on a little first hand information, but mainly on details given to us by the local doctor, Dr. Schaufele, who was most helpful in this respect. Malarial type mosquitoes still occur in the area being various species of Anopheles, although the disease itself is very uncommon in the area. The elephantiasis mosquito, Culex fatigans, does also occur in the area although, apparently, it does not bear the parasites. The numerous cases of elephantiasis seen in the region were, so we were told, brought in and did not originate locally. We never actually caught Culex fatigans, but did meet the closely related species C. antennatus, one of the other species which some writers have suggested is involved in the transference of a type of cattle trypanosomiasis.

Fleas were one of the insects one was most noticeably conscious of in the village although the locals, having become accustomed to them, do not find them more than a mild irritation. We who were not so accustomed found them by far the most feared of all the local fauna. Quite apart from this irritating property, however, they are potential disease vectors, some having been shown to transmit bubonic plague and others murine typhus. In both these cases, rodent pests are also involved and there was certainly no shortage of those in the Waito village.

Bed-bugs (Cimex hemipterus) were also common in the village and, although their bites are less of a nuisance than those of fleas, they have been shown to be capable of transmitting a variety of diseases.

Human lice (Pediculus humanus) were, we were told, in every household, although we ourselves never encountered them. These are the principal vectors of typhus and louse born relapsing fever, both of which, Dr. Schauffele assured us, were common in the area.

b) Biting Insects

A variety of insects made themselves felt by their ability to bite, while not in fact being disease vectors. These included many mosquitoes of all types, including such genera as Culex, Aedes and Anopheles. Other biting flies consisted of a variety of types, some of the more noticeable belonging to the families Ceratopogonidae and Tabanidae. Other biting insects noticed included various Nabisid bugs. Ants of many sorts were very common and no doubt occasionally bit man.

The human leach was a common animal and we once had to remove some from the leg of a child. These were probably some species of *Hirudo*, perhaps the same as the European *H. medinensis*.

No ticks or spiders or any other arachnids likely to bite were noticed and no mention of them was made.

c) Domestic Flies

Domestic flies were everywhere abundant, on food, on utensils, and, all too often, on cuts, sores or other open wounds. Flies are always a great danger to public health and their mere presence makes food and the like a danger to health. They are able to spread infections from one place to another with amazing efficiency and may be one of the main factors causing outbreaks of, for example, sepsis.

Other flies actually invade tissues and cause a condition known as myiasis in which the eggs are laid in the skin of the patient and the resulting larvae feed on the flesh. These often enter wounds and damaged tissue of people of low hygienic standards, such as the Waito. Most of these are primarily pests of domestic animals, but in primitive conditions often attack man. A more or less random collection of the most abundant flies seen in the village was made and this included several examples of the flies most notorious for producing myiasis, the blow flies. The species we encountered were *Lucilia cuprina* and two species of *Chrysomya*, namely *C. marginalis* and *C. chloropyga*. Other flies encountered entering this category were *Musca sorbens*, *Theclaira actoplani*, *Limonia* sp., *Diopsis thoracica* and *Chrysops ciliaris pusillola*.

It must, however, be remembered that these represent but a small proportion of the vast numbers of types of flies seen in the area. The fly population of the Waito village alone must have numbered many millions while the neighbouring forest represents an infinite reservoir population.

d) Other Household Pests

This category is here erected to include the quite large number of insects that share their habitation with the people. Our samples of these consist mainly of those species we encountered in the camp and their relevance depends on the assumption that, living as we were in close proximity to the village the insects we encountered would represent the types most commonly found in the Waito huts.

Of the cockroaches, the most common was the ubiquitous Blatella germanica, although we also found a species of Deropeltis, a much larger insect some two inches long.

Crickets were well represented, three species being encountered, Homeogryllus sp., Gryllus sp., and Acheta sp. Earwigs, a common co-habitor of European homes, were not at all common, only two examples being seen during our stay, Labidura riparia and Labia minor, neither inside.

The above were the only regularly found domestic insects apart from flies and ectoparasites and such casual inhabitants as the vast concourse of moths attracted to any light exhibited.

e) Ectoparasites

This category has been more or less covered in the notes on disease vectors. It consists almost solely of the aforementioned fleas,

bed-bugs and lice and occasionally, we were told, ticks. It was unfortunately impossible to identify the fleas concerned, as the small collection of them made was lost in transit back to London.

Before concluding this section, one must also mention the various species of termites and other structural pests seen in the area which from time to time must affect the people by their ravages. Similarly, there must be a large category of insects which feed upon the meagre crops of the Waito (although maize, their main crop, is remarkably free of pests) which time prevented us from investigating further.

APPENDIX ILOCAL ANIMAL NAMES

Hare	Tinchel
Rat	A'it
Porcupine	Djarrt
Dog	Wucha
Jackal (fox?)	Kabero
Hyaena	Djibb
Cat	Dimmat
Leopard	Nebrr
Lion	Ambessa
Wild Cat (serval?)	Aner
Mongoose	Faro
Civet	Tirin
Genet	Muchill-chilla
Donkey	Ayia
Horse	Ferass
Mule	Baccalau
Bush pig	Azama
Hippopotamus	Goumari
Buffalo	Gosh
Bushbuck	Doukoula
Cow	Lam
Duiker	Midakwo
Goat	Feyell
Ox	Burre
Sheep	B'ug
Water buck	Defarsa
Baboon	Djindjero
Monkey	Tota
Crocodile	Azzo
Monitor	Ardjano
Python	Zando
Snake	Ibab
Leech	Alek't
Crab	Tefer mit-mat
Butterfly	Brra brrect
Caterpillar	Abba shagari
Scarab beetle	K'imberse
Water bug	Gourrt
Spider	Sharareet

APPENDIX IILOCAL BIRD NAMES

Fish eagle	Kulinke
Goose	Zie
Duck	Dakie
Heron	Ibabwatch (literally 'snake-eater')
Kingfisher	Ankoteliake (Asawatch - 'fish-eater')
Frankolin	Koark
Guinea fowl	Djigra
Dove	Houda
Hornbill	Urcoomb
Oxpecker	Arache
Weaver bird	Warabe
Firefinch	Dimbeet
Vulture	T'imbamora
Hawk	Tch'aat

APPENDIX IIILOCAL PLANT NAMES

Eucalyptus	Bahr zaf
Papyrus	Dengel
Palm	Selen
Pepper	Barbare
Maize	Machilla
Cabbage	Gomman
Gourd	Kolno
'Clover'	Wadgma

N.B. Various other plant names were given to us, but our ignorance as regards their English names makes their reproduction meaningless.

APPENDIX IVINSECTA - LIST OF SPECIES COLLECTED FROM BAHAR DAR

The list enumerated below is largely complete, although up to press it has not been possible to identify the Collembola, Isoptera or some of the families of Coleoptera collected. Identifications given below are as detailed as the stage of the insect collected or the completeness of the British Museum collection would allow.

O. ODONATA

- Trithemis donaldsoni donaldsoni*, Calvert.
Orthetrum sp.

O. DERMAPTERA

- Labidura riparia* (Pallas)
Labia minor (L)

O. EMBIOPTERA

- Embia* sp.

C. DICTYOPTERA

- Deropeltis* sp.
Elatella germanica (L)
Miomantis sp.
Cxypilus sp.
Compsotherpis sp.
Elaea sp.
Cxypilus ?annulatus, Serv.
Elaea ?marchali (Cocq.)

O. ORTHOPTERA

- Homoeogryllus* sp.
Gryllus sp.
Acheta sp.
Coryphosima sp.?

O. ORTHOPTERA (cont.)

- Acrida* sp.
Acanthacris ruficornis lineata. Stoll.
Paracina tricolor montana. Key
Tylotropidius crassipes. Sjost.
Chrotogonus senegalensis abyssinicus. Bol.

O. HEMIPTERA

- Agonoscelis versicolor* Fabr.
Diplokys fallax Stål.
Scotinofara fibulata Germ.
Eysarcoris inconspicuus H. Sch.
Delegorguella ventralis Germ.
Myla sp.
Clotus sp.
Spilostethus amaenus Bol.
S. pandurus Scop.
Melanocoryphus amaenulatus (Terst.)
Rhyperotheres atomarius Dist.
Scantius clavimanus Fabr.
S. caraboides Bergr.
Physatocheila? sp.
Pirates lugubris Stål.
Paraplynus lugubris Stål.
Ectomocoris maculicrus Fairm.
E. signoreti Leth. + Sem.
Oncocephalus sp.
Monaccarus atratus Dist.
Aethus indicus Westw.
Cryptacrus comes var. *Rufopictus* Walk.
Myrmoplasta potteri Martin.
Iaccotrephes fabricii Stål.
L. steindachneri Ferr.
Locris antinorii Dist.
Hilda sp.
Poophilus grisescens Schaum.

O. TRICHOPTERA

Amphipsyche senegalensis. (Blauer)

O. LEPIDOPTERA

Danaus chrysippus L. ssp. *Aegyptus* Shreb. f. *Alcippides* Mre.

Precis clelia Cram.

Dimcia orbana ssp. *Vidua* Butl.

Papilio demodocus L.

Snytarucus telicanis Lang.

Cyligramma latona Cramer.

Hypotion eson Cramer.

H. Celerio L.

O. DIPTERA

Culex (*Culex*) *antennatus*. Becker.

Limonia (*Limonia*) sp. (near *uniflava*. Risdell.)

Chironomus calipterus. Kieffer.

Haematopota abyssinica. Surcony.

Thelaira actoplani. Speiser.

Chrysomya marginalis. Weid.

Musca sorbens. Weid.

Chrysops ciliaris pusillola. Austen.

Diopsis thoracica. West.

O. HYMENOPTERA

Camponotus (*Tandemyrmix*) *compressus thoracicos* Fabr.

C. (*Orthonotomyrmix*) *sericeus* Fabr.

Anomma nigricanus Ill.

Ctenoplectra fuscipes Fricse.

Ceratina sp.

Enicospilus sp.

O. COLEOPTERA

Fam. *Buprestidae*

Chalcogenia suturalis Kerr. ab. *Unicolor* Thery.

Fam. *Elateridae*

Cardiophorus gagatnos Cand.

Fam. *Lampyridae*

Luciola (?) *linearis* Gerst.

Luciola sp.

O. COLEOPTERA (cont.)

- Fam. Telephoridae
Seledius deustus Rche.
- Fam. Bostrychidae
Xyloperthodes nitidipennis Murray.
- Fam. Cleridae
Gyphanyx ?gueri White.
- Fam. Malachidae
Aplochrus sp. (3 spp.)
A. sumptuosus Boh.
Ebaeus zonarius Champ.
Hedybius nr. *fermosus* Rche.
- Fam. Tenebrionidae
Cossyphus sp.
Scleron Orientale F.
Adegmia abyssinica Rche
Gonocephalurus griseovittatus Crid.
Opatrinus spp (2 spp.)
Eutochia pulla Fr.
- Fam. Lagriidae
Lagria villosa F.
- Fam. Meloidae
Cylindrothorax nr. *strangulata* Geist.
Zonitoderma collaris Cast.
Decapotoha sp.
Epicauta korvaleri Kasz.
- Fam. Anthicidae
Formicomus nr. *pagioni* Pie.
- Fam. Cerambycidae
Nupserha strigicollis Fairm. ssp. *Harrarensis* Brevn.
- Fam. Curculionidae
Gasteroclisus rhomboidalis (Boh.)
Alcidodes naemopterus (Boh.)
Hypera sp. ?*variabilis* (Hbst.)
Mesoleurus sp.
Nemato cerus sp.?

Gratitude must be expressed to the Deputy Keeper and his staff at the British Museum (Natural History), Department of Entomology, without whose help this list could never have been compiled.

FISHING

The "Waito Fishermen" is the usual anthropological description of the people we studied at Fasilo on the banks of Lake Tana. Fishing is the basis of their life and their basic food item. Fishing as an occupation, with its associated labour of reed-boat (tankwa) building, is not now, as formerly, the sole occupation of the Waito, being supplemented by stone masonry and basketry. However, even now fishing is the only really respectable occupation and is the prerogative of the adult males of the village. The neighbouring Amharas have now begun fishing and boat-building much to the annoyance of the Waito, who nevertheless claim superiority in the art, as they regard it. Many fishing techniques are employed - designed to catch fish at all times in all situations (see later). Some of these methods are new, including use of bought lines and hooks, similarly nets are now made from bought cotton thread. The age-old fish-trap methods however persist. Fishing is carried out from boat, shore and shallows in both lake and river. Different communities of Waito employ different methods to different extents.

The techniques involved in study of the fishing are perhaps best explained as containing three sections, as follows:

- i) Questioning of fishermen on general topics involving opinions rather than description of techniques.
- ii) Study of the actual fishing methods carried out as exhaustively as possible with especial attention paid to design and construction of the apparatus and the manner of its use.

- iii) Study, from the zoological and economic point of view of the fish themselves involving as far as possible identification, illustration, description and comments of local interest.

Wherever possible, results are based on actual observation but as some methods were not in use during the period of our stay, descriptions of their use had to be based on oral descriptions given to us by the people.

Fishing is, as previously mentioned, the prime protein source of the people and as such makes them to a certain extent independent of outside food sources if necessary, as for example in times of famine. Little is exported however and in normal times fishing must to a certain extent be sacrificed to other travails which bring in money with which food and material goods may be bought from the town.

In Gediro and Ygasho the Waito have been forced to turn their hands from fishing to such an extent that it is but an occasional occupation - now in fact they are primarily agriculturalists.

However, in spite of this alien usurpation of the Waito tradition, fishing must be considered of prime importance from the sociological and historical point of view.

Section (i)

Questioning of Fishermen

- a) Conversation with a group of four men.
- b) Report of conversation a) with Osman Mogus.
- c) Summary of answers.

27TH JULY, 1965 - approximately 11.45 a.m.

Conversation with eventually four adult males, one an elder, on fishing at the Waito village of Fasilo.

Questions

1) Q. What are the kinds of fish in the lake?

A. They are five: i) ANBASSA (Amharic = Lion)

ii) NECH (Amharic = White)

iii) BESO)

iv) KERESO) Amharic meanings unknown

v) SORZ)

The last (Soraz) they said was "as big as a man" and very rare, being found only far out on the lake.*

2) Q. Which of these kinds is most desired and why?

A. Soraz - because they are so big and provide so much food. There is no distinction between the others.

3) Q. Are any fish rejected because of type, nature, size, etc.?

A. None are rejected, even the very small ones. All are eaten and still there is not enough.

4) Q. Are any fish sold to the town?

A. No. All is eaten - however our forefathers who lived actually on the lake side fished more and caught more and thus could sell it.¹

* Later information: Soraz are in fact very large specimens of Kereso.

¹ We, unlike them, have other activities.

- 5) Q. How many times a week, a day do you go fishing?
A. There is no set rule, we go when the mood takes us.
- 6) Q. When is it best for fishing?
i) in the fine or rain?
A. Fishing is best in the rainy season but we still catch fish in the dry season.
ii) what time of day?
A. The afternoon is the best and NOT the morning.
iii) do you fish at night?
A. We cast our nets at night and collect them the following afternoon.
iv) at the edge or in the middle of the lake?
A. Towards the edges.
v) in clear water or weed?
A. In the weed and 'grass' is best.
- 7) Q. Do you fish at all depths or use different methods for different depths or what?
A. Generally there is no distinction but the K'afo (trap) is 1m. in depth and is not necessarily covered (answer difficult to translate and thus hazy).
- 8) Q. What do you fear on the lake in the way of animals, etc.?
A. We fear Goumari (hippopotamus).
Q. Are they common in the lake?
A. Yes, in certain areas. Also we fear the waves.

Q. What about crocodiles?

A. They are only found in the Abbai (Blue Nile) and not in the lake.

To ask them if they feared water spirits and the like was decided against till later because it might touch on religious areas best left alone to start with.

These answers may be considered valid due to their being those of four men rather than one.

b) 27TH JULY, 1965 - approximately 1.30 p.m.

Conversation with Osman Mogus as regards fishing - he showed us some bought nylon line and hooks which they now use, buying it in Bahar Dar.

Before these were available they said there was no other method of line fishing, and they relied on alternative methods. Bait was usually a form of unleavened T'ef (grain) paste although meat was best.

He was then asked the same questions as the men in the morning (see page 154) and gave identical answers to them except for a few minor points mentioned below.

- i) In good seasons they may have surplus fish to sell to the town. Asked if this (summer 1965) was a good season, he said it would be when the water rose at the beginning of August.

- ii) About K'afo (trap) fishing, he said that they concealed the traps in areas of grass (weed) so the fish would be deceived and swim in. These he said were put down one day and examined the next.
 - iii) Asked about fears, being the son of the chief he said there were none, but on interrogation said they didn't like waves and hippopotami. He said both hippopotami and crocodiles didn't like rough water.
-

c) Summary of Answers

- i) All fish regardless of size and type are taken and eaten and only sold to the town now in very good seasons, although formerly this was a more common practice. (For types see later).
- ii) No set times are allotted to fishing - a trip depends on conditions and mood for its origin.
- iii) Optimum conditions:
 - a. Rainy season (not exclusively, however)
 - b. The afternoon and NOT the morning
 - c. The edges of the lake in areas of weed
 - d. Depth depends on type of fishing technique in use
- iv) Hippopotami and storms are the prime fears of the fishermen on the lake, although these are not common.

FISHING METHODS

(See notes on techniques of investigation above)

- | | | |
|------------|---|------------|
| 1. K'AFO | } | Traps |
| 2. ANGAFRA | | |
| 3. MEREB | } | Nets |
| 4. MENZ | | |
| 5. MEKATEN | | - Lines |
| 6. MAGLEBO | | - Hand net |

All methods were investigated as thoroughly as possible, 1, 2, 4 and 5 having actually been observed in use and 3 and 4 ascertained by description. All apparatus involved in all six methods was seen first hand and drawings and descriptions are based on this.

K'AFOThe Use of K'afo Fish Traps

These traps are it appears one of the primary methods of fishing among the Waito as well as the neighbouring Amharas. Each one is approximately four feet long by two and a half feet in diameter. It is made of flexible laths and has a mesh of about two inches. It works on the principle of the lobster pot with an invaginated end leading to a small entrance hole of about four inches diameter through which the fish enter and have difficulty in leaving afterwards. The fish are removed from the K'afo by hand by the same aperture.

(K'afo = Beehive in Amharic)

The traps are put down one day and examined the following afternoon or evening. The preferred place is among weeds where the trap is concealed (in fact they are never put down in open water).

These traps are used round the shores of the lake and also round the mouth of the Blue Nile at the lake side and all types of fish, we were told, are taken in them, although Beso are rare.

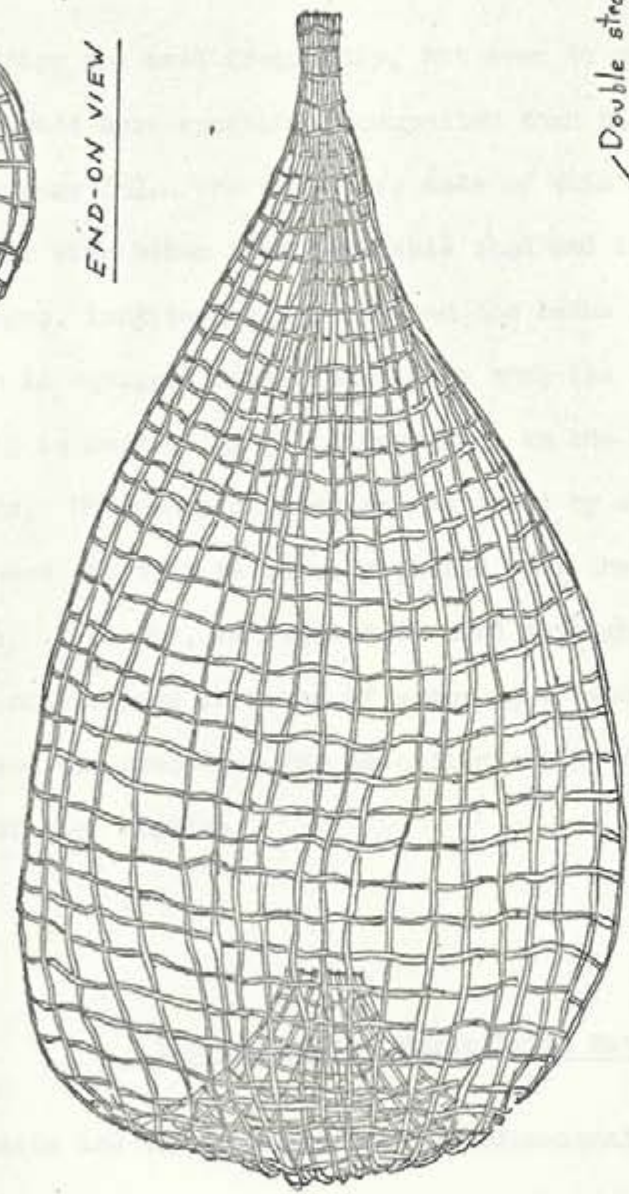
The method of putting down the traps was observed on 18th August. The chosen place was in the lake at the edge of a large papyrus bed where there was some surface floating vegetation. The fisherman waded out into about 3'6" of water and put the trap down on the edge of the weed and open water covered by about 18" of water. The fish in question that afternoon were Beso, we were told.

30th July 1965 (a.m.)
Measurements approximate
Mesh is approximately 2".



ENTRANCE
Diam = 4'

FIGURE 24



END-ON VIEW

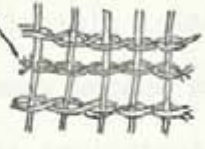
SIDE VIEW

← 10' →

← →

4.0 FEET

Double strands - Circular
Single strands - Longitudinal



DETAIL OF CONSTRUCTION

← →

ANGAFRAThe Use of Angafra Fish Traps

These traps are used frequently, but seem to us to be a less serious, somewhat more sporting, occupation than the use of K'afu type of trap (see page 159). The traps are made of thin flexible laths bound together with other thin vegetable cord and inner wooden supports. The average gap, longitudinally, between the laths is approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ " and the trap is equipped with a hand hole near its top. (See diagrams)

The trap is carried by the narrow end, in one hand with the open end downwards. Movements of fish are detected by sight amidst reeds and grass and the trap is quickly placed over the spot in question and the fish, if caught, is removed by hand through the hole provided. The trap is only of use in areas of water up to about 2 feet deep and grass and weed are essential for detection of the fish, which is necessary during use of the angafra .

3. MEREBThe Use of the Merab Drift Net

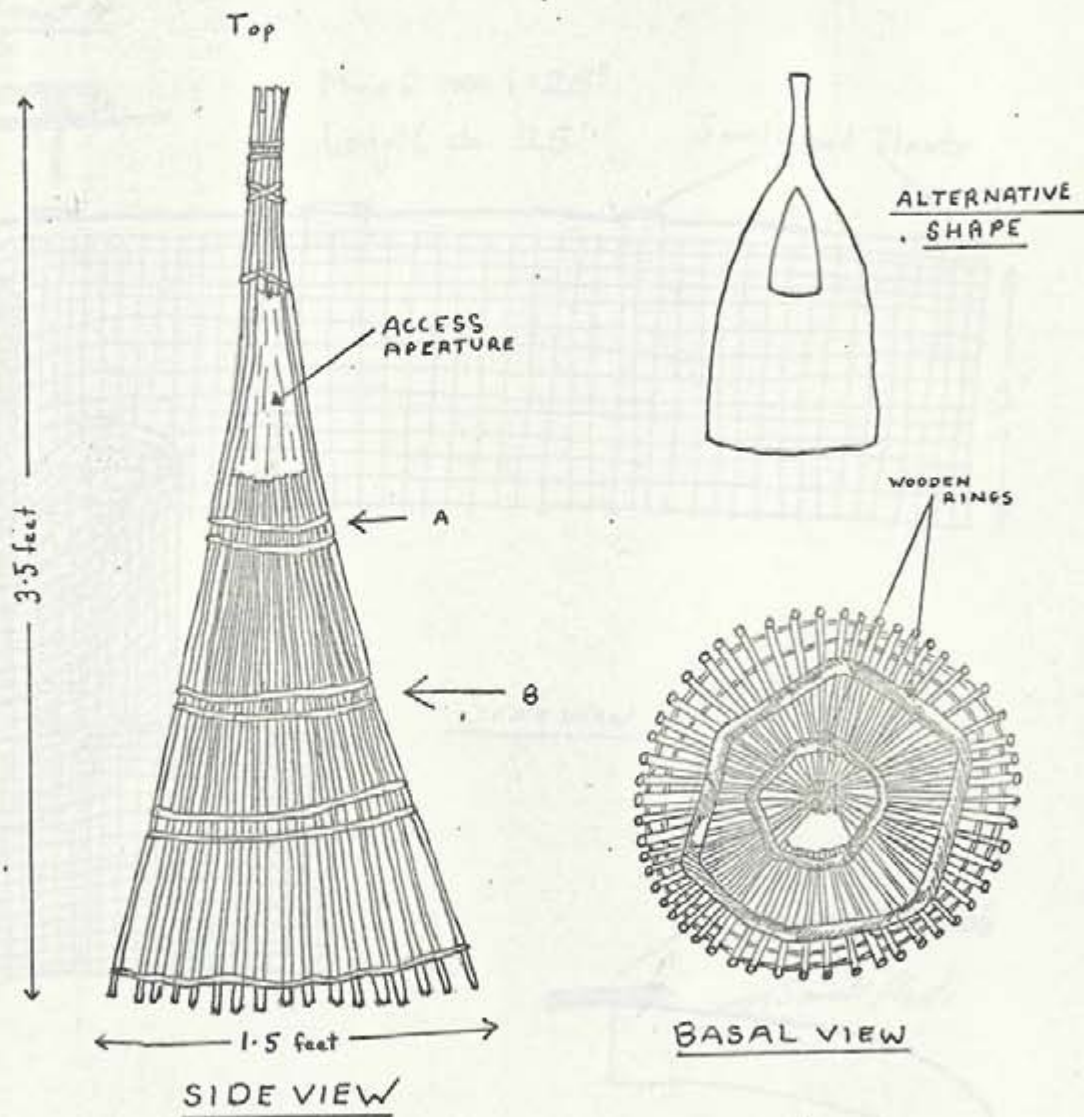
These nets are the largest, most 'professional' fishing apparatus employed by the Waito fishermen and on a good catch may take up to 50 to 60 fish at a time. The net is rectangular with about a 1" to $1\frac{1}{2}$ " mesh. They are home made from ZAHA, a cord obtained from the local cotton factory*. Larger ones were described to us, but none were seen.

* Each one takes about one month to make.

Examined in Wajto village of FASILO, Bahr Dar. 30th July 1965 (a.m)

Measurements approximate

Maximum apertures between numbers of trap approx. 0.25" to 0.5"



A, B - Position of strengthening wooden rings.

HEREB - Drift Net - As observed in Waito village at FASILO
Bahar Dar. Gojjam. Ethiopia. 19 Aug. 1965.

FIGURE 26

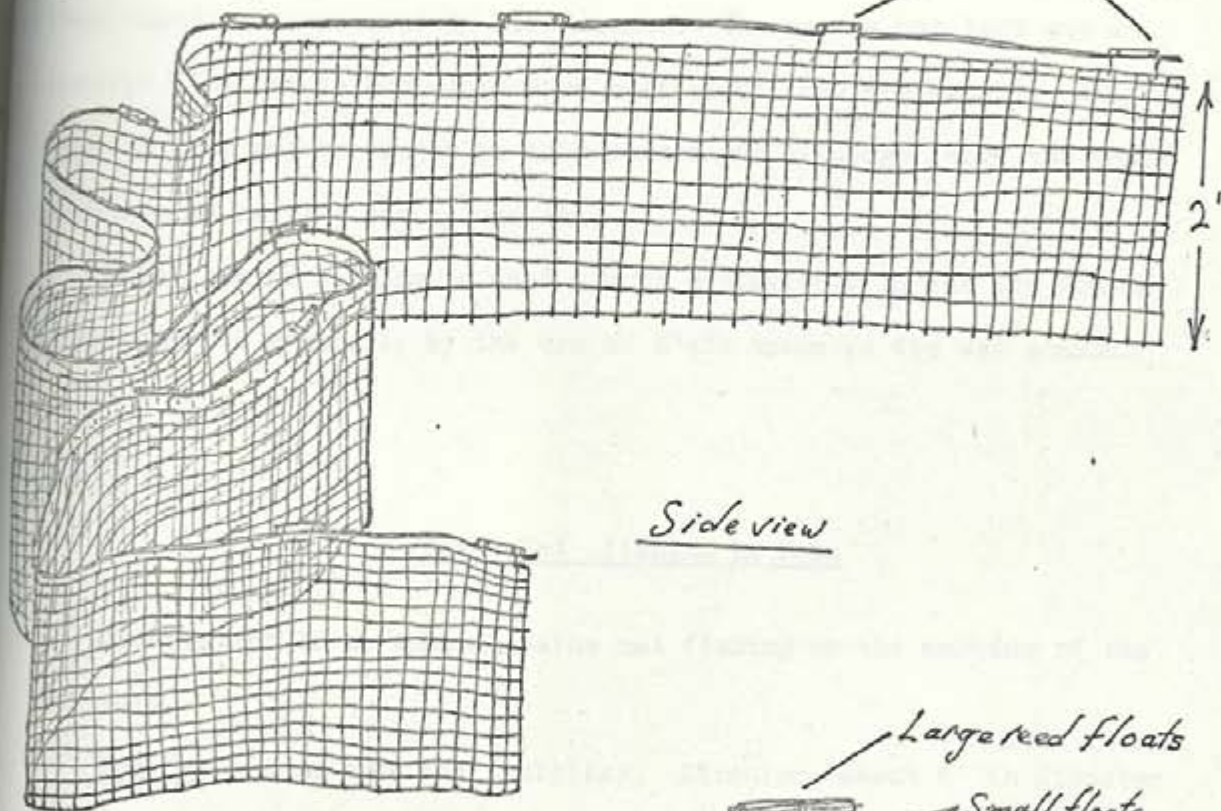
Method of attachment of
small floats



Mesh $\approx 1.25''$

Length $\approx 25'$

Small reed floats



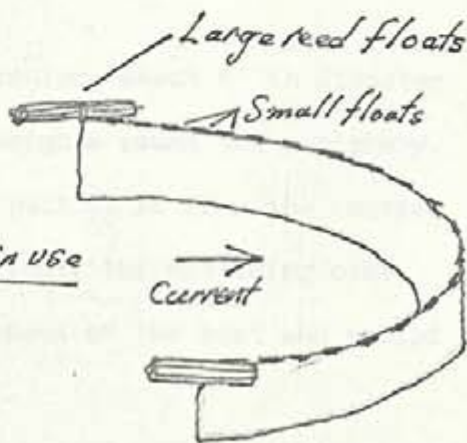
Side view

Large reed floats

Small floats

As when in use

→
Current



Along the top edge is a thicker cord with small papyrus floats attached as shown in the diagram. When in use, two larger floats also of papyrus are used at each end and from the line of floats the net hangs down. No weights are used to aid this. When in use, the net is curved and fish are caught by the opercula when they swim into the net. The net is used a distance from the shore, generally being taken out by tankwa (reed boat) and retrieved in like manner. The net is not left out a specific time but is hauled in when sufficient fish are caught. All types of fish may be caught in this manner and although large the whole operation is carried out by one man.

This form of fishing is used almost exclusively in the dry season, being replaced generally by the use of K'afo traps in the wet season.

MENZ

Seine Net fishing by Menz

Observation of an Amhara, seine net fishing on the morning of the 28th July.

The Net - home made and faultless. Circular, about 6' in diameter with a series of small ($1" \times \frac{1}{2}" \times \frac{1}{4}"$) lead weights round the periphery. Small ($\approx 1"$) mesh with a line with which to pull it in from the centre.

The fishing was done from a small reed boat, the net being cast with the left hand (and held by the right) ahead of the boat and pulled up with the boat drifted alongside.

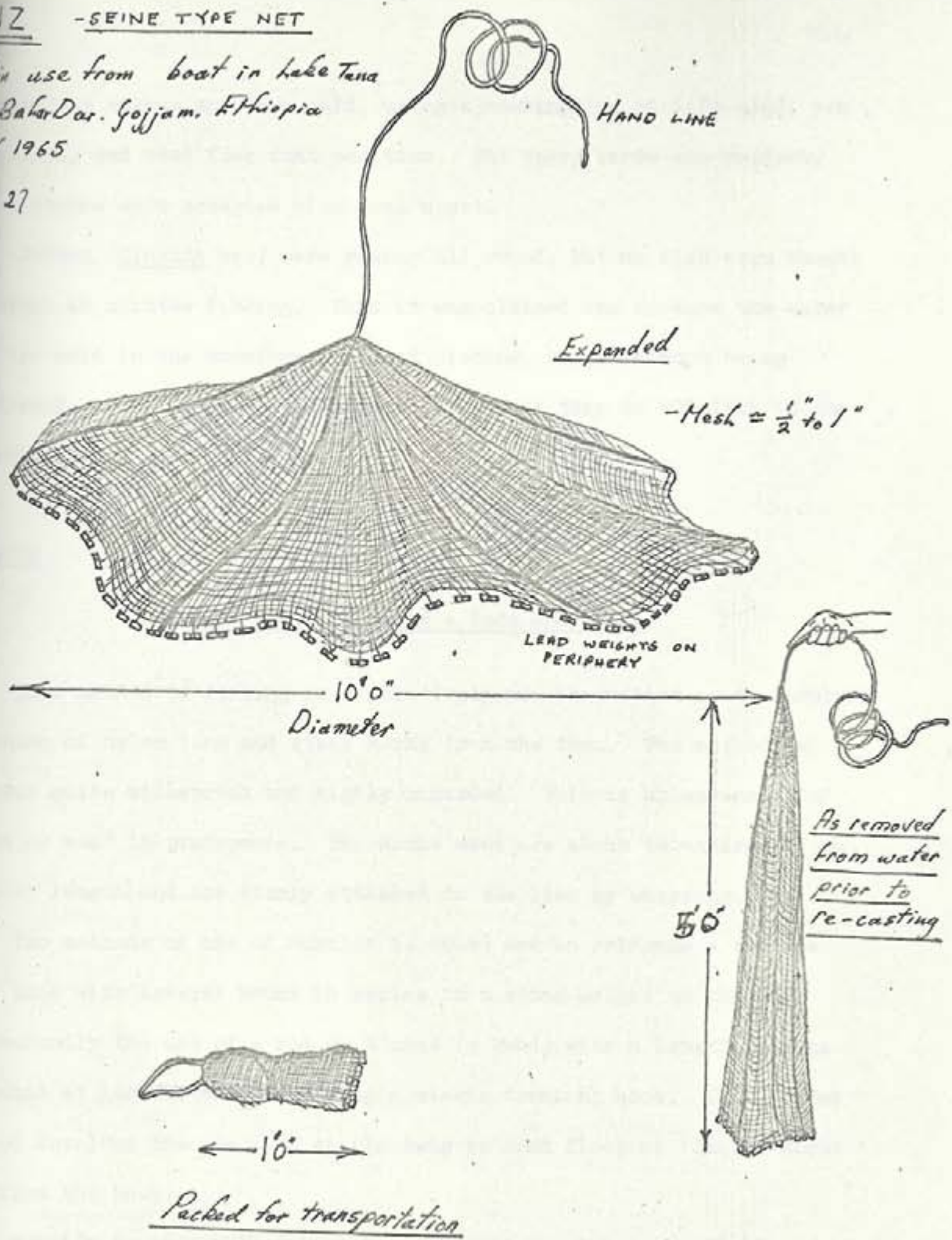
The fisherman worked 20-30 yards offshore, working back and forth along a stretch of coast. This was a known area and there seemed to be 6'-8' of water and there was also plenty of weed. Between each throw

WENZ

-SEINE TYPE NET

used in use from boat in Lake Tana
near Bahar Dar. Gojjam, Ethiopia
JULY 1965

FIGURE 27



HAND LINE

Expanded

- Mesh = $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 1"

LEAD WEIGHTS ON PERIPHERY

10'0"

Diameter

5'0"

As removed
from water
prior to
re-casting

1'0"

Packed for transportation

the net was shaken and then held, using a combination of left hand, arm and teeth, and cast from that position. Not every throw was perfect, but mistakes were accepted with good heart.

Ambasa (Clarias sp.) were rising all round, but no fish were caught in about 40 minutes fishing. This it was claimed was because the water was too cold in the mornings for good fishing, the afternoon being preferred. (The Waito state categorically that they do NOT fish in the mornings.)

MEKATEN

The Use of Mekaten - Rods and Lines

This method of fishing is a relatively new innovation as it involves purchase of nylon line and steel hooks from the town. The method is however quite widespread and highly regarded. Bait is unleavened T'ef paste or meat in preference. The hooks used are about two-thirds of an inch in length and are firmly attached to the line by whipping.

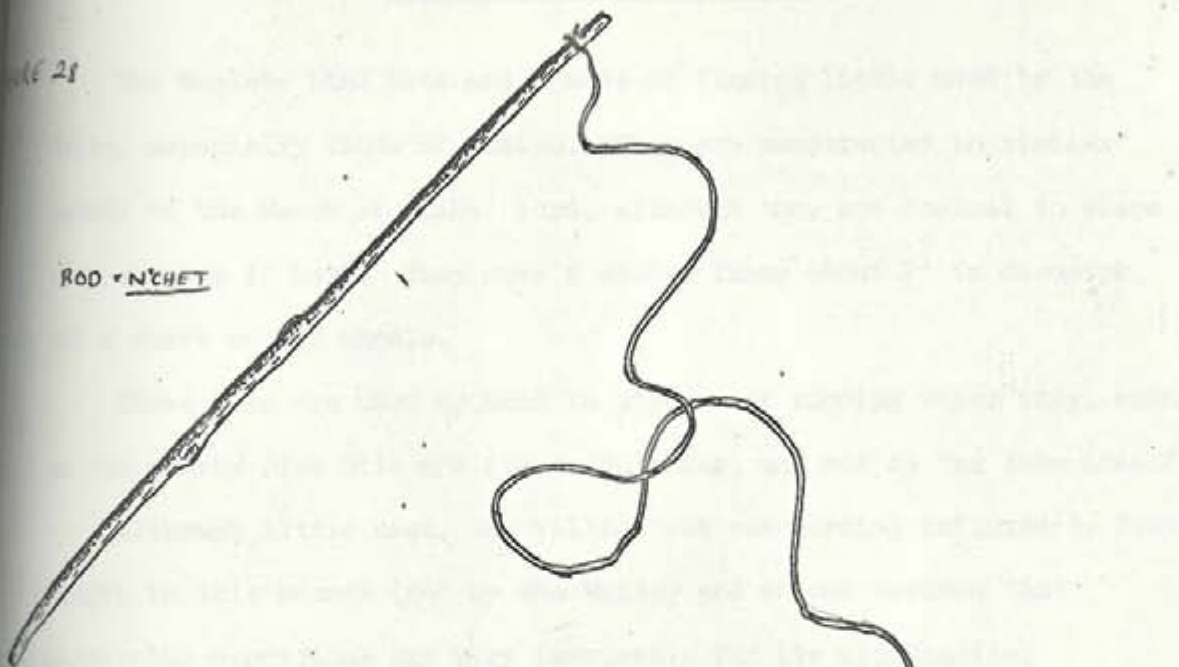
Two methods of use of Mekaten (= Hook) are in evidence - the use of a line with several hooks in series to a stone weight on the end, and secondly the use of a rod or N'chet (= Wood) with a length of line attached at its distal end, having a single terminal hook. This second method involves the use of a simple twig or reed float or 'Quoba' about 18" from the hook.

Mekaten is used both on the Blue Nile at the Abbai bridge (in moving water) and at the lakeside (in still water). All types of fish, it is said, can be caught by this method.

WATEN

- RODS AND LINES

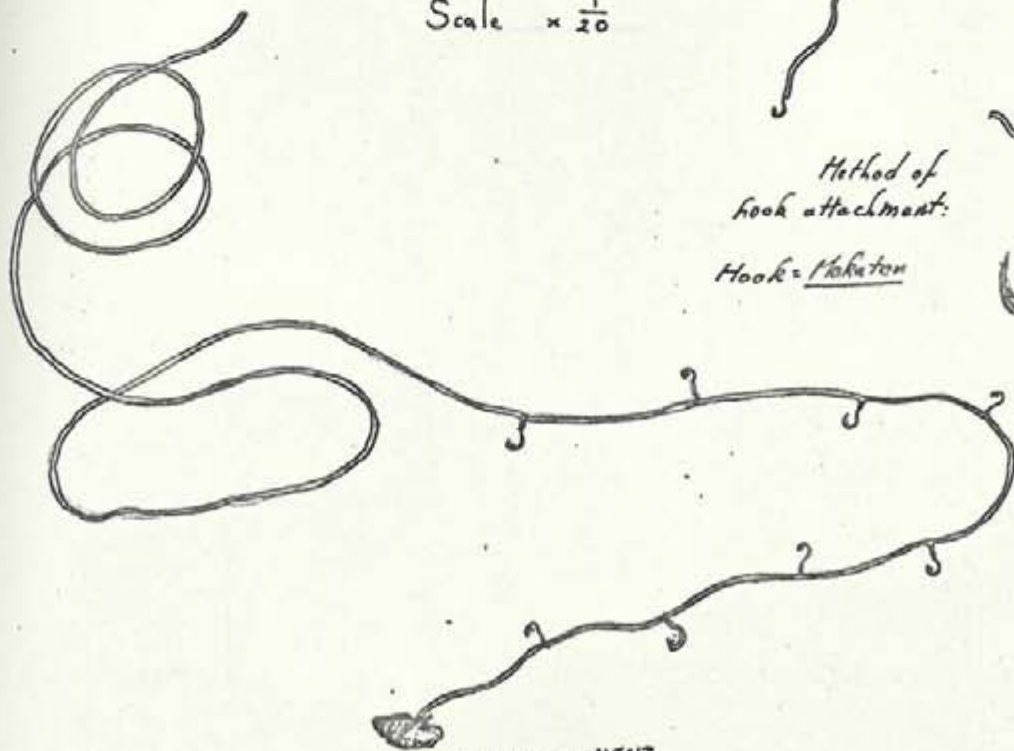
- Observed in use in the Blue Nile at the Abbai Bridge. Bahar Dar. Gojjam. Ethiopia. 8th August 1965. Also in the Waito village. Fasilo Bahar Dar.



ROD = N'CHET

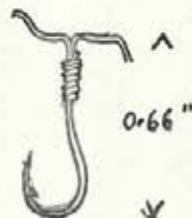
Scale $\times \frac{1}{20}$

Two FLOAR
= "Quoa"



Method of
hook attachment:

Hook = Chakatan



WRIGHT = MENZ

*Hand Net - An account of the village of
Geffen-Ethiopia 14 Aug 1925*

MAGLEBO

The Use of Maglebo Hand Nets

The Maglebo hand nets are a mode of fishing little used by the Waito, especially those of Fasilo. They are constructed in similar manner to the Merab of 'Zaha' cord, although they are conical in shape with about a 1" mesh. They have a wooden frame about 2' in diameter and a short wooden handle.

These nets are used by hand in streams of running water only, such as the nearby Blue Nile and its tributaries, and not in the lake itself.

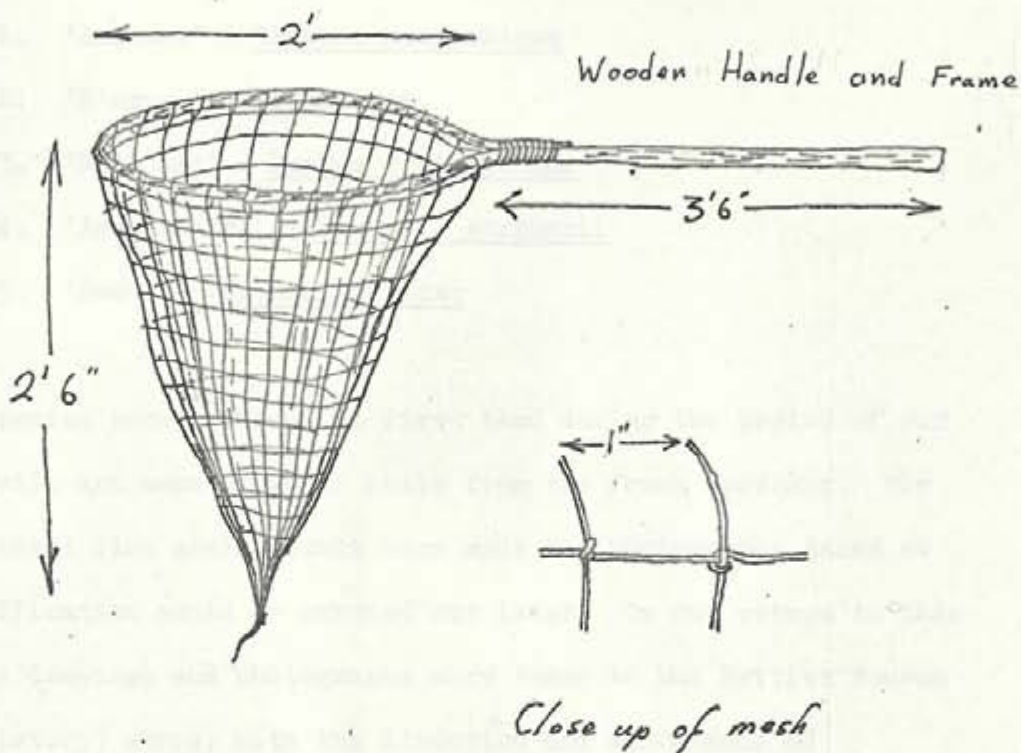
Although little used, the village was one morning influxed by fish caught in this manner (not by the Waito) and so one assumes that particular conditions are very favourable for its application.

Class up of 1925



MEBO - Hand Net - Rs observed in the Waito village at
Bahir Dar, Gojjam, Ethiopia. 19. Aug. 1965.

FIGURE 29



THE FISH

1. 'Anbessa' - Clarias mossambicus
2. 'K'ereso' - Tilapia sp.
3. 'Nech asa' - Barbus ? platysomus
4. 'Asa nabarri' - Barbus ? gorguarii
5. 'Beso' - Varcorhinus beso

All species were examined at first hand during the period of our stay in Fasilo and were drawn to scale from the fresh specimen. Fin ray and lateral line scale counts were made and photographs taken so that identification could be carried out later. On our return to this country the drawings and photographs were taken to the British Museum (Natural History) where, with the direction and assistance of Dr. P.H. Greenwood and his staff in the Ichthyology Department, it was possible to identify them all to generic and, in some cases tentatively, to specific level.

Comment may here be made on the small number of species actually caught by the Waito. For a long time it was impressed upon us that only four types were taken generally (1, 2, 3 and 5 above), however, towards the end of our stay a specimen of the 'asa nabarri' was brought to us. It should however be remembered that two of the species described below are species of the genus Barbus, a notoriously difficult genus of superficially very similar fish. Thus it is quite possible that the fish which the Waito knew as 'asa nabarri' and 'nech asa' represent a great

number of species unrecognisable to them and, unfortunately, also to us. In conclusion it is worth knowing that in 1940 Bini described over twenty species of large fish all taken from Lake Tana.

CLARIAS MOSSAMBICUS PTRS. 1852

Family - Clariidae

Local name - Anbassa (= lion)

This species is widespread throughout East Africa, occurring in Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika, and down as far as the Zambezi River, while the genus is found in South-East Asia, Syria and Africa generally. It is recorded from Lake Tana several times and from elsewhere in Ethiopia also.

Biologically speaking, this fish is peculiar in having a special accessory respiratory mechanism enabling it to breathe air using a tree like organ arising dorsally in its gill chamber. This accounts for the ability of the fish to live for many hours out of water and, also, for its habit of rising frequently with characteristic 'plop' in the lake. The tenacity of this fish in living out of water is well known to the locals and is usually terminated by decapitation prior to cooking.

This fish is probably the commonest species caught actually in the lake near the Waito village, being taken very often in K'afo and angafra fish traps as well as by mereb and menz nets. We were told that they occurred especially in areas of reed and weed where the traps were employed in their capture.

Size of anbassa varied from four inches to two feet, but their colour was uniform, black above and silver grey below, the whole body

1032
1033
1034
1035
1036
1037
1038
1039
1040
1041
1042
1043
1044
1045

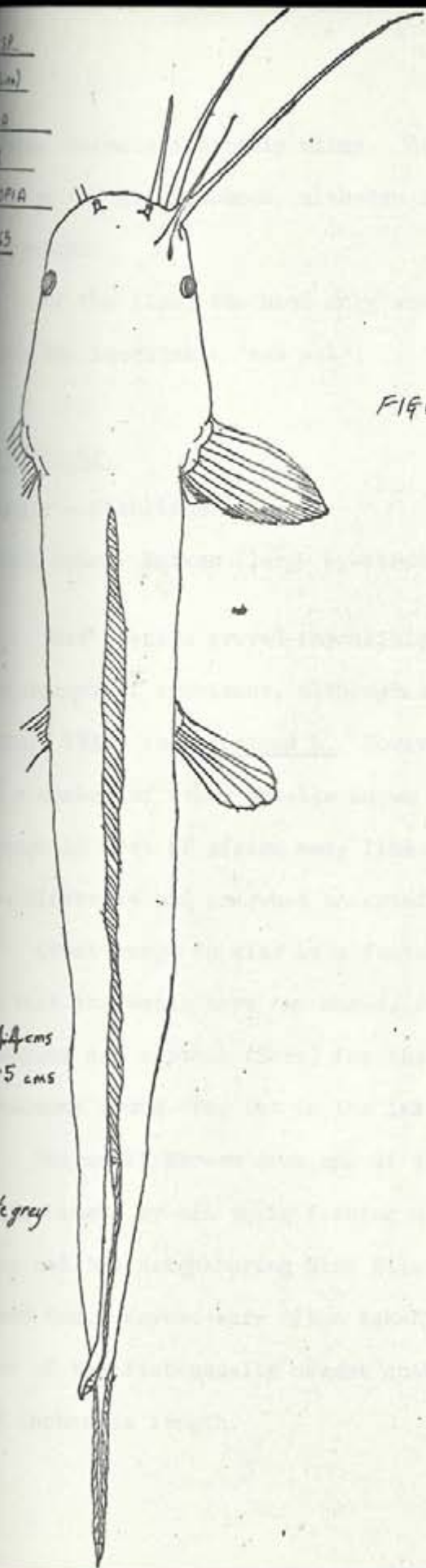


FIGURE 30

TL: 44.4 cms
SL: 6.5 cms

Color - Slate grey

being characteristically slimy. Size of catches were seen to vary greatly, one or two being common, although from time to time eight or ten would be caught.

Of the fish, the head only was discarded, the remainder being made into the inevitable 'asa wot'.

TILAPIA SP.

Family - Cichlidae

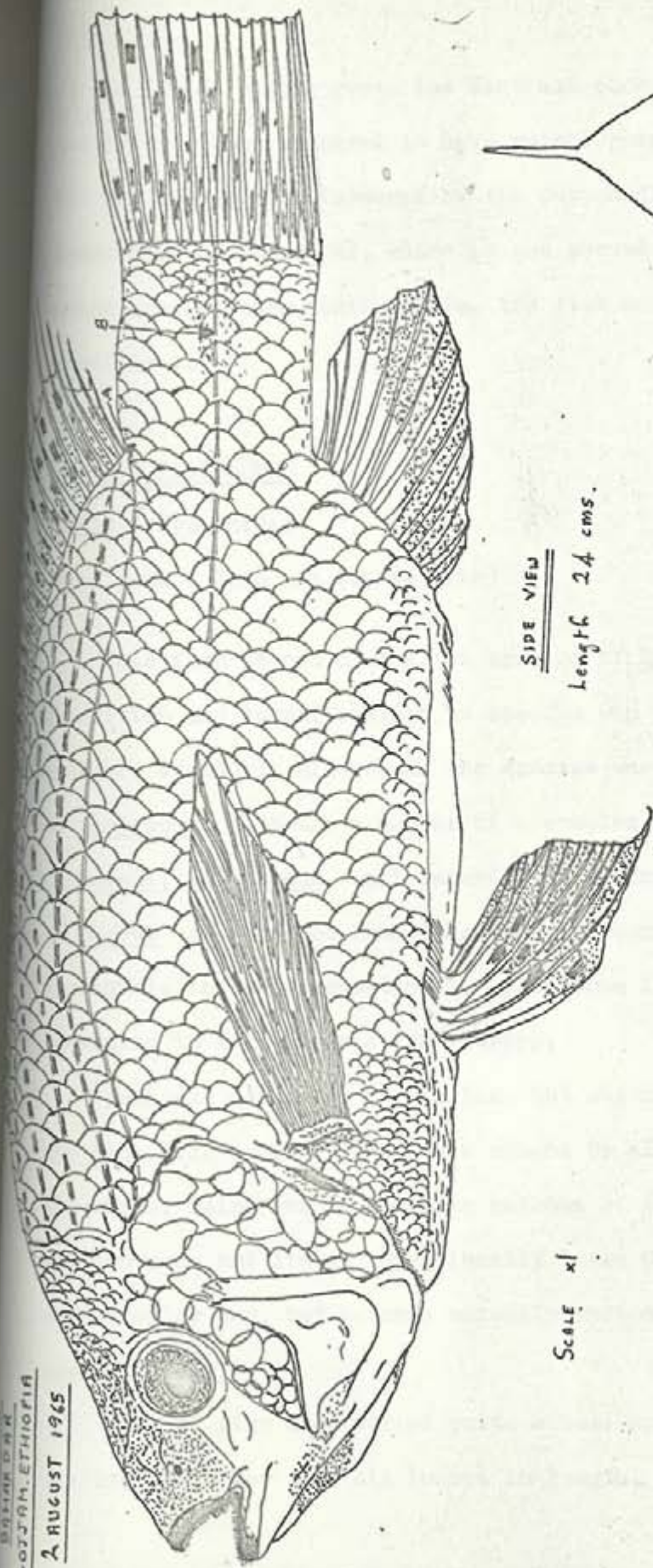
Local name - Kereso (large specimen = Sorz)

This species proved impossible to identify to the species level in absence of specimens, although the only one recorded from the area (Bini, 1940) is niloticus L. However, it could alternatively be any one of a number of other species known from East Africa. The genus Tilapia occurs in most of Africa and, like Barbus, is a group whose systematics are difficult and somewhat uncertain.

Great range in size is a feature of note in this species, so much so that the Waito have two names, one (Kereso) for the normal small examples and another (Sorz) for the highly-prized, rare, six-foot specimens found 'far out in the lake'.

The small Kereso were one of the commonest fish taken by the Waito, being caught by all their fishing methods. They are found in both Lake Tana and the neighbouring Blue Nile and catches vary from two or three to about ten. Kereso were often taken along with nech asa (see below). Size of the fish usually caught does not vary much, being from seven to ten inches in length.

WILSON D. R.
GOTTAM, ETHIOPIA
2 AUGUST 1965



SIDE VIEW

Length 24 cms.

Scale x1

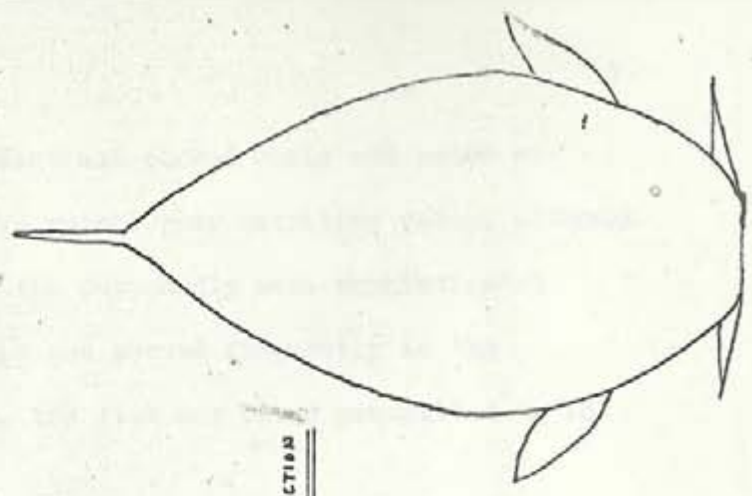
FIGURE 31

FIN RAY COUNTS

- DORSAL : 29
- PELVIC : 6
- PECTORAL : 12
- ANAL : 11
- CAUDAL : 17

LATERAL LINE SCALE COUNTS

- AT A 34
- AT B 33



SECTION

As far as eating goes, the fish are cooked whole and eaten as 'asa wot'. They appeared to have rather poor nutritive value, although this was the species favoured by the supposedly more sophisticated townspeople of Bahar Dar, where it was served frequently in the eating houses, even during fasts, the fish not being proscribed as is animal meat.

BARBUS ? PLATYSOMUS

Family - Cyprinidae

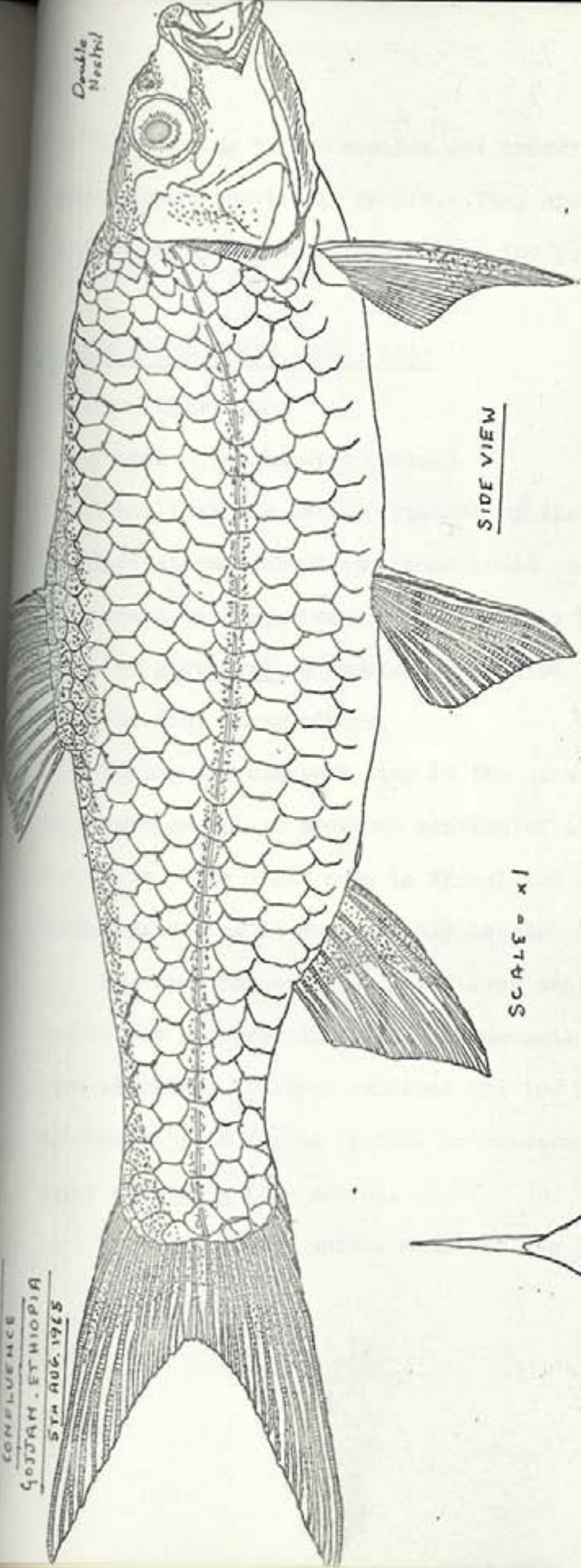
Local name - Nech asa (white fish)

This fish is one of the two species of Barbus encountered on the expedition and identification to species was again difficult. On the evidence available afterwards the species was identified conditionally as platysomus although a member of a complex of species - affinis, duchesnii, platysomus - all superficially very much alike. Many species of Barbus are recorded from Lake Tana and sure identification was impossible in the circumstances. The genus itself is very widespread, occurring in Africa, Asia and Europe.

Nech asa did occur in the lake but was more commonly taken from the Blue Nile nearby. They were caught by all methods described elsewhere, being one of the main catches of the maglebo hand nets and mekaten rods and lines. Occasionally large numbers would be caught on a particular day, but catches normally varied between two and fourteen, approximately.

Size of fish also varied quite a lot, specimens examined varying from six inches to two feet six inches in length.

Double
Nosthi



SIDE VIEW

SCALE = x1

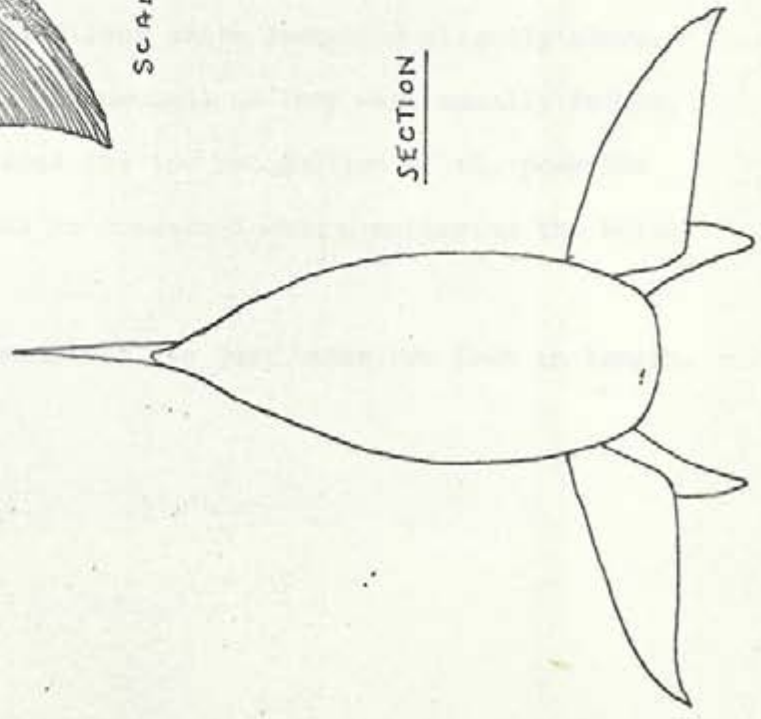
FIN RAY COUNTS

- PECTORALS.. 17
- PELVICS..... 9
- DORSAL..... 13
- ANAL..... 8
- CAUDAL..... 25

LATERAL LINE SCALE COUNT.. 33

FIGURE 32

SECTION



BLUE NILE / ABAYA / BISHA
 CONFLUENCE
 SOJAM, ETHIOPIA
 5TH AUG. 1965

No cooking of the species was observed but some form of 'asa wot' would almost inevitably result. They did however appear more palatable to Western eyes than either of the two preceding species.

4. BARBUS ? GORGUARII. RUPP. 1837

Family - Cyprinidae

Local name - Asa nabarri (shark)

This fish was another species of the Barbus genus and although identification without specimens could not be absolutely conclusive comparison with specimens in the Birliths Museum collections indicated it to be gorguarii, a species restricted to Lake Tana and previously noted by Bini among others.

During our six week stay in the area we saw only one specimen of this species and no previous mention of its existence had been made by the Waito. Its local name is translated as shark, which appears somewhat inappropriate as it seemed sadly lacking any teeth of shark-like nature.

The specimen examined was silver white darkening slightly above, but it was stressed that this was unusual as they were usually darker, even blackish: further evidence for the recognition of the possible multiplicity as far as species is concerned when considering the Waito types of Barbus (see above).

The size of the animal examined was just under two feet in length.



Plate 8 Barbus ?Platysomus

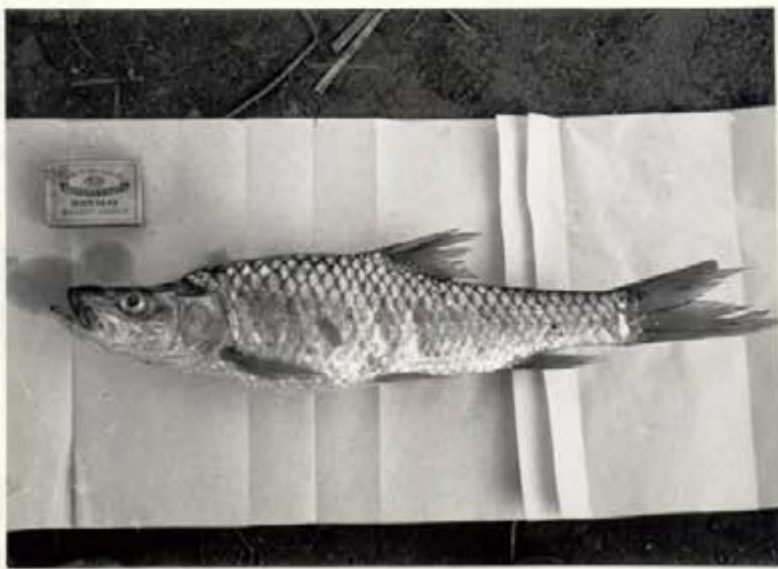


Plate 9 Barbus ?Gorguarii

BAHAMORAE
 GOZMAN, ETHIOPIA
 24 AUG. 1965
 SINGLE
 NOSTRIL



SCALE = $\times \frac{1}{2}$

SIDE VIEW

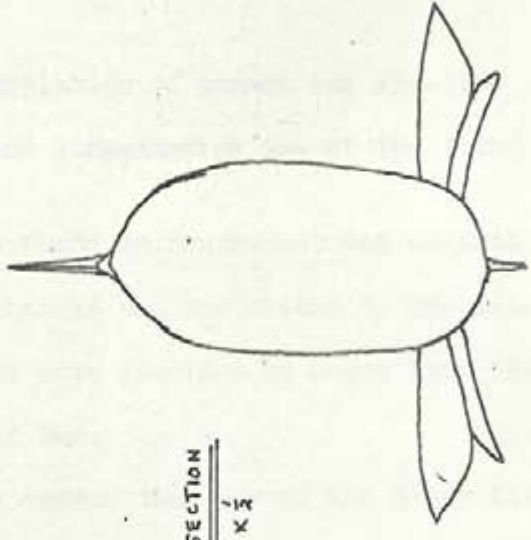
Length 41 cms.

FIN-RAY COUNTS

- DORSAL... 10
- PECTORAL... 17
- PELVIC... 10
- ANAL... 6
- CAUPAL... 25

LATERAL-LINE SCALE COUNT

33



SECTION
 $\times \frac{1}{2}$

FIGURE 33

5. VARCORHINUS BESO. RUPP. 1937

Family - Cyprinidae

Local name - Beso (Note the correlation of common and specific names, suggesting the accurate and longstanding use of the term)

This fish belongs to a genus found in South-West and Central Asia as well as Africa. The species itself was restricted to the Blue Nile and Awash systems of Ethiopia and were recorded by Degen from 'Zege and Bahar Dar' and by Bini from Bahar Dar.

The beso is a good deal less common than any of the other fish (except Asa nabarri) and was only seen on two or three occasions during our stay, and never more than two were seen in any one catch. They occurred in both Lake Tana and the Blue Nile and were not stated as being taken more commonly by any particular fishing method. Size of specimens seen ranged from about one foot to about one foot nine inches.

No cooking of beso was observed but the remarks made on nech asa are probably equally applicable here.

SUMMARY

Fishing is still very important to the Waito although not as much so as previously - need of saleable goods and Amhar competition being the reason for this.

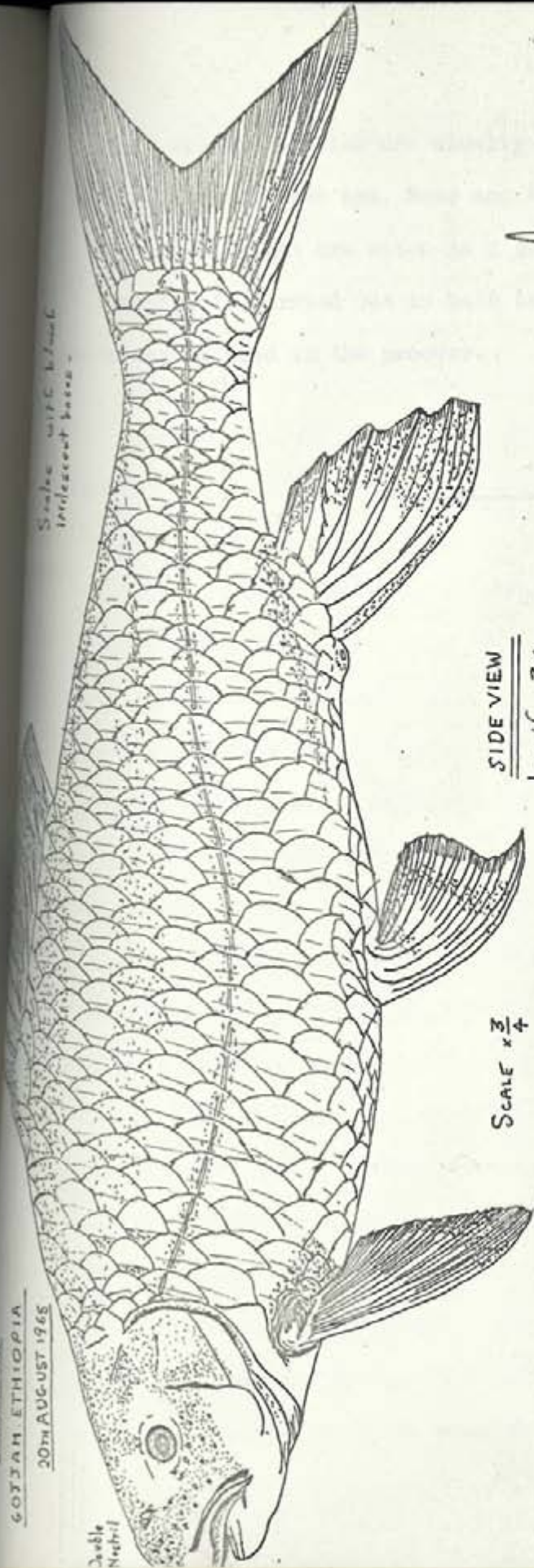
Six methods of fishing are used, Menz, Mereb and Maglebo nets, K'afu and Angafra traps, and Mekaten rods and lines.



Plate 10 Varcorhinus Beso

LEONARD S. B. B.
GOSSAM, ETHIOPIA
20th AUGUST 1966

Jacob
Nesbitt



SCALE $\times \frac{3}{4}$

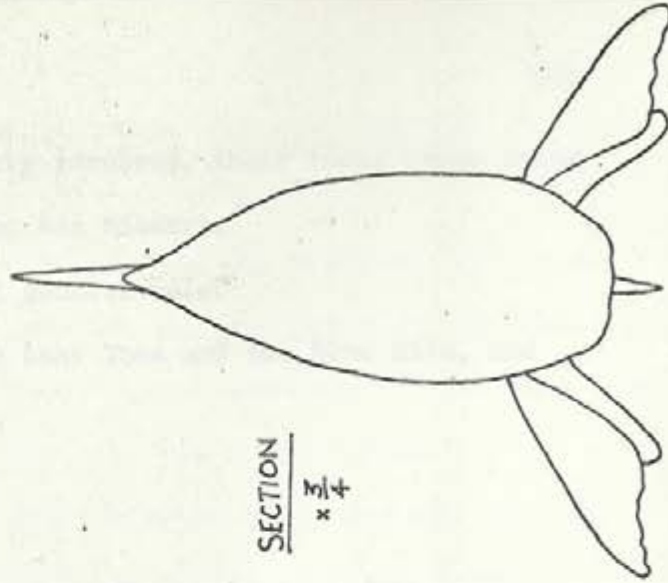
SIDE VIEW
Length 34 cms

Snake with 1st fin
perfect base.

FIN RAY COUNTS

DORSAL : 11
PELVIC : 9
PECTORAL : 15
ANAL : 7
CAUDAL : 24

FIGURE 34



SECTION
 $\times \frac{3}{4}$

LATERAL LINE SCALE COUNT

33

Five species of fish are usually involved, their local names being Ambessa, Keroso, Nech Asa, Beso and Asa Nabarri.

All fish caught are eaten as a general rule.

Fishing is carried out in both Lake Tana and the Blue Nile, and boats may be used in the process.

TRANSECT SURVEY OF THE VEGETATION OF THE WAITO VILLAGE

This survey represented the major part of the botanical work of the expedition. Unfortunately it was not very successful due to the inability to get the plants involved identified. This was because most of them were only represented by their vegetative parts due to the season.

The survey was carried out along a sixteen metre line and involved taking an area of a metre square at a time and counting the various plants therein included.

The line was laid so as to include an area of cultivated plot, various paths, an area of land once cultivated but now reverting to its original state and a small portion of Eucalyptus woodland. Where very large numbers of a particular plant were present in a square then a count was made of a small representative area and the result extrapolated so as to get a figure for the whole square.

As previously stated, the survey was not a total success but various conclusions may be drawn from the results not involving the identification of the plants but simply differentiating them as separate species; a relatively easy task.

First, and obviously, the plots and paths contained fewer numbers of plants although a variety of 'weed' species was present (18 species). In many cases these were small examples of plants seen elsewhere. There was a similar drop in plant numbers in the woodland but this was associated with a drop in the number of species present also. This is explained, possibly by the fact that there was one dominant overshadowing species in whose canopy few species can survive. It is interesting to

note however that the undergrowth species which were present tended to be bigger and more robust plants than elsewhere. Some of these indeed were present only in small numbers outside the woodland, where they had to compete with a large number of other species, and only became at all dominant in the wood. (see distribution curves given below).

The greatest variety of species was seen in the reverting land due to the general instability of such an environment. There were considerable areas of bare ground and a large number of plants found there occurred only as seedlings. Quite a large number of species seemed to occur, at all commonly, on this sort of ground only, being largely absent in the woodland and very sparse on the plots and paths. The rest of the flora of the reverting ground could be seen to have its origins in the woodland areas and some of these were, as previously mentioned, seen developed to a greater extent in the wood. As far as the dominant plant of the area was concerned this was a species of rough creeping grass (species 10) which occurred in very large numbers on the reverting land. The dominance of this plant is indicated in one of the graphs given below and can be seen to tail off on the margin of the wood where the role of the dominant herb is taken over by a species of Geranium-like plant (species 7).

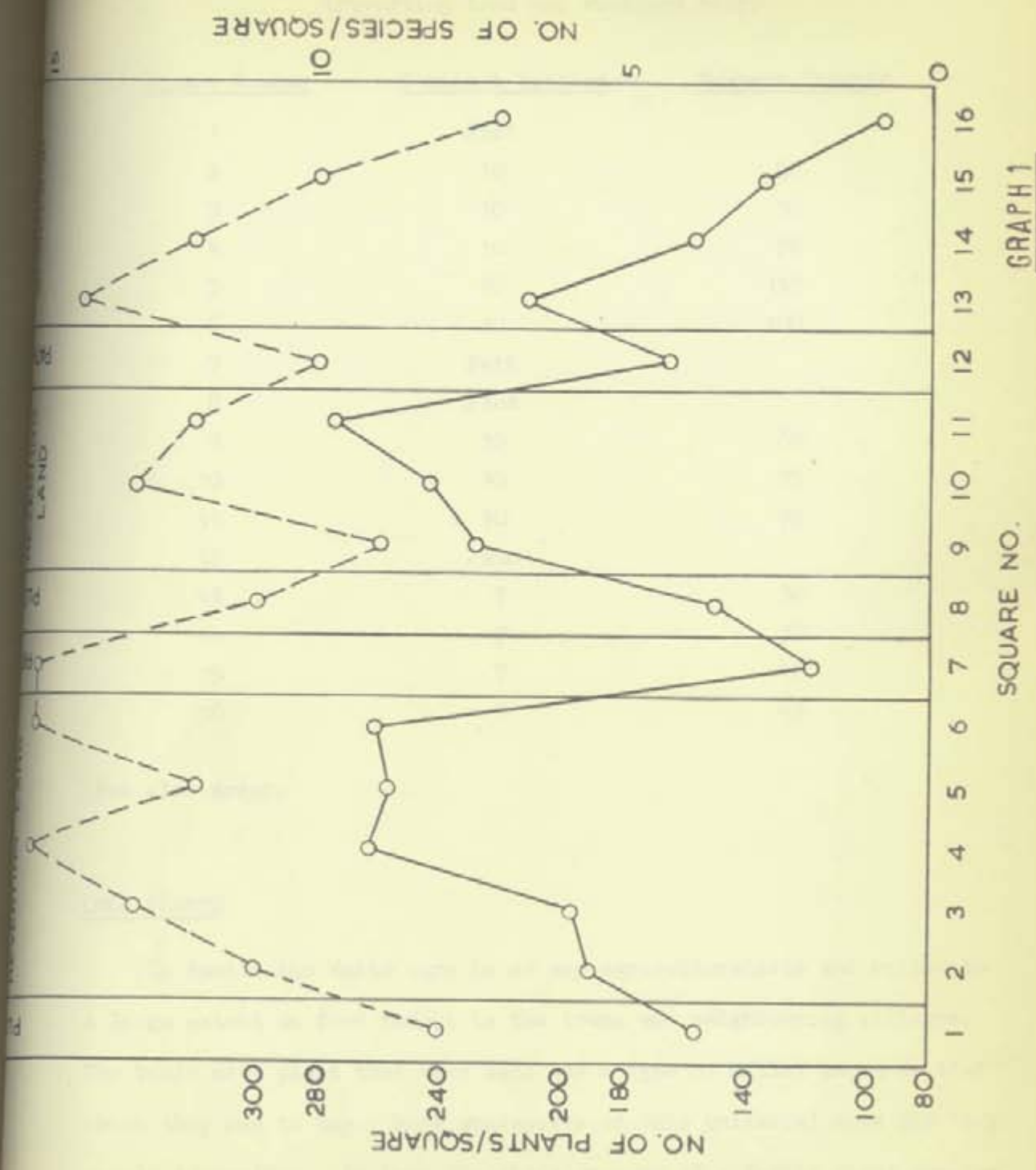
A study was made of the main individual species of plants in an attempt to list those typical of a particular area and some clear conclusions could be drawn from this. However in the absence of identification of the species concerned details of this work would be meaningless. Suffice it to say that of the 13 species investigated in this way 6 were characteristic of reverting land, and 2 of woodland, while 4 were common to reverting land and woodland and 1 commonest on paths.

The relevant results are given below with the appropriate explanatory graphs. If further information on the plants is forthcoming then the fuller account will be published in the future.

RESULTS

<u>Square Number</u>	<u>Nature of Square</u>	<u>No. Plants/Square</u>	<u>No. Species/Square</u>
1	Plot	156	8
2	Reverting Land	191	11
3	"	197	13
4	"	263	15
5	"	257	12
6	"	261	15
7	Path	118	15
8	Plot	149	11
9	Reverting Land	228	9
10	"	243	13
11	"	275	12
12	Path	165	10
13	Woodland	211	14
14	"	157	12
15	"	134	10
16	"	95	7

See also graph.



GRAPH 1

DOMINANT SPECIES

(reverting land and woodland only)

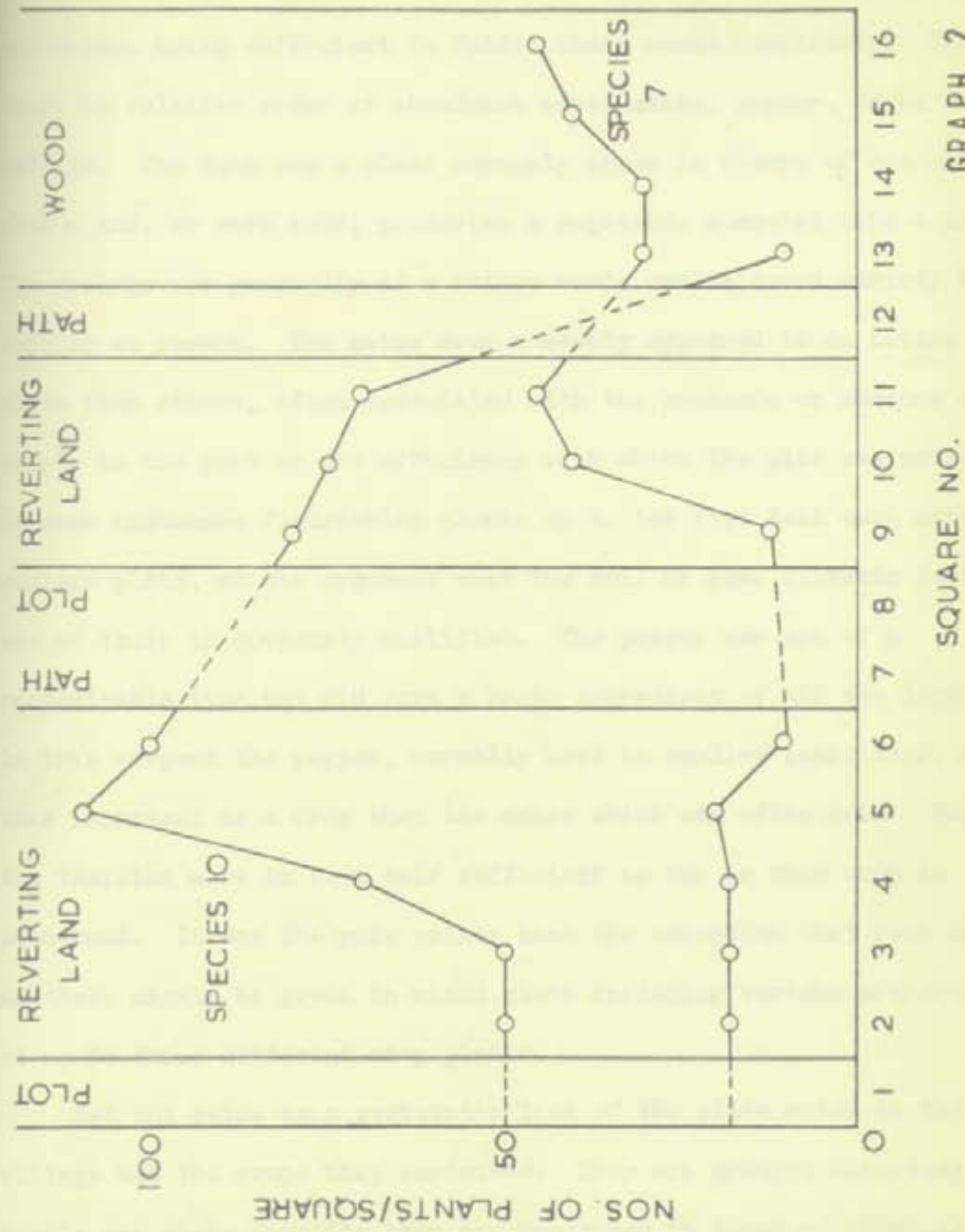
<u>Square Number</u>	<u>Dominant Species</u>	<u>Numbers Present</u>
1	Plot	
2	10	50
3	10	50
4	10	70
5	10	110
6	10	100
7	Path	
8	Plot	
9	10	80
10	10	75
11	10	70
12	Path	
13	7	30
14	7	30
15	7	40
16	7	45

See also graph.

CROP PLANTS

In Fasilo the Waito were in no way agriculturalists and relied to a large extent on food bought in the towns and neighbouring villages. The basic crop plant that they used was a type of millet known as t'ef which they had to buy. None whatsoever of this universal need did they supply themselves. In fact the whole economy of a family might revolve round the fluctuations in price of the coarsest, blackest, t'ef. Some

DOMINANT SPECIES



GRAPH 2

of the better off families however did own or at least use, small plots of land to grow vegetables. In the village, four crop plants were grown all being used for personal consumption of the producer and his family and seldom being sufficient to fulfil their needs completely. These four, in relative order of abundance were, maize, pepper, "duba" and cabbage. The duba was a plant commonly grown in clumps of one or two plants and, we were told, producing a vegetable somewhat like a marrow. The cabbage was generally of a rather weedy small-leaved variety known locally as gomman. The maize seen commonly appeared to do better in some plots than others, often associated with the presence or absence of other plants in the plot or the efficiency with which the plot was maintained. In some instances flourishing plants up to ten feet tall were noted in village plots, so the argument that the soil or some climatic factor was at fault is obviously nullified. The pepper was not of a recognisable type but did form a basic ingredient of all the local food. In this respect the pepper, normally used in smaller quantities, may be more important as a crop than the maize which was often sold. Many of the families were in fact self sufficient as far as this crop is concerned. It was the rule rather than the exception that such crops as these should be grown in mixed plots including various proportions of up to three different crop plants.

Set out below is a systematic list of the plots noted in the Waito village and the crops they contained. They are grouped according to family and where possible they are described in terms of areas although, for instance, the duba is best described as number of clumps present - a more easily obtainable parameter in this case.

1. Maize 140 sq. ft.
2. Pepper 80 sq. ft.
3. Cabbage + maize + Pepper 900 sq. ft.
4. Maize 42 sq. ft.
(plus 1 gourd plant)
- Maize 360 sq. ft.
- Duba 1 patch
5. Maize 42 sq. ft.
6. Duba 1 patch
7. Pepper 80 sq. ft.
8. Duba 1 patch
9. Maize 280 sq. ft.
- Pepper 15 sq. ft.
10. Maize + pepper 200 sq. ft.
- Duba 1 patch
11. Maize 450 sq. ft. (up to 10' high)
- Maize 2250 sq. ft.
- Maize 80 sq. ft.
- Cabbage + maize 60 sq. ft.
12. Maize 120 sq. ft.
- Pepper 80 sq. ft.
- Duba 1 patch
13. Duba 1 patch
14. Maize + pepper 225 sq. ft.
- Duba 3 patches

From these results what is first of all apparent is the fact that only 14 families out of the whole village possessed or used any plots at all. Secondly, one must note the small size of most of these plots, some families owning only a single duba patch. Only one family (No. 11 above) could possibly have produced in excess of his needs and any such surplus would soon be absorbed by the rest of the Waito community.

Considering maize, cabbage and pepper only, the results can be thus totalled:

Total areas:

Maize	3764 sq. ft.
Pepper	235 sq. ft.
Maize + pepper	423 sq. ft.
Maize + cabbage	60 sq. ft.
Maize + pepper + cabbage	900 sq. ft.

One general observation which can be made on the plots is that often they were situated in agriculturally unfavourable places, more or less, that land not required by its owner for any other purpose. For this reason the shape of plots was often very irregular and they were often overshadowed by trees. The people would also be discouraged from setting up plots because of the fact that they did not own the land and could not assume that any plot made would not be destroyed at the whim of its rightful owner. As mentioned elsewhere, this was one of their many complaints although we were assured land was available to them elsewhere if they cared to use it. The Waito, like most similar people, however, are very reactionary and any change, or so it seems to them, can only be for the worse. Hence they do nothing but complain loudly.

OTHER PLANTS USED BY THE WAITO

The plant which first of all springs to mind in this category is the papyrus reed. As elucidated elsewhere, it is used for a great variety of purposes and forms one of the mainstays of the life of the people. It exists in apparently inexhaustible numbers in many places along the banks of Lake Tana and they collect it in vast quantities using special boats.

A second reed known locally as gerampta is used a lot by the Waito, especially in their basket making activities. This occurs in fewer places than does papyrus, although we encountered it commonly by the source of the Blue Nile and on Kebran Island actually on the lake. Because of its more limited distribution, the Waito may occasionally have to buy supplies of it. They slit and soak the dried stems prior to use and then use them directly in their basketry.

The third of the triumvirate of important non-food plants is a palm of some sort, known as salcin, the fronds of which are used, especially in mat making. These palms grow in the forest which persists round the source of the Nile, and again may be bought from time to time. The short (3"-9") lengths of the secondary leaflets of the frond are removed and dried and then plaited in an ingenious way (described elsewhere) into strips of which larger mats are made up. Like the baskets, however, these products become very brittle as they dry and during use must be periodically soaked.

The Waito also use a vast number of other plants in their manufactures including various other grasses and reeds. They also use certain woods for structural work, bamboos as paddles and special trees can be used

for making fire. They have a knowledge of the powers, or reputed powers, of certain plants for healing but time did not allow any investigation of this to be made.

1881

During the month of July, 1881, I was in the mountains of the State of New York, and had the opportunity of observing the habits of the Indians of that section.

The Indians of this section are of the Seneca tribe, and are still in possession of many of the customs and habits of their ancestors.

They are very industrious, and are engaged in agriculture, and in the raising of stock. They are also very skillful in the arts of handicraft.

1882

During the month of July, 1882, I was in the mountains of the State of New York, and had the opportunity of observing the habits of the Indians of that section. They are very industrious, and are engaged in agriculture, and in the raising of stock. They are also very skillful in the arts of handicraft.

1883

During the month of July, 1883, I was in the mountains of the State of New York, and had the opportunity of observing the habits of the Indians of that section. They are very industrious, and are engaged in agriculture, and in the raising of stock. They are also very skillful in the arts of handicraft.

1884

During the month of July, 1884, I was in the mountains of the State of New York, and had the opportunity of observing the habits of the Indians of that section. They are very industrious, and are engaged in agriculture, and in the raising of stock. They are also very skillful in the arts of handicraft.

METEOROLOGYGENERAL SYNOPSIS

During the months of October, November and March, the North East monsoon sweeps the whole region of central Ethiopia.

The little rains of February or March occur when the South East trade from the Indian Ocean meets this North East monsoon.

From June to September the winds, mainly from the South West, give plenty of rain in spite of having passed across Central Africa.

BAHAR DAR Met. Station on Airfield, Alt. 1802 m.

Wind

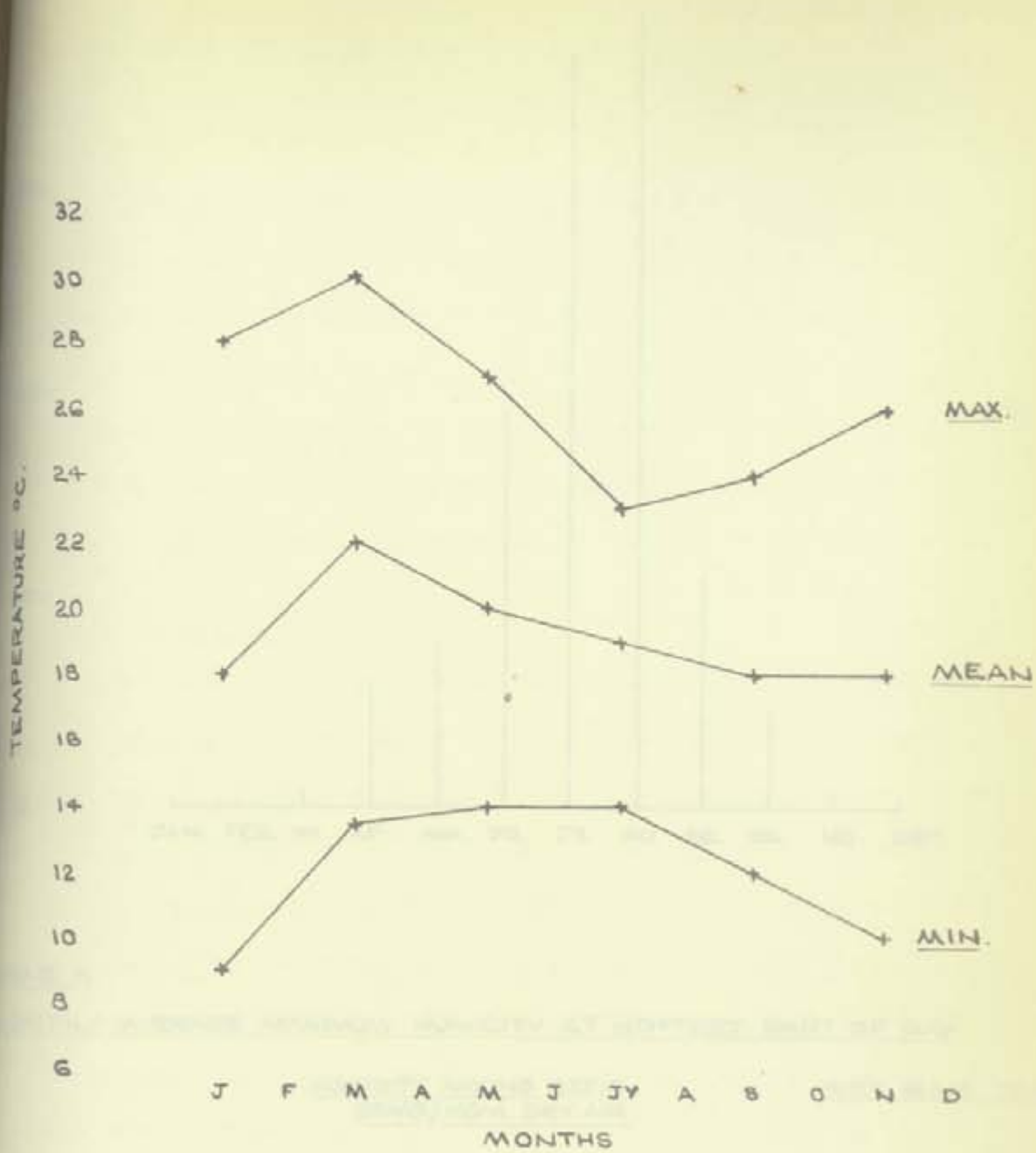
Although the general air movement is NE from February to March and SW from June to September, the general flow may be greatly modified by the local terrain.

Rain

During the summer the rain is of the tropical mountain type with much thunder. The monthly distribution of rainfall is shown on Graph 4, from which it can easily be seen that the heaviest rains are from June to September.

Temperature

In spite of being north of the equator, spring has the highest temperatures of the year, since the cloud and heavy rain in the summer months keep the temperature down. The average monthly maximum, mean and minimum temperatures are displayed on graph 3.



GRAPH 3

MONTHLY AVERAGE TEMPERATURES

MONTHLY DISTRIBUTION OF RAINFALL

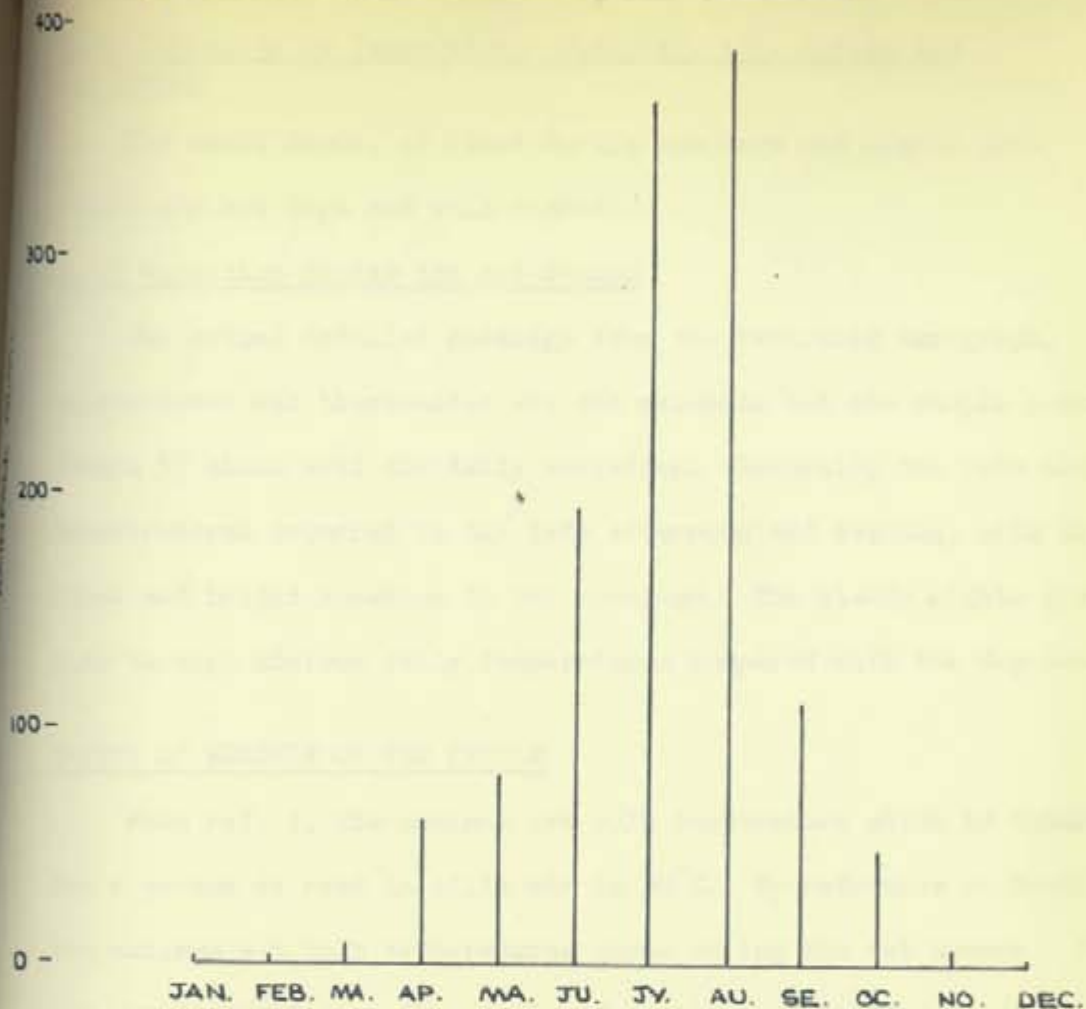


TABLE A.

MONTHLY AVERAGE MAXIMUM HUMIDITY AT HOTTEST PART OF DAY.

	<u>HUMIDITY MIXING RATIO</u> <u>GRMS/KGM. DRY AIR</u>	<u>WET BULB TEMP.</u>
JAN.	7.5 - 10.0	21.5 - 23.3
MAR.	7.5 - 10.0	21.5 - 23.3
MAY	10.0 - 12.5	23.3 - 25.0
JUL.	15.0 - 17.5	26.1 - 27.9
SEP.	15.0 - 17.5	26.1 - 27.9
NOV.	10.0	23.3

Daily Variation in Temperature, Humidity, etc. during the Dry Season

The small amount of cloud during the days and nights give relatively hot days and cold nights.

Daily Variation during the Wet Season

The actual detailed readings from the recording barograph, psychrometer and thermometer are not accurate but the sample record (Graph 5) shows well the daily variation. Generally the rain and thunderstorms occurred in the late afternoon and evening, with little cloud and bright sunshine in the mornings. The cloudy nights give rise to high minimum daily temperatures compared with the dry season.

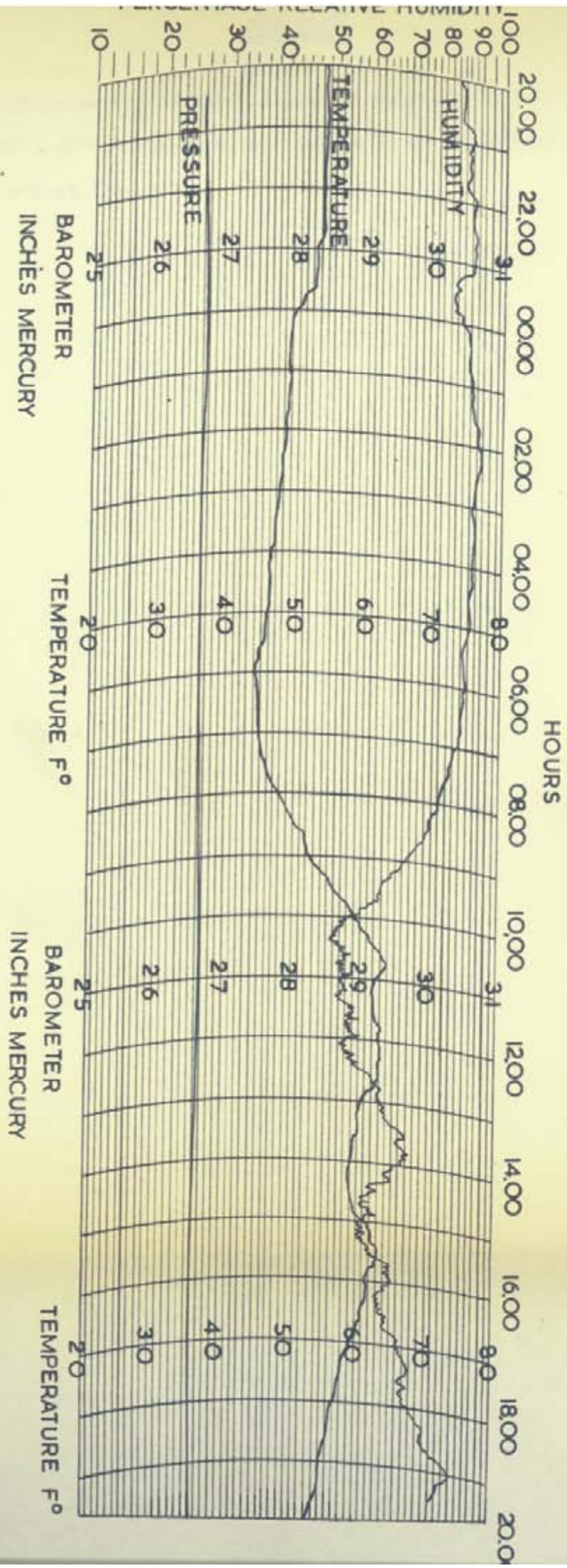
EFFECT OF WEATHER ON THE PEOPLE

From ref. 1, the maximum wet bulb temperature which is tolerable for a person at rest in still air is 30°C . By reference to Table A the maximum wet bulb temperatures occur during the wet season. From our own observations, the people of Fasilo complained more of the cold during the wet season rather than the heat. It is deduced that the differences in conditions of the people between wet and dry seasons are caused more by the shorter working hours due to the necessity of sheltering during the heavy rainstorms and by the reduced demand for the goods they produce.

In spite of the good fishing during the wet season the Waito are materially poorer during this time.

References

1. Bell, Davidson and Scarborough: Textbook of physiology and biochemistry.
2. Climatological Atlas, 'Africa'.



GRAPH 5

DAILY VARIATION DURING WET SEASON

SURVEYING

A chain survey of the village was carried out and a plot made (scale 1" = 50'). The resultant map is in the folder at the back of the report (Map 3).

APPENDICES

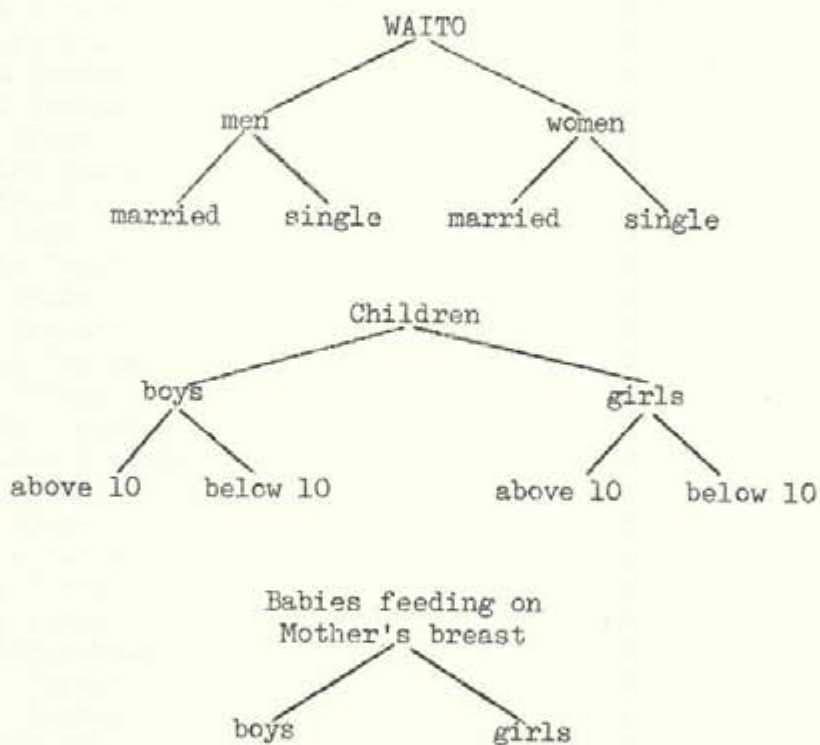
Table of the British Empire at the end of the 19th century

APPENDICES



Table of the British Empire at the end of the 19th century

- 1. ...
- 2. ...
- 3. ...

APPENDIX IList of the Waito People of Bahar Dar of the Village
of FasiloCLASSIFICATION

Names ("Christian" and "Surnames" classified separately)

Non-religious	N	(Amhara names)
Religious	R	(connected with the Koran)
Local	L	(meanings obscure)

CHIEF: Negadras Mogas Kasengne

MARRIED MEN:

	<u>"Christian" Name</u>	<u>"Surname"</u>
1. Kobede Kasengne	N	N
2. Cobez Kebede	N	N
3. Muhammod Kebede	R	N
4. Abebaw Mogas	N	N
5. Ali Azene	R	N
6. Genenew Carado	N	N
7. Mesfin Merkuz	N	N
8. Chane Merkuz	N	N
9. Techan Ganfur	N	N
10. Hassan Techan	R	N
11. Gedam Erzik	N	R
12. Menghist Erzik	N	R
13. Mera Metekia	N	N
14. Asefa Getu	N	N
15. Ahmedic Erzik	R	R
16. Guade Erzik	N	R
17. Worku Teshale	N	N
18. Atinkat Wudage	N	N
19. Salil Wodage	R	N
20. Semengne Nedgat	N	L
21. Alebochov Simengn	N	N
22. Biamen Zanta	N	N
23. Abdil Agaje	R	L
24. Gonit Amariw	L	N
25. Baines Beyene	L	N
26. Indris Agaje	R	L
27. Awel Abdorahman	R	R
28. Bishaw Beyene	N	N
29. Agnasu Bishaw	L	N
30. Abew Masayri	N	R
31. Abera Matkia	N	N
32. Wudu Matkia	N	N
33. Istalehu Jenet	N	L
34. Menghistu Istalehu	N	N
35. Cheru Demeke	N	N
36. Adebabay Sechalah	N	R
37. Yene Wondin Hassan	N	R
38. Wata Tafesse	L	N
39. Ahmedic Kengne	R	N
40. Bili Nedgat	L	L
41. Bilew Endalew	N	N
42. Sharew Shifaw	N	L
43. Gobeze Azene	N	N
44. Mahmud Hassan	R	R
45. Waga Messele	N	N
46. Endalanaw Ale	N	R

	<u>"Christian" Name</u>	<u>"Surname"</u>
47.	Mogas Kasengne	N
48.	Osman Mogas	R
49.	Zemzen Azenc	N
50.	Kumilinane Kassa	N
51.	Hussien Endemeshat	R
52.	Istalehu Genet	N
53.	Addis Kengi	N
54.	Ahamed Kengi	R
55.	Alem Kengi	N

MARRIED WOMEN:

1.	Momina Wubu	R	N
2.	Tayeck Ademic	N	L
3.	Azangne Kebede	N	N
4.	Imedadge Jenet	R	L
5.	Yigardu Mirkuz	N	N
6.	Asiya Wudu	L	N
7.	Yenezia Bili	N	L
8.	Firmus Merkuz	L	N
9.	Kassanat Merkuz	N	N
10.	Manaseb Ayelew	N	N
11.	Diemanesh Wudu	N	N
12.	Alawa Simengne	L	N
13.	Meriyem Muhammed	L	R
14.	Tihune Nedgat	N	L
15.	Enkitit Semengne	N	N
16.	Tiru Tafesse	N	N
17.	Workinesh Ilal	N	R
18.	Aygenge Salasib	N	N
19.	Boutik Rezik	L	R
20.	Azalnesh Masresha (Azalich Hudu)	N	N
21.	Eyayu Dامتew	N	N
22.	Dasash Bitew	L	N
23.	Hidiya Addisie	R	N
24.	Yenguanesh Sharew	N	N
25.	Awagne Shamiye	L	N
26.	Emmitu Azene	L	N
27.	Hawa Agaje	L	L
28.	Kuankua Ademie	L	R
29.	Asiya Keje	L	N
30.	Amisha Muhammed	R	R
31.	Asaso Estibel	L	N
32.	Tigabe Ali	N	R
33.	Waynic Taffere	N	N
34.	Yalganesh Wedaje	N	N
35.	Munit Taffere	R	N
36.	Gedam Alaset	N	N
37.	Zemzem Agaje	N	L
38.	Daricha Wondimagnage	N	N

	<u>"Christian" Name</u>	<u>"Surname"</u>
39.	Bekunna Beleti	N
40.	Asres Nedgat	N
41.	Fentaye Yenewondim	N
42.	Zeyneb Yenewondim	R
43.	Fatim Baines	R
44.	Tsehai Sharew	N
45.	Shekula Messele	N
46.	Emmemie Nurihum	N
47.	Fentayenesh Bili	N
48.	Mamu Waga	N
49.	Yishamu Sechala	N
50.	Bitweeh Wasse	L
51.	Tinur Messele	N
52.	Amru Alaset	L
53.	Yayu Dantew	N
54.	Alima	R
55.	Bayish Salasib	N
56.	Ayehute Nurihum	L
57.	Yamrotmesh Mekonnen	N
58.	Demeku Simengne	N
59.	Arefu Mazenghia	L
60.	Yigard Muchaye	N

UNMARRIED BOYS ABOVE THE AGE OF 10:

1.	Dawd Kebede	R
2.	Djemal Takele	R
3.	Worku Matkia	N
4.	Amsalu Dembech	N
5.	Bilew Endale	N
6.	Yitayew Bishaw	N
7.	Siliman Awel	R
8.	Sahle Wedage	N

BOYS BELOW THE AGE OF 10:

1.	Tesfaw Semengne	N
2.	Balew Semengne	N
3.	Umer Osman	R
4.	Asmare Kume	N
5.	Tesfahun Genanew	N
6.	Wondu Mogas	N
7.	Takele Gobez	N
8.	Muhe Abdil	L
9.	Tesfaw Addis	N
10.	Teka Addis	N
11.	Kasim Awel	R
12.	Sileman Awel	R
13.	Yitayew Bishaw	N
14.	Muhe Techan	L
15.	Gutti Merra	N

	<u>"Christian" Name</u>	<u>"Surname"</u>
16. Erku Gonit	N	L
17. Abati Erzik	N	R
18. Feleke Ahmedie	N	R
19. Enkuana	L	
20. Erku Merra	N	N
21. Melkic Gobeze	N	N
22. Azene Genanew		N
23. Yenus Yenewondim	R	N
24. Amid Yenewondim	R	N
25. Hassan Menghistu	R	N
26. Abate Menghistu	N	N
27. Tarekengne Mera	N	N
28. Tilahun Mogas		
29. Muhe Techan		

UNMARRIED GIRLS ABOVE THE AGE OF 10:

1. Addisse Semengne	N	N
2. Hawa Hussien	L	R
3. Ansha Yaregal	R	N

UNMARRIED GIRLS BELOW THE AGE OF 10:

1. Anguachew Biazen	N	N
2. Hodenat Biazen	L	N
3. Hawa Kumie	L	N
4. Zerifu Awel	N	R
5. Meriyem Bishaw	L	N
6. Azangne Endris	N	R

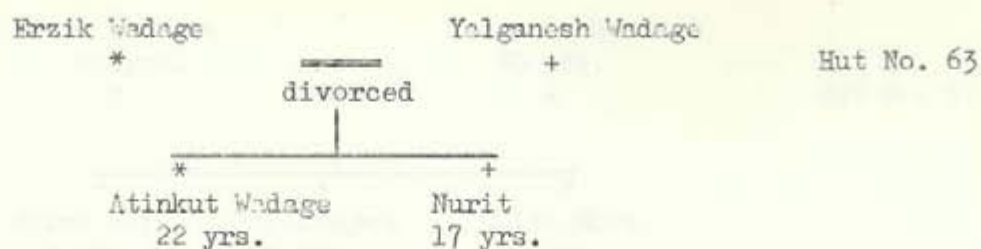
BABIES FEEDING AT MOTHER'S BREAST:Boys

1. Slidu Bishaw
2. Son of Ahina (5)
3. Feleke Ahmed
4. Fikru Mera
5. Tarekengne Geda
6. Takele Gobeze
7. Tesfaw Simengne
8. Gatachew Cheru
9. Beyene Cheru
10. Arumit Abera
11. Muhammed Sharow
12. Gebayaw Gonit
13. Bikisbingue Gobeze

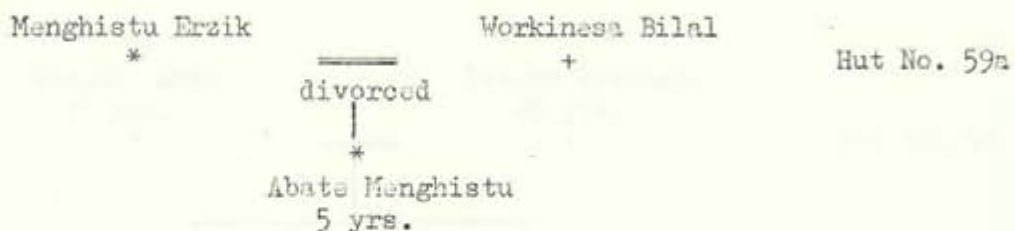
Girls:

1. Zemzen Awel
2. Merdiga Mogas
3. Takele Awel
4. Kasengne Ali
5. Liyish Zemen
6. Tschainech Yenewondim
7. Unnamed baby girl (daughter of Tafesse - 38)
8. Sopia Gobez
9. Felekt Sharow
10. Tikuika Agye
11. Hodenat Biazen

N.B. breast fed brothers



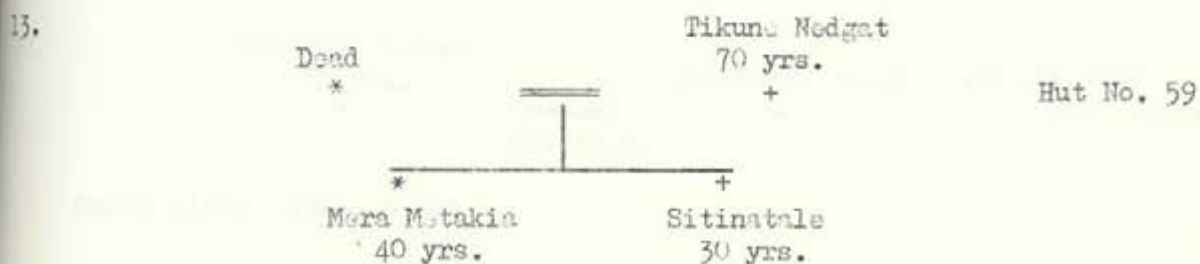
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking



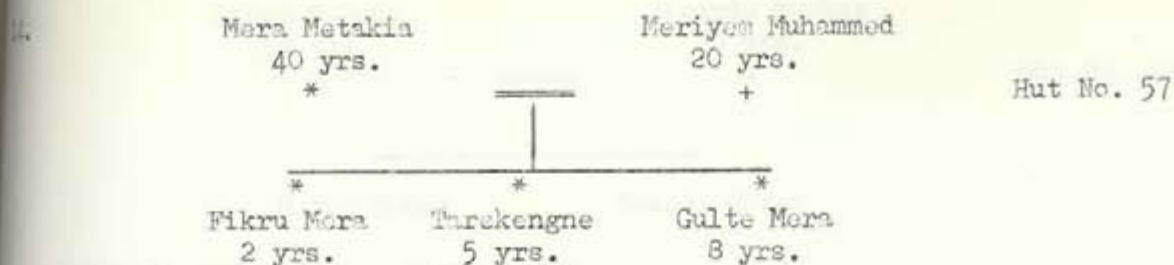
Occupation: Basketry



Husband's occupation: Stone Mason
Wife's occupation: Basketry and cooking

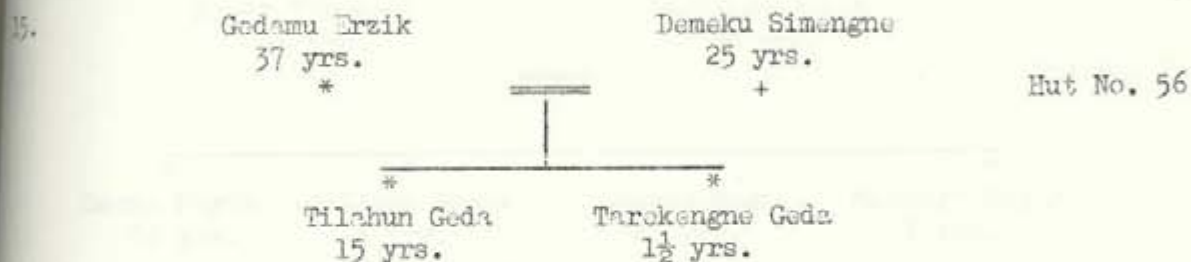


Occupation: Basketry and cooking



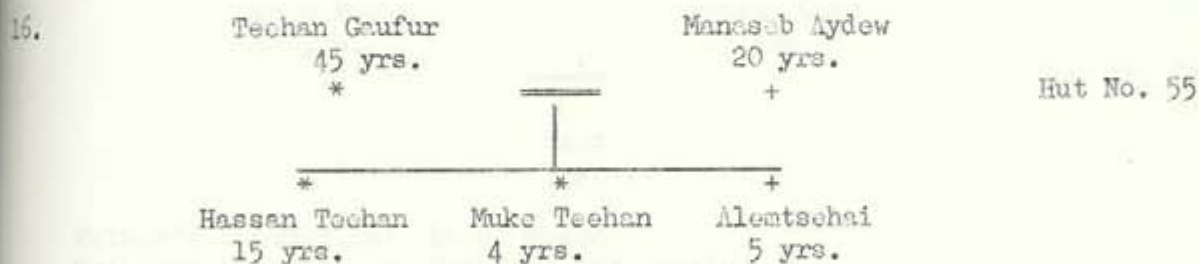
Hut No. 57

Father's occupation: Stone Mason
 Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking



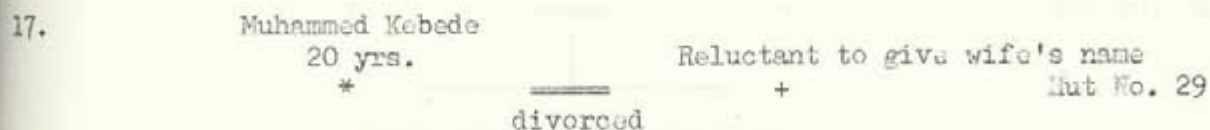
Hut No. 56

Father's occupation: Boat building and fishing
 Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking



Hut No. 55

Father's occupation: Stone mason
 Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking



Hut No. 29

Occupation: Stone mason

Gobez Kebede
24 yrs.
*

Yigardu Markuz
20 yrs.
+

Hut No. 28

*
Melku Gobez

*
Takele Gobez

Father's occupation: Stone mason
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

Chief Negudras
Mogas Kasengne
55 yrs.
*

Inehudge Jenet
30 yrs.
+

Hut No. 26

*
Osman Mogas
33 yrs.

*
Tilahun Mogas
4 yrs.

*
Abebaw Mogas
20 yrs.

*
Merdiga Mogas
3 yrs.

Chief's occupation: Boat building and fishing
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

Osman Mogas
33 yrs.
*

Momina Wubu
23 yrs.
+

Hut No. 23

Umer
5 yrs.

Father's occupation: Stone mason
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

21. Reluctant to give
husband's name
*

Arefu Mazengia
+

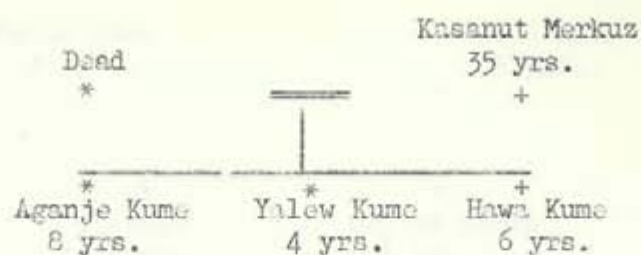
Hut No. 24

*
Seidu Alem
25 yrs.

*
Boutik Alem

Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

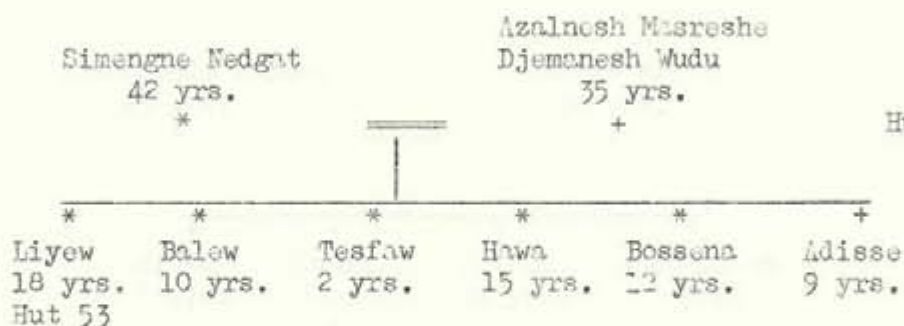
27.



Hut No. 32a

Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

28.

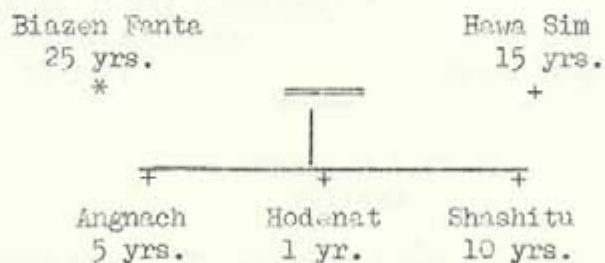


Hut No. 52

Father's occupation: Boat making and fishing

Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

29.



Hut No. 54

Father's occupation: Stone mason

Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

30.



Hut No. 22

Father's occupation: Stone mason

Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

Zeman Azen
40 yrs.
*

Yonesia Bili
35 yrs.
+

Hut No. 21

+
Aletash
4 yrs.

+
Lujish Zeman
7 yr.

Father's occupation: Stone mason
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

Yenewondim Hassan
45 yrs.
*

Bakenna Belote
30 yrs.
+

Hut No. 1

*
Yemus
7 yrs.

*
Ahmid
8 yrs.

*
Zeinob
15 yrs.

+
Tschainsh
3 yrs.

Father's occupation: Boat building and fishing
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

3. (Sheke Jiaril Sechalah)
Adebabay Sechalah
50 yrs.
*

Asres Nedgat
+

Hut No. 2

Children left the
village

Father's occupation: The Scholar (only literate man in the
village), boat building
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

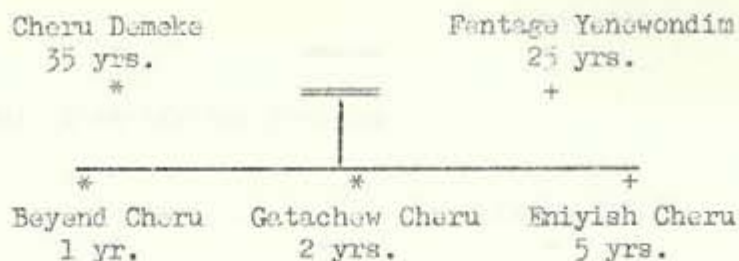
4. Kumlingne Kassa
45 yrs.
*

Kasamet Morkuz
+

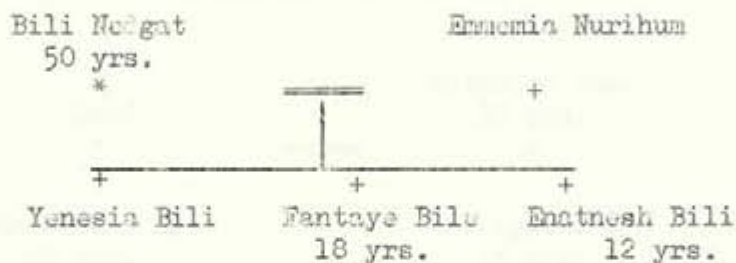
No Hut
See family 27

divorced

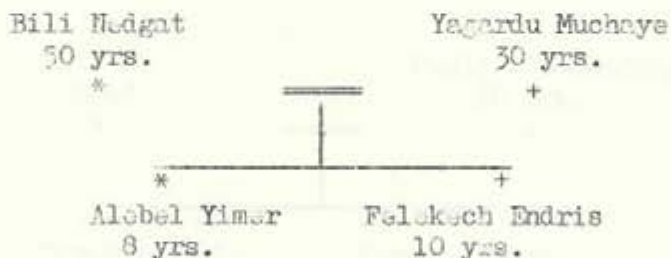
Reason for divorce: Economic
Husband's occupation: Boat building
Mother's occupation: Basketry and fishing



Father's occupation: Boat building
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

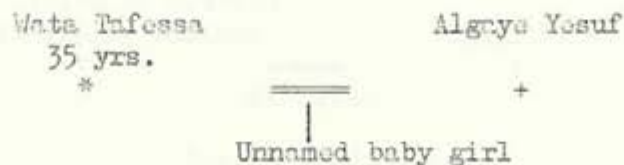


Father's occupation: Boat making
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking



Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

(N.B. Bili Nedgat - two separate houses)



Father's occupation: Boat builder
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

3. * ————— Tigabneesh Ali + Hut No. 67
 Occupation: Basketry and cooking

4. Dead * ————— Weinitu Tafere + Hut No. 69
 |
 Ansalu Muhammed
 15 yrs.
 Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

5. Dead * ————— Biturech Wasse 55 yrs. + Hut No. 65

6. Endaleman Ali 22 yrs. * ————— Meriyem Yasin 13 yrs. + Hut No. 70

Husband's occupation: Unlocated - stone mason
 Wife's occupation: Basketry and cooking

7. Dead * ————— Funit Wondimagengne 60 yrs. + Hut No. 6
 |
 +-----+
 Timur Meselle 20 yrs. Momina Hasan 15 yrs.

Occupation: Basketry and cooking

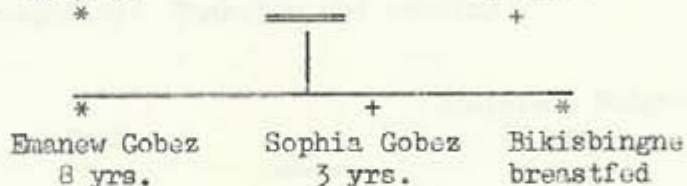
8. (now living in Dembia)
 Wondimagengne Suliman * ————— Timur Messele + Hut No. 6
 divorced
 |
 Zegaye Wondimagengne

Occupation: Basketry and cooking

50. Estalehu Genet 45 yrs. * Gedam Alaset 30 yrs. + Hut No. 76

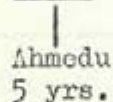
Husband's occupation: Stone mason
Wife's occupation: Basketry and cooking

51. Gobeze Azene 38 yrs. * Fatim Baines 33 yrs. + Hut No. 12



Father's occupation: Stone mason
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

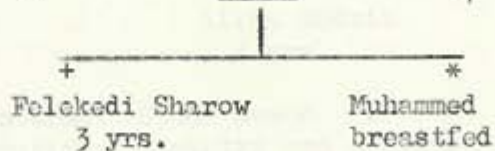
52. Muhammad Hasan 28 yrs. * Tsehai Sharew 25 yrs. + Hut No. 13



Father's occupation: Stone Mason
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

(N.B. Since we left Ethiopia she was stabbed to death by her husband)

53. Sharow Shifaw 28 yrs. * Fatima Munit + Hut No. 14



Father's occupation: Stonemason
Mother's occupation: Basketry and cooking

List of the Waito People of Gediro

MARRIED MEN:

1. Zelke Sharow
2. Tuahir Kasahun
3. Melkam Wofa
4. Wofa Dufew
5. Zeina Muhammed
6. Yisa Dibe
7. Dawd Yenchum

MARRIED WOMEN:

1. Timur Kassalum
2. Tsehai Beshir
3. Yenesh Kindench
4. Simengne Nuru
5. Bifhonej Wofa
6. Anshu Umer
7. Wudanesh Yenehun
8. Wefefu Zeleke

BOYS:

1. Alemnew Zoleke
2. Tarafe Zeleke
3. Marow Tuahir
4. Benfihun Yisa
5. Azenelingne Yisa
6. Kassaw Bizu Asefa

GIRLS:

1. Shamiya

BABY BOYS:

1. Unnamed Tuar's son

BABY GIRLS:

1. Unnamed Asefa's daughter
2. " Zeinu's daughter

THE WAITO FAMILIES IN GEDIRO

1. Zeleke Sharow * Timur Kassahun +
 Wefetu Zeleke * Alemnew Zeleke * Terefe Zeleke *
2. Tualir Kassahun * Tsahai Beshir +
 Marrow * Unnamed Baby *
3. Melkam Wofa * Yemenesh Kindeneh +
4. Wofa Bifew * Simengne Nuru +
 Melkam * Bifhonengne *
5. Zeinu Muhammed * Bifhonengne Nofa +
 Unnamed Baby Girl *
6. Yisa Dibe * Ansha Umer +
 Banfihun * Azonelingne * Shamiye *
7. Hamid Dibe - unmarried man
 Dawd Yenehun - " "
8. Asefa Endale * Wudunesh Yenewondum +
 Kasabizu * Unnamed *

APPENDIX IIIList of the Waito People of YgashoMARRIED MEN:

1. Hailu Mongne
2. Beimot Seidie
3. Adisse Beimot
4. Aychew Aynsaw
5. Alfaw Beshir
6. Seidu Alemu
7. Hussein Shifaraw
8. Negadras Shiferaw Yenus
9. Sayew Tessema
10. Umer Analem
11. Abro Aymot

MARRIED WOMEN:

1. Anshash Shafew
2. Tizze Yalew
3. Ahlush
4. Hawa Makonnen
5. Workit Tessema
6. Mammifu Azene
7. Boufik Alein
8. Lemlom Kassahun
9. Agerifu Kassa
10. Dessalesh Mefekat
11. Tizze Mesairi
12. Tsehaitu Seidna

BOYS:

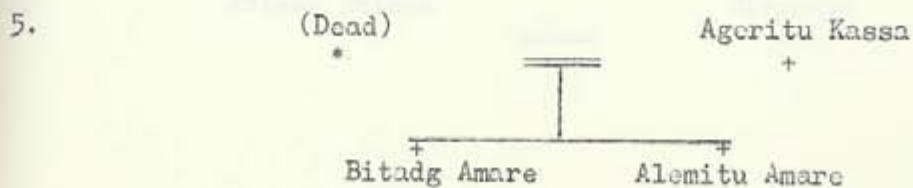
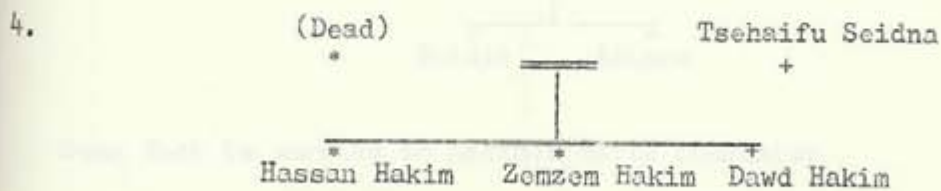
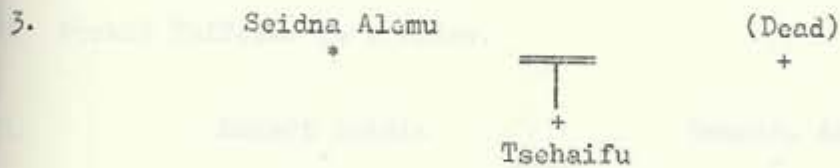
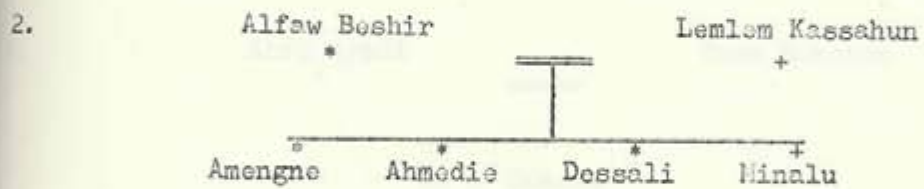
1. Erfban Hailu
2. Kassaw Abroaymot
3. Samon Aychew
4. Ewnefu Aychew
5. Amenenge Alfah
6. Dessale Alfah
7. Ahmedie Alfah
8. Hassan Makim
9. Zemzem Makim
10. Dawd Makim
11. Gelaw Tessema
12. Muhammed Umer

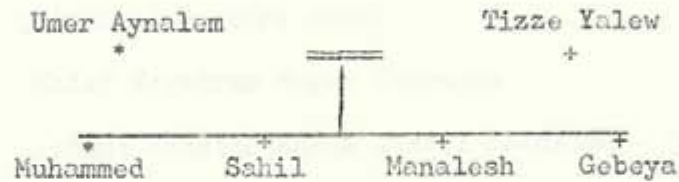
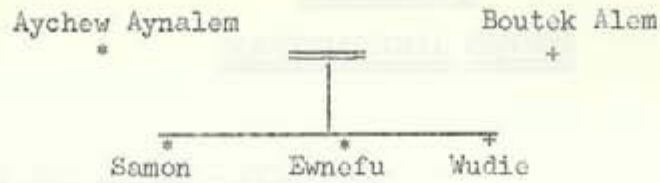
GIRLS:

1. Minalu Alfah
2. Bitadge Amare
3. Alemifu Amare
4. Immamish Hailu
5. Wudie Aychow
6. Likifu Sayew
7. Alemush Sayew
8. Salil Umer
9. Manalesh Umer
10. Gebeya Umer

THE WAITO FAMILIES IN YGASHO

1. Mewayesh Yimam is a widow.





APPENDIX IVCONVERSATIONAL REPORTSa) MEETING OF THE ELDERS - JULY 26TH

Fifteen representatives of the community - the 'elders' - met to discuss our stay. Since the community appears to have no organised social structure, this group was fairly random and included a few young men.

The principal members were:

Chief Negadras Mogas Kasengne

Priest Scholar Sheke Jisril Sechalah - Kalicha

The Chief has been Chief since the end of the Italian occupation.

The principal points raised were:

- i) "We are downtrodden and oppressed by the Amharas. They treat us as sub-human and hence our poverty and misery."
- ii) "We are outcasts simply because we are Waito and form the lowest social stratum in the Bahar Dar community."
- iii) "We want your help."
- iv) The Waito own no land (this is not quite true).
- v) The Waito own no cattle, sheep, donkeys, goats.
- vi) They do own dogs and chickens.
- vii) The land is used by the Chisegnet system. Nothing is paid for the use of the land but there is no security and periodic claimants have tried to eject them. When this occurs they go to court and have been told that they may remain on the land until they own their own.

While in Egypt the Waito lived in a place called 'Aleng'. The Pharaoh sent people to catch the escaping Waito and the people of the Pharaoh asked everybody they could find if they had seen "ኅከ ኃገገገ ኃ" (the people of 'Aleng). Meanwhile the Waito had settled on the shores of the Ethiopian border and become famous for their skill of whip-making from hippo' hide. Hence the whips became known as "ኅከ ኃገገገ" (Alenga).

The Kalicha thinks that the Waito are looked down upon because of the curse of Moses. Asked how many years it was since the time of Moses, he said 7,900 years.

Superstitions

The Kalicha told us that it is absolutely essential for men to wash after they have had intercourse with their wives. Failure on the part of the men to do this would result in a host of undesirable and inevitable incidents. This is especially true if the men went to prayer without washing.

Of dreams, he said that it was only possible for the Saints. As the power of Satan grew, however, even wicked men could have a dream. Interpretation of dreams is personal.

Creation, according to the Kalicha, took 7,000 years. He said that God made a series of seven creations, each one taking 1,000 years. Men appeared in the last stage of creation (c.f. evolution).

Two principal factors explain discrimination against the Waito:

- i) Food habits - the eating of hippo' and animals dying a natural death
- ii) Ignorance of facts in comparison with the Amharas

He also said that their tales and fancy stories are mostly religious. There are also paganistic elements in their religious practices because the people have no deep religious education.

Social Practices

Marriage

A couple may be married by two systems:

1. By arrangement by the parents:

i) According to the Moslem practice. In this form of marriage the property is exclusively the man's. The girl contributes nothing.

ii) As the Amharas. This is a relatively new innovation and the girl and boy contribute equally -

"ከግንዛቤ ሁለቱም ስጦታ ይሰጣሉ፡፡ ማለግግ ለግንዛቤ ሁለቱም ስጦታ ይሰጣሉ፡፡"

"Like the two halves of a lemon"

N.B. This is not widely practised.

2. Elopement. If the couples love each other and cannot get married because they are close relatives (they must be separated by at least seven generations) or because the parents concerned are bitter enemies, then they flee and go to "strange lands". After some time they may be accepted as members of the society and become reconciled with their parents.

Previously boys could marry at 20 years and girls at 15 years.

(N.B. These ages should be treated with reservation as the time sense of the Waito is very poor.)

A man may have more than one wife.

Divorce

Marriages and divorce are conducted by the learned men (ቆሃላ ገጥ) or the local chief (ግድ ገጥ). Women who married according to the Moslem practices will get nothing at the time of divorce. Those married according to Amhara practice will withdraw all the property they have contributed and will have an equal share of the property which has been secured during marriage.

The Amhara form of marriage is an innovation to the Islamic practices of the Waito. Hence there are few cases.

Birth

Birth is a time of great happiness and rejoicing, but a baby boy is preferred and there is more celebration. N.B. This suggests the inferior position of women.

Burial

When a person dies he is washed thoroughly and then "wrapped in seven shrouds" - "ገጥ ገጥ ገጥ ገጥ ገጥ ገጥ ገጥ". A grave is built of stone and wood such that the dead person has just enough space to sit up if he wants to. Washing is performed to cleanse the dead of the worldly nature.

Others

The hippo' was killed by one of three weapons:

- i) Tor (ጠሮ) - arrow
- ii) Filata (ፊላታ) - barbed harpoon
- iii) Tebenja (ጥብጃ) - gun

↓
more modern
times

c) CHRISTIAN AMHARA - 31ST JULY

Ato Dawit considers that the Waito are looked down on for two major reasons:

- i) They are Moslems
- ii) Their food habits include eating hippo' and dead animals

Both the above are considered taboo by the Amhara.

d) CONVERSATION ON 4TH AUGUST WITH:

Negadras Mogas Kasengne - Chief

Ato Kebede Kasengne

Ato Baines Boyene

- i) Asked what they knew of the word Waito, they said they knew nothing.
- ii) Of the oral tradition of their origin, they said that their ancestors have always lived "on waters", i.e. since ancient times.
- iii) They explain their inferior position by:
 - a) they are not economically well off
 - b) they are the minority - few in number
 - c) their food habits are unorthodox
- iv) Dreams, they said, are subject to individual interpretation.

There are two kinds of dream:

- a) those of happiness
- b) those of sorrow

viii) When a person dies, he is washed, wrapped in a new cloth and tied by seven strings. The grave is dug in an East-West direction, "h₁θ d₂ 4-0004052 S:00 7 1 5", and the walls are made of wood and mud. There is sufficient height in the grave for the man to sit upright - so that he may pray for his sins.

ix) There are three major holidays:

1. Aljuma - (Friday) the Sunday of Islam
2. Arefa - this is the day on which the fasting period of Ramadan (30 days) finishes. It is believed that Mecca is open on this day.
3. The birth and death of Mohammed, which are believed to occur on Mondays.

The fasting period or Ramadan is held once a year. This could be any time of the year.

It is interesting to note that the Waito knew nothing of the 1965 anniversary of the birth of Mohammed. To them it was no special year.

x) The Waito pray five times per day:

1. Maleda - this is early (at sun-rise)
2. Ber Sement S'at - around 2 o'clock
3. Ber Asseraolat S'at - around 6 o'clock
4. Lam Gibi - i.e. after all the cows are in
5. Isha - any time during the night

xi) The elders stress that games are no longer played frequently, since everybody is busy - even the small children. The games are, however:

1. Gebeta - played with 12 holes and 48 counters. One tries to take the opposition's holes (by finishing in that hole to complete a set of 4) and accumulate counters.
2. Chatting

Children's games:

1. Gena
2. K'ast
3. Chinkabait - Senec Mexenu
4. Cuas - bull previously made of pieces of cloth

xii) The community prays to Allah and Mohammed - the prophet who brought the Koran. They pray for the country's welfare, good rulers, good health and peace for everyone. The "Aljuma" is the day of prayer and rest. Young boys learn the Koran and have to go from place to place in search of professors - N.B. if this is true it is very much as in Tigre and Begember.

xiii) Hippo' hunting was undertaken at night (ref. Biology) and the skin used to make:

1. Alenga - the whip
2. Yeferesina Yebekilo Zab - horse's bit.

The flesh was eaten.

xiv) The time of going to bed depends on the individual. Some stay awake and pray a good part of the night. Others go to

bed early and others may pray for two hours. Children, however, go to bed very early and rise up later (a little) than their parents. Most adults rise at sun-rise.

- xv) At present there are about four Waito young men working in the cotton factory of Bahar Dar.
- xvi) They determine the time of day by observing the position of the sun and by observing the length of their shadow. On cloudy days they know the time by "experience". N.B. Factory hooter.
- xvii) According to the chief, musical instruments are no longer used but they included in the past:
1. Kirar
 2. Kebero
 3. Mesenko
- xviii) Since "ancient times" their trade was based on barter. Nowadays they use money. They told us that they take a lot of grinding stones to the villages of Gorgorra and Dembia by tankwa. They can carry a maximum of 80 Wufchos in one tankwa and what they can buy for $\text{Z}1.50$ here, they sell in Dembia or Gorgorra for $\text{Z}3.50 - \text{Z}4.00$.
- xix) They said that they eat at least once per day depending on the wealth of the individual. If he is rich he can afford 3 or more meals, and if not, only one meal. Two meals are most common.

- xx) Men and women may pray together but the position of women is very inferior and they have very little say in important issues "ወንጌል ለገብገብ ለገብገብ" .
- xxi) Leisure time activities include:
1. Prayer
 2. Trips into town
 3. Other trips
 4. Chatting
 5. Sleeping
- xxii) Waito-Christian Amhara; Waito-Moslem Amhara relations
- In general the Waito-Moslem Amhara relationship is better than the Waito-Christian Amhara relationship. Previously no Amhara would enter a Waito home, let alone eat or talk with a Waito. Nowadays, however, relations are improving and some Amharas (especially travellers) visit some Waito houses and eat with them. The Amharas say "grain is grain".
- xxiii) Marriage is only possible within the Waito people, i.e. they are endogamous, but incest is not practised. Nowadays Waito men can marry Moslem Amhara women if they win the love of the women. They told us of one case where a non-Waito married a Waito because she loved him. They also told us of another instance where a non-Waito Moslem Amhara married to a Waito was taken to the court in Bahar Dar. The court acquitted her on the grounds that she could marry whoever she liked.

xxiv) Asked how they are affected in times of famine they said they are not affected since "we make everything". "There is no work we do not do. We are very skilled people". Hence if making one thing fails them they turn to another. They told us they make (or used to make) the following to sell:

1. tankwa - boat
2. mentaf - salein matting
3. wufcho - grinding stone
4. yebabur wufcho - circular grinding stone
5. gebeta - wooden bowl
6. korshi - wooden table (not nowadays)
7. manka - wooden spoon (chiffa)
8. mido - wooden comb
9. mizan - wooden scales

xxv) Their religion forbids them to eat the following:

1. all dead animals (i.e. naturally)
2. Zendo (python)
3. Ibaba (snakes)
4. all flying birds except Guinea Fowl and Frankalin

xxvi) They say they welcome any Waito from other communities as their brothers and stress that the land they inhabit is not theirs and landlords sometimes ask them to evacuate. When this happens, they appeal to the authorities. The Government has started granting land (18m. x 21m.). So far, nine men have received land, which they use as allotments, but they would sell the land if they needed money.

- xxvii) Their products were exhibited when the English Queen and the German President visited Bahar Dar.
- xxviii) A boy reaches manhood when he can support himself and earn money.
- xxix) Waito boys started attending Government schools about one year ago. About eight started, but only three are still attending.

e) CONVERSATION ON 9TH AUGUST WITH:

Abdil Agaje

Sharon Shafaw

Awel Abdrakman

- i) The elders did not know the meaning of Waito. It was a word passed down from their forefathers.
- ii) Of their oral tradition of origin, they said it could be traced to that of the Amhara.
- iii) Marriage can take place only if the partners are separated by at least 7 generations and closer relations may not marry. Residence is patrilocal except in very rare cases when the parents-in-law ask their son-in-law to live with them.
- iv) They take three meals a day:
 - coffee in the morning,
 - injera and wot at midday,
 - injera and wot in the evening.
- v) Women and men do not pray together in the mosque.

- vi) Their leisure time activities include sleeping and chatting.
- vii) Their major religious holidays are:
- Etra - preceded by a fasting period
- Arefa - the day on which Mecca is opened. There is a big feast. It is more or less like the Ethiopian holiday on the Sunday after Easter Sunday.
- viii) Old age and wisdom are sources of prestige.
- ix) Special foods eaten on holidays include:
1. Frida - meat
 2. Dire - chicken
 3. Yebera siga - oxen
- Ordinary foods include:
1. Kollo - fried food
 2. Injera beshiro - injera and wot (wot of peas, beans, etc.)
- x) The criterion of wealth is not clear as there is no single rich individual. However, people engaged in farming and trading are considered rich.
- xi) Despised jobs include:
- | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 1. carving manka |) | despised because the work demands skill |
| 2. carving mido |) | and the articles are in low demand with |
| 3. selling firewood |) | a low price |
- Honoured jobs include:
1. farming
 2. trading

- xii) The chief is elected by the people and is recognised by the Government. Chieftdom is not necessarily hereditary, although the chief's son has much influence and may well succeed. The chief is expected to reconcile quarrelling parties and cooperate with the Government - i.e. send people to court when wanted. His qualifications are old age (at least 45 yrs. old) and wisdom which is not clearly defined. A man may seem wise to one man and foolish to another.
- xiii) Time at night is determined by cock crow. This is most useful - the cock crows at about midnight and three in the morning.
- xiv) Payment takes two forms:
1. Money exchange
 2. Labour exchange (for labour)
- xv) Asked if they knew of any hippo' killing heroes, they said that there was a certain Tafesse, living in the time of their great-grandfathers, who was good at killing hippo' with Tor and Filata.
- xvi) The day is divided into six parts and these parts are used as periods for making appointments. The six parts are:
1. Maleda - very early morning
 2. Dorakarafad - about 10 a.m.
 3. Kan Uoul - midday

4. Zuhur - about 2 p.m.

5. Assa - about 4 p.m.

6. Mercreb - evening

xvii) Distance is measured in several different ways:

1. Stride

2. Shimel - this is a long piece of wooden bar about three to four elbows

3. Mechangna - a very long piece of skin measuring many elbows

4. Kedema - this is the distance for which a ploughman would plough a furrow before turning. It is determined by experience.

5. Metre - relatively modern innovation

xviii) Enchet (firewood) is used as fuel as an alternative to Dengal.

xix) The Kebero is the only instrument now in use. Previously the Kirar and Mesenko were also used.

xx) Fishing is an art and very few people are good at it.

xxi) Creation, thunder and lightening are explained as the works of Allah. Thunder and lightening indicate his wrath.

xxii) The prevention of hippo' hunting has decreased the wealth of the Waito, since previously they would eat the meat and use the skin for whips and bits for sale.

xxiii) The man is the undisputed head of the family and women have very little say in everyday life.

xxiv) To them, Ethiopia is the land of the black man and includes Gojjam and Gondar. They have never heard of Africa.

xxv) They say that conversational topics include:

1. Whether or not they will have a bad year
2. Whether or not someone will have them make something
3. Whether or not they will be busy the following day

f) CONVERSATION ON AUGUST 14TH WITH THREE ELDERS:

Simengne Nedgat

Techan Ganfur

Yenewondim Hassan

- i) They did not understand the meaning of Waito. They claim that genealogically their ancestors may be traced to Adam and Eve.
- ii) It is an exogamous society in that marriage is impossible unless the partners are separated by more than seven generations. If a man is not able to find a wife in his own village, he tries to find a girl in other Waito communities. Hence there are marriages between villages such as Fasilo, Gorgorra, Gediro, Ygasho, Zegge and others. A man presents two dollars and a wedding gown to his bride to become married. This is a legal

marriage (known as Yenekaha) and everything earned after marriage is equally divisible between man and wife on divorce.

Residence is patrilocal.

iii) They eat three meals:

Buna, Misa and Irat.

iv) The men pray together in the mosque and drink coffee prepared by the women. Such group prayer is known as Dua and women are not allowed in the mosque. In their respective homes women worship with their husbands.

v) Leisure time activities include chatting over coffee and prayer.

vi) There are two principal holidays:

Areta - this is the day when the doors of Mecca are opened. It occurs 2 months and 10 days after the holiday of Etra. Etra is the day when the Ramadan or fasting period ends.

vii) The elders considered that there was no single rich individual in their community. The rich own land and cattle or are traders.

viii) Sources of prestige include: wisdom, patience, impartiality and attempting 'to work for the soul'.

ix) The time of the night is estimated by the braying of asses and the crowing of cocks. An ass brays before the cock crows. The cock is supposed to crow once at about midnight, once about 3 o'clock in the morning and once at about 6 o'clock in the morning.

The day is divided into six parts and appointments are arranged accordingly:

1. Maleda - very early morning
2. Dera Karafad - about 10 a.m.
3. Kan Ucul - midday
4. Zuhur - about 2 p.m.
5. Assa - about 4 p.m.
6. Herereb - sunset

These times are determined by experience and are associated with the position of the sun.

- x) The traditional measure of distance is the Kedema. Nowadays, however, the metre is replacing this.
- xi) Jobs involving very hard work which have a poor return are despised. Such jobs include making wooden combs and spoons or selling firewood.
- xii) Special foods are eaten on holidays and big feast days.
 1. Frida - cow, ox, goat, sheep, etc.
 2. Dire - chicken
- xiii) The chief is elected by the people and his duties are:
 1. settling cases of debts
 2. reconciliation
 3. performing marriages and divorces
 4. maintaining peace; not by force but through his wisdom and diplomatic ability

5. giving over to the government people who harm the society
 6. cooperating with the government, e.g. by sending people to court when required
- xiv) The Kebero is now the only musical instrument in use. Previously the Masinko and Kirar were also played.
- xv) The husband is the undisputed head of the family and he makes all decisions. The wife may make suggestions. Amongst the duties of women are:
1. basketry
 2. cooking
 3. upbringing of children
 4. giving birth
- xvi) Lightening, creation, sun, stars and moon are explained as God's works. Thunder and lightening are signs of his wrath and hence the people pray during storms.
- xvii) To them, Addis Ababa is the best of places. It is a place of abundance where history is made.
- Ethiopia is defined as:
1. The place where we live
 2. The country of the black people
 3. The provinces of Gojjam and Begemder
 4. All regions under the Emperor
- xviii) They trade with places such as Fogerra and Dembia. Money is the medium of exchange.

- xix) Graves for the dead are made of stones and mud walls with soil sprinkled on top.
- xx) Marriage partners do not have to swear to be faithful to each other. The parents of the partners, however, swear that they will give their children in marriage. Engagements and marriages are arranged by parents. Previously a girl who was found, by her husband, to have had intercourse before marriage was punished 'by law'. Nowadays this is relaxed.
- xxi) One goes to bed when one feels like going to bed - 'whenever one is tired'. Most people rise between 6-7 o'clock in the morning.
- xxii) The Waito are not taxed by the government primarily because they are poor.
- xxiii) Meat is eaten whenever one can afford it. Two months may pass between two meat meals.
- xxiv) On the whole a person earns less than ₦1 a day.
- xxv) Men have nothing to do with the birth of a child. Women are responsible.
- xxvi) Asked whether they had considered improving their tankwas, they said "dengal is dengal. We cannot improve it. Whatever our parents used to do, we do likewise".

In a dengal tankwa the lives of the people are safe since dengal floats even when the tankwa is overturned. They have an

imitative and not creative spirit. They appear to hate deviation from the methods and customs of their forefathers.

g) CONVERSATION ON 24TH AUGUST WITH 3 ELDERS:

Bili Nedgat

Gonit Anuarin

Bishaw Beyene

Concerning lightening, thunder, creation, sun, moon and stars, measurement of distance, marriage, birth, burial, oral tradition, etc., the elders confirmed our previous information.

- 1) Asked what they understood by the word Waito, Bili Nedgat replied: "In ancient times the forefathers of the Waito ate hippo' because of widespread famine. The Amhara did not eat it and remarked 'ገጠኖ' (literally swallowed). From this word derived the word 'ወገጥ' (waito) which has since become a word of abuse".
- ii) Wobera or debiat is an institution by which a man with a great deal of work to do, acquires the help of his friends in order to complete the job in a shorter time. The man for whom the work is done must provide at least one meal. This is an obligation and he must also repay his friends in kind.
- iii) There are about 4 men who are literate in the Waito community of Fasilo:

1. Ali Erzik)
 2. Gedam Erzik) These people read the Amharic script.
 3. Adissa Siraj) The Kalicha reads Arabic.
 4. Demissen)
- iv) Bili Nedgat is of the opinion that had they not preferred living in town the Waito could have owned land. He cited the communities in Zegge, Begenge and Tches Abbai, which own land.
- v) Women and men do not pray in the mosque together. However, in fellowship meetings, such as drinking coffee in the afternoon, women enter the mosque and drink coffee with the men.
- vi) There is no unit of weight although they use scales.
- vii) They see no difference between the religion practised by the Islam Waito and the Islam Amhara but they worship in separate mosques because the Waito are poorer.
- viii) When a man is not able to work because of sickness, his family will take care of him. If the family is not able to do this, his immediate relatives help and if they too cannot help the whole Waito community would help.
- ix) Ethiopia includes Gojjam, Begemder, Tigre, Gondar, Asmara, Lalibela, Addis Ababa and Metema. Africa is associated with the local factory.

- x) The world is very big but the shape is unknown.
- xi) When a man is possessed of an evil spirit the people pray for him in groups. If he does not recover they chain him for a few days, but if this too fails they give him over to the Government.

h) CONVERSATION ON 25TH AUGUST WITH 3 ELDERS:

Osman Mogas

Mera Metekia

Ali Azene

The elders confirmed earlier information concerning origin, genealogy, creation, sun, earth, moon, stars, dreams, duties of the chief and other similar aspects of everyday life.

- i) The head of the family is the husband, but the wife also plays an important part in some decisions. Both husband and wife earn money for the family and the husband-wife relationship seems one of mutual partnership " ጥራት ለጥራት ሆኖ ነው ".
- ii) The people drink coffee in the mosque once during the morning and once during the afternoon. Coffee drunk in the morning is prepared by a different family each day. This is arranged through an institution known as Tertib - lots are drawn each day and the family drawn makes coffee; their name is then withdrawn from the draw until the cycle is completed.

Afternoon coffee is prepared by any family who has coffee. People are called to the mosque for a social gathering. Afterwards the people invited thank the family - "Allah Yistilin" - and return to their respective jobs.

- iii) The elders prefer the dry season to the rainy season because:
1. They can work on stone and dengal without being interrupted by rain.
 2. The price of grain and other food is lower in the dry season.

1) CONVERSATION ON 26TH AUGUST WITH 5 ELDERS:

Endris Agaje

Gobez Kebede

Genanew Garede

Mesfin Merkuz

Alebachew Simengne

Information regarding creation, thunder, lightening, sun, moon, earth, rainbows and other similar questions was verified by the 5 elders.

- i) There is no clear social distinction. The family head is the husband, because he earns most of the family income.
- ii) A man is respected for his religious activities such as settling disputes and giving valuable advice.

- iii) Most people work on holidays because they have to. They try to hide themselves from the priest, for should he see them he would admonish them.
- iv) The chief's duties include supporting the poor, punishing the wicked and reconciling quarelling parties.
- v) They use their hands to clap out rhythm and the people sing, but there are no professional musicians.
- vi) They consider modern education is good but buying equipment for a student is very expensive.
- vii) An elder is wise and necessarily old. Reconciliation ability is a prime quality.
- viii) The children are not taught the Koran although some aspects are known to them through informal education.
- ix) They are proud of being Waitos:
 "A f on b' h: g a 3: g h 4- u b r"
- x) Faithfulness between wives and husbands is cherished and failure on the part of either partner may result in divorce.
- xi) Many villagers own chickens which are eaten and sold. Eggs are available.
- xii) Contracts are signed when the parties concerned do not trust each other: "A h g o 7 f: 4) h h b r: ".

- xiii) When asked why they did not have the opportunity to study the Koran as the priest had, they said he had learnt it "somewhere else". They did not know where but vaguely said "Islan Ager" (in the country of Islam).

j) CONVERSATION ON 27TH AUGUST WITH THE KALICHA

The Kalicha took us to a small talk house and, thinking we were from the government, tried to persuade us that he should be made chief of the Waito. He is very conceited and considers himself educated.

He gave us the oral tradition which he had written down and stated that it all resulted from his own research of the Koran (the book of Haddis - principal characters Isa, Sulciman and Daw'). This is not true as we received the same information in Gedirc. The information was probably handed down to him but its validity seems probable.

He would not allow us to touch his books (Koran - parts of) because they were too holy.

k) CONVERSATION ON 27TH AUGUST WITH 5 ELDERS

- i) The mosques are built by the men only. Each contributes labour by either gathering materials or constructing the building.
- ii) A man becomes ill because Allah wills it. Allah has complete control over men and kills and cures as he wants.

- iii) Women have children due to Allah. Without his consent nothing happens.
- iv) Earnings vary widely. A man may produce, and sell in the market, anything from one to six wufchos per week (¥1.50 each). Many wufchos crack before completion.
- v) The Kalicha (or other priest) teaches the children their religion but, if they prefer, they may visit the Moslem Ashar's Hall in Bahar Dar to receive formal tuition.
- vi) The Waitos work about 8 hours per day.
- vii) Waitos do not come from other communities to settle in Fasilo. Some leave to live elsewhere, e.g. Fogera, Dembia, Addis Ababa, but this is normally due to the wife's influence. If a wife decides to live in another community with her children the husband, not wanting to abandon his children, will follow. He will not be granted land in the fresh area.
- viii) From second-hand information, the judges of the court are thought not to be trusted. They can be bribed.
- ix) When asked if all men are equal the elders replied: "All men are basically equal, but some are hard-working, some are lazy, some have opportunities and wealth and others do not."
- x) Children are taught to make baskets, wufchos, etc. at about 7 years of age. A girl can learn to make baskets in about one year but a boy may take seven years to make wufchos and build

tankwas as well as his instructor. The time required varies greatly with the ability of the child.

- xi) Married women must be accompanied by a male relative when attending a social gathering, but unmarried women are more free. Widows may attend alone, but fathers and brothers caution them not to discredit the family.
- xii) Pre-marital and extra-marital intercourse are looked down on but, in general, men are less restricted than women.
- xiii) The elders said that there was no local village quack (but this requires verification). If a man is ill his life is in the hands of Allah and he may live or die.
- xiv) People with insufficient food to feed themselves are fed by friends. A family will feed friends for 2 or 3 days, but after this the person goes to another home.

1) CONVERSATION ON 27TH AUGUST WITH BAINES BEYENNE

Not every Waito community has its own shamma maker, particularly nowadays. The equipment (loom as used by Amhars) costs about \$2.50 and cotton is bought. Baines Beyenne learnt the craft from an Amhar but rarely practises it.

Many people attacked the hippos using short spears aiming particularly behind the shoulders.

m) CONVERSATION SUMMARY ON 29TH AUGUST FROM TSHAI SHARROW AND BAINES BEYENNE (FUKRA)

Often, but only if the family can afford it, a new born baby is first fed a piece of fresh butter (not rancid). This is custom and occurs before breast feeding starts.

It is thought that, unless the uvula is removed from a child, the child will be unable to swallow. Hence the uvula is removed repeatedly until the child is free. The first operation may take place when the child is only 7 days old and could be repeated for 8 years. One man and one woman are present at the time of operation and certain men in the village - Turu Tafesse, Bishaw Beyenne, Gedam Erzik - are "qualified" to perform it. The observers are not necessarily parents. The child's mouth is forced open and a cutter is used to remove the soft flesh. The custom is not religious.

After the birth of her child a mother will only remain in the hut for 7-8 days - i.e. until she is strong again.

When the time comes to wean a child (because the mother becomes pregnant again or her milk dries up), the mother puts something bitter (e.g. the leaf aret) on her nipples and the child decides to stop drinking the milk. The child is then forced to eat injera and wot immediately.

Young children are named by their parents and/or priest at an informal gathering - this name is equivalent to a "Christian" name but is never used and is after one of the books of the Koran, e.g. Abdella.

Hair is shaved from the heads of their children. Particularly if a child of the family has already died, two tufts of hair are left on each side of the head. This, it is believed, gives protection, but all other styles are decorative.

Girls are excised and boys are circumcised when they are young by those who know how, e.g. Baines Bayenne. This is custom and has no religious significance.

Men shave their bodies.

Waito eat raw meat if they want to and can afford it.

There are no quack doctors in the village and no drugs from leaves - except for tchat - are used. All is in the hands of Allah but the people may travel to visit a famous healer, or wear charms.

Any married man may vote for the chief.

Prostitution is very much looked down on.

There is no equivalent custom to that of the Christians who wear rings of salein at eastertide.

Marriage and pre-marital arrangements are organised by the parents. The father of the boy discusses the choice of a suitable girl with his friends and normally selects a friend's daughter. He then sends a middle man - Shimagilli; literally elder - who goes to the girl's father and politely asks for the hand of the girl. The parent does not reply immediately but says he will discuss the matter with friends and relatives, and answer as soon as possible.

If relatives approve of the marriage, the girl's father holds a party and here the fathers promise to marry the children. This is

an engagement and, although the children are told about it, they generally do not know each other.

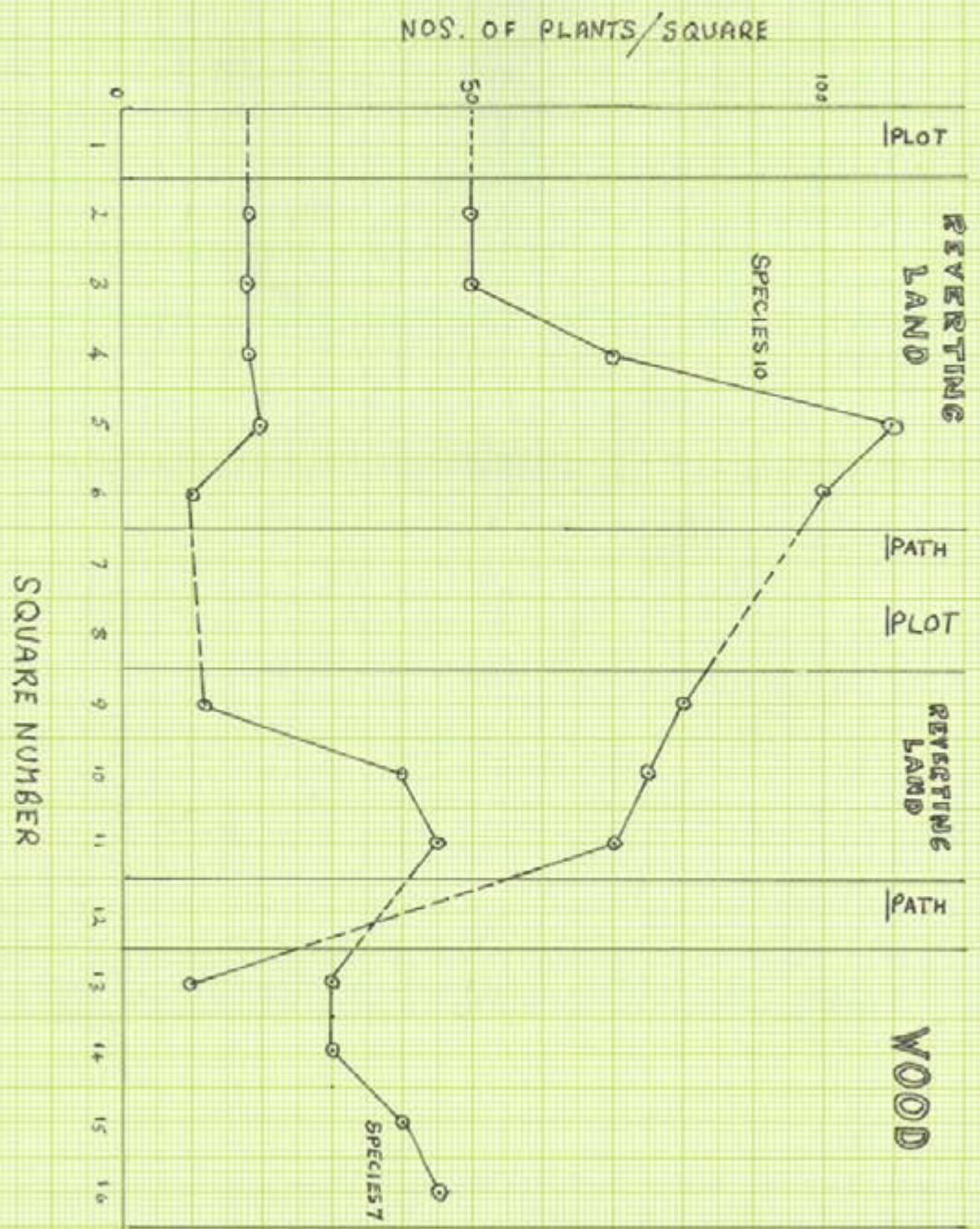
Marriage generally occurs soon after the engagement at a time convenient to both families. A big feast is held and there is much merry-making. The boy, with a few friends, goes to his bride's home and returns with her. If the bride's father is rich, the groom stays the whole night at her home. If not, the groom returns to his home with the bride and for 5 days they remain in the groom's home eating the best food available. The wedding is consummated on the first night unless the girl is too young. If the girl is too young and the groom forces her, he may be punished. There is no inspection for virginity.

On the fifth day the groom's father holds a party which is attended by elders and a few members of the family circle. This is a big feast and at the end, friends give their best wishes to the couple.

The couple has no religious obligation at marriage (c.f. Christian), and friends swear to be honest to the bride and shield her as brothers. These friends may not marry the girl if she is divorced.

Divorce takes place when the couple can no longer stand each other. It is simple and conducted by the priest.

GRAPH OF DISTRIBUTION
OF DOMINANT SPECIES



VEGETATION OF TRANSECT LINE

