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A HISORY OF HORRO DISTRICT, 1910-1991

BY

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A HISTORY OF HORRO DISTRICT, 1910-1991

BY: WAGARI MOSISSA

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Wagari Mosissa, entitled: "A History of Horro District, 1910-1991" and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in History complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Key to transliteration System

The following symbols are used for the transliteration of Ethiopian words in this thesis.

I Seven sounds of the Ethiopian alphabet are represented as follows.

Order	Amharic	Oromo	Symbol	Example	Example
1 st	በ	Ba	ä	Wällägga	ወሊጋ
2 nd	ቡ	Bu/Buu	u	Zufan	ዙፋን
3 rd	ቢ	Bii	i	Iyyasu	ኢየሱስ
4 th	ባ	Baa	a	Ras	ራስ
5 th	ቤ	Be/Bee	é	Jarté	ጃርቴ
6 th	ብ	Bi	i	Iddir	እድር
7 th	ቦ	Bo/Boo	O	Horro	ሆሮ

II Palatalized sounds are represented as follows

ሸ:	Sh :	Shambu	ሻምቡ
ቸ:	Ch:	Chärinät	ቸርነት
ኸ:	ñ:	Qäñazmach	ቀኛዝማኝ
ዠ:	ž:	Wäräda Geži	ወረዳ ገዢ
ጅ:	J:	Gojjäm	ጎጃም

III Glotalized sounds are represented as follows

ቀ :	q =	Waaqa	ዋቃ
ጠ :	ṭ =	Aṭinafu	አጥናፉ
ጨ :	č =	Čabir	ጫብር
ጸ :	ṗ =	Ṗawlos	ጳውሎስ
ጸ :	Ş =	Şegayé	ጸጋዩ
ደ :	Dh =	Dhuguma	ደገማ

IV Germination should always be indicated by doubling

Example:	Bulluq	ቡሉቅ
	Käbbädä	ክበደ
	Qaññach	ቀኛኛ

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Preface

This thesis makes a historical study of Horro District from 1910- 1991. It explores the history of the descendants of Horro clan who settled between the Anger and the Finca'a rivers mostly in the present day districts of Horro and Jarte. Although the history of a large part of Wällägga including Horro Guduru Awraja have been studied by different scholars in general terms, relatively speaking the 20th century history of Horro District has not been given enough attention so far. Hence, this study is an attempt to fill this gap by narrowing the broad terms to consider the history at *wäräda* level in an intensive way from the Land Proclamation Act of 1910 to the fall of the Därg Regime.

In dealing with the subject I have attempted to utilize available archival materials, published and unpublished works as well as oral informants. Archival sources in several government offices in Shambu were consulted intensively. Considerable effort and time were also put into reading archives of different offices in Näqämté and Addis Abäba. For much of the period our information is almost entirely dependent on oral sources. However, for the period after liberation we began to have archival sources. Although one usually encounters various problems because of the shortcomings entailed in the use of oral traditions, it has proved to be an indispensable tool in the reconstruction of the history of a given area where written documents are scarce or non-existent. Efforts have been made to overcome the problems by a careful selection of informants and cautiously taking detailed notes and interpreting the information transmitted by oral traditions.

Most of the materials used in this research were collected beginning from October 2014 at different intervals in Horro district and other concerned areas. In all cases an intensive process of

investigating and sorting out chiefly archival and oral sources became the most important components of this research. In terms of chronology, where there is no possibility of knowing the exact date, the Gregorian calendar is indicated, for instance, 1956/57 for 1949 Ethiopian Calendar. In addition throughout this paper I have used the transliteration system. Besides since this study has been conducted in an entirely Oromo speaking area some sort of Oromo transliteration system has been used.

The study does not claim to be complete and more research has to be done in the area. Nevertheless, our present finding is very important and sheds fresh light for future scholars interested in the study of the history of the rural districts of Ethiopia.

Abstract

This paper deals with a history of Horro district from 1910 to 1991. The core of the study deals with the settlement patterns, the livelihood and administration of the people of Horro district under the regimes of Haile Sillassié and the Därg. It was at Oda Bisil that the Jawi clans of the Arfe groups split from the rest clans and turned north and settled in the present day Horro district. The Horro Oromo who were collectively called Horro-Horritti with the passage of time extended in to different directions and settled between the Anger River and the Finca'a River. The people of Horro believed in Waaqa since time immemorial. The people also give due respect to Qaallu. With the passage of time, however, the Qaallu Institution in Horro continued to decline because of various reasons.

The local attempt of Abishe Garba of Gobaya clan to establish a strong Oromo kingdom in Horro in the second half of the 19th century was interrupted by the illegal expansion of the Gojjame force in to the area and the neighboring districts. Despite their defeat at the battle of Embabo, the Gojjäme force established a firm control on Horro until 1901. With the evacuation of the Gojjäme force from Horro in the early 20th century, however, the Shäwans imposed the new social, political and economic system over the area.

Horro district as part and parcel of northern Wällägga was occupied by the Italians in 1936. Despite their short reign, the Italians were known in bringing different reforms in Horro. On the other hand the post liberation period was the period of harsh exploitation for the mass of the Horro people. With the fall of the Imperial regime the political, social and economic condition of Horro people changed. The Därg's new reform was soon followed by other legislations and declarations. Even though there was wide spread opposition among the Horro people against such legislations and declarations, the Därg implemented them almost forcefully. Such obligatory decree in Horro increased institutional instability and created uncertainty and mistrust among the people against the regime.

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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF HORRO DISTRICT

According to the current administrative arrangement Horro is one of the ten districts of Horro-Guduru Wälläga Zone which is located in northeastern Wälläga. The *wäräda* is bounded by Abay Čomman district in the east, Jimma-Gännäti district in the south, Dongoro district in the west and Jardäga Jarte district and the Abay valley in the north.¹ Shambu town which is still serving as the administrative center is located at about 315 km west of Addis Ababa and at about 145 km north east of Näqämté.²

Despite the current administrative arrangement, the size of Horro district and its political structure was different under different regimes.³ To start from the beginning, the descendants of Horro clan had settled between the Angär River in the west which served as the boundary between Jardaga Jarté district and Amuru district, and the Finča'a River in the east.⁴ During the period of Haile Sillassié especially with the restoration of the monarchy, the political administration of Horro district was extensive in size and named Horro-Amuru district and stretched as far as the present day Amuru *wäräda* and administered under Guduru *Awraja*. Again in the early 1960s with the rearrangement of *wärädas* and *awrajjas* in the country as a whole, the name of the *wäräda* was changed as Horro *wäräda* under Horro Guduru *Awrajja* (see Appendix I).⁵ Under the *Därg* regime also the administrative size and the political structure of the district

¹ Ayälo Abdissa, "Seenaa Aanaa Horro."(Waajjira Aadaa fi Tuurizimii Aanaa Horro, Shaambuu, 2013),P.1.

² Takälä Ganfuré, "Seenaa Hundeeffama Magaala Shaambuu."(Waajjira Aadaa fi Turizimii Godina Horro Guduru Wallaggaa, Shaambuu, 2014),P.60.

³ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Wirtu Lamu.

⁴ A. Triulzi, "The Guduru Oromo and their Neighbors in the Two Generations before the Battle of Embabo." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*: Addis Ababa, Vol. 13(1), (1947),P.47.

⁵ Informants: Lamessa Tesso and Taressa Mul'ata; An Archive from Horro District Administration Office, Folder No.3725 File No.190/1, a letter written from the governor of Guduru *Awraja* to Horro Wäräda Administration Office on 25 January 1966 with Ref. No. 2988/81.

was rearranged and got the name Jimma-Horro district under Horro-Dongoro *Awraja* until it got the present name, Horro district during the first half of the Därg period.⁶ In spite of such arrangements under different regimes, this paper tries to discuss the history of the area settled by Horro clans called Horro-Horriti who inhabit between Finča'a and Angär river in by giving due attention to Horro District.

According to information obtained from the Horro *Wäräda* Agricultural Office, in the past most of the *wäräda* was covered by dense forests in which varieties of wild animals such as lion, leopard, buffalo, baboon, spotted hyena, pig, golden jackal, fox, and others were plentiful.⁷ However, at present because of various reasons such as agricultural practices, overgrazing and population pressure, we see most of the area is deforested. In spite of this, however, the district still has some dense forests such as Čato forest, which is regarded as the largest forest in Horro-Guduru Wälläga Zone. In addition, different pocket areas and peripheral north facing the low lands in the Abay valley are covered with dense forests in which varieties of reptiles exist and wild animals such as lions and leopards roam. As a whole, Horro district has a total size of 77,997.70 hectares, of which cultivated land, land available for grazing, and the land covered by forest is about 34,297.00, 9,588.48 and 8,621.15 hectares respectively.⁸

Horro district has also plenty of rivers and bigger artificial lakes. The rivers include: Abuna, Garchi, Gabar, Foqa, Asatti, and others. In the case of lakes, recently economically invaluable lakes such as Nashe, Finča'a and Amarti, which are serving for generating hydro electric power

⁶ Informant: Ragassa Bäläta .

⁷ Dhaba Qänäi, "Čato Forest." (Oromia Forest and Wild Life Enterprise, Horro Guduru District Basic Data Base, Shambu, 2011), P.1.

⁸ *Ibid*, PP. 6-7.

at national level and nurturing the local community as fishing grounds and small scale irrigation are located in the district.⁹

Climatically, Horro has an abundant rain fall with favorable temperature. Its rain fall is from June to October with the maximum rain fall in July and August (1788 mm). The *wäräda* experiences a favorable climate of temperate and semi temperate conditions except a little bit of the peripheral north facing low lands in the Abay valley experiences hotter climate. In case of its terrain, the *wäräda* consisted of different kinds of land structure in which the plateaus and high land areas cover the highest percentage. Plateaus and certain mountains such as Kokor, (the place where the hero of Horro, Abishe Garba was captured by the Gojjämä force), Čoré, Muřé, Bulluq and others are situated in the district.¹⁰

Population and Economic Activity

According to the May 2007 published census, the population of Horro district was estimated to be 103,035 of which 59,357 were males and 43,678 were females. However the data does not give additional information about the occupation and educational backgrounds of the residents.¹¹

In case of religion, the people of Horro are the followers of different faiths. As the information obtained from various religious groups, the followers of Orthodox Christianity are estimated to be 29.6 %, Protestants, followers of *Waaqa* and the followers of Islam are estimated to be 35.1%, 25.6% and 9.7% respectively.¹²

⁹ Ayälo Abdissa, "Seena Aanaa...",P.2

¹⁰ *Ibid*, P.3

¹¹ *Ibid*,P.4

¹² Informants: Adämä Iruqneh and Tämäsgen Admasu

The Orthodox Church was introduced into the district and neighboring areas with the expansion of the Gojjämäé force into the region in the second half of the 19th century.¹³ According to my informants the earliest established church in the area was the St. Mary of Barjii in the present day Jardaga Jarté district which was established in 1870s.¹⁴ Our informants confirmed that the church was brought from Gojjäm by the order of *Ras Adal Täsämma* (the later King Täklä Haymanot). Starting from the last decade of the 19th century, a lady called Mintiwab (the daughter of *Negus Michael* of Wollo) who had blood relations with the Oromo of Jardaga Jarté through her mother, continued to send priests and deacons and different church equipment to the church. Our informants atteste that Mintiwab was the daughter of an Oromo lady of Jardaga Jarté called Dinqé Aga from *Darmé* lineage group. Dinqé was a beautiful lady who initially married to one of the known *goro* of Amuruu district called Kumsa Kitil. While she was residing there, the Gojjämäé forces invaded Amuru district. Because of Amuru's location which is nearer to the border of Gojjäm through the Abay valley, there was continuous border clash as between the Gojjämäé and the Oromo of the area. By isolating her from her husband, the invaders captured Dinqé as a captive and took her to Gojjäm and then Wollo and handed her over to *Negus Michael*.¹⁵ The *Negus* who was attracted by her appearance and beauty asked her for marriage and married her. Then they got a daughter and named her Mintiwab. With the passage of time Dinqé saw a traveler from Horro (whom my informants are not in a position to tell his name) and told him how she came there. When the traveler returned to Jarté, he told her relatives where Dinqé was residing. Then three of her nearest relatives namely her brother Gorčo Aga (who was later named *Fitawrari Wäldä Mariyam Aga* by *Nigus Michael*), Goshu Kumsa and Share Gofe

¹³ Oljira Tujuba, "Oromo-Amhara Relation in Horro Guduru Awraja (North Eastern Wallaga) C.1840s to 1941." M.A Thesis (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1994),PP.102-104 .

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Gamada Bate.

went to Wollo to see her. Then, taking many gifts as a reward from their brother-in-law, *Negus* Michael, they came back to Jarté. When she grew up, Mintiwab was given to Ras Dämiséw Näsibu (the governor of Arjo in the south eastern Wälläga) in marriage. Later she was invited by Tésso Qano, the governor of Jarté, and came to her ancestors' residential place and got 72 *gashas* of land as a *rist*.¹⁶

It was by the order of Adal Täsämma of Gojjäm that the Barji St. Mary church was established in Jarté. The *tabot* was brought by the individuals named Shifäraw Aläw (priest) and Gudayya Jima in the last quarter of the 19th century.¹⁷ The second established church was the church of St Mark which was built at *Čabir*, the place where the *Gondoré tor* (soldiers) initially settled and made their center. St Michael church of Mänbär was established in 1910, Shambu Mäadhané Aläm church was founded in 1911, Täklä Haymanot church of Doyo Bariso was founded in 1924 and many other churches continued to be founded in different parts of Horro district.¹⁸

Compared to the Orthodox religion, Protestant religion is a recent phenomenon in Horro district. Currently as stated by informants the missionaries attracted many followers probably because of their approach and the way of their preaching that conversion to Protestantism grew in large numbers. The people saw the missionaries as enlighteners that enabled Protestantism to have more influence than the Orthodox religion. Hence, the Orthodox Church has been over shadowed by the Protestant Church.¹⁹

On the other hand we have also a few Muslim communities living in Shambu, Saqala, Dinbe, Abillé and Anfare *qebelés*. Besides there are also peoples who are following their traditional

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure System and Self-Settled Waloyee in Abee Dongoro (1900-1974)." B.A Thesis. (Department of History, 1998), PP.29-30.

¹⁹ Informants: Munṭas Gutama and Soressa Waqo.

religion, Waaqa (*waaqéffanna*) and they seem to be indifferent to the newly introduced religions.²⁰

The main occupation of the people of Horro from the earliest up to the present has been agriculture. Informants confirmed that before the land proclamation of 1910, there was no land problem and restriction and every individual had owned his *qabiye* land on which extensive farming was practiced.²¹ As in other parts of Ethiopia, the Horro people used traditional means of fertilizer mostly animal manure. During earlier times since land was abundant, after they cultivated their land exhaustively for three or more years, the farmers gave up the land which was called *baakaa (borqii)*, meaning unfertile, and cultivated another unoccupied land. Such kind of activity was intentionally done to maintain soil fertility.²²

The main subsistence crops grown in Horro district include wheat, barley, pea, *dagussa*, *ṭéff*, maize, bean, and others. Wheat, as stated by informants, is the most widely cultivated crop in Horro. Both wheat and barley are grown in temperate areas of the district that experience high rainfall and low temperature.²³ As far as the introduction of wheat and barley to the *wäräda* is concerned, the informants are not sure except considering it as native crops used by their predecessors. Both wheat and barley are used to make *injéera* and bread and also used for making *tella* (local beer) and a strong alcoholic drink called *aräqé*.²⁴

Maize as a subsistence crop in Horro is cultivated two times a year. In winter, maize is sown in flat plains along river banks through small scale irrigation. This crop is called *boqqolloo boné*

²⁰ Ayälo Abdissa, "Seenaa Aanaa..." PP. 5-6.

²¹ Mägärssa Mosissa, "Historical Survey of Land Tenure System in Limmu Warada, North Eastern Wälläga (1882-1974)." B.A Thesis, (Department of History and Heritage Management, Haramaya University, 2012), P.12

²² *Ibid*, PP. 12-14.

²³ Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Saqata Iticha.

²⁴ *Ibid*.

literally means winter maize. In spring season, mostly in the months of April and May, maize is cultivated in the fields and grown as rain fed and it is called *boqqolloo gannaa*, maize of the summer season.²⁵

Ṭéff (*xaafii*) is another subsistence crop in Horro and it is mostly sown in semi-temperate areas where the type of soil and place are favorable for it. Mostly ṭéff is used for making *injera* and other varieties of food.²⁶ As far as its origin is concerned informants argue that it was introduced to the area from some other place though they are not in a position to tell from where and how it was brought. However, ṭéff is one of the indigenous crops which had a long history in the northern parts of our country.²⁷ Then it is possible to assume that it was introduced to Wälläga, in general and Horro in particular, through traders.

Even though it is not popular, *dagussa* is also another subsistence crop grown in the district especially in the areas that experience hotter temperature. It is mostly preferable in making alcoholic drinks mostly *aräqé* (a strong alcoholic drink that resembles dry gin).²⁸

In addition to the subsistence crops discussed above, people also grow cash crops to increase their income. Informants confirmed that *nug* (nigerseed) played a very important role as a cash crop in Horro district most probably starting from the early decades of the 20th century.²⁹ Before that period the importance of *nug* was not clearly understood and farmers simply used it as supplementary subsistence crop especially by making local oil called *qibaa* that served instead of

²⁵ Informants: Mosissa Dhuguma and Hundara Doja.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Gutama Imana, "A Historical Survey of Land Tenure System in Aira Guliso *Wäräda*, Central Wällägga (1880-1935)" BA thesis, (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1987), P. 7.

²⁸ *Ibid* pp.7-9 ;Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Marga Urgo.

²⁹ Informants: Marga Urgo and Iticha Gutama.

butter for cooking *wät*.³⁰ The importance of *nug* for trade expanded with the growth of Addis Ababa and the merchants sold it to Bako and as far as Addis Ababa by using their pack animals and travelling on bare foot. Such long distance travel took more than a month for the traders to return home.³¹ In addition to *nug*, hides and skins also helped the people of Horro to augment their income. The trading procedure resembles that of *nug* in which the farmers took it as far as Bako and Addis Ababa by using their pack animals as means of transport for the items.³²

Livestock rearing is also the main occupation of the people of Horro. Having a large number of cattle is seen as a symbol of status and has a strong cultural value. But the focus is on quantity than quality. The people give due respect for their cattle since they are the source of all wealth. The society expressed such respect by the traditional poem called *geerarsa* during different occasions and ceremonies.³³

Among different draught animals, the climate of Horro is very conducive for the raising of horses.³⁴ My informants argued that almost all households in temperate areas of the *wäräda* have an average number of three to five horses. In Horro, there are also individuals who separately keep their male horses called *sangaa fardaa* for various purposes. Such types of horses are nurtured well and kept separately in a safe place and such horses are very fast and active during riding called *gombisa* by which different young men competed with each other in a race during the celebration of different cultural ceremonies called *ayyaana waggaa*.³⁵ The Oromo also conducted different warfare by such *Sangaa fardaas* to either quickly attack and arrest their

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*. (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2nd edition, 2002), PP.22-23; Informant: Iticha Gutama.

³² Informants: Warqu Dabalo and Oli Kumsa.

³³ Gutama Imana, "A Historical Survey ...", PP.11-12; Ayälo Abdissa, "Seenaa Aanaa...", P.8.

³⁴ Ayälew Abdissa, "Seenaa Aanaa...", PP. 8-9.

³⁵ Informants: Saqata Iticha and Lamessa Tesso.

enemies or to escape from defeat and being captured by their enemies when conditions seems unfavorable.³⁶

Early Settlement

To have a clear picture of the history of Horro district, a close examination of the background of early settlements is significant. The departure of *Afré* and *Sadacha* groups of the Oromo brings us to the major theme of this study. As stated by Mohammed Hassan, it was at *Oda Bisil* around Ijaji town in Western Shäwa on the way to Näqämté that the *Afré* Confederacy of *Mačča* Oromo split into different clans and advanced in different directions.³⁷ Different clans such as Sibbu, Léqa, Sayyo and others advanced as far as the western border of Ethiopia.³⁸ Wagaw Hailu also confirmed Mohammad's explanation and he further added how Jawi clans of the *Afré* groups were separated from the other groups and turned north and settled in the southern bank of the Abay River (*Laga Mormor*) in the present day Horro Guduru Wälläga Zone.³⁹

Regarding the historical importance of *Tuté Bisil* different supportive ideas have recently been raised. As to the information obtained from East Wälläga Zone Cultural and Tourism Office, as the result of population pressure, the descendants of *Afré* group called Gudayya Jawi moved from *Tuté Bisil* farther west and settled in the present day Gudaya Bila *Wäräda* which is located west of Jare town in East Wälläga Zone. The information gives ample evidence as to the reason why the descendants of the *Afré* group are still residing in the above mentioned areas. One of the major reasons they stated is that there are clans called Tuti whose name might have been derived

³⁶ Bahru Zewde, *A History of ...*, PP.18-19.

³⁷ Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860*. (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1990), PP.44-46.

³⁸ Negasso Gidada, *The History of Sayyo Oromo of South Western Wälläga*. (Addis Ababa: Mega Printing Press, 1984), PP.25-27; Informant: Kitila Hirpa.

³⁹ Wagaw Hailu, "Ye Wälläga Bihérésäboch innaa Mahibäräséboch Bahilinna Tarik." (Culture and Notice Office of Eastern Wälläga Zone, Näqämté, 1998), PP. 8-10.

from *Tuté Bisil*. Even at present this clan is called the owner of the ford for the Gada base and they are still celebrating the Gada System within eight years duration.⁴⁰ Informants also confirmed that from the three Gudaya Jawi sons, Ṭuṭi is the eldest and got nine sons namely: Gibé (the eldest), Dara, Kalala, Wagidi, Walaga, Amarti, Gundo, Doyo and Doshu. According to informants, as the eldest son, the Tuti clan is called *angafuu* (the eldest) and the right to lead and bless all clans in the *Gada* celebration is given to them.⁴¹

The other tangible fact as stated by informants is the existence of nine caves (*holqa sagal*) in the area in which the earlier or the pioneer clans lived. One of these caves was resided by the Doshu clan and it is named as Doshu Obbe Erér's cave (*holqa Doshuu Obbee Erer*). The Doshu clans, as stated by the informants were the founders of Jare town. The other evidence for the residence of Tuti and other Gudaya Jawi sons around Gudaya Bila was the existence of *gordana sibiilaa* (iron ore) which was used by the *Abba Gadas* and other gada officials during different *Gada* ceremonies. Besides, informants also stated that at Tuti of Gudaya Bila, there was about twelve mineral water springs which had strong connection with the Oromo whose economy was closely tied with cattle rearing. These mineral waters were very essential to fatten cattle and make them healthier.⁴² Based on the above evidence it is possible to conclude that with the passage of time as the result of population pressure, the land at *Tute Bisil* was unable to accommodate all people.

As stated by Boshara Jarbo, Jawi had nine sons namely: Horro, Jida, Čaliya, Limmu, Amuru, Jimma, Ebantu, Guduru, and Kiramu.⁴³ Regarding the number of Jawi's sons, one of my informants further added another clan and raised their number to ten. According to him what he

⁴⁰ Boshi Gonfa, "Sakatta'a Seenaa Oromoo Wälläggaa Hanga 1882." (Waajjira Aadaa fi Beeksisaa Godina Wälläggaa Bahaa, Näqämté, 1996), PP. 10-12

⁴¹ *Ibid*, PP. 11-12.

⁴² *Ibid*, PP. 12-13.

⁴³ Boshara Jarbo, "Land Tenure System in Limmu Wārāda North Eastern Wälläga (C. 1870-1936)." B.A Thesis. (Departement of History, Addis Ababa University, 1988), P. 5.

added is Gudaya Jawi, as discussed above, whose descendants are presently living in Gudaya Bila and the neighboring districts.⁴⁴ Mägärssa Mosissa also supported Boshara's idea and explained that Jawi and his sons first settled at *Oda Bulluq* or *Horro Bulluq* on a vast plain around the present day Saqala town in Horro district. The place served them as a central place for Gada Assembly and a ritual place for the Oromo of the area for more than eight generations.⁴⁵

Informants argued that the traditional land holding system among the Oromo of Horro was known as the *qabiye* system. In the process of their expansion, the Oromo clans established claims over the land on the basis of their arrival. The pioneer clans who cleared the forest and fought against the pre-Oromo inhabitants of the area such as Kaza, and Damota seized the land and held it as their *qabiye*.⁴⁶ Then after, their right to the land they already occupied was then fully recognized by the late arrivals. If members of the late comers or the pioneer group decided to occupy more land, the only solution was to move further and claim new areas which were not yet occupied by the Oromo. But if the late arrivals had to settle among the earlier settlers they were required to pay rents either by giving corvee labor or by giving parts of their produce.⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that the late arrivals have rights to land only as dependents on the pioneer clans or lineages. The legal terms for such dependents were *qubsiisa* and they had to accept obligations imposed on them by the former settlers.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Informant: Chärinät Waqweya.

⁴⁵ Mägärssa Mosissa, "Historical Survey...", PP. 3-4.

⁴⁶ Oljira Tujuba. "Oromo-Amhara, ..." PP. 13-14.

⁴⁷ Mägärssa Mosissa, "Historical Survey...", P. 4; Informant: Kitila Hirpa.

⁴⁸ Samuél Mamo, "The Administration of Arjo (South Eastern Wälläga) 1882-1936." M.A Thesis (Department of History, AAU, 1998), PP. 1-3.

The Oromo of Horro district were descendants of Jawi who settled in Horro Bulluq.⁴⁹ My informants confirmed that at Horro Bulluq, the Jawi conducted polygamous marriage and got about ten sons who were collectively called the ten descendants of Jawi Mačča, and they call themselves *Boorana čarii* (pure Oromo blood). Even though, our informants are not in a position to tell the names of all of Jawi's wives, they stated some of them as follows: Ayantu, Dagate, Dagage, Dhibbi and Bashatu. Ayantu was married from a place called Laga Gota which is located a little bit to the east of *Caffee Bulluq*. Ayantu got two sons namely: Horro and Amuru. Tradition confirmed the relation of Horro and Amuru by the following song:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Amuruu fi Horro walittoo lama</i>	Amuru and Horro are two together
<i>Garaan jaalalaa walittoo gama</i>	The departed lovers search for each other ⁵⁰

Dagate was the mother of Guduruu Jawi, Bashatu was the mother of Jimma Jawi and Gudaya Jawii. Dagagé was the mother of Adamo, who was regarded as an adaptive son of Jawi. According to tradition, black smiths, weavers, and potters, who were collectively called *tumtuu* are the descendants of Adamo and they are also called *warra Addaamoo* (Adamo's family). Every clan adopted them by the *guddifacha* system since they provided them with metal works, cloth making and pottery.⁵¹

From Jawi's sons who settled in *Oda Bulluq*, Horro was the eldest son.⁵² According to the Oromo tradition, when the shortage of land occurred as the result of population pressure, the eldest son had the right to stay at his father's village (*qe'ee*) and the rest would be forced to abandon their *qabiyé* and obliged to search for unoccupied area even by going to distant places. Accordingly,

⁴⁹ Däräje Hinnäw, "A History of Oda Bulluq." B.A Thesis (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2000), PP. 11-12.

⁵⁰ Informant: Chärinät Waqweya.

⁵¹ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Munṭas Gutama.

⁵² Chärinät Waqweya, Land Tenure..., P. 9.

Horro stayed at *Oda Bulluq* and the rest Jawi's sons left their father's *qabiyé* and moved further in different directions.⁵³ Guduru then moved to the east and occupied the vast area as far as the Abay valley between Gudär and Finča'a Rivers. With the passage of time the descendants of this clan were able to control the trade route that connected Gojjäm with Asendabo and further south to Jimma Abba Jifar.⁵⁴ Jimma and Gudaya moved to the south as far as Bako town. Amuru moved to the northwest, Jida and KIRAMU moved to the west and Limmu occupied the extreme western peripheral area as far as the border of Benishangul and the southern bank of the Abay River.⁵⁵

Horro had fourteen sons who were collectively called *Kudha arfan Horro* (the fourteen Horro sons) namely: Guta (the eldest), Dulacha, Abole, Abilé, Akako, Alshaya, Obora, Amuma, Gobaya, Birbirso, Čato, Luku, Daragoti and Daga.⁵⁶ Guta in his turn had two sons namely Akayu and Busa. Akayu also got a son Called Wayu. Wayu in his turn got five sons called *Dhala Waayyuu Shanan* (the five wayu sons). These were: Limmo (the eldest son), Ware, Maru, Dedé and Burayu (the youngest).⁵⁷ Busa had seven sons namely Hano (eldest), Nono, Munayé, Abilé, Igu, Wararo, and Waldoro. Daga had a son called Abu who in his turn got eight sons namely Hamato, Hulo, Batir, Sago, Boro, Gugsu, Suťé and Hédé.⁵⁸

My informants attested that all these Horro descendants were collectively called *Horroo-Horrittii* and presently they inhabit the territory between Finča'a and Angär Rivers in the west

⁵³ *Ibid*, PP. 9-10; E.K.Knutson, *Authority and Change: A Study of the Kallu Institution among the Mačča Galla of Ethiopia*. (Goteborg: Elandres Boktryckri, 1955),PP.139-141; A, Triulzi, "Center Periphery Relations on ten Years of Research on Wallaga History", in *International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*,(Addis Ababa: IES, 1984),P.453.

⁵⁴ Tesema Ta'a, "The Political Economy of an African Society in Transformation: The Case of the Macha Oromo." (Weisbaden, Catherine Griefenow, 2006), PP. 129-130.

⁵⁵ Mägärssa Mosissa, "Historical Survey...", PP. 3-4.

⁵⁶ Ayälo Abdissa, "Seenaa Aanaa...", PP. 8-9.

⁵⁷ Informants: Hundara Doja and Añinafu Dhinsa.

⁵⁸ Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Sori Kitila.

and east respectively. They are also bounded by Abay valley in the north and Jimma Geneti in the south. Presently, Horro and Jarté districts are settled by the *Horro-Horritti*.⁵⁹

As stated earlier due to land shortage, the descendants of Horro also moved in different directions. Even though there is no clear cut boundary for each clan because of intermixing through marriage and other factors, the clans had their area of residence. Hence, the Gobaya clan occupied the central part of Horro and are living between Shuluké, which served as a boundary between Jarté and Horro districts, and as far as Doyo and the border of Finča'a Lake. The hereditary Oromo leaders of Horro such as Abishe Garba and his successors came from this clan. At present almost all the *kudha arfan* Horro sons including Dullacha, Abbillé, Oborra, Lukku, Daragoti, Alshaya and others widely inhabit Horro district.⁶⁰

On the other hand, the Guta clan moved in two directions. One group moved to the north and occupied areas around Nashé River. The other descendants such as Akayu and the five Wayu's sons moved further and occupied the eastern part of present day Jardaga Jarté district.⁶¹

In addition other descendants of Guta such as Akayu, Abilé, Igu and Amuma moved to the western direction and occupied the present day Dongoro *Wäräda*. The known *qoro* of Dongoro, Fitawrari Wirtu Dingo was born from the Akayu clan.⁶²

Daga's sons such as Hamato, Saggo, Gugsa, Hedé, Suṭé, Boro and others occupied vast areas in Jardaga Jarté. Clans such as Akako, Dullacha, Daragoti, Amuma and Gobaya also live in Abay

⁵⁹ Informants: Chäriñät Waqweya and Zärihun Abära.

⁶⁰ Informants: Olani Ragasa and Ragasa Bäläṭä.

⁶¹ Informants: Hundara Doja and Sufa Abdissa.

⁶² Chäriñät Waqweya, "Seenaa Lammii Ummata Oromo Wallaga (1830-1974)." (Wajjira Aadaa fi Turizimi Godina Wälläggaa Bahaa, Näqämté, 2003), PP. 9-11.

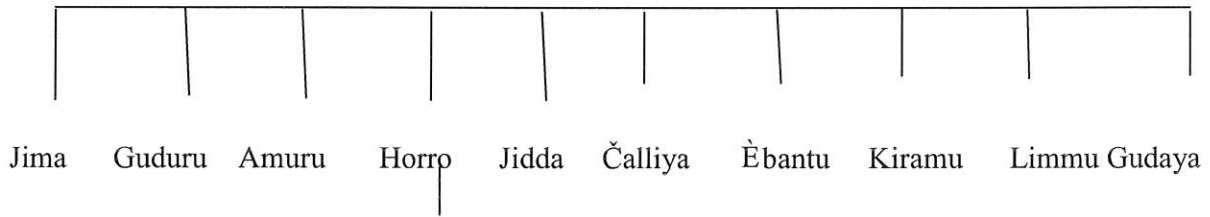
Coman *wäräda*.⁶³ Because of different social factors such as marriage as confirmed by informants the descendants of Horro later penetrated beyond the above stated rivers. As stated earlier the focus of this study is on the history of *Horro-Horritti* in general by giving due attention to the present day Horro district. The descendants of Horro Jawwi which are explained above are briefly illustrated in the following genealogical chart.

⁶³ *Ibid*, PP. 16-18.

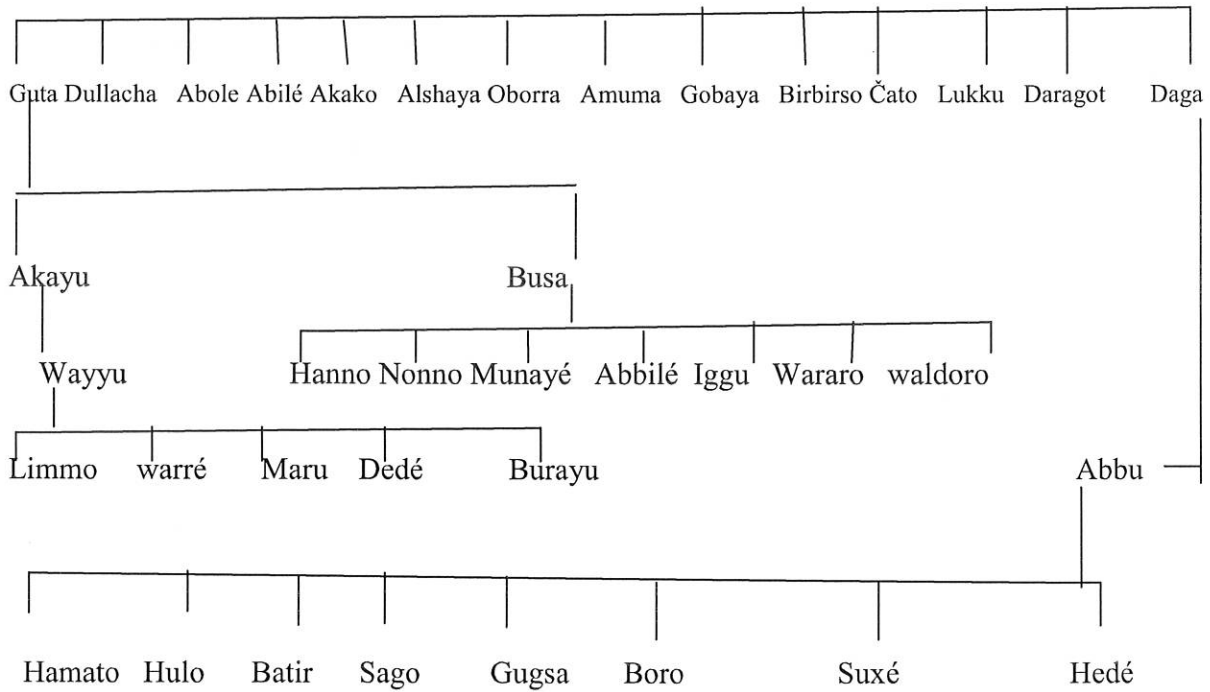
Mačča



Jawi



kudha Arfan Horro



Written sources as well as oral tradition indicate that before the expansion of Jawi Oromo to Horro, the area was occupied by minority ethnic groups such as Kaza i.e the Nilo Saharan and Damot.⁶⁴

During their expansion to different directions, each Horro clan had its pioneer called *daggal saaqii* which literally means the opener of the forest. The *daggal saaqii* played an important role in the occupation of the new area for the clan and the well being of the clan. To assess the suitability of the land for settlement, a few individuals were first sent to the area including the warriors who were supplied with spears and shields.⁶⁵ Then they pushed the pre-Oromo settlers from the area and they made the area their settlement when they found out the land was conducive for settlement. It was through this process that some of the Kazas were said to have left the area and gone further west and occupied the present day Benishangul and peripheral areas in the Abay valley of present day Limmu and Amuru districts.⁶⁶

The Damota (Damot) ethnic group was another pre-Oromo inhabitant in Horro before the expansion of the Oromo in the area. Compared to the Kaza, the Damot had good socio economic organization of their own. Their presence in the area before the Oromo expansion was confirmed by the local Oromo saying, which is *hora Daamotni owwaalte*, literally meaning a mineral water buried by the Damot.⁶⁷ Informants argue that they were conquered and assimilated by the Oromo and have succeeded in forming marriage relations with the Oromo since they were not much different from the Oromo in color and physical character.

⁶⁴ Nagaso Gidada, *A History of Sayyo...*, PP. 66-67; Informant: Hundara Doja.

⁶⁵ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...", PP. 8-9; Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wälläga: A Historical Survey to 1910." M.A Thesis (Department of History, AAU, 1980), P.21; L. Bartles "Studies of the Galla in Wallaga." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. Vol. VIII,(1) Addis Ababa University,(1970),p.146.

⁶⁶ Informants: Hundara Doja and Duréssa Dhuguma; H. Lewis, *Jimma Abba Jifar: A Galla Monarchy, 1830-1932*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), PP. 43-45.

⁶⁷ Oljira Tujuba, "Oromo-Amhara...", PP. 19-20.

Some others were said to have fled north ward by crossing Abay River to Gojjām and occupied the present day Qolla-Dāga Damot.⁶⁸

Our informants point out that in Horro there is social hierarchy among different groups on the right to hold land. The submerged groups such as black smiths, weavers, potters, tanners and slaves did not have the right to land. In Horro, black smiths, weavers and potters are collectively called *tumtuu* whereas the tanners are called *faaqii*. The *tumtuu* provide the people with different farming instruments such as plough points, sickles, axes, hoes and other different equipment. Weavers provide people with different clothes such as *gaabii* (thick cloth made of cotton). The tanners in the past were making shields for the warriors and skin clothes for the people. But presently they make the leather parts of harness for horses and mules, tanned skins for beds, saddles, whips and skin containers for honey. The potters provide people with house hold utensils such as different ceramics.⁶⁹

As far as the status of black smiths, weavers, tanners, and potters is concerned, my informants confirmed that in the past they were regarded as inferior and despised castes. They were not allowed to marry other Oromo clans. From the above mentioned groups, tanners were the most despised ones and people give low status and no respect for them. They were not allowed to use the same goods with the Oromo and the goods used by them would be kept separately to serve such people on another occasion.⁷⁰ Despite such discriminations in the past, recently marriage is beginning to take place between *tumtuu* and the other Oromo mostly informally. In the case of tanners, however, but we hardly see any marriage taking place with the Oromo of the area.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, PP. 22-23.

⁶⁹ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...", PP. 8-9; Gutama Imana, "A Historical Survey...", pp.13-15.

⁷⁰ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Hundara Doja; Gutama Imana, "A Historical Survey...", pp. 13-15.

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

CHAPTER II

QALLU INSTITUTION IN HORRO AND FACTORS FOR ITS DECLINE

Traditions unanimously agree that the Oromo people believed in one Supreme Being called *Waaqa*, which refers to the Sky God. They believed that *Waaqa (uumaa)* is the ultimate power in the universe and it is the source of life and nature. *Waaqa (Waaqayyoo)* is considered to have been the creator of the world, and everything which is found on earth is attributed to be his creation.¹ *Waaqayyo humna qabeessa, aangoo qabeessaa fi uumaa waan hundumaa ti. Isaan alattis kan uumame hin jiru.* (*Waaqayyoo has an ultimate power, an ultimate authority and is the creator of everything. Nothing is created without his permission*).²

The power of *Waaqa* is manifested through a spirit called *Ayaana*. *Ayaana* is then a spirit below *Waaqa* and is regarded as the agent of *Waaqa*.³ Informants corroborate that in the Oromo tradition *Ayaana* is of two kinds: Good Spirit and Evil Spirit. Good spirit makes the people healthy, wealthy, and the survival of children and others possible. On the contrary evil spirit is a damaging spirit which is guided by devil. Such a spirit makes people unfortunate, sick, barren, and disrupts the normal life.⁴

The spiritual leader in the Oromo traditional religion is known as *Qaallu*. He was a high priest and believed to be possessed by the *Ayaana*. *Qaallu* served as an intermediary between *Waaqa* and the Oromo people. It was also regarded as the guardian of the law of *Waaqa*. As a result *Qaallu* is highly respected by the people and can exercise great influence beyond the spiritual

¹ Däräjé Hinnéw, "A History of Odaa...", PP. 33-34.

² Geneti Tola, "From Ritual Expert to Petty Chief: The case of Qaallu Abba Chafe of Aira: Western Wallagga(c,1840-1896)." BA Thesis. (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1983), pp.13-14.

³ Daniel Ayana, "Protestant Mission in Wälläga: A Study of the Activities of the Missions and the Local Converts (1898-1935)." M.A Thesis. (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1984), PP. 10-13.

⁴ S.Martial, *An Ancient People in the State of Menelik: The Oromo, Great African Nation.* (Paris, 1901), PP. 143-145.

sphere in the economic, political and social life of the people. *Qaallu* were engaged in interpreting and guiding the laws of Omnipotent *Waaqa* (God) and the *Ayaana* (Spirit). The *Qaallu* Institution centers were the ritual focal points for the Oromo. As a religious and ritual expert, *Qaallu* maintained an effective relationship between human being and the *Ayaana*.⁵

Those who conducted research on the *Qaallu* such as Etana Garbi and Girma Yadäta, unanimously claimed that the *Qaallu* was also sometimes called *Beekaa* or *Hoodduu* which means knowledgeable and prophet. They further explicitly assert that the *Qaallu* has the ability to understand any situation since it was believed that the Omniscient *Waaqa* tells what is good or bad, and was understood as very close to the Omnipresent *Waaqa*.⁶

Though there is no tangible evidence as to the exact period of the formation of the *Qaallu* Institution, there is an indication that it existed for a long time.⁷ Gada Melba stated that it existed before the introduction of Christianity and Islam. Meseret likewise claimed that *Qaallu* existed from mythical times and it is as old as the history of the Oromo itself.⁸

Here, it is interesting to differentiate the controversies related to the nature of *Qaallu* Institution because of the confusion with the *Amhara Qallicha*. Gada Melba reveals that even if in principle the office of *Qaallu* was open to anyone who could provide sufficient proof of special contact with an *Ayaana*, it mainly remained hereditary from respected clans as opposed to vagabond

⁵ Daniel Ayana, "The Concept of Waaqa and the Missionaries: A preliminary Study in Grafting of Christianity on Traditional belief in Wälläga" in the *Annual Seminar* of the (Department of History held at Däbräzeit. AAU 1983), PP. 113-120.

⁶ Etana Garbi, "Traditional Oromo Religion: The Case of Haadha Abbayyii." B.A Thesis. (Department of Sociology and Social Administration, Addis Ababa University, 1994), P. 20. Girma Yadäta, "Traditional Belief Systems and Religious Practices of North Eastern Wälläga: The Case of Jidda Oromo." BA Thesis (Department of Sociology and Social Administration, Addis Ababa University, 1994), PP. 26-29.

⁷ Eide, Oyvind M, *Revolution and Religion in Ethiopia* (Oxford: James Carry Ltd, 2000), P.47.

⁸ Gada Mälba, *Oromia: An Introduction*. (Khartoum, 1988), P. 19; Mäsärät Abaye, "Qaallu as A Dispute Settling Institution among the Oromo with Specific Reference to Mačča-Tulama." BA Thesis (School of Law, Addis Ababa University, 1995), PP. 18-20; A, Triulzi, "Oromo Traditions of Origin, in *International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, X (Paris, 1988), PP.593-599.

Qallicha.⁹ Asmerom Legesse on the other hand put *Qaallu* as pure and clean different from the indifferent *Qallicha*.¹⁰ Etana also affirmed it when he discussed the salient characteristic features of *Qaallu*. He also indicates that the *Qaallu* respected traditional taboos (*safuu*) dissimilar with *Qallicha*. *Qaallu* has been somewhat equivalent to the Christian priest and the Muslim Imam. *Qallicha* is on the other hand, more of commercial rather than spiritual.¹¹

The Rise of Elderly *Qaallus* in Horro

As it was true for other areas of Oromia, the people of Horro believed in *Waaqa* since time immemorial. The people also give due respect to *Qaallu* due to the fact that *Qaallu* used to take messages from *Waaqa* and transfer to the society. Informants as well as written sources claimed that, during the earlier times especially prior to the construction of *Gimbis* (*Galmas*) as place of worship in Horro, some important places of admiration or wonderful creations, were considered as central places where *Ayaanas* were believed to reside, and were selected as places of worship. Such places were under the shade of trees like sacred sycamore (*odaa*), besides large bodies of water, mountains, hill tops and silent areas decorated with evergreen grasses having good comfort.¹² Here, it is interesting to identify clearly that such places served only as places of worship, as opposed to traditional writers who considered these places as objects of worship to make the Oromo polytheists. My informants argue that through a gradual process perhaps starting from the last quarter of the 18th century, the Oromo of Horro Guduru developed man

⁹ Gada Mälba, *Oromia...*, PP. 19-22; *Geneti Tola*, "From Ritual Expert to...", pp. 15-16.

¹⁰ Asmerom Legesse, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society* (New York: Free Press, 1973), P. 46.

¹¹ Etana Garbi, "Traditional Oromo...", PP.20-23.

¹² Gada Mälba, *Oromia...*, PP 22-24; Dereje Hinnew, "Historical Significance of Some Major Gada Centers in Oromia." MA Thesis (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2005), PP. 7-8.

made holy houses of worship i.e *Galma Qaallu* or *Gimbii Qaallu* just like churches and mosques.¹³

Informants as well as written sources expound that because of the discrepancy in cultural inter-Oromo communication between different Oromo groups, some seeds of slightly different rituals flourished here and there. Available sources indicate that the weakening of contacts between the Mačča and the southern religious centers had contributed to the multiplication of *Qaallu* Institution.¹⁴ Similarly, different elder and minor *Qaallus* emerged in Horro. Elder Spirits include *Buta*, *Daché* and *Dumétti*.¹⁵ Whereas minor spirits include: *Finjilé*, *Bayana*, *Hikashé*, *Wilishe*, *Rabbi Galat* and others.¹⁶

Buta as an elder spirit was very popular among the Horro Oromo and had many followers. According to my informants *Buta* in Horro was a recent phenomenon and it probably emerged in the last decade of the 19th century. Prior to the emergence of *Buta* in Horro, the Horro Guduru Oromo prayed to the eldest Spirit called *Oofa* in Guduru. My informants notified that the spirit of *Buta* initially fall on a 16 year old young, Iticha Guta, from *Limmo* lineage of *Akkayyu* clan. They indicated that while he was residing with his poor aunt, Bullo, he was sent by his aunt to bring cow dung to put it under pumpkin as traditional manure. On his way back home, he heard a frightening sound *horii hin godhiin* engendered from the sky meaning don't worry. He became disturbed by the sound he heard and told his aunt what had happened. But his aunt warned him not to expose such hidden secret to anyone else. Because according to tradition it was believed that exposing such hidden secret had bad consequences on the exposor. After a few days he

¹³ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Marema Qitéssa.

¹⁴ Girma Yadäta, "Traditional Belief System...", P. 30; Informant: Kitila Hirpa.

¹⁵ Däsaleñ Tolera, "A History of Horro Guduru Oromo, North Eastern Wälläga (1800-1941)." MA Thesis (Department of History, Adama University, 2010), P.39.

¹⁶ Informants: Hundara Doja and Marema Qitéssa.

became ill and unconsciously mounted a big tree and stayed for three days. Later on the local community gathered together and requested him to come down. He then came down from the tree and again became ill and paralyzed. After a while his aunt and his nearest relatives took him to Guduru, to one of the eldest and known Spirit called *Oofa* in a particular place called Jaldé.¹⁷

In Horro Guduru, *Oofa* was the eldest Spirit and had a long history.¹⁸ Informants unanimously convinced that the prayers from vast areas of Horro Guduru and border areas of Shāwa used to go to Guduru (Jaldé) to receive blessings perhaps starting from the last decades of the 18th century, even though they are not in a position to tell the exact date. During the battle of Embabo in 1882, the Gojjāmé force that came to the area harassed the known *Qaallu*, Sarba Sharré, who possessed the spirit *Oofa*, not to conduct prayer (*waaqéffachuu*) with his attendants to his *Waaqa*. This was because the Gojjāmé forces had the aim of converting the local people to Orthodox Christianity in order to facilitate their occupation of the area. My informants confirmed that being disturbed by the war at Embabo, the local residents left the area for certain days. The situation of the time is substantiated by the following song:

Oromo

Gloss

Kan nadhéen jaallattu mooqaa fi dhadhaan argé Favourite food for ladies is porridge with butter

Kan Gudurutti hafe Oofa fi dhagaan argé. Those which remained in Guduru (during the battle of Embabo) were only *Oofa* (the spirit) and the stone.¹⁹

From the above poem it is possible to deduce that *Oofa* had existed before the battle of Embabo.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Däsäleñ Tolera, A History Of...”, PP. 39-41.

¹⁹ Informants: Hundara Doja and Marema Qitéssa.

After he reached Guduru, Iticha and his aunt prayed to Mallimmo Sarba's (the son and the successor of Sarba Sharré) Spirit (*Oofa*) for blessing and to get remedy for their problem. Then *Oofa* heard their *kadhataa* (praying) and blessed Iticha Guta to possess a spirit called Buta. Iticha was then ordered to build Holy house of worship called *Gimbi* (*Galma*) in his own residential area to serve the local community in different ritual and religious activities. Then the first *Gimbi* had been built at Goda Walde (Akkayyu), in Jardaga Jarté district perhaps in the early 20th century. Later different *Gimbis* had been built at various places such as Ula Cuqulessa, Mato, Gadad and Alshaya. Many followers from near and far places continued to attend the *Qaallu* ceremony in those built *Gimbis* turn by turn.²⁰ The ceremony called *torbi* was attended weekly on Friday and Saturday nights. On those days the attendants used to sing and beat drums to perform a ritual called *dalaga and shubbara* to achieve a state of ecstasy which mostly reached its zenith with the possession at which *Ayaana* spoke through *Qaallu's* trance.²¹

When the attendants came to attend the *torbi* ceremony, they bring a bundle of green grass called *coqorsa* in their hands and put it at different places starting from the first gate. *Gimbi* is a large, round, thatched building which is surrounded by fences of different sizes.²² The fences are of three kinds. The first one is a very wide fence that surrounds the *Gimbi* from further distance. This fence surrounds all houses of the families who reside in the *Qaallu's* village (*qe'ee*). The second fence is the middle one which is narrower than the initial one and served as the boundary for certain attendants not to enter into *Gimbi* because of certain cultural restrictions. The last fence is the narrowest fence that only surrounds the *Gimbi*.²³

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Gada, *Oromia...*, PP. 20-22; Informant: Abdissa Qiṭessa.

²² Däsäleñ Tolera, *A History of...*, P. 39.

²³ Informants: Hundara Doja and Maréma Qiṭessa.

According to the tradition of the area, there are certain rules for any prayer to enter into the middle and the narrowest fences for praying. Accordingly, a prayer who had eaten meals such as goat's meat, *tälba*, and *dagussa* is not allowed to enter the middle gate for nine days and *Gimbi* for two weeks. Similarly a prayer who participated in burying corpse is restricted from entering the middle gate for nine days and *Gimbi* for two weeks. In addition if a prayer simply saw the funeral or somebody weeping but did not take part in the action, he/she is not allowed to enter the middle gate for five days and *Gimbi* for nine days. My informants are not sure the reason for such restrictions but speculated that traditionally the above mentioned food are less acceptable in the society's culture and they are also regarded as unlucky, so that they might become a curtain to the prayers to be seen and blessed by the *Qaallu*.²⁴

As mentioned earlier the attendant of praying who would come to *Gimbi Qaallu* had a duty to take a bundle of grass called *coqorsa* in his/her hand to put and pray at different places. Firstly, they put it at a place called *Siidaa*, which is said to be a selected and respected ritual place not far from the outer gate and it is filled with bigger and sacred trees. Additionally, nine big stones are erected there. *Siidaa* is a very respectful place in which all prayers pray to their *Waaqa* by kneeling down before entering into the gates and *Gimbi*. In Horro individuals who committed different crimes are obliged to take an oath (*kakaa*) there. Traditionally, there is a saying: *namni yakka uumee siidaatti kakate hin ofkolu* (someone who committed a crime and took an oath at *siidaa*, a bad consequence would follow). Those attendants who fulfill the criteria to enter into *Gimbi* put their *coqorsa* in the first gate, the second gate, the third gate and at last near the pillar called *Irréssa* in the middle of the *Gimbi*. When they enter in to *Gimbi* they have to go round in

²⁴ *Ibid*

the house by kneeling down (*daa'imuu*) until they reached the place of *Irréssa* to thank their *Waaqa*.²⁵

After being gathered in and outside the *Gimbi*, the attendants prayed to their *Waaqa* to get blessings and to get remedy for their problems. By beating their drums, the attendants then continued to sing a song called *lammana* (*shubara*) all the night long, gathered together sitting or standing in a circle. The following is among some of the song called *lammana* that was sung during *torbi* ceremony.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Jabanaan dhaabatee bunni danfee</i>	The coffee has been prepared
<i>Sagadaan naanna'ée furda marsee</i>	The prayers made a circle around with <i>furda</i> (a thin rope made of grass) on their head
<i>Maaf teessa Waaqa koo yeroon gahe.</i>	Why our <i>waaqa</i> kept silent, now it is time (to hear <i>Waaqa's</i> sound through <i>Qaallu's</i> trance). ²⁶

My informants explicitly stated that after such warm songs, a *Qaallu* possessed by the *Ayaana* started to speak to his *sagada* (prayers) from his *sire* (bed). After blessing all *sagadas*, the *Qaallu* later continued to call individuals by name blessed them turn by turn throughout the night. Those people who were in difficulties cried to their *Waaqa* from the bottom of their heart to get solution. After hearing the case, the *Qaallu* then forwarded solutions called *dhamssa* for such individuals. It is impossible for all *sagadas* to communicate with *Qaallu* and get blessed at one night. Then those who were not chanceful to get turn would be obliged to postpone their case to the upcoming weeks to get the turn for blessing. It was to the *Qaallu* that all major conflicts

²⁵ Informants: Maréma Qiṭéssa, Hundara Doja and Abdissa Qiṭéssa .

²⁶ Dereje Hinnew, "Historical Significance of ...", pp 8-10; Informants: Hundara Doja and Abdissa Qiṭéssa.

between clans or individuals might be adjudicated. Before reaching the *Qaallu* court, such cases were first to be examined by the committee called *Shanee Qaallu* who were five in number. The *Shanees* had also shared certain powers to give decisions to minor cases. The other cases got the last decision at the *Qaallu's* court.²⁷ Similarly, Däjäné has found out that every *Qaallu* center was the center of litigation and conflict resolution.²⁸ Knutsson shared Däjäné's view that various cases were petitioned to get remedies in the *Qaallu's* court.²⁹ Mäsärät also expressed the *Qaallu* as a chief judge.³⁰

***Qaallu* ceremonies in Horro**

In Horro different *Qaallu* holidays were warmly celebrated. Among such holidays the major ones include: *Masqala Buta*, *Gissi Daché*, *Ammachisa* and *Sassabbi*. *Masqala Buta* is one of the major religious holy days which is celebrated within two weeks after the Orthodox Christian, *Mäsqäl* (the Founding of the True Cross Holyday on 27 September) has passed. To conduct this celebration extra preparation had to be conducted before hand. One such preparations was called *naanno* in which the prayers (*sagadaa*), who are volunteer on the one hand, and the relatives of that *Qaallu* on the other were selected to conduct fasting. Such prayers fast for three consecutive weeks before the coming of the holiday and did not eat any meal every morning up to 4 to 6 o'clock. To have their meal after fasting, they first go round the *Galmaa* (*Gimbii*) by carrying *čoqorsa* in their head and prayed to their *Waaqa*.³¹ On the eve of *Masqala Gofa*, a ceremony called *Damara* is celebrated at night. Selected woods are collected together and fired at specified

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Däjäne Gemechu, "Some Aspects of Conflict Resolution among the Wäliso Oromo of Eastern Mačča, with Particular emphasis on the Guma." MA Thesis (Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University, 2002), P. 74.

²⁹ E. Knutsson, *Authority and Change: A Study of the Qaallu Institution among the Mačča Galla of Ethiopia* (Goteborg: Elandrs Boktryckri, 1967), P. 132.

³⁰ Mäsäret Abaye, "Qaallu as...", P.53.

³¹ Informants: Mosissa Dhuguma and Duressa Dhuguma.

place outside the fence. Meals such as *farso* (local beer), different cultural foods and the blood of the slaughtered sheep would be sprinkled on to the *dämära* as *dhibayyu* by the Elder *Qaallu*. All the gathered attendants thanked their God and passed the night singing different cultural songs including *gerarsa*.³²

The next morning the celebration called *Masqala Gubi* (firing ceremony) is conducted. For the ceremony every prayer had to prepare a bundle of thinly tightened wood called *guča* (*tombora*). The Elder *Qaallu* began the ceremony and all the attendants then follow his action. All people from near and far had the duty to participate in the ceremony, and the firing ceremony would be conducted for one full day. Not less than five bulls are slaughtered in the ceremony. The Elder *Qaallu* slaughtered a bull himself, the Limmo lineages who are relatives in blood to Elder *Qaallu* called *lukee* (*qomoo warra qaallu*) slaughtered another bull, again the *Shane* slaughtered one bull, the selected people who took part in the *nanno* ceremony slaughtered another bull and the rest of the people slaughter at least one bull.³³

Since the *Mäsqäla* ceremony is celebrated outside, temporary huts called *daasii* had been built or tents are pitched for that day. Such places are said to have served as a temporary sitting place for the Elder *Qaallu*, *Shanes*, the Elders (*jaarsoli*), Minor *Qaallus* and guests who came to celebrate the ceremony. The elder *Qaallu* wore the *qaallu* cloth called *Kaabbaa* and *lamdii* which was decorated by glider ornaments. On his hand he held a long thin stick made of iron which has a short cross on its upper tip. He then went around the prayer for example took the blood of newly slaughtered bull by bowl and dropped it on the gate of *Gimbii*, *Iressa* and other important ritual places as *dhibayyu*. It is mandatory for all people to give certain amount of birr from 2 to 5 to the

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

Qaallu called *qibsata* to be blessed. The ceremony of *Masqala* was then celebrated for one full day and the attendants sang and danced all day long by beating drums. The drums were beaten by individuals called *nole*. *Noles* were said to have been experienced individuals in beating drums and they were selected either from the families of the *Qaallu* or from his nearest relatives.³⁴

The other known *Qaallu* ceremony in Horro was *Gissi Daché*. *Daché* was one of the elder *Ayanas* in Horro which was said to have an equivalent power in all cases with *Buta*.³⁵ Both *Buta* and *Daché* are possessed by the same person but their ceremony was celebrated at different time, place and *Gimbi*. According to tradition of Horro, it is believed that typhoid fever (*golfaa*) was ordered by *Daché* to catch a family who did evil thing which was contrary to the will of God (*Waaqaa*). *Golfaa* was believed to be an evil spirit which resides in remote areas (*dagala*) and moved in group called *miriti* by the order of *Daché* to attack such families. Then the families who might become the victims of typhoid fever had to go to *Gimbi Daché* to get solutions for their problems. Accordingly, when they reached there they stood in group and present their case by praying called *Izgootaa*. After hearing their case, the *Qaallu* ordered those families what to do (*dhaamsa*). After returning to their home the families then performed different activities as ordered by the *Qaallu*. One of such activities was preparing different meals such as *nugi*, *akayi*, *baso* and *mulu* and conducted a ceremony called *gaggéssa*. *Gaggéssa* ceremony was conducted on the main road not far from their home. After praying there, the families then left the prepared meal on the main road and return to their home without looking back. It is by such ceremony that

³⁴ Informants: Maréma Qiṭéssa and Abdissa Qiṭéssa.

³⁵ Däsaleñ Tolera, "A History of...", PP. 39-40.

the evil spirit typhoid (*golfaa*) was believed to be removed from those families and moved to another places by taking the main road.³⁶

Gissi ceremony was celebrated once a year in the first weeks of the month of November (*Garanfasa*). To conduct such ceremony, the collection of certain plants (*homi*, *birbirsa* and *hanfare*) called *Iréssa* is erected outside on the right side of *Gimbi Daché*. Meals such as *akayi qori* (battered qolo), *buqquri taafii* (local beer made of teff) and other cultural foods are prepared. In addition a bull was slaughtered by the Elder *Qaallu*. The *sagadas* (prayers) from all directions come to the area to attend the ceremony. Compared to *Mäsqäla* ceremony, *Gissi* was celebrated inside the fence in *gibbi (keellaa keessa)*. The *sagadas*, especially those who come from further areas would be invited to drink local beer (*farsoo*) and eat bread (*daabbo*). Similar to *Masqala* ceremony the attendants sing the song by beating drums. They also gave some money called *qibsata* to the *Qaallu* as an offer to get blessed. At night the *Qallu* possessed by *Ayaana* emerged in *Gimbi* and blessed all attendants. Even at present two *Gimbis* of *Daché* are erected in Horro District at particular places called *Awaro* and *Asati* and are serving the local community at different ritual ceremonies.³⁷

Hammachisa or *Jano* was also another well respected *Qaallu* ceremony in Horro which was celebrated in *Gimbi Dumetti*. *Dumetti* in Horro was believed to be a female spirit which is connected with fertility or rituals of *atété* for the human being and their cattle. As it was true for other religious holidays, *Hammachisa* was celebrated once a year in the month of *Maréma Furma* (February) in *Gimbi Dumetti* which was located at *Abayyi* and *Bondé* in *Jardaga Jarté* District. In the ceremony an aged cow (*dullacha*) was slaughtered and meal called porridge was prepared. As it was true for other ceremonies, the attendants sung their song by beating drums

³⁶ Informants: Hundara Doja and Maréma Qiṭessa .

³⁷ *Ibid*

made of aged cow hide. In the ceremony, those women who got children blessed the *Dumetti* for the offering on the one hand, and the sterile women on the other hand, vowed and prayed to the *Dumetti* to get a child. In *Hammachisa* ceremony, a respected woman called *Haadha Čaačču* had participated and blessed the attendants.³⁸ Däräjé defined *Čaačču* as follows:

*Čaačču was an oval leather strip on which cowrie shells were sewn in nine rows of which two are suspended. It was a ritual object and a symbol of fertility.... On the ritual days, Haadha Čaačču wore a dress called Qomee. They believed that Waaqaa would hear their prayers if they wore Qome and pray where Haadha Caaccu blessed the women for fertility.*³⁹

Haadh Čaačču in her hands held a milk container (*čiičoo*), which was decorated with cowrie shell and the *siiqqéé* (a decorated romantic plant). Culturally *haadha čaačču* was believed to be an *ayyaantuu* (chanceful) and the God would hear her prayers and therefore the barren would get a child. The newly born infants were also used to be taken to *Gimbi Dumetti* to get Oromo names through the same ritual called *Hammachisa*. The mothers of such newly born infants took with them raw materials such as *amoolee* (a bar of salt), powder for making porridge and other raw materials for making local beer such as *geeshoo* (hop), and *daakuu* (powder).⁴⁰

Sassabbi was also another *Qaallu* ceremony in Horro which was celebrated at the end of May in all *Gimbis* of *Buta*, *Dache* and *Dumeti*. The ceremony was celebrated in each *Gimbi* consecutively. That means if the ceremony was celebrated during the first week in *Gimbi Buta*, the next week in *Gimbi Dumetti* and then in *Gimbi Dache* turn by turn. After *sassabbi* ceremony was conducted in all *Gimbis*, the *torbi* that had been attended by mass prayers from far distances would be terminated for the coming three months until the season of spring came. It was

³⁸ Informants: Badhadhe Dabale and Hindhibne Sharo.

³⁹ Däräjé Hinnew, "A History of Odaa...", PP. 39-40.

⁴⁰ Salvaic, *An Ancient People...*, PP. 170-172.

designed due to the fact that it was difficult for attendants to travel long distance during the rainy season and crossing big rivers had its own risk on such people. Even though the *torbis* (weekly prayer) for mass attendants was terminated until the summer season would pass, a minor *torbi* for local people would be conducted weekly on Saturdays.⁴¹

In Horro, there was hierarchy of power among both *Ayaanas* and *Qaallus*. The *Oofa*, which resided in Guduru was said to have been the eldest *ayaana* (Spirit) and took the upper position. Below him were the elder *ayaanas* such as *Buta*, *Dache*, and *Dumetti* that had equal and balanced powers. Below them were various minor *ayaanas* (Spirits) such as *Finjilé*, *Bayana*, *Wilishé*, *Dumessa*, *Rabbi Galat* and others. The minor spirits were accountable to the elder spirits (*Buta*, *Daché* and *Dumétti*). The elder spirits, on their turn, were also accountable to the eldest spirit, *Oofa*.⁴² All minor *Qaallus* had their own days of *torbi* (weekly prayer) except Saturday which was decided as the day of *torbi* *Buta*, *Dache* or *Dumeti*. Since minor *Qaallus* were numerous in numbers, their days of *torbi* could overlap with one another but could not be permitted to overlap with that of the Elder *Qaallus torbi* (Saturday). All Minor *Qaallus* had the duty to participate on the *torbi* of Saturday and to accept orders passed down from the Elder *Qaallus*. Informants also attest that especially before the period of *Därg*, elder *Qaallus* took pilgrimage to Guduru (*Oofa*) once a year by taking different offerings. These offerings include: incense, cash money of unlimited quantity, gold (if present) cattle and other gifts. But later such pilgrimage ceased to exist with the coming of the *Därg* since its unitary system had no room for the existence of such traditional religion.⁴³

⁴¹ Informants: Maréma Qiṭessa and Hundara Doja.

⁴² Informants: Tesso Horro and Duressa Dhuguma.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

The informants corroborate that the eldest spirit (*Oofa*) in Guduru in particular at a place called Jalde, was engendered in the thunder and was possessed by *Ayaana* cloaked in a cloud of mist and came down from the sky. Then it was possessed by a man (*Qaallu*) called Share perhaps in the last decade of the 18th century. From Share it was transferred to Sarba Share then to Balimo Sarba, then to Maru Balimo who died in 1964, then to Tolasa Maru who died in 1968, and then to Imbabo Maru who died in 2007. At present it is possessed by Abba Girsha Imbabo and Dhasa Imbabo, in primogeniture of paternal line.⁴⁴

In the case of the elder spirits of Horro too, as mentioned earlier, it was first possessed by a man called Iticha Guta in the last decade of the 19th century. With his death it was transferred to his son Qiṭessa Iticha who built the *Galma (gimbi)* in places such as Lalo, Nebas, Buya, Jaro, Abayi, Mato and Qorbanto. With the death of Qiṭessa in 1965, it was transferred to Maréma Qiṭessa and again later to Abdissa Qiṭessa. At present, the Gimbis are erected at Abayi, Jaro, and Qorbanto in Jardaga Jarté and Asattii, Awaro and Bulluq in Horro and still serving the local community who are following their traditional religion, *Waaqéffannaa*.⁴⁵

Factors for the decline of the Qaallu Institution in Horro

Traditions as well as written sources stated various reasons for the decline of *Qaallu* Institution. Gada confirmed that the *Qaallu* Institution was condemned as paganism and marginalized or outlawed with the occupation of Oromia by Menilek. He continued to reveal that the major activities of the system were forbidden together with self administration.⁴⁶ One of my informants indicated that the role of the *Qaallu* institution was restricted under cultural pressures. He emphasized that with the expansion of the Gojjámé force in to Horro, different churches were

⁴⁴ Informants: Hundara Doja , Abdissa Qiṭessa and Tesso Horro.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Gada Melba, *Oromia...*, PP. 19-22.

erected at various places. Accordingly, the people were baptized and became Coptic Orthodox Christians as a government obligatory decree not to be called uncivilized.⁴⁷ Etana also emphasized that lately the question of burial places monopolized by church forced the people to accept Christianity after which people were taught by priests to consider all *ayaanas* (spirits) as devils.⁴⁸ In Horro the first converters were local officials and Abba *Qoros* who later on were obliged to influence the *gäbbars* below them to accept Christianity as the only alternative of the decree. Such forceful decree then gradually marginalized the institution.⁴⁹

The decline of the *Gada* System among certain areas like Guji, Mačča and Tuläma had contributed to give the *Qaallu* an almost monarchial position. During the past regimes, the Ethiopian leaders designed to rule the people through monarchial *Qaallu*. Under such regimes many people, especially around central and north western Oromia claimed to be the followers of Orthodox Christianity. But most of them did not know the doctrine (kernel of Christianity) and mixed it with their traditions.⁵⁰ After being incorporated into the empire, some traditional *Qaallus* were bestowed different Amhara titles such as *fitawrari* and the like. Awarding such title was designed to weaken the institution.⁵¹ Huntingford disclosed that after Menelik's expansion into Oromiya, *Abba Muda* pilgrimage was discarded owing to its political and nationalistic influence.⁵²

⁴⁷ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Sibü Biru.

⁴⁸ Etana Garbi, "Traditional Oromo Religion...", PP.2-3; 18-19.

⁴⁹ Informants: Gamada Bate and Iticha Gutäma.

⁵⁰ Mäsärät Abaye, "Qaallu As...", P. 22; Oyvind M, *Revolution and Religion...*, PP. 40-44.

⁵¹ Informant: Adäme Iruqneh and Wqjira Dayas.

⁵² Huntingford, *The Galla of Ethiopia: The Kingdom Of Käffa and Janjäro* (London: Watson and Viney, for the International African Institute, 1955), P.83.

Täsfayé argued that other sects of Christianity through their missionaries had also contributed to the weakning of *Qaallu* Institution.⁵³ In Horro, the missionaries patiently approached the people and continued to preach their religion. Then they gradually welcomed by the youth and the educated groups of the society at large. Despite serious persecutions, the missionaries tightened their grip in evangelization almost secretly. It was through such exhaustive preaching that the Protestant religion, with the passage of time, knocked the doors of every family, and became a serious danger to the traditional religion and culture of the Oromo of Horro.⁵⁴

Our informants corroborate that Islam as a religion is another factor that contributed to the decline of *Qaallu* Institution. With the coming of Islam in to Oromia region in general and Horro district in particular, the position of *Qaallu* was diminished in its importance with the increasing islamization. This new religion was seen as sign of modernity by connecting it with trade activities, hence got certain followers from Horro Oromo. But compared to Protestantism, the influence of Islam in Horro was almost minimum.⁵⁵

During the *Därg* regime as stated by Etana, the *Qaallu* Institution ceased its function as it was seriously opposed by the system on the pretext of socialist ideology.⁵⁶ One of my informants supported this idea to confirm that during the *Därg* regime such institution was discouraged by the policy of the then government and some *Qaallus* were even considered as supporters of the old feudal regime. The known *Qaallu* of Horro of the time, Maréma Qitéssa was harshly treated by the *Därg* officials of the area and he repeatedly captured, imprisoned and released (see

⁵³ Täsfaye, "An Assessment of..."pp. 48-49.

⁵⁴ Informants: Warqu Däbälo and Oli Kumsa.

⁵⁵ Mäsärät Abaye, "Qallu as A Dispute Settling..."P. 22; J.S, Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*. (London: Frank Cass and Co.Ltd. 1965),PP.196-200.; Informants: Munṭas Gutama and Kitila Hirpa.

⁵⁶ Etana, "Traditional Oromo Riligion..."P. 1.

Appendix II).⁵⁷ To the worse, to eliminate the institution the then governor of Horro Guduru *Awraja*, Imiru Ibsa, marched to Mato and burnt down the known *Gimbi* located there in 1975. As a result, the *Gimbi*, which had been served as the depositories of Oromo cultural materials, was destroyed. My informant, Maréma who was the owner of the burnt *Gimbi* told me that in addition to burning the *Gimbi*, Imiru and his force had stolen different religious materials such as *kallacha*, *dibbiqo(qome)*, *nagarota*(drum), *dawana*, *kabba*, *lamdi* and many other properties.⁵⁸ Despite their exposure to other cultures, the Oromo retain the essential features of their ancient religious and philosophical system of thought. In spite of all the attacks, the *Qaallu* institution has survived in Horro. Even at present, it is serving, even though, it has lost the majority of its followers because of the newly introduced various religious practices in the district.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Informant: Maréma Qiṭessa and Tesso Horro; An Archive from Horro District Administration Office, Folder No. 3710/68 File No. 030/68, a letter written from Horro Guduru *Awraja* Administration Office to Horro Guduru *Awraja* Police Office on 16 July 1976 with Ref. No. 138/142; Horro District Administration Office, Folder No.3700, File No.005/68/1, a letter written from Horro Guduru *Awraja* Police Office to Horro Guduru *Awraja* Administration Office on 6 July 1976 with Ref. No. 2792/457/3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*

⁵⁹ Informant: Abdissa Qiṭessa and Wandimu Ayana

CHAPTER III

HORRO DISTRICT FROM, 1910-1935

Horro under the Influence of the Gojjämé Force

Two significant changes of events occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Horro that dramatically affected the later history of the area. The first event was the illegal expansion of the Gojjämé force to the Oromo territories of Horro and the neighboring districts.¹ The other decisive event was the military supremacy of the Shāwans over the Gojjämé force at Embabo that led to the introduction of new system of administration in Wällägga in general and in Horro in particular.²

In his attempt to control the Oromo territories of south of the Abay river, the then ruler of Gojjäm, Adal Täsämma came in to direct conflict with the famous Horro leader Abishe Garba, who became the energetic hero of the area and had established a firm control between the Anger river in the west, Finča'a river in the east, the Abay valley in the north and as far as Jimma Gänäti in the south.³ Informants confirm that Abishe was talented, energetic, unsuspecting and brave. While he was young no body competed with him in throwing long thin stick called *falfala* and in riding horse.⁴

In 1850 Abishe's father Garba came to power based on the principle of the *Gada* System to rule for eight years. But he died a natural death before completing his *Gada* cycle. Following his death, the *Gada* Assembly refused to transfer power to Abishe supposedly because of his young age. But Abishe who was a brave fighter eliminated his opponents one after the other and took

¹ Tesema Ta'a, "The Political Economy of..." PP.129-131.

² *Ibid*, PP. 195-196.

³ *Ibid*, PP. 128-129.

⁴ Informants: Olani Ragasa and Wärqu Aga.

power by force. He also refused to hand over his power to the next *Gada* officials when the year of his administration was terminated.⁵

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period when *Gada* as a system was declining and replaced by the monarchial system of government. This political transformation had undergone in the Gibe valley and Wällägga region in which Horro was part and parcel. Many factors accounted for the transformation of the traditional *Gada* System into monarchial system of government. Firstly, the Oromo of this region had come into contact with, for example, Omotic States which had a long tradition of monarchial government. Secondly, the expansion of the Oromo into wide area affected the system which worked very well in small groups. Thirdly, the long distance trade and the spread of Islam seem to have undermined the power of the *Gada* government. Lastly but not the least, frequent wars gave rise to powerful individuals such as the *Abba Dulas* who became influential.⁶ As it was true for other monarchial rulers of other Oromo states, the combination of the above factors were responsible for the rise of Abishe Garba as an influential monarchy.⁷

Despite the tradition of the *Gada* system, Abishe refused to hand over power and continued to fight his rivals and became the winner and continued to rule. As mentioned earlier, he consolidated his power and he expanded his power in all direction up to Anger River in the west and Finča'a River in the east.⁸ My informants argued that Abishe had ablest cavalries of about 4000 in number including the following notables: Abbashu Dibar of Jare Sole, Nakkara Bukko

⁵ Ginbar Nagara, *Seenaa Abiishee Garbaa fi Gootota Oromoo Biroo.*(Adama: Artistic Printing Enterprise, 2010), P. 43.

⁶ Nagaso Gidada, *A History of Sayyoo Oromo...*, PP. 147-154; Alämayehu Haile etal, *History of the Oromo to 16th century.*(Adama: Artistic Printing Enterprise, 2004), PP.70-73; J, Hultin, *Man and Land in Wallaga* (Vasaparkeru: University of Gothenburg, Department of Anthropology, 1977), PP. 5-6.

⁷ Ginbar Nagara, *Seenaa Abiishee...*,P. 43.

⁸ Tesema Ta'a, "The political Economy of..." ,PP.195-196.

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Despite the tradition of the *Gada* system, Abishe refused to hand over power and continued to fight his rivals and became the winner and continued to rule. As mentioned earlier, he consolidated his power and he expanded his power in all direction up to Anger River in the west and Finča'a River in the east.⁸ My informants argued that Abishe had ablest cavalries of about 4000 in number including the following notables: Abbashu Dibar of Jare Sole, Nakkara Bukko

⁵ Ginbar Nagara, *Seenaa Abiishee Garbaa fi Gootota Oromoo Biroo*.(Adama: Artistic Printing Enterprise, 2010), P. 43.

⁶ Nagaso Gidada, *A History of Sayyoo Oromo...*, PP. 147-154; Alämayehu Haile etal, *History of the Oromo to 16th century*.(Adama: Artistic Printing Enterprise, 2004), PP.70-73; J, Hultin, *Man and Land in Wallaga* (Vasaparkeru: University of Gothenburg, Department of Anthropology, 1977), PP. 5-6.

⁷ Ginbar Nagara, *Seenaa Abiishee...*,P. 43.

⁸ Tesema Ta'a, "The political Economy of...",PP.195-196.

of Daragoti, Daga Horo of Abé, Carana Bite of Bone Habuna, Abishe's three brothers (Luba Garba, Fandalala Garba, and Bakaré Garba) and Dabalo Gana with his two sons (Jalata Dabalo and Ganji Dabalo). Dabalo was proud of being engaged in war with his children and he got unique respect from the society as a whole which is substantiated by the following song:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Qeensa ilkaaniin qoru</i>	Finger nail is cut with teeth
<i>Maal lallaaftuun kuni</i>	Since it is soft
<i>Yaa Dabaloo Gannaa leenca ilmaaniin lolu</i>	Dabalo is a lion (brave) fighting with his sons
<i>Maal ayyaantuun kuni.</i> ⁹	What a lucky person he was?

Written sources as well as informants attested that the encroachment of the Gojjámé force into the Oromo territory south of the Abay was repeatedly crashed by Abishe's cavalry.¹⁰ The informants confirmed that in their attempt to control the Horro area, Abishe wiped out the forces of Adal Täsämma in the early 1870s at a place called *Shanoo*, a hill located south of Abishe's residence near the boundary of Jimma Gänäti. The Oromo folklore of the area confirmed the idea as follows:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Teephan mara anoo</i>	I'm 'rounding' the rope
<i>Abiishee Abbaa Makoo</i>	Abishe the father of Mako (his horse)
<i>Reebaa kattaa Shanoo</i> ¹¹	Killer at Shano hill.

The Gojjámé who had strong ambition to control the resourceful area of the southwestern part of the country in general and Horro in particular tried to expand their hegemony as far south as *Tullu Amara*, a mountain located around Jimma Rare on the border of West Shäwa. The name

⁹ Informants: Olani Ragasa and Ragasa Bäläta.

¹⁰ Samuél Mamo, "The Administration of Arjo (South Eastern Wälläga) 1882-1936." M.A Thesis (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1998), PP. 21-22.

¹¹ Informants: Olani Ragasa and Waqoya Dhinsa.

Tullu Amara is derived from the ineffective venture of the Gojjämé to cut and add all areas north of the mountain to Gojjäm.¹² The remnant Gojjämé force was again repulsed as far north as *Laga Mormor*¹³ by Abishe's army, thanks to his leading efficiency and the commitment of his cavalry. Then Abishe's strength was recognized by his close rivals such as Jibat Busho of Guduru and Qadida Wanabe of Jimma Rare and his far enemy, Adal Täsämma of Gojjäm.¹⁴ Abishe's boundary less strength was substantiated by the Oromo folklore of the area as follows:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Areertee dhudhaate</i>	You drank milk by mixing it with water
<i>Yaa Abiishee Garbaa</i>	You, Abishe Garba!
<i>Seenaan kee fullaate</i> ¹⁵	your history had been heard in the furthest places

Abishe's strength became a head ache to Adal Täsämma and his forces in their ambition to control resourceful areas south of the Abay River. They even understood that they were unable to bring Abishe under their control by force. Hence, they continued to search and dig out the way they could tie up Abishe's arm. As stated by Ginbar, Adal Täsämma instigated a quarrel and instigated, the neighboring rival rulers against Abishe by using the so called divide and rule policy.¹⁶ Adal Täsämma, who had no blood relations with neither of the rivals allied himself with Jibat Busho of Guduru and Qadida Wanabe of Jimma Rare and had taken an oath to secretly and tactfully capture Abishe. After things were adjusted, Adal Täsämma, with his army crossed the Abay River and camped at Kokor, which is located to the east of Shambu town near the residence of Abishe without Abishe's knowledge¹⁷

Accordingly, Abishe was invited by one of his rivals, Qadida Wanabe to discuss with the Gojjämé leader at Kokor. But one of Abishe's trusted warriors; Daga Horo suspected the tactic

¹² Ginbar Nagara, *Seena Abiishee Garbaa fi...*, PP.47-50.

¹³ Abay River is known by the name *Laga Mormor* by majority of the Oromo of Wallagga in general and that of Horro district in particular.

¹⁴ Oljira Tujuba, "Oromo-Amhara...", P.58-61.

¹⁵ Informants: Olani Ragasa and Warqu Dabalo.

¹⁶ Ginbar Nagara, *Seena Abiishee...*, P.97.

¹⁷ Tesema Ta'a, "The Political Economy...", P. 130.

of Adal Täsämma and told Abishe to refuse the idea and to refrain from going to Kokor. But the unsuspecting Abishe gave a deaf ear to the advice of his loyal warrior and went to Kokor.¹⁸ The Gojjämé army, who already occupied the strategic area captured Abishe in 1876 after a minor bloody confrontation. Then Abishe was taken to Gojjäm as a captive and died there. The capture of Abishe paved the way for the Gojjämé force to control Horro and the neighboring areas for not less than a quarter of a century, despite their defeat at the battle of Embabo.¹⁹

Military success of the Shäwans at Embabo in 1882 was followed by the imposition of new social, political and economic systems.²⁰ An elaborate military and political structure was imposed in Horro which was maintained by soldier settlers called *naftañña* (*Gondore țore*) who were stationed in different parts of the district. It is beyond doubt that local leaders lost their power in favor of the new comers.²¹

My informants suggest that with the decline of the *Gada* System in the second half of the 19th century, various petty chiefs began to emerge in Horro-Horritti. The strong chiefs were eager to control vast areas and to achieve this they forced the weak clan leaders to submit to their rule. It was through this process that Abishe Garba and his descendants from Gobayya clan initially emerged to be stronger and controlled vast area. The same thing was true for Qano Guta in Jarté, Kitil Gosu in Amuru, Dingo Garba in Dongoro and other minor chiefs emerged through gradual process. As some of the chiefs were strong warriors, the weak clan leaders submitted to them to save their kinsmen and themselves from being attacked and looted.²² There were also other

¹⁸ Ginbar Nagara, *Seenaa Abiishee...*, PP. 48-50; Siegfried Pausewang, *Peasant Society and Development in Ethiopia*. (Oslo: Agricultural University, 1970), PP. 177-179.

¹⁹ Oljira Tujuba, "Oromo- Amhara...", PP. 87-89.

²⁰ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern...*, P. 62; Saheed, A. Adejumobi. *The History of Ethiopia* (London: Green Wood Press, 2007), PP. 40-41; Informant: Kitila Hirpa.

²¹ Samuél Mamo, "A History of Arjo...", PP. 35-36.

²² Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Munțas Gutama.

important subordinate petty chiefs in the last quarter of the nineteenth century such as: Tesso Qanno of Jarté, Daqa Mando of Foqa, Qončole Shunqi of Abilé, Bayana Raso of Guta, Ganati Aga of Dulacha, Daga Horo of Abe, Gonfa Galabu of Dedé, Bora Daga of Munaye, Dale Genda of Jarmat, Gissa Dhinsa of Jardaga Bowa, Uga Ushu of Gabar and Wirtu Dingo of Dongoro.²³

During the above mentioned period the Gojjámé influence, as explained by Samuel, extended as far as Tullu Amara in which they continued to administer the area north of Tullu Amara since the battle of Embabo to 1901. But with the death of King Täklä Haymanot of Gojjäm in 1901, Horro as part and parcel of Horro Guduru, Came under the administration of Arjo.²⁴ According to A.Triuzli, Blatta Dheressa also gave reasonable evidence that King Täklä Haymanot had a territorial claim in Horro Guduru north of Tullu Amara to add to his province following his defeat at the battle of Embabo.²⁵

The Gojjáme had an overall authority in the area including political, religious and economic aspects. With the capture of Abishe, Adal assigned Fandalala Garba, the younger brother of Abishe to rule Horro. Fandalala, compared to Abishe as explained by Triuzli was an easily bent personality and lacked self confidence. One of the Gojjámé commanders, *Fitawrari* Yimär Goshu was appointed as the commander of the Gojjámé force stationed in Horro and the neighboring territories.²⁶

After being stationed at *Čabir*, the forces of *Ras Däräsu* gave due attention to control the western part of Horro Guduru in which Jarté was a part. In his attempt to control Jarté, Däräsu first sent a letter to Jarte's governor of the time Tesso Qanno demanding his peaceful submission. However,

²³ *Ibid*; Gumii Dagaagina Afaan Oromo, "Simbirtuu Lakkoofsa 1...", PP.7-9.

²⁴ Samuél Mamo, "A History Of Arjo...", P. 35.

²⁵ A. Triulzi, *The Guduru Oromo...*,P. 87.

²⁶ *Ibid*,p. 67; Tesema Ta'a, "The Political Economy...",P.130.

Tesso, who suspected the Gojjämé tricking activity, refused the idea and ordered his people for mobilization. *Ras Däräsu*, who was not successful to control Jarté by his letter, was engaged in his divide and rule technique as usual. A long period of enmity between Gonfa Galabu of Dedde and Bora Daga of Munaye from Akayyu clan over Hora Dika (mineral water spring at Dika) paved the way for Darasu to control Jarte easily. Being allied with the forces of Bora, the Gojjäme defeated the forces of Gonfa and stationed at Barji to the east of Alibo town. By making their camp as a stepping stone, the Gojjämé who were superior in armament controlled Jarté and captured Tesso. After he was imprisoned in Gojjäm for five years, Tesso was bestowed a Gojjäme title *Grazmach* to rule Jarté until he was succeeded by his son Gudata Tesso in the early 20th century. The fall of Jarté brought fertile condition for the Gojjämé force to control the neighboring districts of Amuru and the western peripheral areas of the region easily.²⁷

One of my informants attest that under Yimär Goshu a large number of Gojjämé forces crossed the Abay River and stationed in Horro. Majority of these soldiers were called *Qīta Bel* (bread eaters) and they were assigned to every house hold to be supported in all aspects. Thus these soldiers moved in turns among a number of peasant families to be fed and kept comfortable. During his turn each peasant was forced to prepare the best food that they could not afford for themselves, and were forced to accommodate the soldier for the allotted days to be fed. In addition, the peasant families were forced to wash their cloth, legs and to prepare their sleeping place. The Oromo of the area were seriously exploited by the *Qīta Bel*. They harassed the residents in all cases; they slaughtered their fattened cattle, sheep and goats selectively without the prior permission of the owner of the property by tying up the *gebbars* either to pillars of the

²⁷ Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Gamada Bate.

house or in front of the gate.²⁸ Triulzi, stated the information from one of his informant as follows:

*...They robbed the people. They went to every house and forced the [Oromo] women to prepare food for them. They took the badu (Amharic-Irgo: a sort of yoghurt or sour milk) from the house, put melted butter in it and ate all day long. They killed our father (Abishe), they killed our children, and they tied our wives to the door and robbed our houses.*²⁹

Informants also argue that depending on their posts and ranks, the appointed Gojjámé officials did not wash their hands to have the prepared meal unless payment for washing their hands was paid them. The amount of money paid was two *ṭagara* (Maria Theresa). In addition, they divided and assigned their pack animals to the *gebbars* house to be well pastured. The size of each pack animal was measured by rope and if they became thinner than the initial day, the *gebbars* would be held responsible and punished.³⁰

Following the death of King Täklä Haymanot in 1901, as stated by both Samuél and Chärinet, the Gojjámé officials were evacuated from Horro and were replaced by Menelik's *naftaña* the so called *Gondoré*.³¹ Both the Gojjámé and the Shāwans appointed different chiefs of their own to lead the people of Horro in all cases. They also had given the local people the right to choose their own *Abba Qoros*. Initially the office of *Abba Qoro* was given mostly to the members of traditional elderly families who were the pioneers in the occupation of Horro- Horriti. Some of the *qoros* of elder families, include: Amanu Abishe (the son of Abishe Garba)of Gobaya, Daqa Mando of Foqa Qanate, Bayana Qoncole Of Abile, Gudata Teso of Jarte, Hundara Ayana of

²⁸ Informants: Lamessa Tesso and Saqata Iticha.

²⁹ A. Triulzi, *The Guduru Oromo...*, P. 61.

³⁰ Informants: Lamessa Tesso and Saqata Iticha.

³¹ Samuél Mamo, "A History of Arjo...", P. 35; Informant: Chärinet Waqweya.

Abe, Bidu Hora of Gabar, Wirtu Dingo of Dongoro, Gofe Tobo of Akayu, Moroda Dale of Jardaga Jarmat, Ayana Dibaba of Igu and Shifara Ganati of Dulacha.³²

The office of the *Aba Qoro* was also a reward to some people in return to their services. Some people began to get the office of *Aba qoro* regardless of their noted back ground either being loyal to the Shāwans or they could afford it by buying the post with money. The *abba qoros* were responsible for collecting tax from the local people and passed it to the higher offices. Taxes collected from peasants were of various kinds that include taxes on butter (*gibira dhadhaa*), taxes on honey (*gibira dammaa*), taxes on tobacco (*gibira timboo*) and taxes on every +house hold (*gibira aara manaa*).³³

Horro under the Shāwan Rule

Written sources as well as my informants confirm that, in Wällägga, the process of land measurement and its distribution began in 1910. The introduction of *Qalad* or *Gasha* system was one of the most dramatic consequences of the consolidation of power of the central government.³⁴ The event had a long standing effect on the lives of the agricultural people of Horro. Before the measurement of land, the peasants had *qabiye* right over extensive land which was owned by them. It is apparent that since land is the economic base in the Ethiopian Empire, limiting the size of land for sale or distribution was very essential for central government.³⁵

Menelik's soldiers, the so called *naftañā*, who came to Horro *warada* made their seat at Čabir, which is a hill located at about five km northwest of Shambu town. The reason why they

³² Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Tolasa Sañi.

³³ Samuél Mamo, "A History of Arjo...", pp. 35-37; Informant: Chärinet Waqweya; Teshale Tibebe, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia 1896-1974*. (Lawrence: The Red Sea Press, 1995), PP. 83-88.

³⁴ Bereket Habte Selassie, *The Dergue's Dilemma: The Legacies of a Feudal Empire*. (New York: Vol.32 (No.3), Monthly Review Inc, 1980), PP. 3-6.

³⁵ Täsäma Ta'a, "The Political Economy...", PP. 195-197; Informant: Kitila Hirpa.

preferred the area was firstly it was formerly settled by the Gojjäme forces then the area was already adjusted for residence. The other thing was that strategically the area was important to defend themselves from being attacked by the Oromo of the area who traditionally were accustomed to throwing their spears like a noon-snake and ride horses like an avalanche of rock down a mountain side.³⁶

The evacuation of the Gojjämé forces from Horro was replaced by the settlement of the *Naftaņas* or the Shāwans. Horro, as part of Horro Guduru, was then added to *Ras Dämissäw Näsibu's* administration who was ruling parts of Wällägga from his base at Arjo which is located about at 48 km from Nāqämté.³⁷ Informants attest that it was too difficult to peasants and all residents of Horro to go to Arjo to express their grievance or to appeal their problems to the governor of Arjo since it was too far from their residence. They argued that it took more than two weeks for individuals to go and return to their home, which was really very exhaustive. Since peasants appealed to the governor of Arjo (*Ras Dämissäw*), the administrative centre for Horro and the neighboring districts shifted to a place called Gembo in present day Jimma Gänäti *Wäräda*. Then *Ras Dämissäw* assigned his own son Mäkonnin Dämissäw as a governor of Horro who made his seat at Gembo and later at Čabir.³⁸

It is obvious that the motives behind the Shāwan expansion to the south western Ethiopia was to exploit the rich and resourceful land in the region.³⁹ The Shāwans at the initial stage did not alienate the land from the original *qabiye* holders. As the Gojjämés did before the traditional

³⁶ Ginbar Nagara, *Seenaa Abiishee...*, P. 97.

³⁷ Oljira Tujuba, "The Oromo- Amhara..." P.111; National Archives, Folder No.62.1, File No. 24.09, a chart showing list of provinces, *Awrajas*, *Waradas* and *Mikitiil Waradas* in Ethiopia with their respective administrative center.

³⁸ Samuél Mamo, "A History of Arjo..." p. 35; Informant: Kitila Hirpa.

³⁹ Bahru Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia...*, PP. 60-62; Bereket Habte Selassie, *The Dergue's...*, P.3.

qabiye land holding system of the Oromo remained intact until the introduction of measurement of land in to *qälad* or *gasha*.⁴⁰

Prior to land measurement, tribute and taxes were levied on each house hold. Each peasant house hold had to deliver one tenth of his produce as *asrat* to his overlord. Taxes were collected from every married couple. The number of cattle, sheep, goats and pack animals owned by peasants also determine the amount of tax paid. Beyond the payment of taxes and tributes the peasants had multiple obligations to serve the local administrator, in which all members of the family obliged to conduct various corvee labors.⁴¹

Here, it is important to note that as part and parcel of Wällägga administration, land measurement in Horro was conducted in the first decades of the 20th century. The year 1910 was, therefore, a land mark in the history of both Wällägga and Horro.⁴² Emperor Menelik with the collaboration of local officials introduced the new land holding to formulate his system of exploitation. The desire of confiscating land as discussed before was to put up some parts of it for sale to increase the revenue and to allocate the rest of the land to military and civilian administrators in lieu of salary.⁴³

Chärinät argued that land measurement in Horro and the neighboring districts was attempted from 1914-1916 and interrupted by the Sägäle war in which Ras Dämissäw Näsibu of Arjo and other notable leaders of Horro Guduru had participated. He then stated that land which started to be measured before the battle of Sägäle was completed in 1918 after the return of the participants

⁴⁰ Tesema Ta'a, "The Political Economy...", PP. 195-196.

⁴¹ Informant: Hundara Doja; Tesema Ta'a, "The Basis for Political Contradictions in Wallaga: the Land Apportionment Act of 1910 and its Consequences", in *North African Studies*, VI, 2, East Lansing (1984), PP.182-185.

⁴² Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wälläga: ...", PP. 30-32. ; Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Bayana Dibaba.

⁴³ Bahru Zewde, *A History of...*, PP. 90-92; Addis Hiwot, *Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution*. (London: Review of African Political Economy, 1975), P.33.

of the war.⁴⁴ Whereas Oljira stated that, though, different attempts were made to conduct land measurement in Horro Guduru before 1920, it failed since local officials did not agree over their share in the measured land.⁴⁵ One of my informants, in his attempt to reconcile the opinions, states that the implementation of the *Qäläd* system in Horro was completed during the life time of Dämisew Näsibu who died in 1919.⁴⁶ Then it is apparent that land measurement in Horro was completed around 1918.

In the process of land measurement land was classified in to various categories. These include *Yämängist Märét* (government land), *Maderiya märät*, *Sämon märät* and *Iṭana Zuriya* (church land and its surrounding) and *siso* land.⁴⁷ As stated by my informants, The *Qäläd* in Horro was measured under the leadership of *Fitawrari Yimär* and they used a rope made of skin to measure the land. They argued that one *gasha* of land was equal to 40 hectares and one hectare equal to *oolmaa afur* (a piece of land ploughed by a pair of oxen within four days). During land measurement each *gasha* was named by the name of the traditional *abba qabiye* (land holder) or *abba qoro* (local chief) or named after a big tree or river and other known things in the area.⁴⁸

Yämängist märét is called *giži märét* which means state land or land on sale. This category of land was ready for sale to anyone who was able to buy it. On the other hand *Madäriya märét* or *Shaläqa märét* the so called major land was rewarded as a gift for *näftäñoch* or Menelik's soldiers and other officials who were serving the state in lieu of salary.⁴⁹ Our informants confirmed that soldiers who participated in the battle of Adwa, Sägäle and other minor local battles got *qälads* of land based on their achievement and according to the title rewarded. They

⁴⁴ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure System...", PP. 30-31.

⁴⁵ Oljira Tujuba, "The Oromo- Amhara...", PP. 119-120.

⁴⁶ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Taressa Mul'ata.

⁴⁷ Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from Autocracy...*, PP.35-36.

⁴⁸ Informant: Lamessa Tesso and Tolassa Sañi.

⁴⁹ Oljira Tujuba, "The Oromo- Amhara...", PP. 112-113.

attested that a *Shaläqa* (commander of thousand) got six gashas of land, a *Shambäl* (commander of hundred) got four *gashas* of land and *Amsa Aläqa* (commander of fifty) got three gashas of land, and *Asir Aleqa* (the commander of ten) got two gashas of land.⁵⁰

Sämon Märät (church land) was given to the church for the service of priests and deacons. My informants attest that to build church, land was first chosen by priests and the criteria to select the land was based on its fertility. Then, the priests put their eyes on the most fertile land (*lem märät*) by harassing and persuading the local residents even to leave their land for the construction of church. By taking the blessing of God (*tabot*) as a cover they harassed peasants to keep the order of God. But behind the cover their aim was to fulfill their own motive that was to control the fertile land for their own economic purpose.⁵¹

In addition to *sämon märét*, local residents were forced to give one *quna* of best crop called *firé gibir* for the well being of priests and deacons. This *firé gibir* was collected from every household by a man called *gäbaz*. The *gäbaz* also got some share from the collected crop as a reward for his work.⁵² As stated above, church land was given to the church, cultivated by peasants for the benefit of those who served the church.

In Horro-Horritti, as it was stated earlier, the first church was the St.Märy church of Barji in Jardaga Jarté, which was built at 3 km east of Alibo town. Through gradual process different churches were built in Horro. In 1892 St. Marqos was built first at Abe later on transferred to Čabir by the order of Daga Horo. Ras Mäkonnin Dämisäw also established St. Gäbriél church at Čabir and Gämbo. Mädhane Aläm church was built at Shambu by a man called Mäkonnin

⁵⁰ Informants: Lamessa Tesso and Saqata Iticha.

⁵¹ Informant: Hundara Doja.

⁵² Informant: Bayana Dibaba.

Täwände Bälay in 1911. St Michael of Member *qebele* was established a little far northeast of Shambu town in 1910 by *Fitawrari* Minase who also established St. Michael Church of Dongoro in Tullu wayu. Täklä haymanot church of Doyo Bariso was also established in 1924.⁵³

These early churches had played an influential role in accelerating the process of the incorporation and the spread of Christianity among the local population. It is apparent that the early converttee were local officials mainly landlords or *balabats*. The expansion of each church paved the way for the consolidation of power and enabled the local people to obey every kind of orders even if they were too harsh and difficult to accept and perform. Local population were persuaded and obliged to practice fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays.⁵⁴

When land was measured, each clan's *qabiye* was divided and each clan with its head was allowed to retain one out of every four *gasha* which was nominally termed as *siso* (one-third) though in fact the term was not appropriate.⁵⁵ Then *siso* was a portion of land that was allocated to the local *balabats*. Except the *siso* that the *balabats* were allowed to retain, the remaining was confiscated by the government. The members of the clan who divided the *siso* among themselves were *rist* owners of that particular land. The descendants of the *siso* holders were in a position to claim *rist* rights over the *siso* land.⁵⁶ The children of the fore fathers were entitled their share to their father's *siso* land. No member could sell his own share unless it was agreed by all members

⁵³ Ayälo Abdisa, "Seenaa Aanaa Horro...", PP. 5-7.

⁵⁴ Ginbar Nagara, "Seenaa Abiishee..." P. 98.

⁵⁵ Samuél Mamo, "A History of Arjo..." P. 60.

⁵⁶ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern ...*, PP. 87-91; Desalegn Rahmato, *Land Tenure and Land Policy in Ethiopia after Därg.* (Addis Ababa : Addis Ababa University Press, 1994), P.121.

of the *siso* holders and even if the member was allowed to sell his share of land, he could only sell it to one of the members of the lineage group or to the lineage group as a whole.⁵⁷

Informants confirmed that since the *siso* land was only one-fourth of the original *qabiye*, it was not enough to support all members of the lineage. Thus scarcity of land among the *siso* holders became acute when each family began to increase in number. This process resulted in land fragmentation and scarcity of land among the *siso* owners. The only way to solve such a problem was either to buy land if they could or to work on the land of other individuals as tenants.⁵⁸

To consolidate their power and to facilitate their method of revenue collections, the Shāwans assigned *Gndäre țore* and other civil servants in Horro by making their sitting place first at Gämbo then Čabir and later on transferred to Shambu town. The indigenous chiefs provided great services to the Shāwan administrators. Rewarding titles such as *abba qoros* and *ciqashum* for loyal individuals, which was started under the Gojjāmé rule was seriously strengthened under the Shāwan governorship.⁵⁹ Shāwan administration system in Horro was deeply rooted in to grass root level in which the territory was divided among clans and each and every clans had their own leader (*abba qoro*), who was expected to explain government directives in ways that the indigenous population accepted and put in to practice. These local chiefs had extra responsibilities including collecting taxes of various kinds, ordering the residents to perform different corvee labors, keeping peace and security of the area and even recruiting peace keeping forces for military training.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Mäsfin Däräjé, "The History of Jidda Ayana Town to 1974." BA Thesis (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1974),PP.12-15.

⁵⁸ Informants: Munțas Gutama and Warqu Dabalo.

⁵⁹ Oljira Tujuba, "The Oromo- Amhara...", PP. 99-100.

⁶⁰ Samuél Mamo, "A History of Arjo...", PP. 55-58.

Before the coming of the Italians to the area, the following notable officials effectively administered their clans. These officials include: *Fitawrari* Oljira Amanu of Gobaya, *Fitawrari* Gudata Téso of Jarté, Daqa Mando of Bajira Foqa, Bayana Qončolle of Abillé, Roro Qana'i of Dado, Yadata Goshu of Alshaya Quntano, Afata Doro of Migiru, Shifara Ganati of Akaji Dulacha, Dhinsa Dibar of Garado, Ara'e (Gäbrämädhin) Dabalo of Gitilo, Amanu Oljira of Daragoti, Tadasa Fufa of Buko, Labata Dhufera of Birbirso, Dheressa Hundara (Täklä Mariyam) of Akako, Roro Qana'i of Gitilo Gango, Rumicha Abakare of Gabar, Bidu Hora of Gabar, Kare Kitila of Gabara, Kumsa Ugum of Wando, Ayana Dibaba of Igu, Kaba Moroda of Jardaga Jarmat, Dayas Déde of Dabisi, Goshu Hirpa of Daban, Wirtu Bora of Munaye, Qadida Doro of Golole, Bongase Gisa of Jardaga Bowa, Dhinsa Gofe of Akayu, Goshu Hirpa of Daban and Iticha Tufa of Digalu. Based on loyalty and seniority, the officials of Horro were rewarded with different titles such as *Fitawrari*, *Qaññazmach*, *Grazmach* and *Barambaras*.⁶¹

As stated earlier, the economic base of the state was land tax and surplus labor obtained from peasants (*gäbars*). Peasants of Horro paid tributes of various kinds. The people of Horro as it was the same for the other people of Wällägga were forced to pay tithe (*asrat*). In case of Horro this obligation started in the last decade of the 19th century. The assessment of *asrat* was an assumption by which peasants were forced to pay one tenth of their produce to the state. There were assigned individuals called assessors who supervised and collect *asrat* from peasants. These assigned individuals got good respect from peasants and were given delicious food and special local drinks such as *farsoo* (local beer) and *daadhii* (mead) since they had an ultimate power either to reduce or enhance the amount of tithe each peasant would pay. The peasants took the collected tithe to Shambu and other various places on their own pack animals and put it in

⁶¹ Informants: Lamessa Tesso and Hundara Doja.

granaries. The granaries built by peasant's corvee were kept by individuals called *gotära xäbaqi* (granary keeper). If the local officials wanted to take the crop collected in granaries, they had to bring a letter of permission called *qälaté* (derived from the Amharic term 'Qal Atsé' meaning king's word) from upper officials. The greater part of grains stored in the granaries was locally used for emergence and consumed by government army and high Shäwan officials in the area.⁶² Hence it is apparent that greater parts of the *asrat* had been consumed without reaching the central government.

The majority of Horro peasants who were unable to buy land became subject to harsh feudal exploitation. Those peasants who lost their land or could not buy a plot began to live as tenants. The tenants were forced to pay part of their produce to the *Abba lafaa* (land owners) which was locally called *erbo* (drived from the Amharic term 'erub' which means one-fourth). There was also an obligation for the *gäbbars* to present the first part of his produce whether he cultivated *teff* or wheat or any other cereal to his *balabats*. But this gift was not counted as part of his *erbo* payment.⁶³

In addition to *erbo* payment, tenants were forced to do different corvee for land owners which include building houses and fences, cultivating land, harvesting crops, constructing granaries, looking after the cattle, grinding and many other works.⁶⁴ Those tenants who became sluggish either to perform corvee or refused the order of *abba lafaa* were forced to leave his land. Those tenants who were obliged by the land lords to leave the *qabiye* of *abba lafaa* said the following song:

⁶² Oljira Tujuba, "Oromo -Amhara ...", PP. 102-105; Informant: Saqata Iticha.

⁶³ Chärinät Wakweya, " Land Tenure System...", PP. 33-34.

⁶⁴ Oljira Tujuba, "Oromo -Amhara ...",P. 64; Abd Al-Majid Husain. *Rehab*, (Dakar: Environment Publishing Programme, 1976),PP.12-15.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Si ka'e anoo siif ka'e</i>	I have left already left
<i>Anoo siif ka'e gamaan siif ba'e</i>	I have gone out of your sight
<i>Yoo hantuutni yaa'ii sii ba'e</i>	If rats discuss with you
<i>Yoo Jaldessi si wajjin taa'e</i>	If monkeys stay with you
<i>Irboo kees harkaan sii ga'e</i>	I have handed over your tribute
<i>Kunoo siif ka'e anoo siif ka'e</i> ⁶⁵	I have left already left.

On his turn the landlord who wanted to kick out the *gäbbar* who disobeyed his orders on his land responded singing as follows.

Song	Gloss
<i>Yoo kaate si'aan naaf ka'i</i>	If you leave, leave
<i>Gibira lafaa harkaan naaf ga'i</i>	Bring my land tribute
<i>Iddoon ona kee timboof naa ta'a</i>	I grow tobacco on your fertile field
<i>Timboon immoo qarshii naaf ta'a</i> ⁶⁶	I obtain money from tobacco.

As far as corvee was concerned, the Horro people were obliged to construct houses and working offices for officials at Gembo, Čabir and Shambu. They were also forced to make local beer called *farsoo* at the above centers during different ceremonies and holidays. To make such *farsoo*, the *gäbbars* took the floor needed and other essential things from their own home and took it either on their pack animals or carrying it on their shoulders.⁶⁷

My informants argued that the tenants were also forced to work on the *hudad* lands. The *hudad* lands were cultivated for the Shāwan officials and for the state. *Hudad* was also cultivated for *qoros* whose administrators were so harsh.⁶⁸ Informants stated that the number of work on *hudad*

⁶⁵ Informants: Munṭas Gutama and Hundara Doja.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Informants: Mosissa Dhuguma and Hundara Doja.

⁶⁸ Bahru Zewde, *A History of ...*, PP. 87-88; Informant: Kitila Hirpa.

land was not fixed. It was different from one village to another based on several factors such as: number of tenants resided on the area, the extent of land to be cultivated, the administering capacities of the local officials and the attitude those *qoros* had for their *gäbbars*. Whatever the case, the *gäbbars* were said to have been obliged to work on *Hudad* land at least three to five days in each season.⁶⁹

It was during the 1920s and 1930s that tax was systematized and regularized. Land was classified as *läm* (fertile), *läm-ṭef* (semi- fertile) and *ṭäf* (unfertile). Despite the absence of exact measurement, a *gasha* of land was considered *läm* if it was settled by people and comfortably supported a large number of peasant families. It was called *läm-ṭäf* if the settlement was moderate and the land was said to have been *ṭef* if it is uninhabited by the people. It is said that for majority of the peasants the rate of taxation proved to be too heavy.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Informant: Kitila Hirpa; Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from Autocracy...*, P.46.

⁷⁰ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...", P. 31; Informant: Bayana Dibaba; A, Triulzi, "Center-Periphery...", PP.451-452.

CHAPTER IV

HORRO DURING THE ITALIAN PERIOD (1935-1941)

Fascist Italy's war on Ethiopia was a war of aggression against an independent state, and a member of the League of Nations. It was unjust war made to impose foreign rule, which violated the natural and democratic rights of the Ethiopian people. Despite great difficulties they had faced, the Ethiopians defended their country and their rights against the foreign enemy. The great sense of patriotism made the Ethiopians face Italian armies with modern arsenal at great cost of life. The resistance that Ethiopians waged was an expression of Ethiopian patriotism at work.¹

The Response of Horro People against Italian Invasion

With the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, Haile Sillassié issued the mobilization order to defend the country from the aggressors.² As the other parts of the country, the Horro officials and people responded, positively to Haile Sillassié's mobilization call.³ Commanded by *Ras* Mäkonnen Dämissäw, the governor of Arjo, a large number of *balabats*, *Gondäre tore* and other influential individuals marched north ward in the beginning of November 1936. Notable *balabats* who marched north from Horro included: *Barambaras* Dhuguma Tuli of Ingoye, *Qaññazmach* Dhinsa Gofe of Akkayu, *Baranbaras* Gudata Teso of Jarté, Dhinsa Saba of Jarté, Urgo Bayyan, Waqoya Gudaya and Aammo of Dogano and many other *balabats* marched to the war front in order not to lose their *siso* land. Under Mäkonnen's over all commanders of Wälläga, the army from Horro was led by *Fitawrari* Oljira Amanu of Gobaya (the grandson of Abishe Garba),

¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of...*, PP. 152-154; Henze, P.B, *Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia* (London: Hurst and Company, 2000), PP. 216-219.

² Adejumobi, *A History of Ethiopia...*, PP. 74-75.

³ Amsalu Tämäsgén, "Dhufaatii Warra Itaaliyaanii fi Seenaa Bakkée Bonayyaa." (*Qajeelcha Aadaa fi Beeksisa Godina Wälläga Bahaa, Näqämtée*, 1992), PP. 14-16.

Fitawrari Abara wirtu of Dongoro and *Fitawrari* Gudata Tésso of Jarté. When they marched north ward, they ointed their cloth with brown color called *dabaqa*. The color made the patriots uniform and it was also aimed to hide themselves from Italian aerial attack.⁴

The Oromo regiments of Horro were headed by *Fitawrari* Oljira Amanu, Abara Wirtu, and Gudata Tesso joined the forces of *Ras* Mäkonnen Dämissäw at Näqämté and marched north ward to Tigray. For those soldiers who marched to the war front, the people of Horro were obliged to do two things. On the one hand they were forced to supply the pack animals that carry ration and weapons for the army. Their other duty was supervising and giving services for the families of *balabats* who already had gone to the war front.⁵

The Horro army who already left out their home at the beginning of November 1935 reached Tigray in January 1936 and joined the forces of *Ras* Mulgéta Yigäzu, the War Minister of the time.⁶ Commanded by *Ras* Mulgéta Yigäzu, an Ethiopian army of 80,000 was stationed at Amba Arädom. The Italians initiated the battle of Amba Arädom after days of massive aerial attack and artillery bombardment. The destructive effect of the ground and aerial attack between February 10-15, 1936 forced the Ethiopian troops to evacuate the mountain top leaving behind about 6000 killed.⁷ Notable individuals from Horro such as: *Ras* Mäkonnen Dämissäw, the governor of Arjo, Marara Dibaba of Jarté, Sagni Gaga of Munayé, Galana Keyata of Gitilo, Fufa Hedeta of Buko and many others were killed in the battle. On the other hand, in the disorganized retreat, the provision and weapons of those soldiers who escaped death were looted while they were in

⁴ Informants: Gamada Bate and Hundara Doja.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...", PP. 35-37.

⁷ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern...*, PP. 154-155; Henze, P.B. *Layers of Time...*, P.217.

journey in Gojjām and Shāwa. After such heavy casualties and disasters, the army returned to their home in the same year just two weeks before Easter without any success.⁸

Following the exile of Emperor Haile Sillassié, Horro as other regions and districts of the country, fell in to chaos and disorder. There was looting and aim less shooting among different *balabats* in Horro. Law and order broke down. Such kind of disturbance continued until Italians came to the area. Different *Qoros* of Horro categorized themselves in to groups and made an oath to help each other against any problems and challenges forwarded from their rival. Under such circumstances, the Jarté *qoros* namely *Qäññazmach* Dhinsa Gofe of Akayu, *Qäññazmach* Iticha Bongase of Jardaga Bowa, *Qäññazmach* Dhuguma Dayas of Dabisi, *Däjazmach* Kaba Moroda of Jarmat and *Fitawrari* Ayana Dibaba of Igu came under one umbrella and swore an oath to live and die together. In contrary, the Horro *qoros* including *Fitawrari* Oljira Amanu of Gobaya, *Qäññazmach* Oli Daqa of Foqa Qanate, *Qäññazmach* Shifara Ganati of Dullacha, *Grazmach* Bayana Qončole of Abile and *Wäizero* Jäbäne made another group and continued to fight their rivals. Such kinds of divisions and attacks continued until the coming of the Italians to the area.⁹

Patriotic Resistance in Horro

The Italian force to Horro came through Bako then Jare and penetrated through Baqqale. The other Italian group through Gedo penetrated in to Jimma Rare and expanded as far as Guduru. In Guduru the known patriot of the area, File Mandara, created a hard time to Italians. When the Italians already reached Bako, the Horro *balabats* met at Shambu and discussed what to do and how to fight the Italians. From Bako the Italians moved to Jare and fortified at Tullu Jobira. They

⁸ Informants: Iticha Gutama and Hundara Doja.

⁹ *Ibid.*

also built other forts at Tullu Salgan Marame and Sonqolle, south of Shambu town. From Guduru, File also marched to Horro and confronted the Italian forces at Sonqolle supported by the notable *balabats* of Horro. However, the attempts of the patriots to crash the Italian camps south of Shambu failed due to strong counter attack by the Italian troops. The forces of File Mandara that ambushed the Italian troops at Sonqolle were also defeated. After Sonqolle confrontation, File retreated to his base area, Čoman and continued his guerilla fighting against the fascists¹⁰.

When the enemy force reached Shambu, even if the *balabats* tried their best to resist the aggressors, they lacked coordination to push them back. Hence, the force of the local officials was fragmented and easily wiped out by the Italians. A group of Italian troops stationed at Shambu and the other group marched to Jarte through Saqala and stationed at Alibo town in Jarté. On the way to Shambu, they first set fire on the village at Baqqale and Gitilo Najjo, which is located to the south west of Shambu town. The Italian force for example burned the house of a man called Dheresa Bidu. Dheresa who had no power to defend his property later expressed his grievance by singing the following song (*geerarsa*).

Oromo

Abbaa Raffoo yaa Olii
Mee baranaaf naa toli
Natti hin hafne waan hori
Manni koo dhundhum torba maaltu
ijaaree ishee horda
Shifarraatti naaf himaa naaf laata
godoo gorbaa

Gloss

Oljira, the father of Rafisa (leader of Gobaya clan)
 This year I'm begging your kind help (since my
 wealth was devastated by Italians)
 My house (which was torched by Italians) is about
 seven meters long so how could I re-build it
 Tell my problem to Shifara (Abba Qoro of Dulacha)
 he would give me a minor hut

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Buutuu mimmiṭa Gibe
*Duutuu waaq nutti fide.*¹¹

Gibe's pepper is profitable
God brought us the weak (Italians)

When the Italians then controlled Horro, the notable *balabats* left their home and marched to inaccessible and peripheral areas as bandit by fearing Italian harsh punishment. These *balabats* included; Dhinsa Gofe of Akayu who fled to Mato forest, Ayana Dibaba of Igu who fled to Boke forest, Kaba Moroda of Jarmat who fled to Garchi valley, Shifära Gänäti of Dulacha who fled to Čato forest, and Iticha Bongase of Jardaga Bowa who fled to Dandi valley. Despite such retreat of the above mentioned *qoros*, *Qänzäzmach* File Mandara of Guduru seriously resisted and harassed the Italians. File's braveness as well as the retreat of other *qoros* is substantiated by the following song and the songs (*geersarsaa*) of File suggest his hopelessness to continue fighting.¹²

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Yaa Dhinsaa Goféé jennaan Maatoo</i> <i>bu'e jedhani</i>	When I call Dinsa Gofé (of Akayu) he is said to have fled to Mato forest
<i>Ya Ayyuu Diboo jennaan Bookee</i> <i>bu'e jedhani</i>	When I call Ayana Dibaba (of Igu) he is said to have fled to Boké forest
<i>Ya Kabaa Moree jennaan Garchi</i> <i>bu'e jedhani</i>	When I call Kaba Moroda (of Jarmat) he is said to have fled to Garchi valley
<i>Ya Shifoo Gannoo jennaan Čaatoo</i> <i>bu'e jedhani</i>	When I call Shifära Gänäti (of Dulacha) he is said to have fled to Čato forest
<i>Ya Itoo Bongee jennaan Daandii</i> <i>bu'e jedhani</i>	When I call Iticha Bongasé (of Bowa) he is said to have fled to Dandi Valley
<i>Mäqälée dhaqne jettu</i>	You said that you had marched to Mäqälé
<i>Qaqqallee galle jettu</i>	You said that you had slaughtered the enemy
<i>Dhaqa waaroo guurtani</i>	When you marched to the battle, you carried your blanket
<i>Gala haadhoo buustani</i>	When you re treat back you had forgotten your brother

¹¹ Informants: Saqata Iticha and Lamessa Tesso.

¹² Informants: Amante Bakare and Iticha Gutama.

<i>Harree dhaltuu qaltani</i>	You slaughtered female donkey
<i>Qawwee galchuu dhaqtanii?</i>	Have you gone to the battle to submit your rifle?
<i>Akkasoo dhamaatanii</i>	If you had fought bravely?
<i>Eessaa baate Hamaasaniin?</i> ¹³	From where did Hamaseni (Italian troops) come?
<i>Ani Filee Mandaraa</i>	Me, File Mandara
<i>Gurbaan Čoomman qarqaraa</i>	The one who was near Čoman swamp
<i>Meeqan ciree danda'aa?</i>	How many could I kill?
<i>Hamaasaniin Daggala.</i>	Hamasenis (Italian troops) were as infinite as forest grass

Even though he was defeated at the end, File's strength was largely appreciated by the Society of Horro and his patriotic feeling is said to have been confirmed by the following song.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Filéén loituu Faranjiiti.</i>	Filé bravely fought the Italians
<i>Qoroon kaan ofii danbaliiti.</i> ¹⁴	The rest of the qoros simply boast themselves

Until they consolidated the occupation of the area, massacre and killing was the order of the day. As stipulated by informants, civilians such as Kitila Tufa, Gabata Dede, Sañi Señti, and many others were killed in Shambu at a particular place called Jarméda. While they were marching west, they took similar action at Jardaga, Jarté and elsewhere. For example at Jardaga they devastated the home of *Fitawrari* Kaba Moroda which was located at Jarmat. When Italians occupied new places and towns their first action was collecting all kinds of fire arms from the local people. If the people or the *balabats* refused to do so they became the victims of harsh punishment including detention.¹⁵

The informants corroborate that to occupy Jarté they initially sent their *banda* to *Fitawrari* Gudata Tésso (the renowned qoro of Jarte) to peacefully submit and welcome them. But Gudata refused the idea and gathered many followers behind him to defend himself against the enemy

¹³ Informants: Kitila Hirpa, Saqata Iticha and Aamante Bakare.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

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¹³ Informants: Kitila Hirpa, Saqata Iticha and Aamante Bakare.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

force through guerilla tactic. In the mean time, the secret was exposed and the Italians were informed through their *bandas*. Accordingly, the Italians entered and surrounded Alibo town with very great care. At night guided by their *bandas*, they surrounded Gudata's residence and captured him. The Italians then passed death penalty on him which was conducted in public. It was really a tragic event that the Italians obliged *Fitawrari* Gudata to dig his grave while he was alive. They also ordered local residents to attend the action. Offended by the decision, the selected elders of Jarté begged the Italians either to change or to improve the case. Even to win their attention, all the attendants kneeled down and made their voice heard by the so called *izgootaa* asking the Italians to leave the decision. However, the Italian commanders responded that the decision was from Rome and it was not their power to amend it here. After assassinating Gudata, the Italians obliged the attendants to mount their horses and express their support by singing and dancing. Contrary to the Italian expectation, however, the attendants angered by the Italian ugly action and reflected their grievance through weeping and crying. Lastly the people took the corpse from grave and reburied it at St. Mary Church of Barji.¹⁶

The Italians also captured Kaba Moroda of Jarmat and took him to Ambo where they killed him. His corpse was returned to his birth place by his son Däräjé Kaba. The following songs of traditional singer (*Azmaarii*) reveal the event

Oromo

Ilma akkaaf dhalchatu
Akka Däräjéé Kabaa
*Kan reeffa abbaa galchatu.*¹⁷

Gloss

Giving birth to son is very nice
 As that of Däräjé Kaba
 The one who had taken his father's corpse (from Ambo) and brought it to (Jardaga).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...", PP. 36-37; Informants: Saqata Iticha and Oli Kumsa.

The Italian occupation of Horro was not easy as such. It involved much bloodshed between the Italian colonial troops and the patriots of the region. After Italians occupied Horro and Jarté, they further penetrated as far as the Abay valley by crossing Amuru district. According to my informants, the forces of Shāwan patriots from Gindeberet led by *Shalāqa* Mäsfin Siläshi further penetrated to Horro Guduru and continued their guerilla fighting against the Italians supported by the Horro patriots. In 1937, this force crossed Anger River (a boundary between Jarté and Amuru district) and launched an attack against *Fitawrari* Goshu Kumsa of Amuru at *Gurratti*, east of Obora town in which the latter was defeated. The same force again defeated the forces of *Fitawrari* Baqala Abetu at Gonka to the west of Obora town.¹⁸

My informants confirmed that Dhuguma Jaldesso of Limmu seriously resisted the forces of Mesfin who had a strong desire to control the remote areas of Western Horro Guduru for its strategic importance to resist the Italians. Later Dhuguma is said to have gone to Näqämté and asked the help of Italian forces against the forces of Mäsfin. The Italians then gave immediate response and crossed Mount Dicho to the north of Näqämté to confront the patriots. Accordingly the forces of the Italians and that of Mäsfin confronted each other at the battle of *Migir Golu* or *Déggo Migir* around the Abbay valley in Amuru District in the late 1937.¹⁹

Patriots such as File Mandara of Guduru, Jira Lama and Jireña Lama (the twin brothers) of Jarté, Qadida Fufa of Dongoro and other notable balabats of Horro participated in the battle on the side of *Ras* Mäsfin (the patriots). These renowned patriots presented a stubborn resistance against the aggression of Italian colonial powers and attempted to undertake the mobilization of the whole people of the area against the aggressors. Their attempt, however, failed because the Italians became successful owing to their modern rifles. The forces of Mäsfin Siläshi, crossed the Abay

¹⁸ Däsälän Tolera, "A History of ..."PP.113-115.

¹⁹ Informants: Chārināt Waqweya, Mosissa Dhuguma and Kitila Hirpa.

River to join the patriots in Gojjām. File returned to his local area Guduru and continued his guerilla fighting until the liberation period. The twin brothers of Hedde lineage of Jarté namely Jira and Jireña Lama and Qadida Fufa of Dongoro escaped capture in the battle and led *Shifta* life for not less than a year and created a hard time to the Italians. The following songs further revealed the strength of Lama Brothers.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Bishaan golaa danfa</i>	The water is boiled in the house
<i>Yaa Jiraa fi Jireeña</i>	Both Jira and Jireña
<i>Gootota Yishaanee</i>	Yishane's (their mother) patriots
<i>Bijaa godhaa Lammaa</i>	Lamma brothers made their enemy restless

Later the local people persuaded the patriots (Jira, Jireña and Qadida) to submit, tricked by the Italian sayings. However, the Italians did not keep their promise and had taken them to Moqadishu as war prisoners. Qadida Fufa died in prison reported of malaria. But the twin brothers stayed there until the defeat of the Italians and later returned to their home base and rewarded different titles.²⁰

Horro under the Italian Administration

The Italian troops, after having suppressed the patriotic movement, they were stationed at Shambu. They were also stationed and fortified at Alibo, the center of Jardaga Jarté in a particular place called *Mishigi* in the northern skirt of the town. Then after, they dug their trench with the aim of defending themselves from unexpected patriotic attack. The name *mishigi* (fortification) is named after the Italians dug their trench there.²¹

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...", PP. 36-37; Informants: Sibū Biru and Gamada Bate.

After they firmly controlled Horro, the Italians made their administration center at Shambu. Their leader, who had his base at Shambu, had the title of Major. Their administration mostly concentrated in town and its environs. They embarked on abolishing the existing political structure in the area. Under them native collaborators called *bandas* were appointed as judges and tax collectors. Individuals such as Galata Sufa of Abé, Roro Qana'i of Dado, and Mul'ata Yadata of Horro were among some of the collaborators who allied themselves with the Fascists and oppressed the local peasants in different aspects. Italian administration in Horro had its own hierarchy. At the top were Italians who gave the ultimate decisions on every matter. Below them were *Hamasens* and *Askaris* who came from their colony of Eritrea and Italian Somali Land. They were loyal to the Italians and they had power to supervise and order the *bandas* who had taken the bottom position. On their turn the *bandas* had full power on local residents.²²

Italians were known in bringing different reforms in Horro. They were known in constructing roads to connect towns with towns and regions with regions so as to make conducive atmosphere for themselves to easily handle and administer the area. The other thing that the Italians did was that unlike the pre occupation period in which local peasants provide free labor service for *naftañas*, Italians eliminate free labor work. Under Italian rule local people get payment for every work they performed. There is the Oromo saying called "*tola faranjiitu balleesse*" to substantiate the idea. Literally means Italians abolished work without payment.²³

Tax collection under Italian rule was not as harsh as the pre-occupation period.²⁴ Under Italians there was no tax for grazing, there was no *erbo* collection, there was no tax either for tobacco or honey, and there was no tax for *hora* (mineral water) for cattle. Under the Italians the cost of

²² Informants: Alämu Ragasa, Warqu Dabalo and Lamessa Tesso.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Adejumobi, *The History...*,P.81; Informants: Hundara and Bayana Dibaba.

cloth was cheaper and they were known for introducing a type of cloth called *bejo* to be worn by adults.²⁵

As stated earlier during the years of occupation, fascist authority was largely limited to the urban centers. This was because the rural areas were the centers of national liberation struggle. A rural-based anti fascist patriotic resistance continued in Horro as it was true for other Ethiopian regions. By hit and run tactics of the patriots, Italians became hope less and restless. There was the Oromo song of the area that substantiates the idea.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Kaayi hankaaksee balbala</i>	Put the spear in front of the gate
<i>Leeqaa daariit deebisa</i>	Leqa has a boundary
<i>Dur abbaan ishee as galaa</i>	Their forefathers did not resided here (in Ethiopia)
<i>Reebaa baariin ceessisaa.</i> ²⁶	Harass and let them cross the Ocean.

As the result of the change in international situations connected with the Second World War, Italian forces in the Horn of Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular lost hope and continued to retreat. Hence during their evacuation, the Italian troops in Horro took the south western direction and fled through Ilu Abba Bora. While they were retreating, different patriots and local *balabats* from Horro such as, Nagasa Gurmu, Oljira Amanu, Shifara Ganati, Abara Wirtu, Ayana Dibaba, Ayana Bura, Dhinsa Gofe and others led local people and participated in the final assault against Italians and pushed them as far as Bako and Sire.²⁷ My informants confirmed that around Nāqāmté, one of the known patriots, *Fitawrari* Mākonnin Jāmbāré tactically allied himself with the Italians and promised to help them. After he was armed by

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Informants: Lamessa Tesso and Saqata Iticha.

²⁷ Dässälēñ Tolera, "A Hiistory of ...", PP. 124-126.

fascists, he turned his rifle against them and killed many fascist troops. *Fitawrari* Mäkonin who technically revenged the fascists is said to have sang the following Oromo songs (*geerarsa*);

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Kutataan Jambaree</i>	Jambare's son who was committed
<i>Dafinoon jalqabe</i>	Started fighting on Monday
<i>Aggoo lafa oolee</i>	Continued the next day (Tuesday)
<i>Roobii reeffan tuule.</i> ²⁸	Then on Wednesday he gathered a lot of corpse

The other patriot was *Grazmach* Nugusa Qana'i of Gitilo who marched as far as Gore to fight the fascists. His stubborn resistance against the fascists is substantiated by the following local song (*geerarsa*);

Oromoo	Gloss
<i>Abbaa Goobuu ya Qannoo</i>	Qano the father of Gobu
<i>Waggaa waggaatti dhallaan taa'ii</i> <i>moo taa,ii miti</i>	A cow that gives birth yearly is called <i>taa'ii</i>
<i>Waggaa waggaan ajjeesnaan gaarii</i> <i>moo gaarii miti</i>	Yearly killing is good (he killed lion the first year and Italians the next year)
<i>Marmaaraa Limmuu fi Leeqaa</i>	The traveler of Limmu and Leqa
<i>Mirga koo biyyuu beeka</i>	Everybody knows what I killed
<i>Warra boombaa darbatu</i>	Those who throw bomb
<i>Qoosaatti eessaa argatu</i>	Could not be easily killed
<i>Faranjii diimaa qaleen</i>	I slaughtered Red Italians
<i>Ofii koo sirbaan gale.</i> ²⁹	Then I triumphantly returned by singing

²⁸ Informants: Lamessa Tesso, Saqata Iticha and Tolassa Sañi.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER V

HORRO DISTRICT FROM LIBERATION TO REVOLUTION (1941-1974)

The Post Liberation Administration in Horro

Following the defeat of the Italian forces by patriots and British forces, Haile Sillassié's imperial power was restored; and he took control of the government of Ethiopia. Patriots, the Orthodox Church and noble men accepted the restoration of the monarchy.¹ After 1941 the Ethiopian government drafted a uniform set of regulations for the provincial administration. As the other regions of Ethiopia, the state administrative structure was changed in Wälläga too. The Wälläga province was divided into six *awrajas* namely; Asosa, Qéllam, Gimbi, Arjo, Näqämté and Guduru. In its turn Guduru *Awrajja* was divided in to five *Wärädas* of which Horro- Amuru was one.²

Horro- Amuru *Wäräda* was again sub-divided in to the following five *Miketil Wärädas*: Gobayya *Miketil Wäräda*, Abbay *Miketil Wäräda*, Abe *Miketil Wäräda*, Jarté *Miketil Wäräda* and Amuru *Miketil Wäräda*. Under each *miketil wärädas* there were *balabats* who had absolute power over local peasants. Informants as well as written sources attested that with the restoration of the monarchy, the governors of *awrajjas*, *wärädas* and *miketil wärädas* were appointed by the Emperor. A letter written in September 1945 to *Fitawrari* Garädew Kidane substantiates the reality and read as follows;

¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History Of Modern...*, PP. 201-203; Henze,P.B, *Layers of Time...*,234-236.

² Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure..." P. 39; Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and the State*. (Addis Ababa: Custom Book Publishing, 2008), P. 291.

To Fitawrari Garädäw Kidané

The Governor of Guduru District (Shambu)

Based on the order and good will of Girmawi Janhoy (the Emperor) all the government employee of Wällägga Province had to be assigned based on their service and educational background as notified by the Ministry of Interior. Accordingly, the Commission assembled at Supreme Office assigned Ato Galata Gurmu to govern Amuru Mikitil Wäräda (mislene). Hence, you had been ordered to let the assigned fellow to start his work (see also Appendix III).

My informants argued that even though the educational status of an individual was regarded as a cover issue for appointments of the governors, the criteria for selection was mostly loyalty to the Haile Sillassié's government rather than merit and other grounds.³

The following Abba Qoros were under Gobaya Mikitil Wäräda: *Fitawrari* Oljira Amanu of Gobaya, *Grazmach* Amanu Oljira of Daragoti, *Grazmach* Gabru Shumiye of Lalo Callaqi, Ato Kumsa Kitila and *Ato* Asafa Abara of Alshaya. On the other hand, *balabats* such as *Fitawrari* Ayana Dibaba of Igu, *Balambaras* Afata Doro of Migiru, *Qägnazmach* Dhinsa Gofe of Akayu, *Balambaras* Kumsa Wirtu of Munayye, *Qägnazmach* Oli Daqa of Foqa Qanate and *Grazmach* Bayana Qoncolle of Abilé were governed by *Abbay Mikitil Wäräda*.⁴

Balabats such as Däräje Kaba of Jarmat, Darge Gudata of Jarté, Iticha Bongasé of Jardaga Bowa, Abdissa Hundarra of Heddé, Dabal Dibaba of Habo, *Qägnazmach* Dhuguma Dayas of Dabisi, Yadata Goshu of Daban and Mokonon Iticha of Digalu were governed by *Jarté Mikitil Wäräda*.⁵ On the other hand, *qoros* responsible to Amuru Mikitil Wäräda include: *Baranbaras* Biru Warqu of Amuru Fuliye, *Balambaras* Bayana Gamada of Samo, *Qägnazmach* Gonfa Qadida of Tuqu,

³ Informants: Mosissa Dhuguma and Ragasa Baläta.

⁴ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Mosissa Dhuguma; Walda Mäsqäl Archival Center, Folder No. 2186, File No. 2168, a collection of various receipts of taxes paid by *balabats* of Horro Wäräda sent to Ministry of Interior in 1959.

⁵ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Mosissa Dhuguma.

Balambaras Fikadu Shone of Makano, *Fitawrari* Kabada Gobana of Agamsa and *Fitawrari* Aṭinafu Goshu of Wara Bera. The other *mikitil wäräda* was Abe (Dongoro) that was administered by *abba qoros* such as *Fitawrari* Abara Wirtu of Dongoro, Akako Amdala of Waču, *Qägnazmach* Duguma Dayas of Dabisi Gango, *Ato* Kätäma Igum of Malke, Mäkonin Roro of Gitilo Gango, Dheresa Täklä Mariyam of Abe Buko and *Grazmach* Kare Kitila of Gabara.⁶

The post liberation administration was associated with the task of making cadastral survey of land which was formerly measured in 1918. In Horro, the land which was measured before was not clearly delimited because of inaccessible thick forests and the existence of big rivers. This situation created an obstacle for both the governor of *Mikitil Wäradas (Mislänes)* and *Wäradas* to collect appropriate land tax.⁷ Thus it is apparent that the major reasons for the re measurement of land was to facilitate the payment of taxes and to prevent the *gebbars* from abandoning their land when they were asked to pay tax.⁸

The governors of Horro-Amuru District administer all *Mikitil wäradas* from their center at Shambu. Shambu, as a town, was founded in the early 20th century by a man called Mäkonin Täwändäbäläy. Before the foundation of Shambu as a town both the Gojjäme and the Shäwan Gondäre *ṭore* were stationed at Čabir. But with the foundation of Shambu as a center of administration, the importance of Čabir as a place of governance was terminated. To easily handle the Oromo of the area and to consolidate their power over the area, the invaders brought St Mäadhanéaläm *tabot* to the town in 1911. With the coming of priests and deacons to the town,

⁶ Informants: Saqata Iticha, Lamessa Tesso and Kitila Hirpa.

⁷ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Soressa Waqe; An Archive from Horro *Wäräda* Administration Office, Folder No. 8120, File No.81/20 a letter written from Horro Guduru *Awraja* to the governor of Abe Dongoro on 8 June 1966 with Ref. No. 2473/81.

⁸ Čärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...", PP. 39-41.

church education gradually started, which was of course the base for the latter expansion of formal education.⁹ Even though the Orthodox Church attempted to teach the local residents, their attention was on church education. As stated by informants, before the establishment of formal education, a few individuals learn church education and Amharic alphabets by priests. The priests took 2 to 4 *qunas* of grain as a salary from each learner. Certain students learnt *wongel*, the others attended *fidäl Hawariyat*, and the other remained at *abugida* level and the rest enrolled in *fidäl*.¹⁰ The first formal school in Shambu town was Shambu Primary School which was founded after liberation in 1945. (See Appendix IV)

After the evacuation of the Italians, Haile Sellassié was restored to power in 1941 with its old system of provincial administration.¹¹ Guduru *Awraja* was governed by Dhaba Birru, who was succeeded by Garedew Kidane and Garedew was later succeeded by Däräje Mäkonin (the son of Mäkonin Dämissäw who was killed by Fascists at Amba Arädom) (see Appendix V). The governor of Horro Amuru district was *Qägnazmach* Guwangul Mussa. The boundaries of each *Miketil wärädas* under the governorship of Horro were clearly demarcated and identified to easily administer the area and to easily collect different kinds of taxes.¹²

The number of *gashas* each *balabat* had was clearly differentiated and identified. The letter investigated from Horro District administrative office clearly states the number of *gashas* each *balabat* had in three *miketil wärädas*, namely: Abay *miketil wäräda*, Abe *Miketil Wäräda* and Gobaya *Miketil wäräda*. Name of the *balabats* and the number of *gashas* they had is indicated in the following table. (See also appendix VI)

⁹ Informants: Adäme Iruqneh and Tämäsgän Admasu.

¹⁰ Informants: Amante Bakare and Adäme Iruqneh.

¹¹ Raga Abdissa, "A Brief Survey of Land Tenure System in Qéllam, Western Wälläga 1880 to 1944." BA Thesis (Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1985),P.58.

¹² Informants: Iticha Gutama and Lamessa Tesso.

No	Name of <i>Miketil Wärädas</i>	Name of <i>balabats</i>	The amount of land per <i>gasha</i>			Notification
			<i>Gasha</i>	½	¼	
1	<i>Abe Miketil Wäräda</i>	<i>Ato Lamessa Rumicha</i>	101			
		<i>Ato Dabala Wakjira</i>	9		1/4	
		<i>Ato Nägäri Jalu</i>	-			Not certified
		<i>Ato Tadäsä Fufa</i>	75			
		<i>Baranbaras. Labata</i>	20			Not certified
		<i>Dhufera</i>				
		<i>Mäkonnin Roro</i>	28			
		<i>Fitawrari Täklä Mariyam</i>	110			
		<i>Baranbaras Ara'e Dabala</i>	20			
		<i>Ato Hayilé Kitila</i>	25			
<i>Ato Tafäsä Roro</i>	16			17 gashas		
<i>Fitwarari. Shifäraw</i>	174					
<i>Ganati</i>						
<i>Bitwadäd Andargachäw</i>	40					
2	<i>Gobaya Miketil Wäräda</i>	<i>Fitawrari Oljira Amanu</i>	252			
		<i>Girazmach Amanu Oljira</i>	64			

		<i>Ato Safu Tesso</i>	22			
		<i>Weizero Abäbäch Moroda</i>	64			
		<i>Fitawrari Hailä Mariyam Muṭe</i>	125			
		<i>Ato Asäfa Abära</i>	100			
		<i>Ato Kumsa Kitila</i>	96			
		<i>Ato Ufga'a Iticha</i>	20			
3	<i>Abbay Mikitil Wäräda</i>	<i>Fitawrari Ayana Dibaba</i>	96			
		<i>Bätä rist</i>	176			
		<i>Ato Afata Doro</i>	85			
		<i>Qäñzmach Dhinsa Gofe</i>	169			
		<i>Baranbaras Wirtu Bora</i>				Not certified
		<i>Qäñzmach Oli Daqa</i>				
		<i>Grazmach Bayana Qončole</i>	27	½		

Our informants as well as the above letter confirmed that the division of *gashas* (*qalads*) to different *balabats* and local officials was not uniform. Such notables obtained *gashas* of land based on the service they render to the government. Loyalty to the government and becoming members of the former *qabiye* holder was also a criterion to get more *gashas* of land. Even though it was not uniform, such division of land was also based on the hierarchy of power. In most cases as attested by informants, the *fitawrari* got a large number of *gashas* than

qägñazmachs. *Qägñazmachs* also got a large number of *gashas* than *grazmachs* and the *grazmachs* also got many *gashas* than titles such as *baranbaras*. For example, *Fitawrari* Oljira Amanu of Gobaya clan had got about 252 *gashas* of land and *Fitawrari* Shifara Ganati of Dulacha had about 174 *gashas* of land. On the other hand, *Qägñazmach* Dhinsa Gofe of Akayu had about 169 *gashas* of land and *Grazmach* Bayana Qončole of Abilé had about 27 ½ *gashas* of land. *Ato* Ufga'a Iticha and *Ato* Dabala Waqjira, who had the bottom title (*Ato*) got about 20 and 9 ½ *gashas* of land respectively.¹³(see Appendix VI).

Our informants argued that absentee landlords also existed in Horro. As indicated in the above table, *Bitwadäd* Andargachäw was not from the Horro clan but he was said to have had about 40 *gashas* of land from Abe *mikitil Wäräda*. The letter written to *Däjazmach* Täsfaye Wälde, the governor of Guduru *Awraja* on August 10, 1955 confirmed that *Bitwadäd* Andargachäw Mäsäy who resided in Eritrea assigned Ararso Qano of Jimma Ganati as his representative to administer about 40 *gashas* of land from Abe *Mikitil Wäräda* in a particular place called Garado tinno. Accordingly Ararso administered the above indicated *gashas* on the behalf of the absentee *bitwadäd* by ordering and administering the *gäbbars* who settled over the area. The letter as well as oral informants indicated that as a representative of Andargachäw, Ararso Qano accused *Fitawrari* Shifara Ganati of Dulacha and *Qägñazmach* Dhinsa Dibar of Abe. He then presented them to the court of Shambu when they attempted to take and administer the land which became the property of Andargachäw Mäsäy (See Appendix VII). *Wayzäro* Mintewab, the daughter of *Nigus* Mikaél from Dinqé Aga of Jarté, who was married to *Ras* Dämisäw Näsibu of Arjo was said to have had about 72 *gashas* of land from Jarté *Mikitil warada*. The land of absentee land

¹³ Informant: Munṡas Gutama and Wandimu Ayana; Welde Mesqel Archival Center, Folder No.2186, File No. 2168, a collection of...

lords were cultivated by the *gäbbars* who were settled over the area. Since they were free from performing different corvee, tenants preferred to reside on the lands of absentee landlords. Even in paying rent called *erbo*, there was no strict follow up and supervision, since it was performed by the representatives who might have been care less in doing so.¹⁴

The Exploitation of Horro Peasants

In 1941 the government issued a proclamation abolishing all kinds of tribute payments and labor services expected from the peasants by landlords.¹⁵ Despite such decrees, however, as confirmed by informants, especially in the 1940s the peasants of Horro were forced to pay different tributes and obliged to perform different labor forces as that of the pre-occupation period. Peasants were forced to pay different tributes based on the contract they entered and signed with land holders (*Abba lafaas*).¹⁶ Tenants were forced to pay *erbo* (one-fourth) of their produce to *abba lafaa*. After they collected and separated their grains from stem at *oobdii* (a place where grain is separated from its stem), the peasants had no another option rather than patiently waiting the *abba lafaas* or their representatives to divide their crop and pay their *erbo*. In most cases the *abba lafaas* were too reluctant and sluggish to divide their share on time. The *gäbbars* were obliged to swallow every word forwarded from the landlords, even though it was as bitter as pills.¹⁷ *Abba lafaas* did not allow the tenants to have extra cattle and forbade grazing his pasture unless paying grazing tax. There were also individuals who were called *tukii* (go- unders) who seems loyal to the landlords and expose the grievance of the *gäbbars* to make them quarrel with their lords. The Oromo folklore of the area substantiates the idea as follows:

¹⁴ Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Muntas Gutama; An Archive from Wäldä Mäsqäl Archival Center, Folder No.2186, File No.2168, a collection of various receipts of taxes paid by *balabats* of Horro District sent to the Ministry....

¹⁵ Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and the State...*,P. 287.

¹⁶ Informants: Warqu Dabalo and Riče Yadäta.

¹⁷ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Oli Kumsa.

Oromo

Abbaa lafaa yaa mushurraa koo
Eessattan yaasa gugurraa koo
Abbaan lafaa lafuma issaafi
Tukiin jalaa maaf akkas taati
Abbaa lafaa boonduma kiisna
*Tukii jalaa gaduma dhiitna.*¹⁸

Gloss

The land owner is a bride
 Where could I graze my blacks (cattle)
 The landowner is for his own land
 What benefit did *tukii* (the disturber) obtain?
 We reward the land owner ten birr
 We kick down the disturber

Beyond *erbo* payment, the tenants and *balabats* could enter in to another contract such as *qittee-qotuu*, by which both the tenants and *abba lafaa* divided their produce in to two equal parts and *haamshoo-qotuu*, by which the tenants divided either one-third or one-fourth of the produce from the land owners.¹⁹ The other contract which could be entered between tenants and land owners was called *qurt-märät* (fixed land) in which tenants took certain amount of land from *balabats* for fixed years and paid money either in cash or in kind. Such *qurt märät* was mostly obtained from absentee *balabats* and those land lords who had extra *gashas* of land. When the tenants finished their contracts, they either renew it or search other *abba lafas* to enter in to new agreement.²⁰

There were two kinds of tenants. The first groups, as attested by informants, were called *lolee* (messengers) who were free from different payments and labor services. But they were sent to different areas as ordered by their lords. They might have gone with their *balabats* by pulling mules and carrying rifles or sent to higher offices to submit letters and other verbal orders. The other groups were the normal tenants who lived on landowners land and paid their *erbo*.²¹

¹⁸ Informants: Munṭas Gutama and Alämu Ragasa.

¹⁹ Raga Abdisa, " A Brief Survey....", PP. 53-54.

²⁰ Chäarinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...", PP. 38-40.

²¹ Informants: Hundara Doja and Wärqu Aga.

As far as corvee labor was concerned, the tenants of Horro were obliged to do extra work, despite the declaration of different decrees and proclamations passed from the government. They were forced to construct fences and granaries, their children were obliged to look after the herds of cattle, their wives and their daughters were forced to grind flour and to do different kitchen activities.²² It was also an obligatory for peasants to take part in *hudad* work.²³ Even though, it was not uniform, the peasants would engage at least two times in each season by being arranged in to groups. As stated earlier, those tenants who refused or resisted to take the order of *abba lafaa* were either imprisoned or forced to abandon their *qe'ee* (village). A song that substantiates the dialogue between the land owner and the tenant is stated as follows:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Labataa mataa gooyyee</i>	Labata (a tenant) who with an oval head
<i>Tiksita jabboota fooyyee</i>	You were looking after the fatten calves
<i>Yoo hoosiste si dhoofti giiftiin</i>	If the calves milk the cow the Queen hits you
<i>Ulee dagoola gootee</i> ²⁴	with strong stick

On his turn, Labata responded the dialogue as follows:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Hin tiksu jabboota fooyyee</i>	I didn't look after those fatten calves
<i>Onseen deema akka warra Ingooyyee.</i> ²⁵	I would leave the village as Ingooyee lineage.

(According to the tradition of the area, the Ingooyees were known in abandoning their village when they quarrel with the land owners)

²² Informants: Warqu Dabalo and Riçe Yadata.

²³ Shiferaw Bekele, *An Economic History*...P. 108; Abd Al-Majid, *Rehab*...,PP.13-14.

²⁴ Informants: Hundara Doja and Aṭinafu Dhinsa.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

A year after he returned from exile, Emperor Haile Sillassie issued another proclamation in which he established a uniform rate of taxation. Accordingly, the land was classified in to *läm*, *läm-täf* and *täf* (fertile, semi-fertile and unfertile). Hence the amount of tax per fertile *gasha* of land was fifteen birr, while that of semi-fertile and unfertile were ten and five birr respectively.²⁶ A receipt with identification number 00834 reveals the reality by which the peasants named *Qänzmach* Kassa and Gobana Gobosho from Horro-Amuru *Wäräda*, Dongoro *Mikitil Wäräda* in particular place called Burjaji paid five birr for *täf-märät* (unfertile land) in February 1943 (see Appendix VIII).

A portion of land under the control of government which was called *Yä-Mängist Märät* was either given to patriots who either participated in resisting Italian aggression or sold to any person with ready cash.²⁷ Individuals who had the capacity to buy alone could buy a *gasha* of land he wanted either from the state or private individuals. On the other hand those who did not have such capacity bought such a land in a group called *minzir* (exchange) by assigning a group leader who facilitated the ways for his group.²⁸

A receipt investigated from private house reveals how peasants allied together and bought a portion of land in a group called *minzir*. As indicated in the receipt, in Horro *Wäräda*, Abay *Mikitil Wäräda*, Foqa *qäbälé* in a particular place called Dingo; three peasants namely *Ato* Wagi Gänämé, *Ato* Dhaba Dore and *Ato* Munṭaz Gutama bought a quarter of *gasha* by assigning Wagi Gänämé as a group leader. The group bought this portion of land from Biru Oli by 1000 birr (see Appendix IX). My informant *Ato* Munṭas Gutama who was a member of the buyers also told me

²⁶ Tefera Haile Selassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1991: From a Monarchial Autocracy to a Military Oligarchy* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997), P.45; Shiferaw Bekele, *An Economic...*,P108.

²⁷ Raga Abdisa, " A Brief Survey...",P. 60.

²⁸ Informants: Munṭas Gutama and Kitila Hirṓa.

that such bought land would be cultivated either in group or equally divided among all members who bought it. He also confirmed that no member could re-sell his own share unless it was agreed by the initial seller on the one hand and the groups who bought on the other hand.²⁹

Informants confirmed that the patriots got various numbers of *gashas* according to the service they render, and based on the title they awarded. A *fitawrari* received more *gashas* of land than a *grazmach* and a *grazmach* in his turn got more *gashas* than *balambaras*, and lower privates. Awarding such *gashas* of land depended on the size of land under the control of the government in the area and it was not uniform from an area to another area.³⁰

The land under the control of church (*Semon mārét*) was further divided in to *qisina mārét* (Priest land) and *diquana mārét* (deacon's land). Priests got more *gashas* of land than deacons.³¹

One of my informants corroborates that in Horro each deacon in every church would obtain at least one *gasha* of land for the service they render to the church. A letter written on August 24/1949 to the governor of Guduru *Awrajja* Head Office (Shambu) also substantiate the reality.

As indicated in the letter a *gasha* of land was given to Dängo (a deacon) as *diquana meret* (deacon's land) for the service he rendered to the *Qadida Mariyam* Church (see Appendix X).³²

In 1944, the tithe which was paid to the state in kind was changed in to cash. A receipt with identification number 015725 substantiate the reality by which the *Çiqashum* named Shiferaw Insarmu from Horro *qäbäle* in a particular place called Indodi paid tithe in cash which previously

²⁹ Informant: Munṭas Gutama and Kitila Hirpa; An Archive from Shambu Town Municipality, Folder No.5422/1, File No.94/73, letter of agreement between individuals in Horro to purchase land on 20 December 1959, Ref. No. 1131/41; Archive from Shambu Town Municipality, Folder No.1348, File No. 94/22, a letter of agreement between individuals to purchase land on 20 February 1960, Ref. No.1828/52.

³⁰ Informants: Chärinät Waqwaya and Tesso Horro.

³¹ Dessalagn Rahmato, *The Peasant and the State...*, p.287; Abd Al-Majid Husain, *Rehab...*,P.12.

³² Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Munṭas Gutama.

had been paid in kind (See Appendix XI).³³ Again the 1944 proclamation fixed and increased the amount of taxes to be paid on a *gasha* of land. Accordingly the payment on each *gasha* was 35, 30, and 10 birr for fertile, semi-fertile, and unfertile respectively. It is said that for the majority of the peasants the rate of taxation proved to be too heavy.³⁴

With the establishment of new administrative structure such as *Awraja*, *Wäräda* and *Mikitiil Wäräda*, different individuals were assigned to different posts. In most cases the higher posts were given to the Shäwans and individuals who were loyal to Haile Sillassié's government.³⁵ The few local Oromo chiefs were given the lowest posts and subsidiary titles. Initially in the early 1940s *Blatta Dhaba Birru* from Léqa was assigned to administer Guduru *Awraja* from his centre shambu. After a while his popularity among Horro Guduru Oromo was not appreciated by the Emperor and he accidentally removed from the area for the reason not clearly known. Dhaba's absence from the region after his short reign was revealed by the following traditional song.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Dhaabaa Birruu ya magaallee</i>	Dhaba Birru the handsome one
<i>Bakka ati geesse wallaalle</i>	We did not know where you had gone
<i>Yookaan duutee si hin owwaalle.</i> ³⁶	Neither had we buried you crying

Dhaba was succeeded by Garädew Kidane and Garädew was succeeded by Däräje Mäkonin (the son of Mäkonin Dämissäw) who ruled the region for many years. Däräje was succeeded by his

³³ Shiferaw Bekele, *An Economic History...*, P. 112; Informant: Kitila Hirpa; Wäldä Mäsqaal Archival Center, Folder Name (Wällägga), File No. 30923, a letter written from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Head Office to the Ministry of Interior about *Semon Märät* in Horro on 11 June 1959 with Ref. No.6360/34/6/51.

³⁴ Mägärssa Mosissa, "Historical Survey...", PP. 24-26; Wäldä Mäsqaal Archival Center, Folder Name (Wällägga), File No. 2154, A letter written from the governor of Wällägga Province to the Ministry of Interior about tithe and tax imposed in Guduru *Awraja* on 2 February 1954 with Ref No.5855/24.

³⁵ Bahiru Zewde, *A history of Modern...*, PP.201-205.

³⁶ Informants: Saqata Iticha and Lamessa Tesso.

brother Kābāde Mākonin in 1950 (see Appendix XII). Kābāde was succeeded by Dājzmach Täsfayé Wāldé whose administration was relatively better than his predecessors. Informants argued that, *Dājzmach* Täsfayé who ruled in the early 1960s was known in mobilizing people in road construction and other public works. One of inaccessible (mountainous) area between Jimma-Gännāti and Horro district called *Qarṭamnee* was constructed during his period and made possible for Lorries to travel through. There is a local song of traditional singers (*Azmaarii*) that substantiate Dājzmach Täsfayé's strength and popularity.

Song	Gloss
<i>Dajjach Täsfuu бага mootе</i>	Your (Dājzmach Täsfaye's) appointment is right
<i>Kan Qarṭamneen lafa goote</i>	You made Qarṭame (a place) accessible
<i>Kan makiinaan irra loote.</i> ³⁷	The Lorries easily travelled on

Peace and stability was preserved during the period of *Dājzmach* Täsfayé and he was also known in reducing theft and corruption. Additionally, he was known in supporting and advising the poor which is revealed by the following song.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Dajjach Täsfuun maal fakkata?</i>	What did Dājch Täsfu looks like?
<i>Iji isaa qorsa fakkaata</i>	His eyes seems like meteorite
<i>Hiyyeessa gorsa fakkaata.</i> ³⁸	He advises the poor

After *Dājzmach* Täsfayé was removed from power officials such as *Dājzmach* Qiṭaw Azāne, *Fitawrari* Yeshiṭila Niguse, *Fitawrari* Abābayéhu Admasu, *Fitawrari* Tāsāma Shāwa Yirka, and *Fitawrari* Yekuno Amlak ruled Horro Guduru Awraja respectively before the coming of Dārg to

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Informants: Iticha Gutama and Amante Bakare.

power.³⁹ Horro-Amuru district as stated before was divided in to five *mikitil waradas* and was governed by Fitawrari Shifära Ganati and *Grazmach* Nigatu Taye until 1963. In 1963 the boundary of Horro Amuru district was reduced in size and the name was changed to Horro district. From that year onwards to the outbreak of the revolution, Pawulos Gäbrähiywät and *Baranbaras* Galata Gurmu ruled Horro district respectively. A formal letter written with referral number 1542/62 on January 27/1970 by *Baranbaras* Galata Gurmu himself to Horro Guduru *Awraja* Administration Office confirmed that he was assigned to be the governor of Horro *Wäräda* as of January 1970. In his letter Galata also requested permission of a few days to be presented in his work place indicating that he was ill (see Appendix XIII). Jarté, as one of the *mikitil wärädas*, was ruled by the following notables during post liberation period: *Grazmach* Aynalem Wandim, *Qäñzmach* File Mandara, Alämayéhu Gutama, Lamessa Rumicha, Gammada Bojor and Jira Lama ruled until 1974.⁴⁰

During the post occupation period and even before, trade of various kinds were conducted in Horro. The items of trade include different kinds of crops, hides and skins, house hold utensils mostly made of clay, varieties of cultural cloths, slaves and different living animals such as cattle, pack animals, sheep, goats and the like.⁴¹ Even though slavery and slave trade was illegal and out lawed, it was secretly continued in Horro during the period. It must be noted here that slavery and slave trade are against the value of equality of human beings.⁴²

Written sources as well as informants stated that especially before 1930s, slaves to Horro area were mainly came from Jimma, Kaffa, Kullo, Gimira and Walamo. The route of this trade was

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Chärinät Waqweya, "Land Tenure...",P. 41; Informant: Kitila Hirpa.

⁴¹ J.Picket, *Economic Development...*,PP. 38-39; Informant: Bayana Dibaba.

⁴² Informants: Hundara Doja and Durässa Dhuguma.

connected with the south western part of Ethiopia and crossed the Gibe states.⁴³ It then came through Nāqāmté, Wayu Tuqa, Dongoro, Horro, Jarté and penetrated as far as the Abbay Valley. Informants attested that Abbay River was crossed through three gates called *malkaa*. These were: *Malka Seřana, Malka Haroressa and Malka Gobu (Jawaja)*. Crossing Abbay River by itself was dangerous because of two major problems. One of the major problems was that since there were no boats on Abbay River for passengers to cross it, they were aided by experienced swimmers to cross the river in which many travelers drowned in to the river. The other equivalent problem was that the Abbay River through the above crossing gates was full of crocodiles by which majority of the traders became victims of this deadly animals.⁴⁴

As confirmed by informants since trading in slaves during post liberation period was legally forbidden it was mostly conducted secretly during night time. The known slave traders also called the *nāgadras* in Horro included individuals such as *nāgadras* Shokko Gurmu from Gobaya clan and *Nāgadras* Bilile Abařenaw. Shokko was the known *nāgadras* who traded the slaves during the night time which was revealed by the song of the area as follows:

Oromo
Shookkoo gabaan halkani
*Maal yoo guyyaa argani?*⁴⁵

Gloss
 Shoko's market was at night
 Why he could not be seen at the day?

⁴³ R.Pankhurst, *Economic History...*, PP.73-75; Teshale Tibebu. *The Making of Modern...*, PP.56-60; Informant: Bayana Dibaba.

⁴⁴ Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Kitila Hirpa; National Archives, Folder No.17.1.10, File No.16.13, a letter written from Wallagga Province to Gojjam Province on 20 December 1969.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

When the traders brought the slaves from further places then they chained them in their own home.⁴⁶ As attested by informants, *nägadras* Bilille Abbañanaw was a Gojjämé whose seat was at Čabir and traded the slaves in to Gojjäm as far as Dangila.⁴⁷

In trading such long distance, slaves suffered torture of various degrees at different stages. First slaves were captured like beasts. Then they were chained and hurried often bearing heavy burden of various items to different markets located further kilometers from their original home. After they were sold in the home of their owners they toiled daily from dawn to dusk. Their owners provided them only with basic necessities barely enough to keep them alive and work.⁴⁸

After slaves were sold to individuals who had the capacity to afford them, they became the property of their masters. The slaves were obliged to do extra works all day and night. For female slaves grinding was their day-to-day activities since there were no modern grinding mill in Horro during the period.⁴⁹ Informants argued that these female slaves were not allowed to go out rather than grinding. When they became exhausted, they took a rest simply by sitting behind the grinding stone. Even at night they had their dinner there and sleep there on bare floor. Male slaves were obliged to perform different agricultural activities such as farming and harvesting. They also pull pack animals for their owners by carrying guns. They were not allowed to have their meal near the sight of their owners. At night when the family eats dinner, the slaves had the duty to hold flame by standing near the house-pillar until its conclusion. When the dinner was concluded the owner put the remnant food in to the mouth of the slave called *afaan kaayaa*.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ R. Pankhurst, *Economic History...*, PP. 74-75.

⁴⁷ Informants: Kitila Hirpa and Hundara Doja.

⁴⁸ R. Pankhurst, *Economic History...*, PP.76-79; Informant: Băyăna Dibaba.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Informants: Warqu Dabalo and Riče Yadata.

In Horro there was a system called *booranfachuu* (purification) for slaves who stayed long years in one house. In such system the slave owner purified the slaves who stayed many years in his house and who had good conduct and was loyal to him in all cases. In such cases a purification ceremony was prepared. A feast was then prepared and the neighbors were invited to participate on the occasion. A cow is slaughtered and a local beer called *farsoo* is prepared. In the occasion the owner blessed the slaves to be purified and chained the hoof of the slaughtered cow in to a hand of that slave. It is an obligatory for the purified slave to carry the chained hoof for certain days not more than a week. After blessing ceremony was conducted, the owner mixed his slave in to his own children. Accordingly, from the day of such ceremony on wards that slave was not called a slave but counted as a son of his adopter. In the occasion, the purified slave also obliged to pay 40 birr for his owner who now became his father. Despite different declarations to terminate slavery and slave trade nationally, our informants argue that the system continued in Horro perhaps until the middle of the 1940s, even though, they are not sure to give the exact date of its abolition.⁵¹ The idea explained by Teshale as follows also substantiates the reality: *we should not forget that owning slaves was wide spread throughout Ethiopia up until the early 1940s.*⁵² The reason for its continuation as confirmed by informants was due to the prevalence of instability and lawlessness which was connected with the fascist occupation of the area. In addition, those illegal traders were said to have had clandestine ties with local officials to terminate the system early. With the consolidation of the power of the Monarchy, however, the system was completely eradicated.⁵³

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Teshale Tibebe, *The Making of...*, P.60.

⁵³ Informants: Alämu Ragasa, Munṭas Gutama and Sori Kitila.

Through gradual process, trade of various items including the slave trade paved the way for the establishment of permanent market days in Horro. One of such markets was Saqala, which later grew in to town. According to our informants Saqala as a market place, was founded by the Gobaya clan under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Oljira Amanu, the grandson of Abishe Garba in the 1930s. Oljira then founded a market called *Gaba Horro* meaning Horro's market to the western border of the present day Saqala town. For the establishment, the community from near and far came together and prepared a good festival as a ceremony in which varieties of cultural food were prepared and fattened cows were slaughtered. Hence Oljira blessed the community and *Gaba Horro* (Horro's market) was set up on Tuesday. Even until today in the area the name Tuesday is known by *Gaba Horro* and this market day is still serving the local community of the district in particular and the people of Horro Guduru Wälläga Zone in general.⁵⁴

Our informants confirmed that during initial years of its establishment, the Saqala market became full of robbers and thefts which was said to be beyond the control of local *balabats*. Unable to control such disturbances, the local *balabats* asked the aid of *Awraja* administrators to abandon the market. Hence, with the aid they obtained from the *Awraja* administrators, the market was abolished for more than a decade. Later because of the scarcity of different raw materials in the area for the residents, the community of the area agreed and decided to re-establish the market by which *Gaba Horro* again continued to serve the people of the area. Through gradual process then, different houses of local drinks were built by the residents of the surrounding which paved the way for the establishment of Saqala town. Later in 1970 Saqala Primary School was founded by *Baranbaras* Waqoya Oljira (the son of Oljira Amanu) of the

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Gobaya clan. Accordingly, houses of various types for trading and settlement were built in rapid rate which became the base for the growth of Saqala town.⁵⁵

During the pre-occupation period, there was harsh exploitation and oppression of Horro peasants by government agents during the day, on the one hand and by the bandits (*shiftas*) at night on the other. Local officials such as *balabats*, *ciqashums* and *nečelebash* seriously harassed peasants in order to get at least one of the following illegal benefits: getting well prepared food, ready cash as bribe, grains of various types in kind or performing different corvee labor for them. The peace keeping forces of the time were *nečelebashoch* whose title and duty were similar to the present day police. They had full authority to arrest every individual who were suspected of committing crime. Some of the renowned *nečeläbashoch* of the area include: *Shambäl* Jalata Fufa and *Shambäl* Tägägné Ayäle who were regarded as the leader of *nečeläbashoch*; additionally, Fufa Afata, Tsägayé Wayessa, *Shambäl* Kidane Mariyam, and *Shambäl* Zämäne Iruqnäh were among the known *nečeläbashoch* of Horro. To be free from an attack and arrest by *nečeläbashoch*, the peasants were forced to invite them best food, drink and gave them bribe. If the *nečeläbashoch* were not satisfied by such gifts, they arrest and imprison the peasants and could conduct different evil practices over their wives or property.⁵⁶

Despite the existence of peace keeping forces (*nečeläbashoch*) and other local officials to keep peace and stability of the area, there were bandits who move in groups or alone to attack, harass or loot the property of the people at night.⁵⁷ Even though our informants were not in a position to elaborate the names of many *shiftas*, one of the known bandits in Horro was called Boru Butta. His base was Čato, the known dense forest of the area. The informants argued that by harassing

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Informants: Waqoya Dhinsa and Kitila Hirpa.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

and looting the people at night he escaped to this inaccessible forest which was strategically important for bandits to reside in. Boru was said to have been a very powerful *shifita* who was known in knocking door to every peasant at night. One of the peasants who were really frustrated by the deeds of Boru said the following song when he went to his bed at night.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Sareen golaa duta</i>	The dog is barking inside the house
<i>Nagaan na bulchi waaqni Boru Butta.</i> ⁵⁸	I'm praying to the God of Boru Butta to have
	Good night

By chance, Boru who was standing outside trying to break the gate, heard what the peasant was begging. Boru then excused himself and diverted his idea by responding the following. *Homaa hin yaadda 'iin anatu si eega tasgabbaa 'ii rafii*. Literally means, do not worry I'm your guard and sleep confidently. The other known bandit of Horro was Tolera whose strength was substantiated by the following Oromo poem of the area.

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Dafinoo dhaabaa muru</i>	The plough has been cut on Monday
<i>Hodheera kootii fi kittaa</i>	I sew coat and t-shirt
<i>Rafu moo taa'aa bulu</i>	Shall I sleep or sat all the night
<i>Toleeraa mootii shiftaa.</i>	Tolera the king of bandits.

The bandit (Tolera) who was listening by standing near the house from outside responded by saying the following:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Darbeera hin jedhiin malee</i>	Do not say he was passed over here
<i>Argeera hin jdhiin malee</i>	Do not say I saw him
<i>Buuxxessi rafii buli</i>	Sleep confidently all the night

⁵⁸ *Ibid*; National Archives, Folder No.17.1.10, File No.16.06, a letter written from the governor of Horro Guduru Awraja to the governor of Wallaga Province on 11 October 1968 with Ref. No.1234/9221/4.

In addition to the above mentioned bandits, Nafu Jiru, Admasu Bayyana, Amanté Gemesha and Fayisa Saba were among the known bandits of the area who engaged in looting the property of the public by making the peripheral valleys of Garchi, Angär, Asati and Abay their base area. Later, with the consolidation of the power of the monarchy banditry life ceased to exist. Consequently, such bandits were hunted and captured by the government agents and imprisoned at different places. Based on the level of their crime then, some of them for example, Fayisa Saba was publically hanged.⁵⁹ Despite the eradication of the banditry life, the theft system in Horro, however, continued throughout the period. In collaboration with the thieves of the neighboring Gojjam districts through the Abay Valley, the Horro thieves created a hard time to the governors of the region. They continued looting the property of the public which is substantiated by the letter written from the governor of Wallagga Province to the governor of Gojjam Province on 20 December 1969. The body of the letter is stated as follows;

Amharic

ለጎጃም ጠቅላይ ግዛት ጽ/ቤት (ደብረ ማርያም)

በወለጋ ጠቅላይ ግዛት በሆሮና ጉዳሩ አውራጃ ውስጥ ወስላቶች የሰለማ ዊ ህዝብ ከብት በመ ስረቅ ወደ ጎጃም ጠቅላይ ግዛት እያመ ጡ ይሸጣሉ። ከጎጃም ጠቅላይ ግዛት ማርያም አውራጃ በአማ ኑኤል ወረዳና በኤሊያስ ወረዳ ውስጥ የሚገኙ ግብርአባሮቻቸው እየመጡ የተሰረቁትን ከብቶች ይዘው የሚመለሱ መሆናቸውንና የወስላቶቹም መሄጃ በአባይ ሸለቆ ውስጥ ነው። ይህንን የመሳሰለውን ስራ ለማገድ የሁለቱ ጎረቤት ግዛት ጥሩ ትብብር የሚጠይቅ እንደመሆኑ መጠን በጉዳዩ ታስቦበት ወስላቶች ታድነው እንዲጠፉ ይደረግ ዘንድ እናሳስባለን።

Gloss

To the Gojjam Province Administration Office (Däbre Marqos);

⁵⁹ Ibid

Having stolen the cattle of innocent people, the thieves from Wallagga Province, Horro Guduru Awraja sold in the province of Gojjam going through the Abay valley. Their collaborators (fellow members) in Amanuel and Eliyas Waradas of Marqos Awraja took such properties and transferred to another area. Such evil practices could only be prohibited with the joint efforts of the administrators of both provinces. We, therefore, suggest that due attention had to be given to hunt and eliminate such robbers.⁶⁰

During pre-occupation period and even after Italian evacuation as stated earlier, the economy of Horro was largely dependent on agriculture. Peasants were known in rearing animals. Informants corroborate that for searching good pasture and mineral water spring called *hora*, peasants took their cattle at least twice a year to distant areas along the valley called *bushaa bu'u* and stayed there for more than a month.⁶¹

The known mineral water areas of Horro and the neighboring districts include: Mato, Boke, Barri Qaallu, Gadad, Qacama, Hanchach (Nadhi), Barakat, Janjimar and Roqa. By taking their spear and milk container called *čičo*, the adults and the youth groups took their cattle along the valley where fierce and dangerous wild beasts such as lions and tigers were common. The meal they took with them was mostly powder to cook it at their destination. They also milk their cows and drank their milk. Going to *hora (bushaa)* meaning mineral water spring with their cows for able bodies was mandatory and it was taken as a tradition. Those individuals who did not take part in *bushaa* were regarded as inferior, cowardice and didn't have respect from the community. The song girls sang during wedding ceremony substantiates the reality.

Oromo

*Yaa gurbaa nana kan bushaa hin buune
Kan busaa hin fuune*

Gloss

You gay, who didn't go to *busha*
who didn't catch yellow fever

⁶⁰ Informants: Bayana Dibaba and Kitila Hirpa; National Archive, Folder No.17.1.10, File No.16.13, a letter written from Wallagga....

⁶¹ Informants: Hundara Doja and Aṭinafu Dhinsa.

Ati hamma kooti

you are equal to me (ladies)

*Hamma koo miti hamma saree ti.*⁶²

Not equal (inferior) to me but equal to dog.

The Fall of the Monarchy

The undemocratic political and back ward socio-economic conditions of the country as well as national oppression under Haile Sillassié became unbearable to the Ethiopian people. Oppositions to the regime mushroomed and assassination attempts were made on the Emperor.⁶³ Peasant revolts took place and a major coup d'état was attempted to overthrow him. The student movement was a leading example and most implacable opposition to the regime.⁶⁴ As it was true for other parts of the country, the students in Shambu and Jarté played a great role in the struggle. In Horro the movement was led by politically active students of the time such as Olani Gicho, Hailu Garbaba and the others. Similarly Marga Qitessa, Aduña Garba, Name Sori, and Namomsa Waqo, were from Jarté students to guide the movement. Both the Shambu and the Jarté students had strong link with that of Nāqāmté high school students and students of Haile Sellassie I University.⁶⁵ Information came down from the center through the pamphlet entitled *Qaanqee* (Spark) which was brought to Shambu by the attendants of the university students of Horro. From Shambu the pamphlet was again redistributed to different areas in the region secretly. As the result of such chains of oppositions, Haile Sillassié's regime and the monarchy were finally destroyed by the Ethiopian popular revolution of 1974.⁶⁶

⁶² Informants: Mosissa Dhuguma and Oli Kumsa.

⁶³ Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*. (New York: Cambridge University Press), PP.34-35.

⁶⁴ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern ...*, PP. 209-224; Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from...*, PP.93-95; Bereket Habte Selassie, *The Dergue's ...*, PP. 8-9.

⁶⁵ Informants: Olani Gicho and Marga Abdissa.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*; Tefera Haile Silassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution...*,87.

CHAPTER VI

HORRO UNDER THE DÄRG REGIME

In the 1960s Haile Sillassié's government was confronted with mounting opposition. The leading forces in the opposition were students and intellectuals. They accused the government of failure to introduce reforms to achieve economic, social and political progress. It must be realized that the majority of the people of Ethiopia had already developed deep resentment against Haile Sillassié's regime. The lack of respect for human and democratic rights, rampant poverty, corruption in government and the failure to bring about quick progress were the major charges against the regime.¹

In the early 1974, almost two years after the celebration of the Emperor's 80th year birth day, a popular revolt against the regime broke out. There were several causes for the outbreak of such revolt. These include: the failure of the government to resolve the agrarian crisis, the Wollo famine, grievance of the army, discontent among students, the opposition of the new educational reform among teachers, and the rise in petroleum price that led to the discontent of taxi-drivers. As the result of such problems, public hatred against the regime grew strong and broke out in to open revolt in February 1974.²

To divert the attention of the oppositions, the Imperial rule on its part, tried to calm down the situation by taking different constructive measures. Among these, the regime tried its best to reduce petroleum prices, increased salary for soldiers and postponed the new educational reform

¹ M. Ottaway, *The Political Economy of Ethiopia* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), PP. 12-13; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution* (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1989), PP.11-16; Informant: Mosissa Dhuguma; Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from...*, PP.93-96.

² Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern...* PP.228-230; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears...*, PP. 13-16; Henze, P.B. *Layers of Time...*, PP.282-283.

program. However, the attempt made by the government to bring positive reform was unable to control the ongoing conditions. Among all the soldiers continued to play an important role in the struggle against the Monarchy.³

The failure of Haile Sillassié's government to end the national crisis facilitated a fertile ground for the organized military group who began to exercise power and take actions. Finally the Emperor was deposed and detained on 12 September 1974. Immediately then the only organized military junta proclaimed itself the provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) which marked the end of the monarchical rule on the one hand and the Solomonic Dynasty, on the other and heralded the rise to power of military dictatorship in Ethiopia.⁴

As it was true for other regions, the revolution of 1974 and the establishment of the Provisional Military Administration was received with jubilation by most of the local people of Horro. They considered that it would give them the right over their land and restore the liberation that they have been stripped off. To ensure such rights the people became vigilant to strike back at aggressors. Accordingly, when the news of the deposition of the Emperor reached the local people of Horro, some of them began to destroy the fences around the residence of some of the local *balabats* and looted their property. In other places peasants burned the houses of the lords whom they suspected as very cruel and most oppressive. The first few months after the outbreak of the revolution, Horro was full of disturbance, chaotic, disorder and peasants continued to take harsh and serious measure against the land lords. Since harassment and surprise attack was the

³ Ottaway, *The Political Economy...*, PP. 14-16 ; Tefera Haile Selassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution...*,90-92.

⁴ Bahru Zewde, *A History of...*, PP. 230-232; Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from...*, PP.108-109.

order of the day, the lords had no other option rather than fleeing to the towns or to some other areas for their well being and safety.⁵

An Attempt to Reverse the Revolution

The period immediately after the outbreak of the revolution brought crisis and unrest up until the Därg fully put the provinces under control. Consequently then, there were attempts made by land lords and dissatisfied former officials of Horro who became bandits led by *Däjazmach* Däräje Mäkonin, the grandson of Dämisäw Näsibu, who was the governor of Wällägga from Arjo, when Arjo served as the center of administration for Horro Guduru and other parts of Wällägga. As stated earlier, with the restoration of the monarchy, *Däjazmach* Däräje initially became the governor of Wallagga province and soon transferred to Guduru Awraja and ruled the area for certain years from his center, Shambu. Because of his administrative ability on the one hand and his loyalty on the other, his power later grew and was appointed to higher posts at Addis Abäba.⁶ In June 1969, with the situations connected with Gojjäm peasant rebellion, he was appointed by the Emperor and became the governor of Gojjäm by replacing the former governor of Gojjäm, *Däjazmach* Şähay Inqu Sellassié who was transferred to Käfa. Däräje then governed Gojjäm *Teqlay Gizat* until the outbreak of the revolution.⁷ Däräje's governing capacity and his popularity among Gojjäm peasants was substantiated by the following song:

Amharic	Gloss
ኧረ በደረጀ	Really during Däräje's reign
ጠግቦ አደረ ልጄ. ⁸	My child (family) ate until his stomach is full.

⁵ Informants: Ragasa Bäläṭa and Mosissa Dhuguma.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern...*, PP.216-217.

⁸ Informants: Duressa Dhuguma and Mosissa Dhuguma.

Nevertheless, with the outbreak of the revolution, Däräje lost power and returned to his base area Horro. He opposed the 1975 land decree and organized opposition group to reverse the revolution. My informants attested that he came to Horro with full military weapons of more than ten modern fire-arms. For certain months he secretly stayed with his uncle *Fitawrari* Ayana Dibaba of Igu. It was there that he organized the dissatisfied *qoros* behind him and took an oath to attack the Därg officials of the region. Individuals in his group include: Ababa Abdissa and Oliqa Abdissa (Däräje's cousin), Mälkamu Oliqa (the son of Oliqa Abdissa), Béña Jaläta, Namara Sañi, Jalata Abba Nama, Bote Jodo and Qinaṭi Dheresa.⁹

In his first action Däräje marched to Guduru and attacked the Därg officials of the area and returned to Igu. In the summer of 1975, Däräje and his group decided and agreed to invade the town of Shambu. During the period, the governor of Horro Guduru *Awraja* was *Ato* Imiru Ibsa who governed the area from his administrative center, Shambu. To achieve their mission Däräje and his group started their journey at night and met other dissatisfied *qoros* at his mother's home which was located at Lomiča (Akaji) not more than 5 km from Shambu. They then secretly sent a man called Waqoya Burqa as a spy to Shambu to identify and inspect the situations in the town. But Waqoya exposed the secret and told the idea to the administrator of Horro district, Şägayé Nigatu. Şägayé then informed to Imiru as *Däjazmach* Däräje was approaching to fight them. Consequently, Imiru organized the police force and the war broke out at the battle of Akaji. In the battle Qinaṭi Dheresa was killed from the side of the bandits. But the rest retreated by crossing the Qonge forest to their former place, Guta (Nebas).¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Däräje and his group became bandits in the inaccessible valley of *Washa Boke* (Boke cave) of the bottom of Mount Rago and Dabo-Nashé falls. Initially Imiru, the governor of Horro Guduru *Awraja*, called the local elders to Shambu and ordered them to persuade the bandits to peacefully submit to the government. However, the bandits rejected the idea. In his next step Imiru gave a mobilization order to capture the bandits. In addition he obliged the people to slaughter their cattle and destroy their property. Accordingly, the people for example burnt the home of Ababa Abdissa, slaughtered a large number of cattle and destroyed much of their property. In spite of taking such harsh measures they were again unable to capture the bandits.¹¹

After all these attempts had failed, Imiru again designed another technique by which he later became successful. Tactfully, Imiru called Gashaw Béña, a son of one of the bandits, Béña Jalata, from Addis Ababa. He then promised him to give the authority he wanted if he either persuaded the bandits to give up their hand or killed them. Gashaw then agreed with Imiru and swore an oath to do everything possible. Accordingly, Gashaw allied himself with the bandits to perform his mission. My informants argued that *Däjazmach* Däräje was not happy with the coming of Gashaw to the side of the bandits, and he initially feared and opposed his joining of the group. But because of pressure from the members, he was out voted by the majority vote and Gashaw was allowed to join them. Gashaw, who was greedy and had a strong desire to get power, was waiting for a favorable condition to kill his own father and other bandits of which most of them were his nearest relatives. One night, the turn of keeping the gate was given to Gashaw and all other bandits felt asleep. But *Däjazmach* Däräje who suspected the situation of Gashaw was secretly observing what was going on. Gashaw fired a bullet and killed his own father (Béña Jalata), Malkamu Oliqa, Ababa Abdissa and Oliqa Abdissa. A man called Bote Jodo

¹¹ Informants: Ragasa Bäläṭa and Oli Kumsa.

was wounded and escaped from the area. *Dejazmach* Däräje, who earlier opposed the coming of Gashaw into their group from the beginning, then killed Gashaw and at the end committed suicide. When the news reached Imiru, he mobilized the local people and marched to the area. Then they collected the fire arms left there and again destroyed and confiscated the properties of those bandits.¹²

With the outbreak of the revolution and with the declaration of new programs, the land lords and officials of the old regime continued resistance to implement the radical land reform.¹³ As stated above, the other *qoros* of Horro also formed another group and became bandits around the Abay valley in particular places called Mato and Samo by opposing the newly established government. Oral informants as well as the written sources indicated that those dissatisfied *qoros* of Horro created strong alliance with the dissatisfied *qoros* (*shiftas*) of Näqämté *Awrajja* and Gimbi *Awrajja* through Anger desert and created a hard time to the Därg officials of the region. A letter written with a referral number 11937/7696 on July 2/1976 by the administrator of Wällägga Province to Wällägga Province Police Head Office substantiates the reality and read as follows;

Amharic

ለወሊጋ ክፍለሀገር ፖሊስ ዋና መምሪያ (ነቀምቲ)

መሳሪያ የያዙ ሽፍቶች በነቀምት አውራጃ በአንገር በረሃ በኩል ወደ ጊምቢ አቅጣጫ ተጉዘዋል ስለ ተባለ ጉዳይ ከሆሮ ጉዳዩ አውራጃ ጊዳ ኪረሙ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጸ/ቤት ሰኔ 17 ቀን 1968 ዓ.ም በቁጥር 2153/68 ሲጻፍልዎ የተመዘገበልንን ኮፒ እያስታወስኩህ ስለዚህ ጉዳይ በበኩላችሁ የሚታወቅ ነገር ተብራርቶ እንዲገለጽልንና በየአቅጣጫው የጠበቀ ክትትል ተደርጎ አስፈላጊው አርምጃ እንዲወሰድ አሳስባለሁ።

¹² *Ibid.*
¹³ Dessaiegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and the State...*, PP. 295-296.

Gloss

To Wälläga Province Police Head Office (Näqämté)

A letter written from Gida KIRAMU Wäradä Administration Office on 24 June 1976 with referral number 2153/68 stated that an armed bandits had moved to the direction of Gimbi through the Angär desert. Hence you had to identify and elaborate the case to us and I strongly suggested that you had to follow up strictly and take the necessary measure against them (bandits) (see also Appendix XIV)

Those Shiftas include: Jira Läma, Jiräña Lama, Iticha Gutama, Aṭinafu Dhinsa, Abichu Galanchi, Fikadu Abichu, Bayana Gamada, Garbi Jira, Marema Qiṭessa, Babo Ogé, Gärämew Gajo, Asmara Meṭin (from Shäwan Gondäre) and others. However, the Därg passed declaration to bandits to submit to the government otherwise their property would be looted, destroyed and confiscated. By fearing such declarations, the rebels gave their hands up to Imiru Ibsa in the summer of 1976 (see Appendix XV). Consequently, the bandits were detained at Shambu, Näqämté, and other places according to the level of their crime. For example *Shambäl* Jiräña, who was said to be the leader of the bandits, was imprisoned at Shambu, Näqämté and Gimbi almost for two years. His brother Jiräña was imprisoned at Näqämté for one and half years and the rest were imprisoned almost for a year and less. It was after such chaos and disorder of several months that peace and stability was restored in the area.¹⁴

¹⁴ Informants; Iticha Gutama, Aṭinafu Dhinsa and Marema Qiṭessa; An Archive from Horro District Administration Office, Folder No.401, File No.030/68, a letter written by the director of Amuru Fuliye school to Horro Guduru Awraja Administration Office on 6 August 1976 with Ref. No. 237/4/65/5.

Land proclamation in Horro

The March 1975 land decree made all rural land the collective property of the Ethiopian people. It was the implementation of this rural land reform which destroyed the economic and social basis of the rural nobility by eliminating land ownership, land adjudication and injustice. With the nationalization of all rural land, private property of land was abolished.¹⁵ The decree also include: the abolition of tenancy, the right of every land less peasant to own land, prohibition of the employment of hired labor on land and restriction of the size of family holding to a maximum of eight to ten hectares. Again in July 1975 the nationalization of urban land and extra houses was issued by the Provisional government.¹⁶

The peasants of Horro district accepted this land decree with very great jubilation and regarded it as the new era. In their turn the peasants attempted to harass the former land lords and even wanted to take over their properties. The peasants were very glad with land proclamation and bitterly expressed their grievance to the former land lords by the following songs:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Abba lafaa yaa girgirteessaa</i>	The land lord is a boaster
<i>Egaa hoo funyoon wal nu qixxeessa.</i> ¹⁷	Here after the rope (by which the land was measured) Would make us equal

This poem clearly illustrates that the past inequalities couldn't continue from then on wards and the privileges that the land lords had during the imperial regime was terminated.

¹⁵ Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and...*, PP. 296-297; Dessalegn Rahmato. *Land Tenure and...*, PP.121; Clapham. *Transformation...*,P.157-158.

¹⁶ Ottaway, *The Political Economy...*, PP. 18-21; Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from...*, PP. 110-113; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears:...*, PP.267-268.

¹⁷ Informants: Ragasa Bälätä and Olani Ragasa; An Archive from Horro *Warada* Administration Office, Folder No.367 File No.68/2, a letter written from Jardaga Jarté *Warada* Administration Office to Homi Dima *qäbäle* on 28 July 1976 with Ref. No. 158/350.

Before the land reform of 1975 the *Zemachs* (participants of the development through cooperation campaign) were sent to Horro Guduru to make the people aware of the revolutionary ideas like *Ethiopia Tiqdām* (Ethiopia First), *Idgät Be Hibirät* (Development through Co-operation) and *Hibrätäsäbawnät* (Socialism). To implement the program a large number of University and High school students with their teachers were sent out to the country side especially to organize and teach peasants about the aims of the revolution.¹⁸ The campaigners got warm welcome and reception from the society as a whole since they came to implement the decree of Land to the Tiller. The whole scale demonstration as attested by informants was for two major purposes. The first thing was to welcome the *Zemachs* (campaigners) and the other thing was to harass the hopeless and remnant feudal lords of Haile Sillassié's regime.¹⁹

As it was common in other areas of the region, the land lords and officials of the old regime in Horro Guduru organized a resistance against the implementation of the radical land reform and confronted the campaigners for their own advantages. One good example was a resistance organized in Guduru *Wäräda* at a particular place called Gabate by the former *Näcläbash* Shambäl Ambayé Italäma. Ambayé first harassed the *Zämachs* who were sent to the area to teach the people the why land confiscation was important for the masses. Later Ambayé killed about five *Zämachs* and went to the bush. Following this, ordered by Imiru, the police force and local people marched to capture the aggressor. Lastly Ambayé was captured, imprisoned and killed.

¹⁸ Bahru Zewde, *A History of...*, PP. 240-241; Informant: Mosissa Dhuguma; Henze, P.B, *Layers of...*, 290-291; Tefera Haile Sellassie, *The Ethiopian...*, PP. 149-155.

¹⁹ Informants: Mosissa Dhuguma and Duressa Dhuguma.

On the other hand, for those campaigners who were killed a memorial monument was constructed at Shambu town and is still erect.²⁰

The other influential measure taken by the Military Government in the process of land reform was the formation of Peasant Association in the entire country.²¹ The peasant associations were considered as instruments for the implementation of the land reform. As stated by Dessalegn, the associations were empowered with the responsibility of confiscating the land, organizing cooperatives and electing committees to implement and guide extra activities. The associations had also a duty to maintain law and order within their respective areas and in the *qäbälés* as a whole.²² By taking the land proclamation into consideration about 42 Peasant Associations were established in Horro *Wäräda*. Each Peasant Association in the *Wäräda* had an area of about 20 *gashas* or 800 hectares and was divided in to six *Abat Gäbärés* (Elder Farmers). It is clear that such division made the implementation of the program easy. The boundary of each peasant association was demarcated by rivers, known trees and other topographic features. For implementing the program, different committees were established at *awraja*, *wäräda* and *qäbälé* levels.²³

According to informants, the *Zämachs* who came to Horro to implement the land proclamation were organized into a group called *Hizbawi Dirijit* (public organization) and continued to redistribute the land. Those *zämachs* include: Gutama Gindaba, Olqaba Burqa, Wandimu, Garoma Fayisa and others. These groups were regarded as the organizers and below them at each

²⁰ Informants: Ademe Iruqneh and Siburu ; An Archive from Shambu town Municipality, Folder No. 559/1, File No. 50/55, a letter written from the governor of Horro Guduru *Awraja* to Amuru District Administration Office on 11 December 1976 with Ref. No.976/350.

²¹ Clapham, *Transformation...*, PP.157-160.

²² Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and ...*, PP. 297-298; J.P. Basset and D.E. Crummey, *Land in African Agrarian System*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), P.276; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears...*,268-269.

²³ Informants: Ragasa Bälätä and Mosissa Dhuguma.

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²⁰ Informants: Ademe Iruqneh and Sibü Biru ; An Archive from Shambu town Municipality, Folder No. 559/1, File No. 50/55, a letter written from the governor of Horro Guduru *Awraja* to Amuru District Administration Office on 11 December 1976 with Ref. No.976/350.

²¹ Clapham, *Transformation...*, PP.157-160.

²² Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and ...*, PP. 297-298; J.P. Basset and D.E. Crummey, *Land in African Agrarian System*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), P.276; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears...*,268-269.

²³ Informants: Ragasa Bälätä and Mosissa Dhuguma.

qäbälé a committee of four individuals was established to implement the program. A committee which was established at *qäbälé* level was supervised by the *Hizbawi Dirijit* whose duty was ordering and giving direction on how to implement the proclamation on the one hand and evaluating the fair confiscation of land at the *qäbälé* level on the other hand.²⁴ The land distribution at *qäbälé* level was based on the number of family, and all individuals who have married had the right to get land. After such classification, the committee also added certain additional plots of land for each peasant called *irra buusii* (additional reward) .With such land confiscation, peasants became very glad and expressed the grievance they had against the officials and the land lords of the old regime by the following song:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Obbaafannee hin ta'uu ree:</i>	We (peasants) are relieved from:
<i>Dididi mana činaa</i>	Untimely coming of (officials) to our home
<i>Siqiqi warra čiqaa</i>	Harassment by <i>čiqas</i> (local officials)
<i>Akaayii garbuu isaanii</i>	Their invitation of roasted barley (<i>qolo</i>)
<i>Afaaniin darbuu isaanii</i>	Attacking us (peasants) by aggressive word

On the other hand peasants expressed their happiness by the following poem:

Oromo	Gloss
<i>Eéngadda roobe čabbii</i>	The previous rain was the mixture of slate
<i>Koottaa gallee qotanna</i>	Let us go and plough (since land was confiscated)
<i>Galata kee yaa Rabbi.</i> ²⁵	Thanks to our God.

Membership to peasant Association was mandatory to every married couple except some exploitative old landlords who got the name *adhari* (oppressor) who were deliberately excluded. As in other parts of Horro Guduru, the land reform highly benefited the landless peasants and former tenants in Horro district. The proclamation abolished the rent tenants paid to the land

²⁴ Informants: Wärqu Dabalo and Oli Kumsa.

²⁵ *Ibid*; Horro District Record Office, Folder No.144, File No. 03/68 a letter written from Amuru *Warada* to Horro Guduru *Awraja* on 6 September 1975 by Ref. No 1230/1.

lord. On the contrary, the reform brought damaging effect to land lords. It led to the confiscation of their property. In Horro, a former land lord, who for example had six pairs of oxen and six tenants had been obliged to give a pair of oxen for each tenant and was left with only one pair. That means the declaration permitted the *gebbars* to have the right to take extra oxen and other farming instruments from their owners. It is possible to say that the land reform of 1975 improved the social status of agricultural community by eliminating tenancy and landlordism.²⁶

As mentioned above, the main function of Peasant Associations initially was to implement the land reform, mainly the distribution of land to peasants.²⁷ But later with successive proclamations made by the government, the Peasant Associations extended their functions and activities. Each Peasant Association in Horro performed a task of adjudication and law enforcement as well as tax collection within their respective areas which was previously performed by local officials such as *ciqashums* and *goros*. In case of tax collection, for example, since land was equally confiscated to farmers based on the number of families they had, the first two years for land tax was seven birr for every farmer. After two years, the land tax became 25 birr for rich farmers and 20 *birr* for the rest of the peasants. Based on their wealth, as confirmed by informants, farmers were categorized into three groups. Even though there was no clear demarcation for such category; those farmers who had more than three pairs of oxen were classified under the first group of farmers. Those who had three pairs of oxen were regarded as the second group of farmers. The rest of the farmers even including the poor farmers were

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Bahru Zewde, *A History of ...*, PP.241-243; Bahru Zewde and Seigfried Pausewang, *Ethiopia: the Challenge of Democracy from Below*. (Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, AAU Press, 2002), PP.63-64.

classified under the third group. In the succeeding years every kind of payment including land tax continued to be paid according to such arrangements.²⁸

Peace and stability of the *qābāles* were preserved by different committees established at *qābāle* level. In general the administration of the *qābāle* had a committee of 15 members. The leader of this committee was a chairman of the *qābāle*. The duty of this committee was resolving problems regarding land issue and other related conflicts that might arise among the residents of the *qābāle*. There was also another committee at *qābāle* level called the judicial tribunal that resolved the conflicts in legal terms. The tribunal committee had 5 members which were selected by the assembly of peasant association. The tribunal examined the case and gave decision mostly either on holy days or at times which were convenient for them. Despite the existence of such judicial tribunals, the overall decision made by them was usually influenced by the chair person of peasant association who had full power in his jurisdiction.²⁹

My informants, as well as the written sources, corroborate that almost in every matters, the chair person of the *qābāle* was respected by peasants because of his ultimate power in his jurisdiction. By influencing his committee, on the one hand, and making a clandestine tie with upper officials on the other, he could harass, insult and detain those peasants who disobeyed his order. A letter written by a peasant of Horro-Member *qābāle* to Horro Dongoro *Awraja* Administration Office on June 30, 1989 confirmed the reality. As indicated in the letter, the chairman of Member *qābāle* had attacked Nagassa Gurmū by using his power and by creating alliance with the leaders

²⁸ Informants: Mosissa Dhuguma and Ragasa Bälätä; Bahru Zewde And Siegfried, *Ethiopia the Challenge...*, P.64; An Archive from Horro Warada, Folder No. 7005/77, File No. 128/77, a letter written from Jardaga Jarté *Wäräda* to Horro Guduru *Awraja* Administration Office on 5 September 1985 with Ref. No. 3488/771.

²⁹ Informants: Waqoya Dhinsa and Duressa Dhuguma.

of *Wäräda* and *Awraja* Farmers' Association Offices (sees Appendix XVI).³⁰ Side by side with land confiscation for the benefit of peasants in country side, extra houses in towns were counted and became the property of the state.³¹

The Assassination of Imiru Ibsa

With the outbreak of the revolution a new structure of administration was set up in Horro as it was true for other areas in the region and in the country. The Därg then directly appointed *Wäräda* and *Awraja* administrators throughout the country. Accordingly, Imiru Ibsa was appointed as the administrator of Horro Guduru *Awraja*. As an administrator of the *awraja*, he was accountable to the administrators of Wälläga *Kiflähagär*. As stated by informants, as the governor of Horro Guduru, Imiru continued to organize, coordinate and give awareness to the peasants about the aim of the revolution. He was said to be popular among peasants of Horro Guduru, and he was the front leader in addressing the issues of land reform with the support of the campaigners.³²

Nevertheless, the land lords and officials of the old regime organized resistance against Imiru and his plan especially to halt the implementation of the radical land reform. On his way as mentioned earlier, Imiru did two things to weaken the power of the land lords and officials of the old regime. The first thing was that a group of Däräje Mäkonnin, who refused to give their hands to the government, was killed by Imiru's agent in the forest. Secondly the other opponents of the revolution who once became bandits were persuaded to give their hands to the government

³⁰ *Ibid*; An Archive from Horro District Record Office, Folder No.234, File No.092/79, a letter written from Amuru *Mikitil Wäräda* to Horro Guduru *Awraja* on 6 September 1975 by Ref. No. 2075/80; An Archive from Shambu Town Municipality, Folder No. 5572/1, File No. 05/10, a letter written from Wallaga Province Police Head Office to the governor of Horro Guduru *Awraja* on 19 December 1968 with Ref. No.2856/2.

³¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of...*,P.243; Informant: Ragasa Bälätä.

³² Informants: Ragasa Bälätä and Mosissa Dhuguma.

and they were captured and detained. By doing so Imiru restored peace and stability in Horro Guduru. In implementing the policy of the Därg, Imiru did a lot to suppress the traditional religion of the Oromo of the area called *Qaallu*, since the Därg was against such practices. Imiru then ordered the residents of Horro and marched with them to loot the property of *Qaallu*. Accordingly, by marching to a place called Mato, Imiru and his officials burnt *Gimbi Buta*, a hall where the traditional Oromo religion of the area was worshipped. In addition they looted different sacred materials.³³

With the passage of time the Därg's right hand man Imiru Ibsa was suspected as anti-revolutionary and he was regarded as the coordinator of the freedom fighters perhaps, the OLF (Oromo Liberation Front) to eliminate the Amharas from Horro. According to my informants, Imiru was blamed as he was secretly organizing a group who dug a big hole in which the Amhara of the area would be killed and buried. There was also a rumor that he ordered the people to prepare the ration secretly for him and his followers since he had an aim to become bandit to defend the liberty of his own nation (the Oromo).³⁴ All these secrets were later exposed by his deputy; Daribachew Ifa. Then Daribachew secretly informed the problem to the administrator of Wälläga *kiflähagär*, *Meto Aläqa* Nigusé Fanta. Nigusé, therefore hastily came to Shambu and arrested Imiru in October 1976. Individuals such as Biru Wärqu, the coordinator of the Land Issue of Horro Guduru *Awrajja*, Bäqälä Tolera, the administrator of Horro *Wäräda*, Faris Hirpa, an expert of the Land Issue of Horro Guduru *Awrajja* and Nagasa Gage, the leader of the Land Issue of Horro *Wäräda* were also arrested as Imiru's followers. From the arrested suspects, Imiru, Faris and Biru were detained at Jato in Näqämté and killed there. But the rest two were

³³ *Ibid*; Oli Kumsa.

³⁴ Gumii Dagaagina Afaan Oromoo , "Simbirtuu...", PP. 13-15; Informants: Waqoya Dhinsa and Warqu Dabalo.

imprisoned and released later.³⁵ Daribachäw who informed the secret to Nigusé took Imiru's position and became the administrator of Horro Guduru *Awrajja*.³⁶

As it was true for other *Wärädas* in the region, the governors of Horro district were directly appointed by the officials of *awrajja* and *kiflehager*. Accordingly, Horro district was successively administered by the following notables during the Därg regime: Şegaye Nigatu (1975/76), Bäqälé Tolera (1976-77), Käbädä Wärqü (1978-80), Takälä Nägash (1981-84), Alämayehu Guta (1984-87), Abdissa Iticha (1988) and Mitiku Qänea (1989-1991). Contrary to the Imperial era, all of the administrators of Horro district except Şegaye Nigatu and Käbädä Wärqü were Oromo. The administrators of Horro district were directly accountable to the Horro Guduru *Awrajja* administrators. All activities performed in the district including maintenance of peace and security, controlling and supervising institutions like police and prison were performed by their close supervision and coordination. They also control and supervise the activities of other sectors such as agriculture, education and health.³⁷

Most of the time the administrators of Horro, as it was true for other districts, spent much time in implementing orders imposed from *awraja* governors like persuading peasants to join the party as a member and conscription of military services in the district. Informants confirmed that to suppress opposition groups and freedom fighters, the *wärädas* were obliged to conscript military service from the peasants and their family.³⁸ The *wäräda* administrators then ordered the chair person of each peasant association to capture youths to send them to the war front. Especially with the multiplication of the opposition groups to the regime, the *qäbäles* were obliged to

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Informants: Ragasa Bäläṭa and Waqoya Dhinsa.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

conscript militias at least twice a year. It was the duty of the chair person of each peasant association and his committee to materialize the quota given to them from the upper organ. Then they involuntarily captured the youth, as wild beast, and sent them to the war front. In conscripting the youth for military services there was no fair selection. By taking bribes from the rich, those officials captured the children of those who were poor and who had no such relatives from the area.³⁹

In addition to forcefully selecting of youths for military services, due attention was also given to advertising propagandas on radio and TV programs to get public support. Distribution of pamphlets and slogans up to *qäbäle* level was also the order of the day to win the attention of youths as confirmed by the following letter:

Date December 15/ 1982

To Bulti Tokuma

Assistant Governor of Horro Guduru Awraja (Shambu)

Purpose: Sending Slogans

It is clear that presentation of mobilizing slogans had to keep their centrality. Therefore, the Workers People Controlling Committee had sent the following slogans. So, you had to implement only the following slogans.

1 Everything to War Front!

We Eliminate Seccessionists and Terrorists.

We Increase Production.

We Fulfill our Responsibility in Every Direction.

2 Public Democratic Power would be realized in Ethiopia!

3 Pro- Adharians couldn't reverse Public Movement!

4 A Strong Revolutionary Mother Land!

5 Unity is Strength!

6 For Common Prosperity We Build PDRE!

³⁹ Informants: Riçe Yadata and Waqoya Dhinsa.

7 Ethiopia First! (See also Appendix XVII).⁴⁰

The Literacy Campaign in Horro

At the initial stage of the revolution, the Därg was busy in consolidating its power because of both external and internal problems. Externally the Därg had to defend the territorial integrity of the country from Somali invasion. Internally, peace and stability was not restored soon since the remnants of land lords and the officials of old regime attempted to reverse the revolution.⁴¹ It was because of such problems that the literacy campaign was of course interrupted when the *zämächa* came to an end in 1976. After the *Därg* secured its position and solved both internal and external problems, it launched a large scale and a nationwide literacy campaign. The *Därg* gave due attention to literacy to inculcate its socialist ideology. Accordingly, the *Därg* set up a national literacy campaign coordinating organ under the Ministry of Education.⁴²

In Horro Guduru *Awrajja* in general and in Horro District in particular literacy campaign was executed by organizing responsible committees up to grass root level. As stated above one of the most contributions of the campaigners was the provision of education to the local people. The program included all people between seven to fifty five years to attend the education program. People were encouraged to take part in eradicating illiteracy. Different centers were opened in the district. Community halls and temporary shelters called *dasi* were arranged for classes. Initially the people resisted the campaign because of the following expectations. Some of the people especially the elders were reluctant and not willing to attend the class regularly since they consider it as wastage of time. Beside, others also suspected that after they became literate they would be obliged to campaign to far areas to teach others because of the slogan *yätämare*

⁴⁰ Informants: Mosissa Duguma and Ragasa Bäläṭä.

⁴¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of ...*, PP. 252-254.

⁴² *Ibid*, PP. 240-241; Tefera Haile Selassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution...*, PP.221-223; Bereket Habte Selassie, *The Dergue's...*P.18.

yastämir (the literate have to teach the illiterate). Despite such expectations the literacy campaign was almost successful and the *Därg* government was praised by the people of Horro for it expanded literacy among peasants.⁴³

Informants argued that after an initial delay, the literacy campaign won full participation of volunteers. Grade 12 graduates of Horro and the neighboring districts had an obligation to give a four to six month service as soon as they completed grade 12. University students and the teachers who were supposed to leave for summer vacation also participated in the literacy campaign. Places for residence of the campaigners were adjusted by the coordination of the chair person of Peasant Association. Houses for campaigners were built by peasants of each *qäbäle* and the residents of the area gave different services including constructing fences, taking grains to grinding areas and others. The government also offered the campaigners certain amount of salary and uniform cloths to wear. In order to reduce the drop outs, due attention was given to arrange classes for basic education learners without hindering the normal day-to-day activities of the attendants.⁴⁴

Modern schools were expanded in Horro *warada* under the *Därg* regime. The schools founded during the *Därg* period in the *Wäräda* included: Shambu Secondary School (1975), Wando Primary School (1978), Siré Budo Primary School (1978), Didibe Primary school (1979), Abuna Primary School (1978), Čabir Gäbär Primary School (1978) and Gitilo Najö Primary School (1980). Under the *Därg* regime the number of schools in Horro *wäräda* reached nine which were

⁴³ Informants: Saqata Iticha and Lamessa Tesso.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

only two during the Imperial Period. As mentioned above except one high school and two junior schools the rest were elementary schools.⁴⁵ (See Appendix IV)

Like that of literacy campaign, the *Därg* gave due attention to afforestation. As in other *wärädas* in Horro Guduru, different areas in Horro were covered by forests. My informants confirmed that the program of afforestation was launched by the government and each *qäbälé* in Horro *Wäräda* had its own program in planting trees of various kinds mostly eucalyptus (*muka baar*) and junipers (*gattiraa*) trees . During rainy season peasants, the youth and the women in each *qäbäle* did take part in planting trees at least once a week and they did it by a combined effort. Even though different pocket areas were covered by forests, Čato forest (the largest forest area in the *wäräda*), Boři forest and Čančo forest were among the forest areas in the district which were planted by such programs.⁴⁶

Since due attention was given to forests and wild animal species, deforestation and hunting was absolutely forbidden. Forests and wild animals were strictly controlled and supervised by the *qäbäle* officials and anybody suspected or seen hunting or clearing forests would be arrested by a local official called *Gobüz Aläqa* (strong chief) and seriously punished by law.⁴⁷

The Formation of Producers Cooperatives in Horro

The military government took far-reaching measures to overcome economic, political, and social problems in the country. Under the old regime, agricultural production was based up on a small scale and fragmented private farming which could not afford sufficient food for the people. Such subsistence kinds of consumption dragged mass population into absolute poverty and hunger. To

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Daba Kenei, “ Čato Forest...”, P. 12.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, P. 13.

tackle such a problem, the *Därg* undertook different reforms which were followed by a number of legislations and policy directives. One of such proclamations was the establishment of Agricultural Producers Cooperatives.⁴⁸

The 1975 proclamation authorized Peasant Associations to form producers' cooperatives. However, it was not an easy task for the central government to implement such proclamation since peasants were reluctant to join the program. To implement the program, the *Därg* Cadres were assigned to the *wärädas* and *qäbäles* to give awareness to the mass about the objectives of the cooperation. But since peasants preferred individual ownership of their plot, they seriously resisted the implementation of the program.⁴⁹ Despite such resistances, peasants were persuaded to be a member and the following peasant associations in Horro established the producers' cooperatives. Gitilo Najo Producers' Cooperatives chaired by Marara Irge, Alshaya Dulacha under Bayana Lushi, Kistana Sadeqa under Balay Mumicha, Sabat chaired by waquma Irana, Akaji Gaji under Oli Irana, Foqa Qanate under Wakoya Dhinsa, Habuna under Bayisa Fida, and Abile under Abdissa Jabana and later Fanta Furi. My informants, who took part in the program, confirmed that, the producers cooperatives had a committee of six members who were assigned from each *Abat Gäbärés* (Elder Farmers). In its structure every Peasant Association (*qäbäle*) had six *Abat Gäbärés* in which one *Abbat Gäbäré* had about 35 to 50 households. In addition the committee had six secretaries, one from each *Abat Gäbärés*. The duty of the committee was supervising the producers associations when they conduct different agricultural activities. Every work conducted by each member would be registered every day by the assigned secretariats. It is impossible to be absent from work without taking permission from the concerned authorized

⁴⁸ Informants: Ragasa Bälätä and Munṭas Gutama; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears...*, PP.271-272; Clapham, *Transformation...*, PP.171-172.

⁴⁹ Informants: Alämu Ragasa and Saqata Iticha.

person. If they did so the payment for that day would be reduced when the total payment for members would be calculated at the end. The agricultural products of producers' cooperatives in a *qäbälé* were gathered together and stored at one place. Every peasant who was a member of the producers cooperative obtain his/her dividend according to his/her activity from the place of storage as need arose, either three or four times a year.⁵⁰

In producers cooperatives land, oxen and other agricultural equipments were regarded as the common property of the cooperatives and an individual had no right to sell or exchange such common properties without the prior permission of all members.⁵¹ As it was true for other areas, the producers cooperatives in Horro district did not achieve its goal due to the following major reasons. One of such reasons was that there was no equitable participation of all members on different works because of personal variation in ability, interest, attitude and other cases that diminished the work quality. The essence of a letter written by the chair person of Doyo *qäbäle* , Ato Abera Gudeta on July 1, 1989 to Horro Dongoro *Awraja* Administration Office clearly stated the problem (See Appendix XVIII). The other reason was that there was neither fair registration of the daily activities of individuals on the one hand, and nor fair distributions of grains from the store during division. Lastly, but not the least the grain was looted from the storage and exploited by the committees and the local officials including the chair person of Peasant Association by conducting secret agreements.⁵²

In order to enhance agricultural production, the Military Government also set up an organization called Service Cooperatives in the mid 1970s.⁵³ In such cooperation, not less than five peasant

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Clapham, *Transformation...*P.171.

⁵² Informants: Alamu Ragasa and Saqata Iticha.

⁵³ J. Pickät, *Economic Development in Ethiopia: Agriculture, the Market and the State.* (Paris: OECD, 1991), P.117; Clapham, *Transformation...*P.171.

associations had allied to provide agricultural equipment and the consumed goods for peasants. The aim of such organization was to protect the peasants from the exploitation by private traders and to supply such materials for the community at a reasonable cost. Accordingly, in Horro service cooperatives were set up at Shambu, Haro Shoṭi, Saqala, Haro Aga, Čambe and Wando by the coordination of peasant associations. These service cooperatives then established shops which made available to peasants consumable and small goods such as sugar, matches, soaps, blankets, stationeries, dry cell batteries and other materials at lower prices. Even though the program benefited the society at large, lastly due to lack of strict follow up from the upper organ on the one hand and the absence of trained man power in the committee on the other, the resources were embezzled by the service cooperative leaders and the *qäbäle* officials.⁵⁴

In implementing the command economy, the *Därg* also established the Agricultural Marketing Cooperation in the country as a whole in 1976.⁵⁵ Its aim was to buy grain at fair prices from peasants and later on resell it in times of shortage of grains to the people. In Horro District, such Market Cooperation were established at Gitilo, Haro shoṭi, Shambu, Saqala, Čambe, Haro Aga and Wando. However in the spring of 1990, following its shift in policy from command economy to mixed economy the government allowed the cooperatives to dissolve, if they wanted to do so. Following this declaration, both producers' cooperatives and service cooperatives ceased to function in Horro District.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Informants: Riče Yadata and Waqoya Dhinsa; An Arhive from Shambu town Municipality, Folder No. 5422/1, File No. 05/29, a letter written from Horro Guduru *Awraja* Administration Office to Wallagga Province Commerce Affairs....

⁵⁵ Dawit Wolde Mariam, *Red Tears*...,P.270; Clapham, *Transormation*...,P.168.

⁵⁶ Informants: Abara Wirtu and Marga Urgo; An Archive from Shambu town Municipality, Folder No. 0040/75, File No. 12/11 a letter written from the governor of Horro *Warada* to Horro Guduru *Awraja* Administration Office on 2 October 1985 with Ref No. 94/378; Shambu town Municipality, Folder No.1012 File No.12/02, a letter written from the governor of Horro *Warada* to Horro Guduru Police Office on 10 February 1983 with Ref. No. 1140/75.

Resettlement and Villagization Programs in Horro

The worst and widely reported famine occurred in 1984/85. Although the magnitude and the seriousness of the problem were different at different regions, the main victims of the disaster were in the northern part of the country.⁵⁷ The famine also affected the southwestern region and no region was devoid of victims. The major causes for the outbreak of the famine was said to have been drought and Pest. As the result thousands of cattle died. In addition the process of farming ceased due to rain failure, shortage of grains for sowing and shortage of oxen. Peasants, left with no crop reserve of any kind, and were forced to consume the seed they had retained for planting. Accordingly, it is believed that the resettlement was viewed as a logical solution to famine and starvation.⁵⁸

The resettlement program was designed by the military government to maximize the benefit of the people by moving them out of draught prone areas such as Wollo and Tigray. Because of the existence of high rain fall in southwestern part, Wälläga became one of the largest settlers receiving region in Ethiopia. One of my informants stated that in addition to tackling the famine, the program was also designed to solve the security problems in the northern parts of the country. It was aimed to weaken and eliminate the opposition political groups such as TPLF, EPLF and the others who were fighting against the *Därg* regime by depopulating the rebel areas in order to deprive the guerillas support.⁵⁹

As it was true for other districts, the settlers from Wollo and Tigray came to Horro *Wäräda* assigned by the *Awrajja* committees. Hence, sites for residence were selected and shelters were

⁵⁷ Picket, *Economic Development...*, PP. 113-115; Dawit Wolde Giorgis. *Red Tears...*, PP.122-124.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Informant: Ragasa Bälätä; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears...*P.289-297; Tefera Haile Selassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution...*,PP. 260-262.

constructed at places like Buya, Nabo, Mukayu, Asatti, Baqäla and Goda Fore. On their arrivals in such resettlement areas, the settlers faced shortage of food, illness and even death since they did not easily adjust themselves to new physical, social and economic environments. Because of such hazards some of the settlers were forced to abandon the area and decided to go back to their birth place and the others allied themselves to local peasants to perform different agricultural activities by getting certain amount of payment for the service they rendered. Some others fled to the nearby towns and became laborers. The cost of the resettlement program in general could be seen in terms of time, money, human and material resources and in Horro it seems to have left behind a negative impact.⁶⁰

Parallel to resettlement and villagization programs, the Därg government also launched a nationwide referendum in February 1987 to ratify its unitary constitution. To implement the program, the Horro Guduru *Awraja* governor of the time, *Ato* Banti Itana dispatched letters to every *wärädas* to create public awareness about its procedures.(see Appendix XIX). Accordingly, in Horro *warada* the referendum was held in all *qebeles* on February 1, 1987. For example in a particular *qebele* called Alshaya Dale of 236 voters, 136 respondents responded “Yes” and 68 of them voted, “No”⁶¹. (see Appendix XX).

In 1985, a nationwide villagization program was declared as part and parcel of socialist development strategy in Ethiopia. The aim of villagization was immense consisting of political and economic missions. It is clear that the pattern of rural settlement in Ethiopia is characterized

⁶⁰ Informants: Oli Kumsa and Ragasa Bäläṭa; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears...*, PP. 297-298.

⁶¹ Informant: Ragasa Bäläṭa and Mosissa Dhuguma; An Archive from Shambu Town Municipality, Folder No. 1012/1, File No.50/21, a letter written from Lafto Kalala *qäbäle* to Horro *Wäräda* Administration Office on 3 January 1987 by Ref. No. 341/79.

by small and scattered communities.⁶² It is difficult for developing countries like Ethiopia to provide facilities and infrastructures for such small and scattered communities. Then the government aimed at bringing scattered houses together in order to fulfill services such as education, health, water supply, electricity and transport with available minimum cost. Thus villagization program in general was envisaged by the government to tackle the socio-economic and political problems of the period.⁶³

The villagization program in Horro *Wäräda* began in autumn 1985. Before the introduction of the program, coordinating committees were organized at *Awraja*, *Wäräda* and *qäbäle* levels. The committee which was established at *qäbäle* level played a pivotal role including selecting site for villagization. Additionally the *Därg* cadres were assigned to every *qäbäles* to convince the peasants to implement the program hastily. As it was true for other areas, as attested by informants, the implementation of the program brought wide spread resistance among the peasants of Horro due to the fact that the people were not willing to abandon their original home to which they had strong attachment. However, since it was the decision of the central government, it was then impossible to halt the program at *qäbäle* level and those peasants who seriously withstood its implementation were regarded as anti-socialist principles and took serious punishment including detention was taken against them.⁶⁴

Despite such grievances and opposition from the mass, villagization was conducted with extreme haste and forcefully. The constructions of houses were performed by the participation of all associations of the *qäbäle* (youth, farmers and women) with strict follow up by the *qäbäle*

⁶² Ottaway, *The Political Economy...*, PP.64-65; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears...*, PP. 306-307; Tefera Haile Selassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution...*, PP.267-270; Clapham, *Transformation...* PP.174-175.

⁶³ Ibid; Informants: Mosissa Dhuguma and Ragasa Bäläta; Tesfaye Tafese, *The Agricultural, Environmental and Social Impacts of the Villagization Programme in Northern Shawa* (Addis Ababa: Institute of Development Research, AAU Press, 1994), PP.31-33.

⁶⁴ Informants: Waqoya Dhinsa and Lamessa Tesso.

officials. Coming late or being absent from the work had its own consequences including serious punishment. Sites for villagization were selected by committee led by the chair person. In each *qäbäle* from three to five sites, which had a capacity to hold on the average 60 to 80 households was selected. In selecting such sites criteria such as availability of water for residents, the elevation of the area for transportation and its centrality was taken into consideration.⁶⁵

Informants argued that in major areas implementing villagization was not conducted fairly. It was because the *qäbäle* chairman and other officials received bribes just in selecting sites on the one hand and to decide which Peasants and which *Abat Gäbäre* had to dismantle their home first. In Horro, even though the construction of houses lacked quality, the villagization program was completed within less than two years (1985 and 1986). Without any preparation of infrastructures and social services, peasants were forced to leave their original home. In uprooting them from their home, the peasants left behind different vegetables and root crops such as onion, cabbages, green papers, hop and others in their former village that needed strict follow up and local manure to be profitable. Thus villagization contributed to the decline of agricultural production and reduced peasants' income. Because of such observed problems villagization at the end became a failure. Following the declaration of Mixed Economic Policy by the government in 1990, peasants dismantled their houses and returned to their original village.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Informants: Oli Kumsa and Ragasa Bäläṭä.

⁶⁶ Informants: Alämu Ragassa and Amante Bakare.

Conclusion

I have attempted to document in this thesis a history of Horro district from 1910 to 1991. At Tute Bisil around Ijaji town in West Shawa, being departed from other groups, the Jawi clan turned north and settled along the southern bank of Abay River. The eldest son of Jawi, Horro, initially occupied the center of the present day Horro district and with the passage of time its descendants extended and controlled the area between Anger and Finca'a Rivers mostly in the present day districts of Horro and Jardaga Jarte.

As the Oromo, in the other parts of Oromo territory, the people of Horro believed in one Supreme Being called *Waaqaa* whose power is manifested through a spirit called *Ayyaana*. *Ayyaana* is then the spirit below *Waaqaa* and is regarded as the agent of *Waaqaa*. The spiritual leader in the Oromo traditional religion was known as *Qaallu*. *Qaallu* was regarded as the guardian of the law of *Waaqaa* and hence highly respected by the people of Horro in all cases. With the passage of time, however, because of the occupation of the area by the Gojjame forces on the one hand and the introduction of new religions to the area on the other, the *Qaallu* Institution in Horro continued to decline.

Two significant changes of events occurred in the last quarter of the 19th century in Horro that dramatically affected the latter's history of the area. The first event was the illegal expansion of the Gojjämä forces to the Oromo territories of Horro. The other decisive event was the military supremacy of the Shäwans over the Gojjämä forces at Embabo that led to the introduction of the new system of administration in Horro and the neighbouring districts. With the Land Proclamation Act of 1910 and the subsequent developments, the peasant's *qabiye* right to land

was abolished and peasants were reduced to tenancy. Accordingly, the Horro peasants were victims of harsh and exploitative system of administration.

With their occupation of Horro in 1936, the Italians eliminated the former existing political structure. Despite their short reign, Italians were known in bringing about different reforms in Horro. Even though, they were not successful to bring the lasting victory, anti-fascist patriotic movement strongly continued in Horro during the period. During their evacuation, the Italian troops in Horro took the south western direction and fled through Illu Abba Bor to the Sudan.

The Imperial land grants of the post independence period seriously affected the south and the south western parts of Ethiopia in which Horro was a part. The land was transferred to the land lord and peasants were reduced to tenancy. During the period, the Horro peasants led a miserable life. Under absolute monarchy, the undemocratic political and backward socio-economic conditions of the country became unbearable to the Ethiopian people. Hence forth, oppositions to Haile Sellasse's regime mushroomed and finally the monarchy with its old political system was overthrown in 1974.

The Ethiopian popular revolution of 1974 led the country to the socialist military dictatorship of the *Därg*. Initially some progressive measures were taken by the *Därg*. Private ownership of land, landlordism, tenancy and the hiring of labor were abolished. As it was true for other areas of Ethiopia, declarations such as Villagization, Producers' Cooperatives and other legislations were implemented in Horro almost forcefully. Lastly, with the multiplication of Liberation Fronts and other opposition forces throughout the country, the *Därg* and its military dictatorship came to an end in 1991.

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Folder No. 5572/1, File No. 05/10, a letter written from Wällägga Province Police Head Office to the governor of Horro Guduru *Awraja* on 19 December 1968 with Ref. No. 2856/2.

3. Wälde Mäsqäl Archival Center, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University

Folder No.2186, File No. 2168, a collection of various receipts of taxes paid by *balabats* of Horro *Wäräda* sent to Ministry of Interior in 1959.

Folder Name (Wällägga), File No.2154, a letter from Wällägga Province Administration to Ministry of Interior (about tithe and other taxes in Guduru *Awraja*) on 2 February 1954 with Ref.No.5855/24.

Folder Name (Wällägga), File No. 30923, a letter written from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Head Office to Ministry of Interior (about *Semon Meret* in Horro) on 11 June 1959 with Ref. No. 6360/3416/51.

4. National Archives

Folder No.17.1.10, File No.16.06, a letter written from the governor of Horro Guduru *Awraja* to the governor of Wällägga Province on 11 October 1968 with Ref.No.1234/922/4.

Folder No.17.1.10, File No.16.06, a letter written from the governor of Wällägga Province to the governor of Gojjam Province on 20 December 1969.

Folder No.62.1, File No.24.09, A Chart Showing list of *Awrajas*, *Wärädas* and *Miketil Wärädas* in Ethiopia with their respective administration center.

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List of informants

No	Name of the informant	Age	Sex	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remarks
1	Abara Wirtu	69	M	Tulu Re'e	20/10/14	He is a retired farmer. He was the chairman of a <i>qäbäle</i> during the <i>Därg</i> period. His account on different historical developments during the <i>Därg</i> Regime was very valuable.
2	Abdissa Qitessa	75	M	Buluq	29/10/14 21/01/15	He is the known <i>Qallu</i> of Horro and gave me invaluable information about <i>Qallu</i> Institution in Horro
3	Ademe Iruqneh	91	M	Shambu	28/10/14 21/01/15	Now retired. He was the governor of Shambu town during the Imperial Regime. His information about the history of Horro during post liberation period is really admirable.
4	Alamu Ragasa	71	M	Qastamaj	28/10/14 22/01/15	He is a farmer. He was the most knowledgeable informant on the socio-economic and political conditions of Horro peasant during the imperial Regime and the <i>Därg</i> period.
5	Amante Bakare	95	M	Tulu Nono	20/10/14	He is a well known oral informant and informed me about the history of Horro District especially during the Italian period and post liberation period.
6	Añinafu Dhinsa	87	M	Dima Joke	10/11/14 02/01/15	He was member of the former <i>balabats</i> and now retired. He is a well known oral informant on the landlord tenant relationship in Horro district.
7	Badhadhe Dabale	68	F	Dima Joke	11/11/14/ 02/01/15	She is one of the selected oral informants and gave me invaluable information on different <i>Qallu</i> ceremonies in Horro.
8	Bayana Dibaba	95	M	Iro	02/10/14 24/12/14	He is an experienced oral informant and gave me ample information on the whole history of Horro during the pre <i>Därg</i> period.
9	Cherinet Waqweya	58	M	Nekemte	26- 27/01/15 12- 13/03/15	He was born in Horro. A graduate of Addis Ababa University in History. He is now an expert of East Wällägga Cultural and Tourism Office. He took part in different research activities and gave me invaluable information about the history of Wällägga in general and Horro district in particular.
10	Duressa Dhuguma	68	M	Dima Joke	11/11/14 03/01/15	He was a merchant. Being allied with the dissatisfied <i>qoros</i> he became bandit to reverse the revolution. He gave me pieces of information about the history of Horro during the 1960s and the 1970s and also about the <i>Qallu</i> Institution.
11	Gamada Bate	84	M	Tulu Nono	20/10/14	He is a well known informant farmer and gave me a brief information on the 20 th century history of Jarte
12	Hindhibne Sharo	52	F	Jaro Sire	09/11/14	She is a wife of one of the known <i>Qallu</i> of Horro. She gave me invaluable account on <i>Qallu</i> Institution especially <i>Dumeti</i> (female spirit in Horro).
13	Hundara Doja	99	M	Dima Joke	10/11/14 02/01/15	He is an admirable experienced oral informant. He gave me invaluable account on the history of Wällägga in general and Horro district in particular.

List of informants

14	Iticha Gutama	83	M	Tullu Nono	20/10/14 28/12/14	He was a <i>ciqashum</i> during the period of Haile Sillassie. His account on land tenure system during Imperial Regime is very valuable.
15	Kitila Hirpha	101	M	Saqala	29/10/14 20/01/15	He was a merchant but now retired. He gave me ample information on the 20 th century history of Horro especially on the practice of trade of various items including slave trade.
16	Lamessa Tesso	83	M	Gitilo	28/10/14 22/01/10	He is a farmer. He gave me a good account on the situation of Horro peasants before the revolution and during the Därg Regime.
17	Marema Qiṭessa	73	M	Awaro	15/12/14 16/12/14	He is a known <i>Qallu</i> of Horro. His account on the origin, practice and factors for the decline of <i>Qallu</i> Institution in Horro is really invaluable and accurate.
18	Marga Abdissa	82	M	Shambu	28/10/14 21/01/15	Now retired. He was a forefront leader of the Student Movement in Horro during the Imperial Regime and gave me information on the last periods of the Imperial regime by giving due attention to the different oppositions against the Haile Sillassie's government.
19	Marga Urgo	83	M	Sombo Kumi	24/12/14	Now retired. He abandoned his village during Därg by opposing the implementation of producers' cooperatives and villagization. He gave me pieces of information on the history of Horro during the post liberation period and the Därg Regime.
20	Mosissa Dhuguma	74	M	Joke	12/11/14 03/01/14	He is a farmer. As a chairman of a <i>qebele</i> during the Därg period he gave me ample information about the situation of Horro peasants during the period.
21	Munṭas Gutama	74	M	Saqala	29/10/14 20/01/15	He is a farmer. He was a tenant during the Imperial Regime and gave me information on the history of land tenure system and the conditions of peasants during the period.
22	Olani Gicho	66	M	Shambu	28/10/14 21/01/15	Now retired. As a participant in the Student Movement during the Imperial Regime, he gave me a good account on different oppositions against Haile Sillassie's government.
23	Olani Ragasa	65	M	Sholoko	20/01/15	He is from the Gobaya clan and one of the nearest relatives of Abishe Garba . He gave me invaluable account on the rise of different clans in Horro on the one hand and the expansion of the Gojjäme force on the other.
24	Oli Kumsa	70	M	Alshaya çure	20/01/15	He is a farmer. He gave me a good account on the history of Horro during the Imperial Regime and the Därg period especially on the resettlement and villagization.
25	Ragasa Balata	66	M	Dado	21/01/15	He was a chairman of Peasant Association of Horro <i>Wäräda</i> during the Darg period. He gave me brief account on the history of Horro <i>Wäräda</i> during the Därg Regime.

List of informants

26	Riče Yadata	81	M	Haro Aga	25/10/14	Now retired. He gave me a good account about the expansion of the Gojjäme force to Horro, the implementation of the <i>Qalad</i> System, fascist occupation and the overall history of Horro Wäräda during the 20 th c
27	Saqata Iticha	86	M	Gitilo	28/10/14 22/01/15	Now retired. He gave me useful information about how different Oromo clans occupied <i>Horro-Horriti</i> and the rise of different chiefdoms in Horro. He also informed me about a general history of Horro during the 20 th century.
28	Sibu Biru	82	M	Habo	10/10/14	Now retired. His account on the post liberation history of Horro and the history of the area during the Därg regime is very valuable.
29	Soressa Waqe	76	M	Haro Aga	25/10/14	He is a farmer. He gave me useful information on the history of Horro District during Haile Silassie and Därg
30	Sori Kitila	84	M	Saqala	29/10/14 20/01/15	He is a farmer. He gave me ample information about the history of the land tenure system in Horro during the 20 th century and the foundation of different towns in Horro
31	Sufa Abdissa	77	M	Shambu	21/01/15	Born in the vicinity of KIRAMU. Used to serve as a lawyer in Jidda. He was a good oral historian. Now deceased.
32	Tamasgen Admasu	85	M	Shambu	21/01/15	Born in the vicinity of Amuru. He has abundant information about Shambu town
33	Taressa Mulata	72	M	Saqala	29/10/14	A well informed peasant who knows much about historical developments in the region.
34	Tesso Horro	69	M	Silbi	25/10/14	A farmer who knows much about the cultural history of Horro. He served as Shane in the known Qallu of Horro
35	Tolassa Sagni	94	M	Abille	25/10/14	A patriot during the Italian Period came to Shambu from Finca'a in 1948
36	Wandimu Ayana	86	M	Jimma Ganati	03/06/15	Born in Jimma Ganati and lived there as tenant. His information about land tenure system is appreciable.
37	Waqjira Dayas	65	M	Alshaya	20/01/15	A very important person with all rounded knowledge about the post liberation period
38	Waqoya Dhinsa	75	M	Haro Aga	25/10/14	He is a farmer. He was a chairman of the Producers' Cooperatives in a <i>qäbäle</i> during the Därg period. He gave me useful information on the history of Horro District during Därg.
39	Warqu Aga	70	M	Dabisi	13/04/15	A farmer who knows much about the land tenure history of the district
40	Warqu Dabalo	82	M	Saqala	29/10/14 20/01/15	He is a merchant. He gave me ample information about the history of the land tenure system in Horro during the 20 th century and the foundation of different towns in Horro
41	Wirtu Lamu	77	M	Sombo Kumi	24/12/14	A very important person with all rounded knowledge about the pre and post liberation history of the region.
42	Zerihun Abara	84	M	Shambu	21/01/15	He is a farmer. His account on 20 th century history of Horro is invaluable.

Glossary

<i>Abba Lafaa</i>	land lord
<i>Abba Muda</i>	the eldest <i>Qaallu</i>
<i>Abat Gäbäre</i>	elder farmer
<i>Akayi qori</i>	buttered roasted barley
<i>Angafa</i>	eldest
<i>Aräqé</i>	a local alcoholic drink that resembles dry gin
<i>Ateté</i>	spiritual of fertility
<i>Awrajja</i>	an administrative unit below the level of province
<i>Ayyaana</i>	spirit
<i>Baadiu</i>	cheese (the product of milk)
<i>Baakaa (borqii)</i>	unfertile land
<i>Balambaras</i>	a military title just below that of <i>grazmach</i>
<i>Booranfachuu</i>	purification
<i>Buqqurii xaafii</i>	local beer made of teff
<i>Bushaa bu'uu</i>	taking cattle along valley where mineral water is available
<i>Buta</i>	elder spirit in Horro
<i>Čaaččuu</i>	an oval leather strip on which cowrie shells are suspended and used for ritual purposes
<i>Čüčoo</i>	a locally made milk container
<i>Daadhii</i>	an alcoholic drink also called mead
<i>Dagal saaqii</i>	the opener of forest (the pioneer)
<i>Däjazmach</i>	Commander of the gate, a politico-military title below <i>ras</i>
<i>Därg</i>	the military government of Ethiopia which replaced the Imperial government
<i>Dhala waayyuu shanan</i>	the five sons of Wayyuu

<i>Farsoo</i>	local beer
<i>Fitawrari</i>	a commander of advanced guard, a title below <i>dejazmach</i>
<i>Gäbbar</i>	tribute paying peasant
<i>Geerarsa</i>	traditional song of the Oromo during different ceremonies
<i>Gimbii</i>	Holy house of worship for Oromo traditional religion
<i>Golfa</i>	typhoid fever
<i>Gondore tor</i>	Shawan soldiers who settled in Horro during the early 20 th c
<i>Goordana sibila</i>	iron ore
<i>Grazmach</i>	a politico-military title below <i>qäñazmach</i>
<i>Hammachiisaa</i>	a <i>Qaallu</i> ceremony which is connected with fertility
<i>Hamsa Aläqa</i>	Commander of fifty
<i>Hibiretesebawinet</i>	Socialism
<i>Idgät be hibirät</i>	development through cooperation
<i>Itittuu</i>	a sort of yoghurt or sour milk
<i>Kakaa</i>	oath
<i>Kudhaarfan Horro</i>	fourteen Horro sons
<i>Laga Mormor</i>	Abay River
<i>Masqal gubii</i>	a firing ceremony conducted for the honor of <i>Qaallu</i>
<i>Meto Aleqa</i>	Commander of hundred
<i>Mikitil Wäräda</i>	Administrative unit below district
<i>Mishigi</i>	fortification
<i>Naannoo ceremony</i>	a ceremony conducted for the honor of <i>Qaallu</i> by rounding <i>Gimbii</i>
<i>Oofa</i>	the eldest spirit in Horro Guduru
<i>Qaalluu</i>	the spiritual leader in the Oromo traditional religion

<i>Qabiyee lafaa</i>	land ownership
<i>Qañzmach</i>	a politico-military title below <i>fitawrari</i>
<i>Qanqee</i>	a pamphlet called spark dispatched by students during the Student Movement against the imperial regime
<i>Rist</i>	a hereditary land use
<i>Sangaa fardaa</i>	well nurtured male horse used for traditional warfare
<i>Siiqqée</i>	a decorated romantic plant used for ritual purpose
<i>Teqlay gizat</i>	administrative unit during imperial period equivalent to province
<i>Waaqa</i>	Supreme Being (God)
<i>Waaqeffannaa</i>	indigenous religion of the Oromo
<i>Wäräda</i>	district
<i>Wareega</i>	vow
<i>Wayéro</i>	a title given to married women
<i>Zemachs</i>	campaigners

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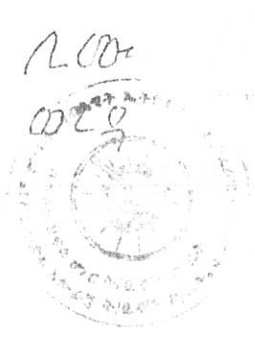
Appendix I

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Appendix- IV

የተገባው ገጽ	የደረጃው ዓመት	የተጠቀሰው ዓመት	የ1990 ዓ.ም. ገዢ			የ1996 ዓ.ም. ገዢ			የተጠቀሰው ገዢ
			ወ	ቀ	ጸ	ወ	ቀ	ጸ	
2ኛ ገጽ: 15-25-96	9-12	1970	21	-	21	2405	95	1500	2ኛ ገጽ ገጠማዊ ገጽ
2ኛ ገጽ: ጠቅላይ	1-8	1945	22	-	22	2550	559	2509	
ገጠማዊ	1-8	1968	9	-	9	1680	163	1843	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1957	6	-	6	403	153	556	
ገጠማዊ	1-6	1970	5	-	5	472	37	509	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1971	7	-	7	929	181	1110	
ገጠማዊ: 7-8-3	1-6	1971	5	1	6	457	174	631	
ጠቅላይ	1-3	1972	3	-	3	411	26	437	
ገጠማዊ: ጠቅላይ	1-5	1973	3	-	3	399	255	554	
ገጠማዊ: 15-6: ጠቅላይ	1-8	1938	59	5	64	2504	1937	4441	ገጠማዊ ገጽ
ጠቅላይ	1-8	1962	11	-	11	1300	638	1938	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1971	5	-	5	347	107	454	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1971	5	2	7	596	301	897	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1971	5	1	6	364	261	625	
ጠቅላይ: ገጠማዊ	1-6	1971	6	-	6	359	221	580	
ጠቅላይ	1-5	1972	4	-	4	416	289	705	
2ኛ ገጽ: 10-5-8	1-4	1973	3	1	4	156	183	339	
ጠቅላይ: ገጠማዊ: 25-10-8	9-12	1967	44	2	46	2397	234	2631	
ጠቅላይ	1-8	1944	11	-	11	806	195	1001	ገጠማዊ ገጽ
ጠቅላይ: ገጠማዊ	1-8	1968	6	4	10	513	352	865	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1966	9	-	9	895	276	1171	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1970	6	-	6	593	195	718	
ገጠማዊ	1-6	1969	3	2	5	286	116	402	
ጠቅላይ: ጠቅላይ	1-5	1971	5	-	5	514	74	588	
ጠቅላይ: ጠቅላይ: ገጠማዊ	1-4	1971	3	-	3	395	61	456	
ጠቅላይ: ጠቅላይ	1-4	1972	2	2	3	218	47	265	
ጠቅላይ	1-4	1972	2	1	3	240	54	294	
ጠቅላይ: ጠቅላይ: ጠቅላይ	1-2	1973	2	1	3	182	21	203	
ጠቅላይ	1-8	1938	26	-	26	1645	381	2026	
ጠቅላይ	1-8	1966	9	-	9	939	35	974	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1957	7	-	7	693	118	811	
ጠቅላይ: ጠቅላይ	1-6	1970	5	-	5	623	83	706	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1967	5	-	5	135	79	214	
ጠቅላይ	1-6	1963	4	-	4	54	-	54	
ጠቅላይ	1-4	1972	3	-	3	318	105	423	
ጠቅላይ	1-5	1972	4	-	4	330	71	401	
ጠቅላይ	1-4	1972	4	-	4	423	47	470	
ጠቅላይ: ገጠማዊ	1-4	1972	2	-	2	280	25	305	
ጠቅላይ: ጠቅላይ	1-2	1973	2	-	2	389	87	476	



ቁ፡ 2



№ 015725 *

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር፤
የገቢዎች ሚኒስቴር ምክር ቤቅ ገንዘብ ደረሰኝ።

አውራጃው ወከን / ከ

ወረዳው ገ ጭክ

ቀበሌው 11/1

ርዕዮ የሚገኝበት ሥፍራ ለደ. ስም ገረገረ

መለኪያው ከተሰጠው ክፍል

የደ. ስም ገረገረው ከሆነ

በደ. ስም ገረገረው ከሆነ

ገንዘብ ስም ገረገረው

ገንዘብ ስም ገረገረው

የሰጠው ገንዘብ ስም ገረገረው

የሰጠው ገንዘብ ስም ገረገረው

በሌላ ገንዘብ ስም ገረገረው

» አሁን »

የደ. ስም ገረገረው

በሌላ ገንዘብ ስም ገረገረው

በሌላ

ከዚህ በላይ የተሰጠውን የሰጠው ገንዘብ ስም ገረገረው

ገንዘብ ስም

ገንዘብ ስም

የደ. ስም

Appendix- XIV

ቁጥር 11937/7696

1875 ግ 1968 ዓ.ም

ለወለጋ ከፍለ አገር ፖሊስ ዋና መዳኝ

ነ ቀ ዎ ቲ ::

መሳሪያ - የደዘ ሽፍተኛ በነቀጥቱ አውራጃ በአገገር በሩሃ በኩል ወይም በአቅጣጫ ተገዛዋል ስለተባለው ጉዳይ ከ ሆሮ ጉዳይ አውራጃ ጊዳ ኪረጫ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጸሐፊ ት ቤት በኔ 17 ግ 1968 ዓ.ም በቁጥር 2153/68 በሆሮዳ ዓተዘገባውን ኮፒ አያስታሉ:-

ለሌሊት ጉዳይ ከባለቤቱ የሚታወቅ ገንዘብ ተጠሪ ተ አገገላለጻልና በያቅጣጫ የመጠቀስ ክስ ተደርጎ አሰራገጧል አርዎ አገገውን አባላቸው:-



“አገገላለጻል” ትቃላት

አ.ቤ.ዮ.ገ.ሊ.ታ.ጊ

የክፍለ ሀገሩ ዋና አስተዳደር

ገልጻል:-

ሆሮ ጉዳይ አውራጃ አስተዳደር ጸሐፊ ት ቤት

ሽ ዎ ቲ ::

- በነቀጥቱ አውራጃ አስተዳደር ጸሐፊ ት ቤት

ነ ቀ ዎ ቲ ::

አ.ፈ //

Aug 24 1881: 9.90

Handwritten header text in Amharic script.

ገጽ ፩

Handwritten text lines, likely a list or account entries.

Main body of handwritten text in Amharic script, consisting of multiple lines of entries.



Handwritten signature or name.

ገጽ ፩ ገጽ ፩ ገጽ ፩

ቁጥር ፪/፲፱፻፲፱ ጠ/አገገ/18/07

ቀን 20-5-79

ለ IPCC ጠ/ረዳ የሀገር መንግሥት ጭነት ሕዝብ

ለስተገባሪ ኮሚቴ

ጳጳስ

ጉዳዩ፡ የሀገር መንግሥት ጭነት ሕዝብ ድምጽ ለስጦት ቀደም ዝገጅተን

ይመለከታል ፡፡

ለብዳታን በአሸናፊነትና በድል አድራጊነት ወደፊት እየተራመደ ዛሬ በአገገድ ታላቅ ሕዝባዊ ክግግር ጭነት ላይ ይገኛል ፡፡ ይህ ታላቅ ሕዝባዊ ተገባር ደገፍ በ ፊው ሕዝብ ራሱን በራሱ የሚያስተዳድርበትና የሚገኝበት የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝባዊ ንቅናቄ ሲያደርግ ለገባሪ መንግሥት መመሥረት ነው ፡፡

ለዚህ ተገባር ሥምረት በቀደምት የአዲስ ሀገር መንግሥት በሕዝቡ ተሳትፎ ተዘጋጅቶ የሰፊውን ሕዝብ ይሁንታ ለማግኘት ቀርቧል ፡፡ እያንዳንዱ የአገሬ ተዘጋጅ በ የሚገኝበት ቀበሌ በረቂቅ ሀገር መንግሥት ላይ ተወያይቶ አስተያየት እንደሠጠ ሁሉን ሁን ደገፍ በአስተያየት ዳቦርና ተሻሻሎ በቀረበለት ረቂቅ ላይ ድምጽ በመስጠት በተገባር ላይ እንዲውሉ የሚደረገበት ጊዜ ከመቼውም ይበልጥ እየተቃረነ መጥቷል ፡፡

ረቂቅ ሀገር መንግሥትን ለማዳበር ከ500000 በላይ አስተያየቶችና ጥያቄዎች ቀርበው 58 የታላ የሰረገና የመሰሰሉት ማሻሻያዎች ተደርገውበት እንደገና ወደ ሕዝቡ እንዲመለስ ተደርጋል ፡፡ ስለሆነም ሕዝቡ ድምጽ ከመስጠት በፊት የተደረገውን ማሻሻል በገለጸ እንዲረዳ ወደረገ አለበት ፡፡ ለዚህ ተገባር ስኬታማነት ጋዜጣው ለሕዝቡ እንዲደርስ ከፍተኛ ጥረት ተደርጋል ፡፡ የማሰረዳት ተገባር ጋዜጣውን በማደል ብቻ የሚካተትም አይደለም ፡፡ ይልቅም በሚረዳው ቋንቋ ድምጽ ከሚሰጥበት ቀን አስተዳደር በሚደረግ ስብሰባ አስሰረጵነታቸው በተመረጡ ጋዶች ሰፊ ገለጻ ለደረገለት ይገባል ፡፡

ባለሆነም ፡፡

ባለሆነም ፡፡

= የአሁን ሕዝባዊ መመሥረት የአገሬ ተዘጋጅ ለጀቸው ወደፊት ምትክ የማይገኝለትን ህይወታቸውን የሠወጠት ፡፡ በአገሬ ተዘጋጅ ጭነት ሕዝባዊ አወርታ ሲሆን በወዳጅም ሆነ በጠላት በከፍተኛ አትኩርት የሚጠበቅ አብዳታዊ ተገባር ነው ፡፡

በገታ አታና

የባር ጉዳይ አውጪ አዎጥ ኮሚቴ አገገድ ጸሐፊ

የደምብ ስርዓት ለማረጋገጥ የሚያስፈልጉትን ደብዳቤዎች ይጠቅሙ

የደምብ መስጫ ጣቢያ
የውሳኔ ሕዝብ ውጤት መግለጫ

ገጽ 1

1. አድራሻ I— ክፍለ ሀገር ወሰን ቁጥ. 415179 ደ.ያ.ፎ
 አውራጃ/ቀጣና ሆሮ = ጉዲሩ
 ወረዳ/ክፍተት ሆሮ
 የደምብ መስጫ ጣቢያ/ቀበሌ ፕላን 8 = ደብ

2. ደምብ ለመስጠት በጣቢያው የተመዘገበው ሕዝብ ብዛት

ሴት	ወንድ	ጠቅላላ
138	99	237

3. ደምብ የሰጠ ሕዝብ ብዛት

ሴት	ወንድ	ጠቅላላ
138	98	236

4. የደምብ ቆጠራ ውጤት :- በመቀበል 168
 ባለመቀበል 68
 ዋጋ አልባ —

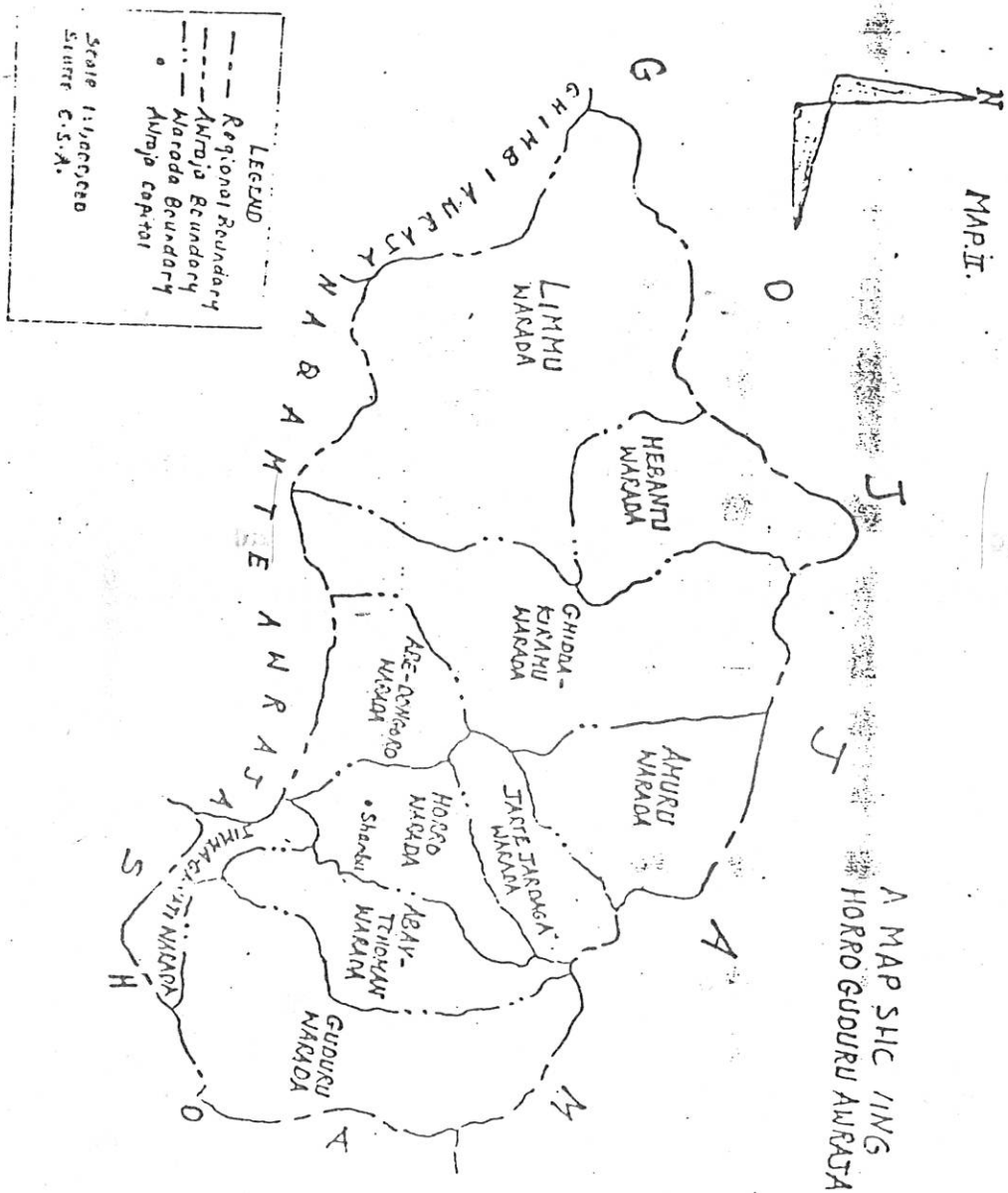
5. ለጣቢያው የተላከ የደምብ መስጫ ወረቀት ብዛት	<u>262</u>
6. በሥራ ላይ የዋለ » » » »	<u>236</u>
7. ያልተሠራበት/ተመላሽ » » » »	<u>26</u>

ከላይ የተመለከተው ዝርዝር መረጃ ትክክለኛ መሆኑን እናረጋግጣለን።

የአስተባባሪ ኮሚቴ አባላት :-
 ተክል: ጠገራይ ስም ፊርማ
 ይህ: አቶ ስም ፊርማ
 ገብረ: ገብረ ስም ፊርማ
 ደ.ሀ.ፊ: ደ.ሀ.ፊ ስም ፊርማ
 ተገባሪ ማረጋገጫ: ፊርማ
 ጠቅላይ: ጠቅላይ ስም ፊርማ



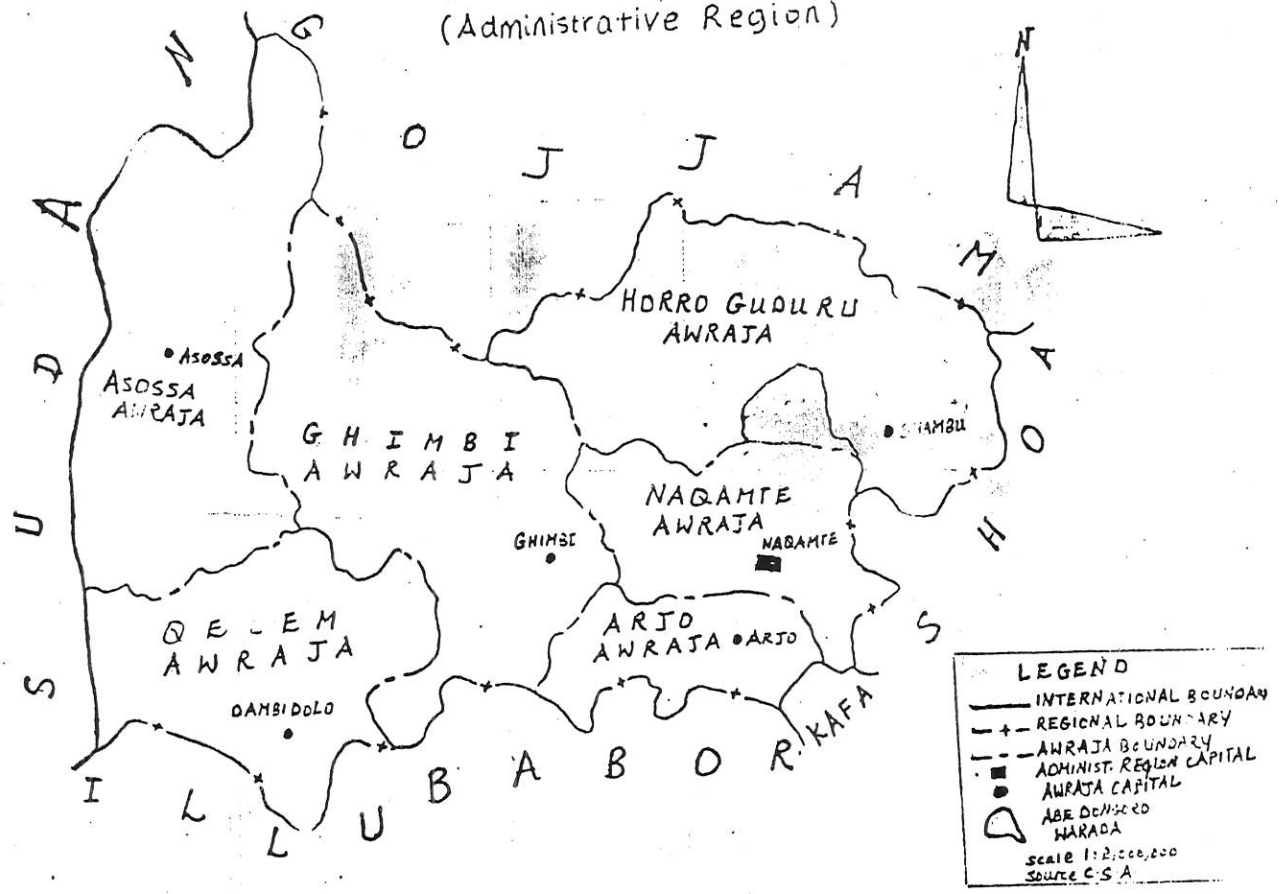
ስም ፊርማ
 ፊርማ: ፊርማ
 ሆ.ቆ.ፊ: ሆ.ቆ.ፊ
 ማረጋገጫ: ማረጋገጫ
 ደ.ሀ.ፊ: ደ.ሀ.ፊ



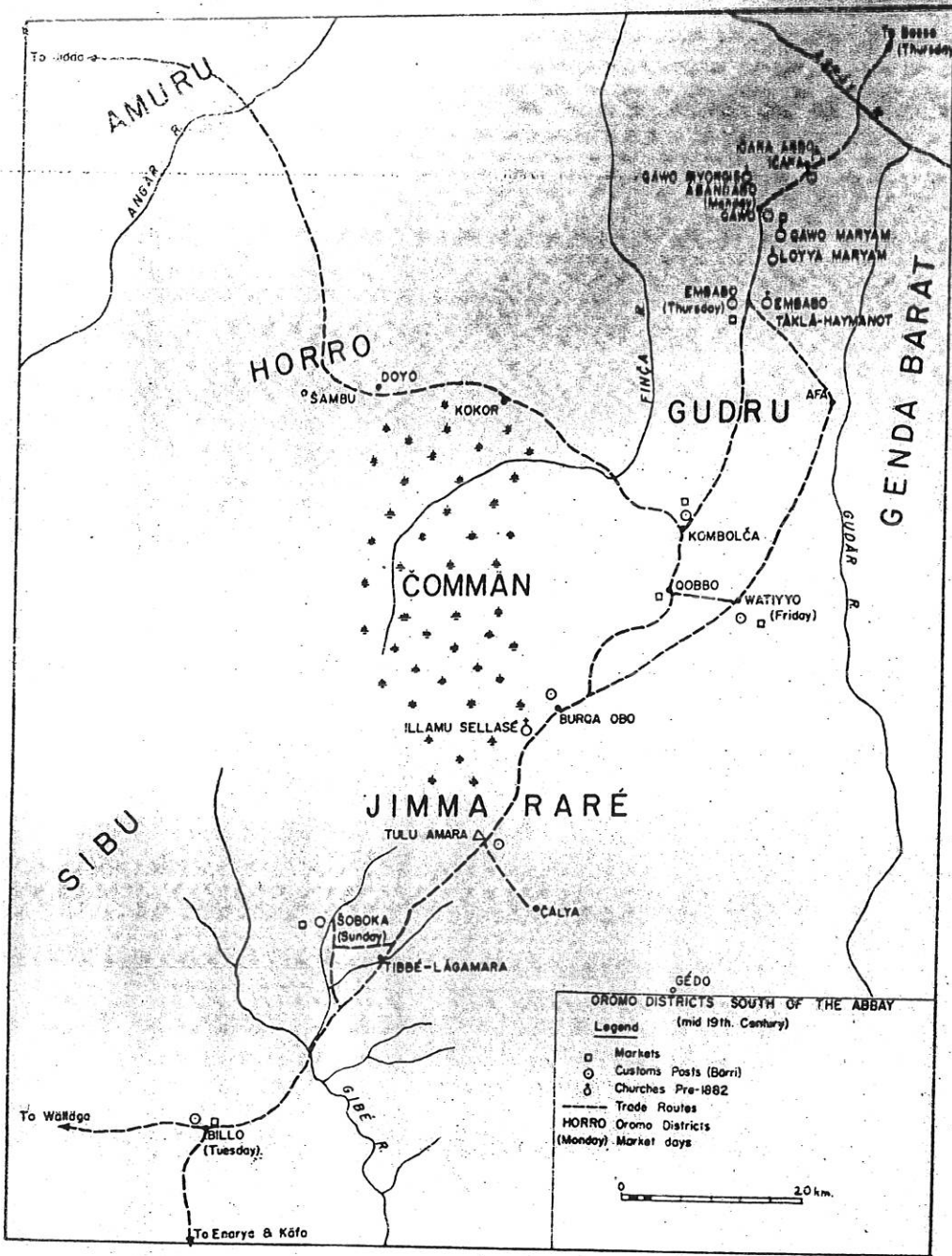
Source: Horro Warada cultural and Tourism Office

MAP I.

A MAP SHOWING WALLAGA (Administrative Region)

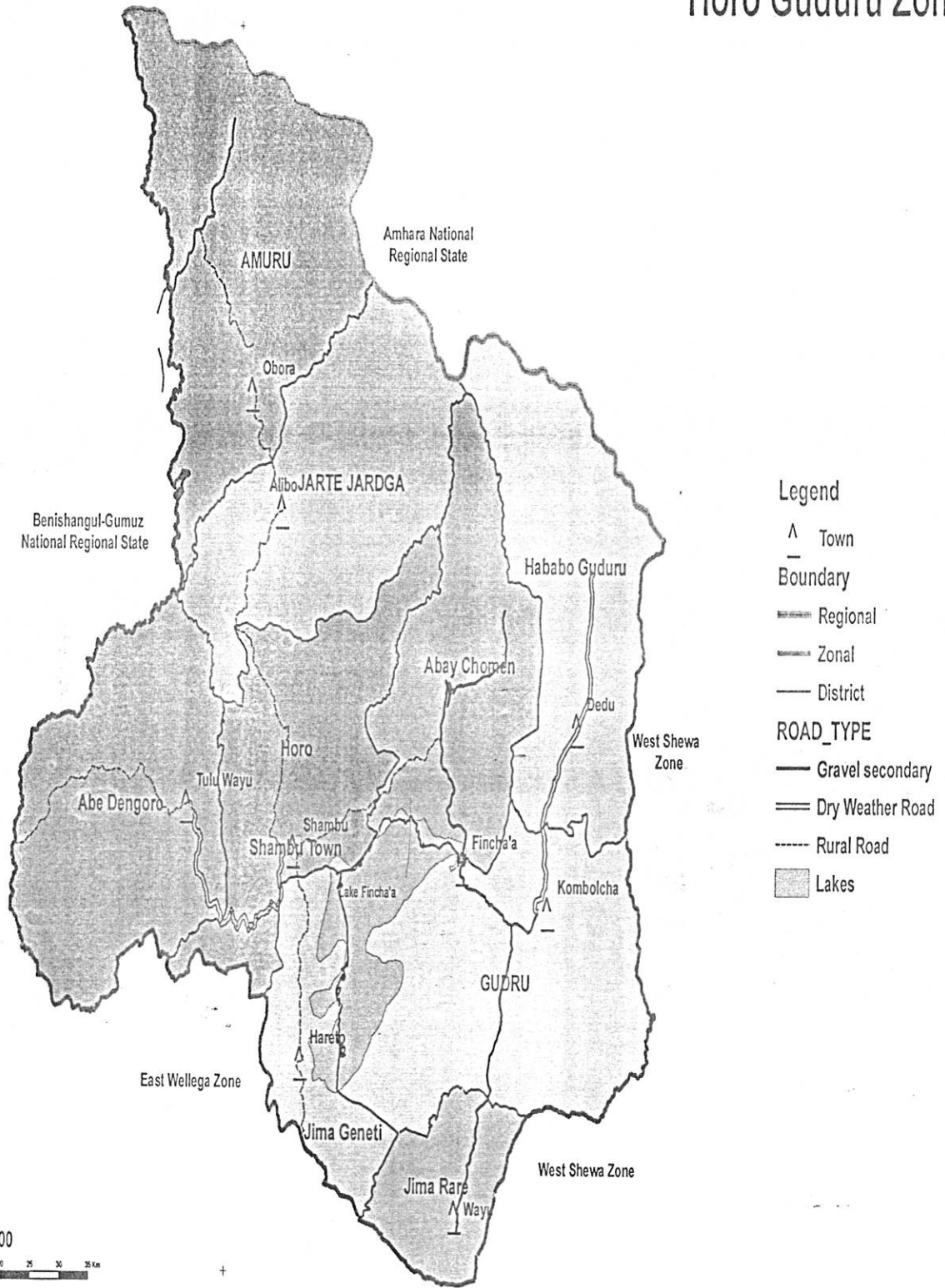


Source: Horro Guduru Wallagga Zone Administration Office.



Source = Triulzi Alessandro, The Guduru Oromo and their Neighbors in the Two Generations before the Battle of Enbabo, p. 64.

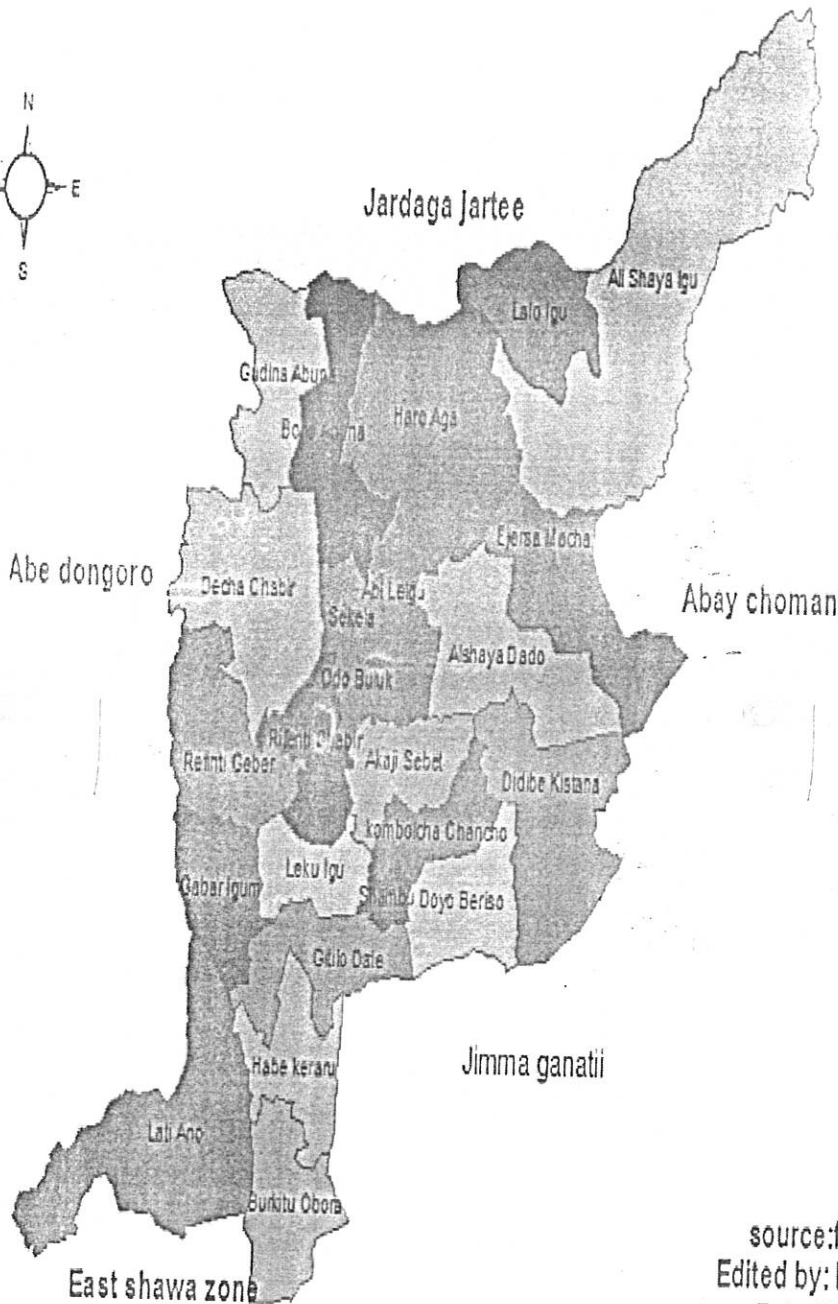
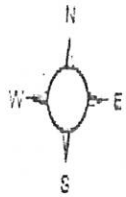
Horo Guduru Zone



Source = from central statistical Agency

KAARTAA AANAA HORROO (A map of Horro District)

Horo Disitric



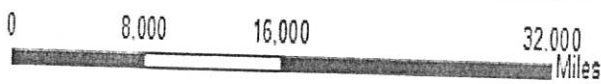
Legend

Horo District

RK_NAME

- Alshaya Dado
- Gabar Igum
- Abi Lequ
- Akaji Sebet
- Al Shaya Igu
- Bone Abuna
- Burkitu Obora
- Decha Chabir
- Didibe Kistana
- Doyo Beraso
- Ejersa Mocha
- Gitlo Date
- Gudina Abuna
- Habe keraru
- Haro Aga
- Lalo Igu
- Lati Ano
- Leku Igu
- Odo Buluk
- Reintu Geber
- Rifenti Chabir
- Sekela
- Shambu
- Kombolcha Chancho

source: from CSA
Edited by: Lalise Nigisi
Date: 17/10/2011



Source = from central statistical Agency

DECLARATIOTION

I, the undersigned declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Wagari Mosissa

Signature 

Date of Submission September, 2015