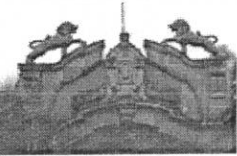


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A History of Bule Hora Town from its Foundation to 1991

By
Abebe Alemu

November, 2016

A History of Bule Hora Town from its Foundation to 1991

**By
Abebe Alemu**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Programmes of Addis Ababa
University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Masters
of Arts Degree in History Department of History**

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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

A History of Bule Hora Town from its Foundation to 1991

**By
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Advisor: Professor Tesema Ta'a


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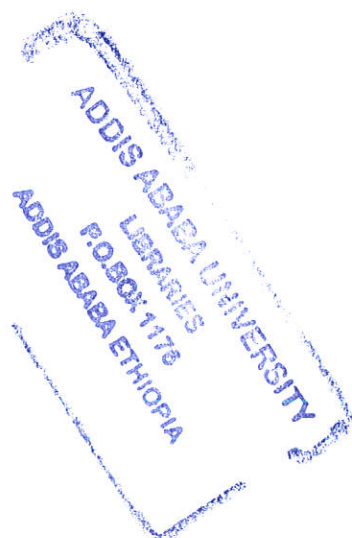
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Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner: Taddeusu Berisso Signature [Signature] Date 2/11/16
Examiner: Belete Bizanea Signature [Signature] Date 2/11/16
Advisor: Tesema Taa Signature [Signature] Date 2-11-16

Samuel Negash 
Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator



Transliteration

Key to the transliteration system used:

I. The seven sounds of the Ethiopian alphabet are represented as follows

1 st	በ	Ba
2 nd	ቡ	Bu
3 rd	ቢ	Bī
4 th	ባ	Bā
5 th	ቤ	Be
6 th	ብ	Bi
7 th	ቦ	Bo

II. Regarding the six form in the above list it must be noted “i” will be suffixed to the letter Only if the letter is vocalized or stressed, otherwise it won’t be required at all. As a general rule also the “i” is not required when the sixth form is the last letter of a word.

Example

መምህር- Mamhir
ብድር- Biddir

III. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows

ሸ - Sh
ቸ - Ch ጆ - J
ኸ - Ṣ
ጸ - Zh

IV. Glottalized sounds are represented as follows

ቀ - q ጸ/ፀ - ʃ
ጠ - t ጸ - p
ጨ - čh

Germination is always indicated by doubling

Example-Kabbada Tasamma

General example

ተናኘወርቅ -	Tanāññawarq	ጸዮን -	Şiyon
እስክንድር -	Iskindir	ኤርሚያስ -	Ermiyās
ሚካኤል -	Mikā'el	ጅራፍ -	Jirāf
አዛኝ -	Azzāzh	ግራኝ -	Grāñ
ኢየሱ -	Iyyāsu		
ጴጥሮስ -	Peṭros		
ሸሮ -	Shiro		
ጨርጨር -	čharčhar		

Table of Contents

Contents	Page
Transliteration	i
Abbreviation	v
Acknowledgments.....	vi
Abstract.....	v
Preface.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE	1
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 General Overview of Urban Development in Ethiopia.....	1
1.2. Geographical and Historical Background of Guji	5
1.2.1 Geographical Background of the Guji	5
1.2.2. Historical Background of Guji.....	7
1.2.3. Economic Activities.....	9
1.2.4. Menilek’s Campaign Against Guji and their Reaction.....	11
1.2.5 Impacts of the Occupation on Urban Development.....	13
CHAPTER TWO	15
2. Bule Hora from Its Foundation to 1941	15
2.1. Geographical Location.....	15
2.2 The Early History of Bule Hora Town to 1941	17
CHAPTER THREE	33
3. BULE HORA FROM 1941 -1991	33
3.1 Bule Hora between 1941 and 1974.....	33
3.2 The Town’s Relations with Rural Hinterlands and the Neighboring Areas	45
3.3. Bule Hora during the Derg period (1974-1991)	46
CHAPTER FOUR.....	52
Urban Land Use, Town Administration and Urban Services	52
4.1 Urban Land Use	52
4.2. Town Administration.....	59
5. Urban Services	63
5.1 Water Supply	63

5.2. Electric Service	64
5.3. Education	65
5.4. Health Service	67
5.5. Other Facilities.....	68
CONCLUSION.....	69
Glossary	72
BIBLIORGRAPHY	73
List of Informants	83
Appandix	86-108

Abbreviation

BMA: Bule Hora Municipality Archives

MA: Master of Arts

NALA: National Archives and Library Agency

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Abstract

This study deals with the history of Bule Hora town from its foundation to 1991. Its foundation can be traced back to the early decade of the twentieth century with the coming of Menilek's forces to the region. Prior to the conquest and incorporation of the region, the site served the Guji Oromo of the area as a center where the Gada ritual and ceremonial activities were carried out. Since the area was a center of bandits who came from various places, soon after the conquest Balcha Safo sent his soldieries to the region and they camped at the traditional site. The officials and soldieries as well as those who came with them had permanently settled in and around the camp. The military center eventually evolved into a garrison town. Its location on the long distance trade route network and the prevalence of peace and stability in the region with the help of officials and soldiers of the garrison relatively contributed to its early growth. Some improvement was also seen during the Italian occupation period due to the construction of the dry weather roads that connected Bule Hora with central parts of the country and the southern regions. The town showed growth in the post Italian period, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s. It was in these years that various social, economic and administrative institutions were established and attracted immigrants to the area in large numbers. Above all, the construction of the Addis Ababa-Moyle highway that passes through the town played an important role in the growth and development of the town. After the construction of the road a large number of merchants and people from the surrounding and other distant areas came to the town to do business. The location of the town with a rich agricultural and livestock production region also enhanced the growth and development of the town. Although the growth and development of the town declined owing to the instability that prevailed following the 1974 revolution, it began to revive since 1980. This was due the restoration of peace and stability in the region and the improvement and establishment of urban service giving institutions as well as the construction of all weather roads that connected the rural hinterlands and neighboring areas with the town.

Preface

This thesis deals with the history of Bule Hora town from its foundation to 1991. It is divided into four chapters. The first chapter outlines the general overview of urban development and geographical and historical background of the Guji people of the area. The second chapter deals with the origin and early growth of Bule Hora before and during the Italian period. The third chapter tried to assess the development of the town from 1941 to 1991. The fourth one deals with urban land use, town administration and urban services.

In conducting this study, efforts had been made to use all available written source material and oral sources. Some archival materials that could have supported this study are available in the archives of the Municipality of Bule Hora town, but it is badly organized and even kept into a dirty store. In spite of the difficulties involved in searching for relevant document in this office, I was able to make use some of them. Some published and unpublished secondary sources materials have also been used in this study. Attempts have been made in crosschecking the collected oral data with available archival and secondary sources before interpretation.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Overview of Urban Development in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a country with long history of urbanization.¹ The foundation and formation of urban centers in Ethiopian history began during the pre-Aksumite time. Adulis, Koleo, Keskesse, Matera and Yeha are some of the pre -Aksumite urban sites in northern Ethiopia which were mainly used as trading centers. Then Aksum came into existence as a town in the first century AD. After the fall of Aksum, Roha was founded in Lasta in the second half of 12th century. It served as political and religious center until the close of the 13th century.² Most of Ethiopia's ancient urban centers emerged as royal capitals, religious and commercial centers.³

During the medieval period, the development of urban centers declined due to economic and political factors. Urban history of Ethiopia was characterized by mobile capitals or the absence of a fixed urban center because of political nomadism in the country at the time. This lack of permanency resulted in the discontinuity of urbanism.⁴ There were in fact some royal capitals like Debre Berhan in Shewa which was used as a capital by Emperor Zara' Yacob (1434-1468) and

¹ Kebede Mamo, *Migration and Urbanization in Ethiopia*. (Addis Ababa: Minster of Education Institute for Curriculum Development and Reserch,1994) ,p.25; Ababu Aligaz, "A History of Yergalem Town and its Environs from 1933-1974," (M.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1995,) , p. 1; Bahru Zewde, *A Short History of Ethiopia and Horn*(Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1998), p.45; Dereje Tekle Walde Mariam, "Military Garrison as a Factor of Urban Formation and Socio-Cultural Transformation: The case of Fiche town,"(M.A Thesis, IES, Addis Ababa University, 2007),p.21.

² Ababu Aligaz, p.1; Akalou Wolde Michael , "Urban Development in Ethiopia in time and space Perspective," (PhD Dissertation, University of California, 1967,) pp.30-51,58;Dereje, p.28;Kebede Mamo,p.25.

³ Eshetu Tesfaye , "A History of Wanago Town From its Foundation to 1991," (M.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University,)201 1, p.1.

⁴ Kebede Mamo, pp.25-26; Shiferaw Bekele (ed), *An Economic History of Modern Ethiopia: The Imperial Era 1941-1974*, Vol.1. CDESRIA Book Series, 1995, pp. 301-302.

Gondar which was established as a permanent capital of Ethiopia in the mid 17th century by Emperor Fasil (1632-1668) and served as a political center until the establishment of Addis Ababa as a permanent capital of the country.⁵

The rise and development of urban sites in the southern and western parts of Ethiopia has not been well studied when we compared with the northern parts of Ethiopia.⁶ Prior to Menilek's expedition to the western parts of Ethiopia, there were some sites of settlement which emerged and developed due to internal factors such as , increase of population and the development of local political power. Some of these centers were Bonga (Kaffa), Saqqa (Limmu) and Naqamtee Wallaga).⁷

Trade and trade routes have made important contributions in the rise of market places and towns in Ethiopia since ancient times. In the southern parts of the country, there were important caravan routes proceeding to the coast, particularly Zayla. The presence of such routes in the areas like Kaffa (Jimma), Southern Shewa, Bale and Walayta led to the emergence of towns such as Alaba in southern Shewa and the market place Alelu near Shashamane.⁸ Some towns also grew out of popular assembly sites, especially among the Oromo in the late 19th century such as Naqamtee and Yabello, the towns presently located in Western and Southern parts of the country respectively.⁹

The process of modern urbanization in Ethiopia began to take shaped the close of the nineteenth century. A number of factors accounted for this new stage of urban development. These were

⁵ Akalou Wolde Michael, p. 67.

⁶ Tesema Ta'a, "The process of Urbanization in Wollega, Western Ethiopia: The case of Naqamtee," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XXV, No.1.1993, P.673; Eshetu Tesfaye, p.2.

⁷ Eshetu Tesfaye, p.2.

⁸ Benti Getahun, "A History of Shashamane: From its Foundation to 1974", M.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1988, pp. 17-20.

⁹ Dereje Tekle Mariam, p.21.

territorial expansion, the creation of new system of administration and the improvement of communication and commerce.¹⁰

Territorial expansion gave birth to the expansion of military garrisons and emergence of urban centers.¹¹ Though territorial expansion existed in the earlier periods, it was Menilek's territorial expansion that led to the development of urbanization.¹² Akalou Walda Michael in his work on urban development in Ethiopia identified the following three reasons for this:

Firstly, when the campaign were mounted, the objects of hostilities were the destruction of opposing strengths rather than the systematic devastation of settlement centers as it had been especially true of king Sahla Sellase in the early nineteenth century . Secondly, territorial control rather than being temporary became permanent. Thirdly, the surplus for such costly campaigns was obtained through a new and comparatively efficient system of state bureaucracy and taxation¹³.

Menilek's territorial expansion led to the establishment of military garrison centers in the newly conquered areas in order to control the conquered peoples, administer the region. These centers were gradually transformed from military bases into urban establishment. This was especially true for Menilek's expansion in the southern parts of the country where a number of garrison towns had emerged following the occupation of the region.¹⁴

The development of new government bureaucracy encouraged people to settle as temporary and permanent residents in the garrison towns.¹⁵

¹⁰ Akalou Walde Michael, *Urban Development in Ethiopia (1889-1925): Early JES*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa Universty, 1976, p.1; Shiferaw Bekele, p.303.

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² Shiferaw Bekele, p.303; Akalou Walde Michael (1976), p. 2.

¹³ Akalou Walde Michael, pp.2-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid*; Ronald J. Horvath, "The Process of Urban Agglomeratio in Ethiopia" In Marina Ottaway (eds), *Urbanization in Ethiopia: A text with Integrated Reading* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa Universty, 1976), p.172.

¹⁵ Akalou Walde Michael (1967), pp.125-142; Ababu Aligaz, p.3.

The construction of Addis Ababa- Djibouti railway was another factor that contributed to the development of urbanization in Ethiopia. Many railway road stations were established along the railway line some of which later developed into towns such as Dire Dawa, Nazareth (Adāmā), Debrezeit (Bishoftu) and Mojo.¹⁶

In addition to the factors mentioned above, there were also external factors which contributed to the development of urbanization in Ethiopia. The most important was the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936-1941). Though the process of modern urbanization started during the reign of Menilek II, it was the Italian occupation which hastened the process of urbanization. In order to extract surplus resources, increase market for their goods and services and to consolidate their control on the country, the Italians built a network of roads and set up regional administrative centers. This in turn led to the emergence and development of urbanization in Ethiopia.¹⁷

The developments of urbanization were also observed in Ethiopia in the 1950s and the 1960s. During this period a large number of people moved from rural area to urban centers. The relative concentration of modern economic activities, social and other service and the location of government institutions were among the contributing factors in the move of people towards the towns during this period. The process of urbanization showed a decline in the post- 1974 period.¹⁸ This was mainly due to land policy of the Derg, particularly the confiscation of land and extra houses.¹⁹

¹⁶ Shiferaw Bekele, p. 304; Akalou Walde Michael (1976), pp. 47-48.

¹⁷ Shiferaw Bekele, p.304.

¹⁸ *Ibid*; p. 305.

¹⁹ Clapham, Christopher, *Transformation and continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge University, 1988, pp. 129-130; Eshetu Tesfaye, pp. 39-40.

As part of the Southern expansion, Guji was incorporated to the Ethiopian empire in the last quarter of nineteenth century.²⁰ The town of Bule Hora, the central focus of this thesis emerged and developed in Guji land. Therefore so as to have a clear understanding of the emergence and development of the town, a brief look at the history of Guji people is became important. The following section will provide an over view on the geographical and historical development of the Guji.

1.2. Geographical and Historical Background of Guji

1.2.1 Geographical Background of the Guji

The Guji, one of the Oromo sub- groups live in the southern parts of Ethiopia, mainly in today's Borana and Guji administrative zones of Oromia Regional State.²¹ They inhabit in a territory that extends from Lake Abaya in the West to Ganale Guda River in the East, and from the middle Hagere Selam-Bore in the north to Negelle Borana in the South.²²

As such the Guji land is bordered by neighboring peoples like Arsi to the east, Borana to the south, Burji, Koyra and Gamo to the southwest, and Gedeo, Sidama and Walayta to the north²³.

²⁰ John T. Hinnant, "The Gada System of the Guji of Southern Ethiopia," (PhD Dissertation in Social Anthropology, the University of Chicago, 1977,) p. 21; Berhanu Lameso, "A History of Guji Oromo, Ca. 1850-1974," (PhD Dissertation in History, Addis Ababa University, 2012), p. 149.

²¹ Asebe Regassa, "Ethnicity and Inter-Ethnic Relations; the ' Ethiopian Experiment' and the case of the Guji and The Gedeo," M.A Thesis in Social Anthropology, Faculty of Social science, University of Tromso, Norway, 2007, p. 37; Tadesse Berisso, "Warfare Among Guji Oromo of Southern Ethiopia," In Bahru Zewde, Richard Pankrust and Tadesse Beyene(ed.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International conference of Ethiopian Studies Vol. II* (Addis Ababa : Institute of Ethiopia Studies, 1994), p.310; Berhanu Lameso ,p. 23; Hinnant , pp. 15-16.

²² Abiyot Negera, "Historical Survey of Guji-Gedeo Relation to 1974," (BA Thesis, Department of History, Dilla College of Teacher Education, 2005), p.1; Getachew Godana, "The Impact of Menelik's Southward Expansion; A Case of Guji Oromo (1895 -1935)", Senior Essay, Department of History, Kotebe College of Teacher Education, 1998, p.8.

²³ Asebe Regassa, p.37; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.97; Abiyot Negera, p.1.

Depending on the altitude, the geography of the Guji land is divided into lowland, medium altitude and highland ecological zones. The western portion of the Guji land mainly lies in the rift valley and thus it is in the hot lowlands. Here, temperature ranges from 20⁰ to 31c⁰. The highest altitude in this portion of the Guji land is 1500 meters above sea level. The middle ecological zone has an altitude that ranges from 1500 to 2500 meters above sea level and temperature that ranges from 14⁰c to 20c.^o This ecological zone includes the region between the towns of KibreMengist (Adola) and Negelle Borana in the east and between Wonago through Yirgachafe down the border of Borana area in the west.

On the other hand, the highland ecological zone is mainly found in the northern parts of the Guji land where altitude rises over 2500 meters above sea level and the average annual temperature goes up to 14c⁰.²⁴

The largest portion of the Guji people lives in Oromia Regional State. Outside that a large number of Guji people also live in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State zones of Sidama, Wolayta, Semen Omo and Gedeo.²⁵

Originally Oromia was sub -divided into eleven zones of which Borana was one of them. But later on, Borana zone was separated and the new Guji zone with its capital Negelle emerged while the rest of its parts remained in the old zones, in addition to keeping the old name Borana, it also made Yabello its new capital.

²⁴ Abiyot Negera, pp.2-3; Tadesse Berisso, "Agricultural And Rural Development Policies In Ethiopia: A case Study of villagization Policy Among The Guji Oromo of Jamjam Awurājjā", PhD Dissertation in Sociology, Michigan State University, 1995,p.39; Asebe Regassa ,p.38.

²⁵ Berhanu, pp. 23-26.

The division of the old zone was not on the basis of kinship structure rather it was taking administration into accounts. As a result, a large number of Borana and Guji Oromo live in both zones.²⁶

The Borana and Guji zones re-organized many times into a number of sub-zones known as *aana* in *afaan* Oromo starting from the time of its division. Finally, the two zones were sub-divided into fourteen and fifteen *aana* respectively. From the fourteen *aana* of Borana zone, Abaya, Galana, Dugda Dawa, Malka Soda and Bule-Hora, where the study area is found are inhabited by Guji Oromo²⁷.

1.2.2. Historical Background of Guji

Guji are one of the Oromo ethnic groups who live in Southern Ethiopia having their own language and territory.²⁸ Concerning the ethnic origin of Guji, there is no conclusive written historical information. As a result one is compelled to rely on Guji oral tradition. The Guji oral tradition indicates that once upon a time there was a man called Gujo who lived around Adola. Sometime later Gujo changed his center from Adola and moved to a place called Girja where he gave birth to four sons, namely Daraso, Urago, Mato and Hoko.²⁹ Daraso went to the area which is today called Gedeo. At Gedeo area his family increased in number and become one “tribe” known as Daraso. Now the “tribe” is called Gedeo.³⁰

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid*; pp. 27-28.

²⁸ Getachew Godana , p. .1.

²⁹ *Ibid*; Abiyot Negera, p. 2.

³⁰ Getachew Godana, p.5.

On the other hand, Urago moved to the west around Kuku (Hagere Mariam) where the study area is located.³¹ Mato inhabited the area known as Monisa Fura around Ganale while Hoku moved to the south around A dola area. Then these brothers (Urago, Mato and Hoku) became the founders of the present Guji Oromo branch and the descendent of these brothers also increased in number and resulted in the emergence of Guji confederation.³²

Regarding the numbers of Guji clans, different writers give different numbers. But in his study on the history of Guji Oromo, Berhanu Lameso supported Eike Haberlan's classification of Guji into a confederation of seven independent clans that were grouped into two minor confederations that have been geographically expressed as the southern and northern confederation. Accordingly, the southern confederation consisted of Uraga, Mati and Hoku while the northern Guji includes Halo, Wesitu, and Shelo and Otu.³³ The Uraga confederation occupied the vast area when we compare it with the rest of Guji confederation.³⁴ They inhabit pre- dominantly the study area that is in and around Bule Hora town.³⁵

As indicated above, according to Guji oral tradition, Adola is the original homeland of Guji and later they moved to Gijra where they lived for centuries. From this center, Guji launched their expansion. But they did not move a long distance except to the areas around Lake Langano and Lepise. In other words, the Guji did not move far a way from their original home land Adola and Girja.³⁶

³¹ Hinnant (1977), p.18; Getachew Godana, p. 5.

³² Getachew Godana, pp.5-6; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p. 91.

³³ Berhanu Lameso(2012),pp.32,89.

³⁴ *Ibid*; p. 91.

³⁵ Charles W. McClellan, *state transformation and National integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopia Empire, 1895-1935*. USA: East Lansing, 1988, pp. 15, 83; Getachew Godana, p. 26; Hnnant (1977).P.18.

³⁶ Berhanu Lameso (2012), pp. 59-60.

Concerning the administration of Guji, prior to the introduction of new administration system in Guji at the end of the 19th century, the people were governed by Gada system (a democratic type of government).³⁷ Under Gada system each Guji clan had its own political leadership in the form of Abba Gada and also they were independent.³⁸ But with the conquest and incorporation of the Guji into Ethiopian empire, they lost their traditional political autonomy.³⁹

As regards religion, the Guji were only worshipping a traditional religion that was based on a belief in a supreme being called *waqa* or *waqayo* until the introduction of Christianity and Islam into the Guji land.⁴⁰

1.2.3. Economic Activities

The Guji are an agro-pastoralist people who rely on animal husbandry and crop cultivation.⁴¹ Animal husbandry was the dominant economy of Guji in the past.⁴² But the type of breeding animal was not the same in all Guji land. It varied based on climatic condition and 'historical period in question'.⁴³ In the pre-conquest period, the great number of Guji people practiced a transhumant mode of life.⁴⁴ This was because before the conquest, every Guji was free to move and use the land in its own clan.⁴⁵ This was true for Guji settlers who shared boundaries with Borana in the south and around the Daawwaa, Galana and Ganale river valleys.⁴⁶

³⁷ Tadesse Barisso (1994), p.11; Getachew Godana, p.8; Hinnant (1977), pp.124-130; Asebe Regassa, pp. 38-39.

³⁸ Hnnant (1997), p.18; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p. 115.

³⁹ Getachew Godana, pp.42-44; Berhanu Lameso(2 012),p.168.

⁴⁰ Berhanu Lameso (2012),pp.77-78.; Getachew Godana,pp.12-13.

⁴¹ Tadesse Berisso, Warfare Among Guji, p.331; Abiyot Negera ,p.3; Getachew Godana,pp.1 1.

⁴² Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.1 15; Abiyot Negera,p.3 Asebe Regassa,pp.41-42;Getachew Godana ,pp.16,27.

⁴³ Berhanu Lameso (2012), pp.115-116.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*: Getachew Godana, pp.11,16.

⁴⁵ Tadesse Barisso (1988), pp.11; Abiyot Negera, p.22.

⁴⁶ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.116.

Their economic activity was mixed farming which is cultivation and livestock breeding. This type of economic activities existed in Guji highland zones where the growth of barely was practiced together with animal husbandry.⁴⁷ Even though it was practiced in a limited amount, such type of economic activity was practiced among the Guji in earlier period.⁴⁸

The form in which some family members stay with cattle in the lowlands whereas other members of the households such as old men and women live in the permanent home in the highlands was also other type of animal breeding which was practiced among the Guji in the past.⁴⁹

This type of economic life was dominant among the northern Guji clan, Halo and Wesitu even today.⁵⁰ Regarding bee keeping activity, Getachew Godana found out that bee keeping as the prevalent secondary subsistence economic practice among the Guji in the past.⁵¹ Berhanu Lemeso, who studied the history of Guji Oromo, also supported the idea of Getachew that bee keeping activity had long history in traditional Guji society. He even further explained that the indispensability of a kind of drink which was made by fermenting from honey and water called *Booka* in traditional Guji society led to the wide spread of bee keeping among Guji in the past.⁵²

The Guji also participated on the trade of the pre-conquest southern Ethiopia. Their land was the main source of trade items such as ivory and rhinoceros horn in the trade of the time.⁵³

⁴⁷ Asebe Ragassa, p. 38; Abiyot Negera, p.4; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p. 116.

⁴⁸ Abiyot Negera, p. 4; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p. 116.

⁴⁹ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.116; Getachew Godana, p.27; Tadesse Bariso (1988), p. 11

⁵⁰ Berhanu Lameso (2012),p .117; Asebe Regassa ,pp 41-42.

⁵¹ Getachew Godana, pp.37-38.

⁵²Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.124.

⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 130-131.

1.2.4. Menilek's Campaign Against Guji and their Reaction

The Southern Ethiopian people were incorporated into Menilek's empire in the last quarter of the 19th century⁵⁴. The Guji people were not exceptional from this conquest since they are found in this part of the country.

It was Lulsagad that conquered the Guji clan of Shelo and Otu who were found inside the Sidama land when he conquered the Sidama ethnic group in 1891.⁵⁵ But the first military expedition to Guji land was launched by Asfaw Darge who started the conquest of the eastern Guji clan of Mati and Hoku after conquering Bale in 1894. He soon returned after only introducing the eastern Guji clan to the 'terror of modern fire arms' rather than controlling the region at the time.⁵⁶ Later on the forces of Lulsagad came and continued the conquest of the two Guji clans which was started by *Dejāzamāch* Asefaw Darge as indicated above. The forces of Lulsagad arrived at Daama and they established their camp there in order to consolidate their forces before launching further attack.⁵⁷

The Guji did not welcome the forces of Lulsagad, rather they were organized under the war leader known as Gannale Shaaro and directly advanced towards Daama in order to fight the forces of Lulsagad there. They fought with the forces of Lulsagad at Daama but they could not withstand the modern fire armies of the conquerors. Therefore, they were defeated easily by the forces of Lulsagad. Then the Guji people decided to send their representative for peaceful submission.

⁵⁴ McClellan (1988), pp.21-23; Abiyot Negera, p.20.

⁵⁵ Hinnant (1977), p.21; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p. 150.

⁵⁶ McClellan (1988), p.22; Abiyot Negera, p.20; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.151; Getachew Godana, p.18.

⁵⁷ Berhanu Lameso (2012), pp.151-152; McClellan (1988), p.22; Getachew Godana, pp.19-22; Abiyot Negera, p. 20.

Accordingly, the man known as Tox Baalli approached the conquerors for peaceful submission. Hence, the submission of Mati and Hoku was made in this way.⁵⁸

Lulsagad sent two separate forces against Halo and Wesitu to the southwest of Daama. The two clans initially attempted to resist the invading forces of Lulsagad with their spears and shields. But these weapons could not much the modern fire armies of the conquerors. Therefore, they decided for peaceful submission. Then a man named Dhaqqabo Gocha approached the conquerors for peaceful submission representing the two Guji clans⁵⁹.

The Uruga clan of Guji Oromo was the only Guji clan that was incorporated into Menelik's empire after the battle of Adwa. This was in 1897.⁶⁰ According to Tsehai Berhaneselassie, the Uruga clan of Guji Oromo was the last Guji clan that resisted the expedition made by Balcha Safo. She specifically mentioned the resistance which was made by Uruga clan of Guji Oromo in Kuku, the former name of the study area which was later named Hāgere Māriam by Bālcha Safo. Then *Dejjāzmāṭch* Balcha Safo got victory over the Guji forces and the region was incorporated into the Ethiopian empire.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Getachew Godana, pp.19-22; Berhanu Lameso (2012), pp.151-152.

⁵⁹ Berhanu Lameso (2012), pp.152-153; Getachew Godana, p. 22; Berhanu Lameso, "Alabdu-Sidama Relation: A Historical Review; C, 1850-1974", (M.A, Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History) ,1993, p.62.

⁶⁰ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.153; McClellan (1978), p. 60; Getachew Godana, p.22.

⁶¹ Tsehai BerhaneSelassie, "Menelik II: Conquest and Consolidation of the Southern provinces," (Senior Essay, Department of History, Haile Sellassie I University, 1969), p. 27

1.2.5 Impacts of the Occupation on Urban Development

The occupation of Guji by Menilek's force had many impacts on the Guji people. Since the focus of this thesis is urban history, I will concentrate on the impact of the occupation to the foundation of garrison towns which later developed into urban centers.

Starting from the days of Balcha Safo, who was the first to launch expedition into Sidamo, military garrison was established in newly conquered areas. Some of these garrison centers which were set up by Menilek's general on strategic locations in order to maintain the control of conquered areas, gradually evolved into urban centers.⁶² The same social developments happened following the conquest and incorporation of Guji land into the Ethiopian empire. There are many urban centers which were developed from military garrisons in Guji territory.⁶³ These are Guanguwa (in Halo Guji), Irba- Muda (in Mati Guji), Adola (in Hoku Guji) and Bule Hora in Uruga Guji.⁶⁴

According to McClellan, Bule-Hora town, the central focus of this thesis evolved from a garrison at Kuku. He explained that the governor of Sidamo province, Balcha Safo sent his soldiers together with his representative to Bule Hora to protect from bandits and administer the region. Then within this the garrison at Kuku emerged. The appointed representative took large plot of land while the

⁶² Umer Nure, "A History of Dilla town: From its Foundation to 1991", BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1997, p.8; Tsehai Berhane Selassie (1969), p.20.; Ababu Aligaz, p.19; Hinnant (1977), p.21; Getachew Godana, pp.12-13.

⁶³ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.178; Getachew Godana . pp.25,52; Abiyot Negera, p.30.

⁶⁴ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.178; Getachew Godana . pp.25,52.

remaining land was distributed to the soldiers of the garrison and the indigenous populations were made *gabbārs* of conquering army.⁶⁵

On the other hand, Getachew Godana also wrote that the existence of settlers on the site who performed worshipping activities of traditional religion and performing Gada ceremonies.⁶⁶ Traditionally, the place was known as Kuku and highly respected as well as sacred place for Guji where the Gada ritual and ceremonial activities were carried out.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ McClellan (1988), pp.41, 283; McClellan, "Reaction to Ethiopian Expansionism: The case of Darasa, 1895-1935," PhD Dissertation: Michigan State University, 1978. Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.166; Tshai Berhane Selassie, "The life and career of Dejjach Balcha Aba Nafso", Journal of Ethiopian studies, Vol.IX..No.2, 1971, pp.182-183.

⁶⁶ Getachew Godana, p.52; see also Berhanu Lameso (2012), pp. 177-178.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*

CHAPTER TWO

2. Bule Hora from Its Foundation to 1941

2.1. Geographical Location

Bule Hora town is located in Southern Ethiopia in western Guji Zone of Oromia Regional State. The town is found 470 kilometers away from Addis Ababa and also 100 kilometers north of the Yabello town. Its geographical coordinates are approximately $5^{\circ}38^{\circ}\text{N}$ Latitude and $38^{\circ}14^{\circ}\text{E}$ longitude. The average altitude of the town is about 1780 meters above sea level. It lies in the climate zone locally known as *Woyna Daga* which is considered ideal for agriculture as well as human settlement. The town has a mean annual temperature which ranges between 15°c to 19.9°c .⁶⁸

The town is bordered in the south by Bule Qogña *qebele*, in the north by Muri Turquma *qebele*, in the east by Oggo Dambi and Burka Ebola *qebele*, and in the west by Carii Gololcha *qebele*. In its western part there is also a small pond called Bule Hora which provides water for sanitation and drinking for the surrounding farmers. The Dolcha River is also an important source of water supply to the town dwellers.⁶⁹

The mean annual rain fall of the town ranges from 1000 to 1199 millimeters. The main rainy seasons of the town fall between February and May while the small rain occurred from June to

⁶⁸ Bule Hora Municipality Council, "The Socio -Economic profile of Bule Hora town," (Bule Hora: Bule Hora Municipality Council, 2005 E.C), p.19; Melaku Hailu, "The History of Hageremariam Town: From its foundation to 1985", Senior Essay, Department of History, Kotebe College of Teacher Education, 1998.p.8.

⁶⁹ Bule Hora Municipality Council, p.20.

September⁷⁰. According to the report of 1974 E.C, the total area of the town was 750 hectares of land⁷¹. But currently the town has a size of 1730 hectares of land including both the town proper and its outskirts⁷². There are tourist attraction sites around the town such as Magado forest and Ifata Farda in Badda Magado *qebele*. Presently, the town is used as administrative seat of western Guji zone.⁷³

The population of the town consisted of different ethnic groups. These are Amhara, Gurage, Koyra, Somali, Burji and Oromo.⁷⁴ With the exception of the Guji Oromo, the rest were relatively new comers to the town and the surrounding *qebeles* whose settlement was facilitated by the incorporation of the region into the Ethiopian empire or attracted by the suit climate of the area. For instance, the Amhara and Bacho Oromo settlement in the town and its environs followed the campaigns of Menilik's soldieries to the region in 1908.⁷⁵

The Burji settlement in Bule Hora region was also facilitated by the incorporation of their region into the Ethiopian empire. Ali Dawa, who studied the history of Burji ethnic group, stated that the new system which was imposed on the people of Burji following the conquest and incorporation of the region by Menilek's forces affected their social, economic and political life. It turned the people into *gabbārs*, tenants. As the system became hard for them, many people from Burji land

⁷⁰ Melaku Hailu, p.1; Bule Hora Municipality Council, pp.20-21.

⁷¹ Bule Hora Municipality Council, p.36.

⁷² *Ibid*

⁷³ *Ibid*; pp.1, 35; See also Melaku, pp.1-2.

⁷⁴ Bule Hora *Municipality* Archive, Letter from Bule Hora province to Borana Administration office, dated Tāsās 4, 1983 E.C. See also Melaku, p.10.

⁷⁵ Melaku, p.11.

left the region to the “neighboring areas of Borana and others which explain the root cause of today’s Burji settlement in Yabello, Hageremariam, Hidilola, Megga and Moyale”.⁷⁶

2.2 The Early History of Bule Hora Town to 1941

Menilek’s territorial expansion in Southern Ethiopia led to the establishment of military garrison centers in the newly conquered areas in order to control the conquered peoples and administer the region. These centers were gradually changed from military base into urban centers.⁷⁷

According to McClellan and Getachew Godana who provide information as passing reference, the rise of Bule Hora, one of the southern towns was also the result of territorial expansion.⁷⁸ But based on information I have collected, it is difficult to attribute Bule Hora’s foundation only to the expansion of the Imperial state under Menilek II at the end of 19th century and establishment of garrison centers in the region. The internal development also seems to have had some influences on the process of early urbanization of Bule Hora town.

Before the emergence of Bule Hora (Hagere Māriam) as a town, the place where the town situated was covered by forest and grasses and there were also few settlers around the site.⁷⁹ There is disagreement among my informants concerning the original settlers in the site and its environs. Some of my informants said that the original settlers of the area were the Borana Oromo.⁸⁰ According to them, the Borana Oromo came and occupied the area some time before the Guji

⁷⁶ Ali Dawa, “The History of Burji Ethnic group,” Senior Essay, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1989, p.51; McClellan (1988), p.85.

⁷⁷ Akalou Walde Michael, pp.2-3.

⁷⁸ Getachew Godana, p.25; McClellan (1988), pp.41, 283; See also Tsehai Berhane Selassie (1971), pp.182-183.

⁷⁹ Informants: Ato Taye Bekele, Fisaha Zergabache w, Zeleke Amado and Girja Godana; See also Melaku, p.6.

⁸⁰ Informants: Ato Gebrekirstos Dulecha and Batu Dugo; See also Melaku, p.6.

Oromo. Their economic life was based on livestock breeding and at the time they did not move far for grazing as grass and water were available in the region. This was not proven by concrete evidence because of lack of written documents that support informants. Thus left for another further research. As indicated in Chapter one, the Guji oral tradition indicated that, once upon a time there was a man called Gujo who lived around Adola. From his residence at Adola he went to the place called Girja, where he lived for centuries. At Girja he gave birth to his four sons, namely Deraso, Urago, Mato and Hoko⁸¹. Then the sons of Gujo were later dispersed to different areas. Urago, together with his cattle went Kuku (Hageremariam) in the west.⁸² Since then Urago clan of Guji Oromo inhabited predominantly around Bule Hora town⁸³. They used to make their livelihood through herding of cattle. But they did not move a long distance because of the availability of grass and water in the region. This in turn enabled them to live in the area permanently. Since the area was also suitable for agriculture they were gradually involved in the cultivation of crops.⁸⁴ Hinnant wrote that if there was any cultivation practice among the Guji in the earlier periods, it was cultivation of barely.⁸⁵ According to my informants this also seems to be true for Bule Hora region. Informants stated that the Guji people of the area practiced the cultivation of barely before they came into contact with Amhara by clearing forest. Along with livestock breeding and crop cultivation they also practiced bee keeping in the region⁸⁶.

⁸¹ Abiyot Negera, p.2; Getachew Godana, p.5.

⁸² Hinnant (1977), p.18; Getachew Godana, p.5.

⁸³ McClellan (1988), pp.15,83; Getachew Godana, p.26; Hinnant (1977), p.18; Tsehai Berhane Selassie (1969), p.27.

⁸⁴ Informants: Ato Melese Mesaye, Qes Bezuneh Abera, Fesaha Zergabachew, Ashenafi Temesgen and Taye Bekele.

⁸⁵ Hinnant (1977), p.20.

⁸⁶ Informants: Ato Ashenafi Temesgen, Taye Bekele, Fesaha Zergabachew and Qes Bezuneh Abera.

The area was known by different names before it got the name Hageremāriam. Among those names given to the place and still remembered are Bule Hora and Kuku.⁸⁷ Originally the area was known by the name Bule Hora. According to my informant Fisaha Zergabachew, this area had been named after the pond which was called *Bule Hora*. This was because of the presence of salty water and soil locally known as “Hora” at the area which was used for animal consumption by the surrounding settlers.⁸⁸ Later on due to unknown reason the name of the place was changed from Bule Hora to Kuku.⁸⁹

With regarding to the evolution of the name kuku oral informants state that the name of the place was derived from a well known Borana Oromo whose name was Kuku. According to my informants, Kuku had settled and lived in the area for a long time. Finally, he got sick and died at the place and was buried under a big tree locally known as “Woyyu”. Since then both the tree and the surrounding area were called by the name Kuku until it was renamed Hageremariam by Balcha Safo in 1922.⁹⁰

Prior to the conquest of area by Menilek’s force and the introduction of a new system of administration into the area, the people were governed by the *Gada* system. Under this system there was no capital for administration rather there were sites which were used for purpose of power transfer ceremony.

The site of Kuku was one of such sites which served the Guji Oromo of the area for a long period of time. Traditionally the place was highly respected and sacred place for Guji where the Gada

⁸⁷ Informants: Fesaha Zergabachew, Mesele Mesaye and Taye Bekele; See also Melaku, p.6.

⁸⁸ Informants: Ato Mesele Mesaye, Gebrekirstos Dulecha and Qes Bezuneh Aberra; See also Melaku, pp.3-4.

⁸⁹ Melaku, pp.6-7.

⁹⁰ Informants :Taye Bekele, Fisaha Zergabachew, Qes Bezuneh Aberra and Girja Godana; See also McClellan(1988), pp.41,283; Melaku, pp.7-8; Tshai Berhane Selassie(1977), p.179.

ritual and ceremonial activities were carried out⁹¹. According to oral tradition there had been periodic settlers on the site to perform worshipping activities of traditional religion and exercising the Gada ceremonies long before the foundation of the town. They discussed issues that needed discussion and made decision under the leadership of Abba Gada at the site. Animals were also scarified for Waqaa (Sky God). The leader of the assembly (Abba Gada) used to stay in Kuku for some months before the power transition ceremony and then he handed over his power to a successor in Mati, at a place known as *Gumi Boku*⁹².

According to the information obtained from informant Ture Bitacha by Berhanu Lameso, the Amhara had built St. Mariam church near this site of ancient Guji shrines⁹³. Later on the inhabitants of the town called this big tree as Ejerssa Kuku (*Olea Africana* of kuku) by Guji Oromo and *YeKuku Adbar* by Amhara people. People came to the place and carried out religious rituals.⁹⁴ Although not a regular market setting, there was seasonal exchange around the site of Kuku before the foundation of town. Items of bartering among the people of the area near the site of kuku were honey, grain, particularly barely and maize (in the form of powder as well) and cattle and cattle products.⁹⁵ But some other informants state that economic exchange around the site emerged only after the coming of Amhara in the area. In other words market came to be established with the advent of the Ethiopian administration in the region.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Informants: Ato Girja Godana, Gebrekirstos Dulecha, Bati Wako and Mesele Mesaye ;See also Getachew Godana, p.52; Berhanu Lameso (2012), pp.177-178., Melaku, p.7.

⁹² Getachew Godana, p.52; Melaku, pp.7-8.

⁹³ Berhanu Lameso (2012), P.178; Getachew Godana, p.52.

⁹⁴ Informants: Ato Ashenafi Temesgen, Fisaha Zergabachew, Taye Bekele and Zeleke Amado ;see also Melaku, p.7.

⁹⁵ Informants: Ato Taye Bekele, Fisaha Zergabachew, Ashenafi Temesgen and Tafese Wudeneh.

⁹⁶ Informants: Ato Mesele Mesaye and Gebrekirstos Dulech.

As has already been stated in chapter one the Guji people practiced their socio – political institution as well as their pastoralist economic life and in some areas mixed agriculture for a long period of time. Hence, they needed goods and services in order to fulfill their spiritual and material needs. “In a typical subsistence society like the Guji, such needs could only be met through economic exchange which seems to have been an important aspect of economic life in the pre-conquest Guji society.⁹⁷” So the Guji people of Bule Hora region were not exception to this. Getachew Kasa, who studied on the relationship between the Garri and their Neighbors Borana reported that before the end of 19th century the Garri and the Borana traders went to Kuku or Hagere Māriam with trade items such as cloth and salt and returned with honey.⁹⁸ Berhanu Lameso who obtained information from the account written by Dr. Drake Brock Mann, a member of geographical expedition led by major C.W.Gwynn in the first decade of the 20th century also stated that the market of Kuku, the present town of Hagere Mariam was one of the “most important centers of trade where many ethnic groups of the region exchanged goods like grains, salt, tobacco, and imported items from southern Somali Coasts.”⁹⁹

According to the above evidence, it is difficult to consider such important market had emerged only after the conquest. So it seems that economic exchange existed around the traditional site of Kuku before the conquest and incorporation of the region. In fact it seems that the indigenous socio-economic and political systems were not sufficiently developed to allow the emergence of urban center at the time. But it had some influence on the early urban process of Bule Hora (Hagere Mariam) town. Different writers also have different views regarding the years of the foundation and the reason for the foundation of Bule Hora town. According to Ababu Aligaz, the

⁹⁷ Berhanu Lameso (2012),pp.115-116.

⁹⁸ Getachew Kasa, “The relationship between the Garri and Neighbors, the Borana,” Senior Essay, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1985.p.8.

⁹⁹ Berhanu Lemeso(1993),p.50.

date of foundation of the town was sometime after 1917. “When Balcha went to Sidamo in 1917 as governor for the third time, he shifted his capital from Aberra to Hageresalam Whose local name was Hulla. Then he founded the town of Dilla, Fisaha Ganet, Hageremariam, etc.”¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, Melaku writes that the town was founded in 1922 by Balcha Safo.¹⁰¹ Many of my informants also agree with this date of its foundation. They stated that in 1915 E.C (1922/23) St, Mariam church was established in the region and within this the town was founded and the village came to be known as Hageremariam (land of Mariam) after the name of church.¹⁰² However, some of the evidence that I have collected, pushes the foundation of Bule Hora (Hageremariam) town backwards by few years. One of this evidence is the information obtained from my informants Taye Bekele, Fisaha Zergabachew and Ashenafi Temesgen. According to them the town was founded in 1908 when Balcha Safo sent his Civilian officials and soldiers to administer and put down *shifita* activities in the region. They further explain that the area was a home of *shifita* at the time. In order to clear *shifita* from the area, Balcha sent his soldiers to the region and they were stationed at the place where the present commercial bank of Ethiopia Bule Hora branch is situated and then with this what was locally known as *Ketema* was established at the site. They also stated that the year 1922 was not the date of the foundation of town rather it was the year of the establishment of St. Māriam church in the town.¹⁰³ McClellan also reported similar view with that of Ato Taye Bekele, Fisaha Zergabachew and Ashenaf Temesgen. He reported that the governor of Sidamo province, Bālcha Sāfo sent his soldiers together with *Indarāse* to Kuku, the present town of Bule Hora in 1908 to administer and protect the region from bandits. Then with this garrison centre was emerged in the area and then from this centre the town of Bule Hora (Hageremariam)

¹⁰⁰ Ababu Aligaz, p.20.

¹⁰¹ Melaku, p.8.

¹⁰² Informants: Ato Gebre Kirstos Dulecha, Zeleke Amedo, Lakew Techane and Tadesse Yigeletu.

¹⁰³ Informants: Ato Taye Bekele, Fisaha Zergabachew and Ashenafi Temesgen

had evolved.¹⁰⁴ He also writes that “There was fifteen years hiatus between the erection of the *ketema* and the establishment of St. Mariam church”.¹⁰⁵ From this it is possible to deduce that the town was founded with the establishment of garrison centre in 1908 while 1922 was the year of the establishment of St. Mariam church. But according to a 1964 E.C. report by the Municipality of Bule Hora, the town of Bule Hora was declared by Negarit Gazeta in 1945.¹⁰⁶ Anyhow despite the variation in the year of the foundation of the town, all of them agree that it was Balcha Safo who founded and gave the name Hageremariam.¹⁰⁷

Tshai BerhaneSilassie discussed how and for what purpose the town was founded:

*In general Balcha Safo was fond of founding towns. Hagereselam was his capital after 1917. He founded another town as well. Some of them were founded on the occasions of Balcha Safo visiting tours in the provinces such town was Hageremariam. The name of that place was Kuku before he renamed Hageremariam where incidentally he had also built the church of Mariam.*¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, as stated above, McClellan writes that Bule Hora was founded as result of military campaign.¹⁰⁹ This is more convincing. Menilek’s territorial expansion to southern Ethiopia led to the establishment of military garrison centers in the newly conquered areas to protect and administer the region. Then these military base gradually evolved into the garrison towns.¹¹⁰ The foundation of Bule Hora town was also in line with this historical process. Kuku (Hageremariam) was the last place in Guji territory to be conquered by the forces of Balcha

¹⁰⁴ McClellan (1988), pp.41,83.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*; p.85.

¹⁰⁶ Negarit Gazeta, *proclamation on Municipality No .7*, March 30, 1945, p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ McClellan (1988), p.83. Melaku,p.9.

¹⁰⁸ Tshai BerhaneSelassie(1971) ,p. 179.

¹⁰⁹ McClellan (1988), p.85.

¹¹⁰ Ronald J.Horvath, “The Process of Urban Agglomeration in Ethiopia” In Marina Ottaway (eds), *Urbanization in Ethiopia: A text with integrated Reading* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 1976),p.172.

Safo.¹¹¹ Following the incorporation of the region, the traditional Guji leaders appointed as Bālābbāts (officials providing the chief administrative link between the Ethiopian government and the local population) and the subordinate *qoro* to mediate the contact with the northern administration .It was Usho Jilo who was appointed as Bālābbāt of the area.¹¹²

After the incorporation of Guji into Ethiopian empire , Balcha Safo, who was engaged in organizing the administration of Sidamo at the time, divided the Guji territory into one *Shāmbel Gizāt* (territory governed by Shambel) and four *Inderāse Gizāt* (literarily ,inderāse means like me) .These were Gatalo-waaccu – Ilaacha (southern Hallo and north western Uraaga territory) , Uraaga, Adoola, Wanago and Hagaramariam .

The former was *Shāmbel Gizāt* while the rest four including Hagaramariam (now Bule Hora) were *Inderāse –gizāt*.¹¹³ At the time Kuku (Hageremariam) was the center of *shifita* (bandit).¹¹⁴ According to my informants many of these *shifits* were Tigre, those who came from northern Ethiopia. They created a serious problem in the region by looting everything the travelers had while they were passing through Kuku (Hageremariam).¹¹⁵

In order to administer and ensure peace and stability in the region, Balcha safo sent his soldiers together with *Inderāse* to Bule Hora and they camped at the traditional seasonal exchange site

¹¹¹ Tshai Berhane Selassie (1969), p.27; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.153.

¹¹² Berhanu Lameso (2012),pp.161-162; Getachew Godana,p.44.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Tshai Berhane Selassie* (1971), p.182; McClellan (1988), pp.182-184; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.166.

¹¹⁵ Informants : Ato Taye Bekele,Fesaha Zergabachew and Temesgen

known as Kuku in 1908.¹¹⁶ All of the civilian officials who came to the region during this time were Bālcha's relatives from Agamja and still their decedents live in the town.¹¹⁷

It was the tradition of Ethiopian Emperors and war leaders to select the high strategic point for their camp site to protect themselves from the enemy attacks.¹¹⁸ That was why Balcha and his followers also favored this strategic position for their camp site.¹¹⁹ As indicated above Bule Hora was a home of bandits. So Balcha also selected the site for garrison in order to maintain peace and order in the region.¹²⁰ Another reason for Balcha to set up garrison center in Bule Hora was the suitable climate of the area. The town has a temperate climate which is favorable for human habitation and there is also sufficient water supply in the region.¹²¹

As was the general practice in the incorporation regions, agricultural *Gabbārs* were distributed before the semi-agricultural *Gabbārs*.¹²² This was also practiced in Bule Hora and its environs because the area is suitable for agriculture.¹²³ But the distribution was based on the position of officials and soldiers.¹²⁴

The physical expansion of the garrison at Kuku needed the distribution of much more land when it evolved from simple military base to garrison town. Thus Bālcha Sāfo allocated 4 *gāshās* for the town expecting to accommodate the increase of the population in the future. The appointed representative took a large plot of land (500 *gashā*) outside the limit of the town while his

¹¹⁶ McClellan (1988), p. 41, 83; Melaku, p.8.

¹¹⁷ Informants: Ato Taye Bekele and Fisaha Zergabachew; see also Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.166.

¹¹⁸ Melaku, pp.6-7.

¹¹⁹ Melaku, p.9.

¹²⁰ McClellan (1988), p.83; Tshai Berhane Selassie (1971), p.179.

¹²¹ Informant: Ato Fisaha Zergabachew; See also Melaku, p.10.

¹²² McClellan, "Coffee in Center-periphery Relation: Gedio in the twentieth Century," In Donald Donham and Wendy James (eds) *Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.20; McClellan (1988), p.83.

¹²³ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.174; McClellan (1988), pp.122-123; Getachew Godana, p.34.

¹²⁴ Getachew Godana, p.31; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.164.

subordinates received lesser amount. “After applying the principle of *Siso*, the remaining land was distributed to the soldiers the garrison in one *gāshā* units” and then the indigenous population were made *gabbārs* of the soldiers.¹²⁵ In the western parts of the garrison there was also *Dejjāzmāch* Balcha’s Hudād land worked by *gabbārs*.¹²⁶

These officials and soldiers as well as their followers or those who came with them such as the Amhara and Bacho Oromo (the Oromo- speaking people those who came from central Shewa during 1908 campaign of Balcha’s soldiers) were permanently settled in and around the camp. This was because the area was suitable for agriculture and its strategic location for the security of the Northern settlers.¹²⁷ Within this, the military centers at Kuku eventually evolved into the garrison town or what people locally called ketema, town that developed inside military garrison.¹²⁸

There was traditional seasonal exchange in the site before Balcha stationed military garrison at the place.¹²⁹ But it was after the establishment of the camp and the settlement of new comers that the regular market setting was set up at the traditional site of Kuku. That is at the place where the

¹²⁵ McClellan (1988),p.83; Hinnant (1977),p.18; B.M.A, a letter RN 141/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality to *Fitawurari* Ganane Badane, Governor of Arero *Awurājjā* written on Hidar 10, 1953 E.C.

¹²⁶ Bule Hora Municipality Archive, Letter written from Bule Hora Municipality to Ganane Badane, the governor of Arero *Awurājjā*, dated Meskerem12 ,1952E.C.

¹²⁷ Informants: Ato Taye Bekele and Fisaha Zergabachew: See also Melaku, p.11.

¹²⁸ Berhanu Lameso (2012),pp.166 ,178; Getachew Godana,p.25; McClellan (1988),pp.41,83, 283; Tshai B erhane Selassie (1971),pp.182-183.

¹²⁹ Informants: Ato Ashanafi Temesgen, Taye Bekele ana Fisaha Zergabachew; See also Getachew Godana,p,52.

present commercial bank of Ethiopia Bule Hora branch is located.¹³⁰ It was established inside the *Ketema* first and foremost to benefit the settlers.¹³¹

My informants stated that Balcha preferred the site for market because he considered the place as the center of the town and to safeguard shoppers from robbery or to ensure the security of those who performed commercial activity at the time.¹³² The site was selected also because of its location which made it possible to monitor people coming and going from and to the surrounding places.¹³³

Inside the *Ketema* commercial activities such as selling of *tejj* and *tella* were started by the settlers. They opened small shops and brought northern goods. Initially the indigenous people do not benefit from the process of urbanization because the new comers were the dominant settlers in the town and they were separated in their garrison town.¹³⁴ A few indigenous people came to the house of military officials to give domestic service. The interaction between the native and the settlers in the market place was very limited in the early period of the foundation of the town and the market.¹³⁵ But latter on the interaction developed gradually with the maintenance of peace and order in the region more by the officials and soldiers of the garrison. Within this the indigenous people of the surrounding area brought their locally produced goods to the market to exchange with the goods that the settlers brought from the north and imported items from the coast.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Informants: Qes Buzeneh Aberra, Fisaha Zergabachew, Taye Bekele and Bati Wako

¹³¹ McClellan, "Coffee in center-periphery relations: Gedio in the early twentieth century" In Donald Donham (eds), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essay in History and Social Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1986), p.183.

¹³² Informants: Ato Taye Bekele, Fisaha Zergabachew, Ashanafi Temesgen, Girja Godana and Gebre Amilak; See also Melaku, p.14.

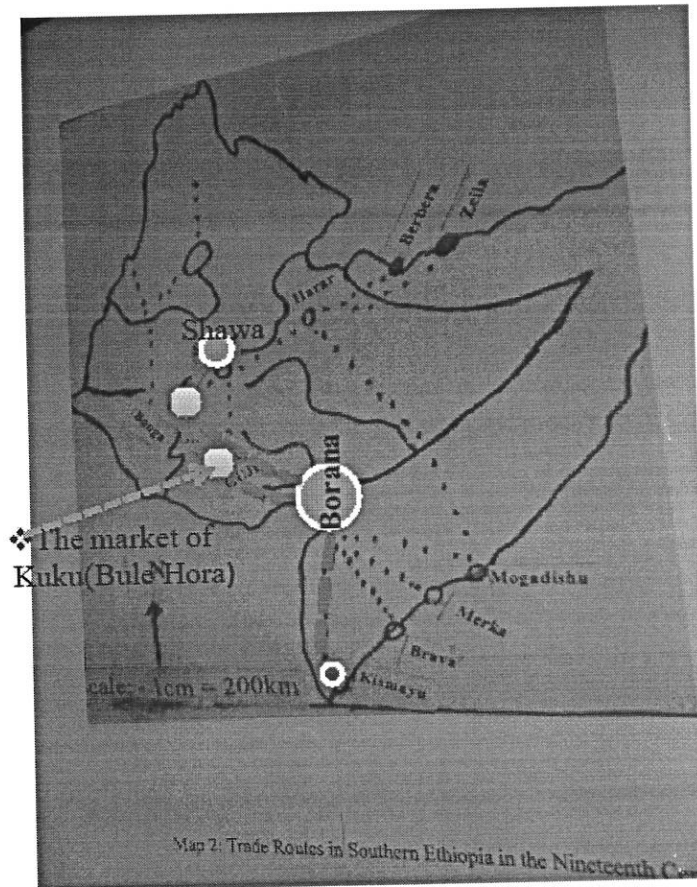
¹³³ Informants: Ato Fisaha Zergabachew, Taye Bekele and Bezuneh Aberra; See also Melaku, p.14; Tshai Berhane Sellasie (1971), p.89.

¹³⁴ McClellan, (1986) ,p.183.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Informants: Ato Taye Bekele, Girja Godana, Ashanafi Temesgen, Tadesse Yigalatu and Tafse Wudineh.

The long distance caravan trade route network passed through Kuku (Hagere mariam) and entered Alabdu ,in the northern Guji territory in the first decade of the twentieth century .This trade route started from Kismayu and entered the Borana territory .Then in Borana it was divided in to two and then continued to the Alabdu –Sidama region in two directions.The following map show the trade routes passing through Bule Hora.



Source: Adapted from Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.127.

It was the trade route network that followed the western Borana territory and the Southern Guji land and entered the Alabdu and then to central Ethiopia that passed through Kuku (now Bule Hora).¹³⁷

The market of Kuku was located on the line of this caravan trade route network. According to Berhanu Lamesso the market of Kuku, the present day of Bule Hora town was the most important trade center where many ethnic groups of the region exchanged goods such as maize, barley, *enset*, honey, salt, tobacco and imported items from the Southern Somali coasts.¹³⁸ Informants stated that the Borana merchants came to the market of Kuku with salt from their territory and cloth known as *Abujadi* which was imported from the coast and they returned with grains and honey supplied in the market by surrounding ethnic groups.¹³⁹ Locally produced goods also came from Konso by local merchants to the market of Kuku.¹⁴⁰

The security ensured in the region by the officials and soldiers of the garrison attracted the caravan merchants who worked between the region and the coast and enabled them to conduct their trade relatively in a peaceful situation. This in turn somewhat consolidated the commercial activities of the town at the time.

A letter written in 1960 by the municipality of Bule Hora to *Fitāwrāri* Ganene Badāne, the governor of Arero *Awrājjā* stated that, besides four *gāshā* land limited to the town at the time of its foundation, another land was also added for the purpose of rest station known as *Messāferiyya*

¹³⁷ Berhanu Lameso (1993), p.50.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Informants: Ato Ashanafi Temesgen, Qes Bezuneh Aberra, Taye Bekele and Fisaha Zergabachew.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; see also Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.132.

for merchants in the northern side of the town by Bālcha Safo¹⁴¹. The location of Bule Hora on the long distance trade route network and the trade conducted in the market of Kuku as well as the prevalence of peace and stability in the region contributed for relative growth of the town at the time. Within this the need for a church developed, but it was not established at the time rather fifteen years later of the erection of the *Ketema*.¹⁴² But what is important to note here is that during this early time Bule hora developed into a big village rather than really a town. This was mainly because of the absence of urban service in the area which give the settlement urban features except few commercial activities and service.¹⁴³

The supply of locally produced goods in the market was small because the indigenous people were struggling to maintain their subsistence economic life on the one hand and they also delivered their goods to designated northern settlers. Lack of transportation access was also the main problem of the time. In other words there was no motor road that linked the town with the center and other southern region.¹⁴⁴ Bule Hora was twentieth four caravan day's journey from Addis Addiss Ababa¹⁴⁵. Due to this obstacle the movement of goods was very slow and took long time and the town also isolated from Addis Ababa and important trade center of southern region. This problem of transportation was relatively solved during the Italian occupation of the town.¹⁴⁶

In October 1935, fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia from two directions. These were from Eritrea in the north and from the direction of Italian Somaliland in the South. Thus Ethiopians were compelled to

¹⁴¹ B.M.A, a Letter written from Bule Hora Municipality to Ganene Badane, the governor of Arero *Awurājjā*, dated Meskerem12, 1952E.C.

¹⁴² Informants: Ato Taye Bekele, Fisaha Zergabachew ana Ashenafi Temesgen; see also McClellan (1988), p.85.

¹⁴³ Informants: Ato Shegicha Ketelo, Bekele Anole, Taye Bekele and Fisaha Zergabachew; see also Melaku, pp.10-12.

¹⁴⁴ Informants: Fisaha Zergabachew, Taye Bekele and Aberra Buzeneh; See also Melaku Hailu, p.15.

¹⁴⁵ McClellan (1988), p108.

¹⁴⁶ Informants: Ato Ashenafi Temesgen and Taye Bekele; see also Melaku, pp.14-15.

fight the Italians on these two fronts. It was the Italian force that came from the south which occupied now Bule Hora.¹⁴⁷

Following the defeat of Ethiopian troops at the battle of Ganale Doriya on January 14, 1936, the Guji territory including Bule Hora became the main theatre of the war on the southern front. A week after the battle of Ganale Dorya the Italians control Negelle town.¹⁴⁸ Then they attempted to advance to Adola through Wadara, but they were unable to break the strong hold in the thick forest area of Wadara. Thus they were compelled to change their direction towards Mega.¹⁴⁹ With the defeat of Ethiopian army in Mega, *Dājjāch* Debay Walde Amanuel, the commander of Walaga army moved few distance north of Bule Hora town and established a defensive stand at mount Jabasere. From Mega the Italians continued their advance to Yabello.¹⁵⁰ Then in July 13, 1936 the Italians occupied Kuku or Hageremāriām (now Bule Hora).¹⁵¹

Informants stated that when Italians invaded Bule Hora the indigenous people collaborated with the Italians by considering them as their liberators from Amhara domination. The reason was the burden of the feudal system that was imposed over the Guji invarious form of the *gabbār -naftaññā* relation.¹⁵² Even they attacked the northern settlers of the regions and forced them to flee to Burji and GamoGofa.¹⁵³ But it does not mean that all Guji people of the area favored the Italians. There were also those who supported the Ethiopian army and made their contribution to defend their country from foreign invasion.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ Belete Bizuneh, "Inter Ethnic- Relation In Borana (Southern Ethiopia): A Historical survey to 1943," MA Thesis, Department of History ,Addis Ababa Universty,1999,p.51;See also Berhanu Lameso (2012),p.180.

¹⁴⁸ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p. 182; Belete Bizuneh (1999), p.51.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Belete Bizuneh (1999), p.51; Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.183.

¹⁵¹ Belete Bizuneh (1999), p.51.

¹⁵² Informants: Mengistu Bekele Ato Melese Mesaye, Girja Godana andGebre kirstos Dulecha.

¹⁵³ Belete (1999) , p.57.

¹⁵⁴ Informants: Ato Mesele Mesaye, *Qes* Bizuneh Aberra and Gebrekirstos Dulecha.

In October 1936, the Italians force a after a month of stalemate finally broke the JabaSire defense.¹⁵⁵ This general climate of insecurity in the region disrupted the trade activities in the town. But some improvement was seen during the period of Italian occupation.¹⁵⁶

During the Italian occupation road construction gained greater momentum in most occupied areas. The Italians realized that a good network of transportation and communication was necessary for effective military control .So in order extract surplus resources, increase market for their goods and service and to consolidate their control on their country, the Italians built a network of roads.¹⁵⁷This was also true in case of Bule Hora. During the period of Italian occupation, Italians built dry weather road that connect Bule Hora town with Addis Ababa and other towns through JabaSire. This relatively solved the problem of transportation that cut off Bule Hora town from central part of Ethiopia and other southern towns.¹⁵⁸

Within the construction of the dry weather road, motor vehicles were introduced and manufacture goods became available for Bule Hora retailers. Merchants also started to send agricultural products such as coffee and grains to Addis Ababa. Service giving houses such as *tajj bet* (honey wine) and *tala bet* (local bravery) were also improved. This in turn resulted for improvement of trade activities in the town than before the period of occupation .But still the town was not show that much development during the period of occupation and even few years after liberation. There was no significant development of social service in the town at the time.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.184; Belete Bizuneh (1999), p .58.

¹⁵⁶ Informants: Ato Melese Mesaye, Tadesse Yigeletu,Qes Bezuneh Aberra and Bekele Anole.

¹⁵⁷ Sheferaw Bekele,p.304.

¹⁵⁸ Informants: Shegicho Ketelo, Ashenafi Temesgen,Fisaha Zergabachew and Zeleke Amado; See also Meleku Hailu,p.15 and Hinnant (1977),P.26.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER THREE

3. BULE HORA FROM 1941 -1991

3.1 Bule Hora between 1941 and 1974

As indicated in chapter two during the Italian occupation of Bule Hora, trade activities were somewhat improved in the town due to the construction of a dry weather road that linked the town with the central parts of Ethiopia and the southern regions. As a result, the town also showed a relative growth than before the occupation period.¹⁶⁰

The common belief that the process of urbanization declined in the first few years of the Italian evacuation of the country because of the destruction of infrastructure by the war of liberation¹⁶¹ also seems to be true in the case of Bule Hora town.¹⁶²

Following his restoration in 1941, emperor Haile Silassie made changes in the administrative structure throughout the country.¹⁶³ Accordingly, a new administrative structure such as municipality, a *waradā* administration, court and police station were established in Bule -Hora town¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶⁰ Informants: Shegicha Ketelo, Fisaha Zergabachewu; Zeleke Amado; see also Melaku Hailu, p.15.

¹⁶¹ Sheferaw Bekele, p.305.

¹⁶² Informants: Taye Bekele; Zeleke Amado; Ashenafi Temesgen.

¹⁶³ Cohen John M, *Ethiopian provisional and Municipal governments: Imperial patterns and post revolutionary changes*(Network: Michigan State,Universty,1980),pp.7-8; Berhanu Lameso (2012),pp. 161-162.

¹⁶⁴ Informants: Gebre Kristos Dulecha; Ashenafi Temesgen; Zeleke Amado; see also Melaku, p.21.

The municipality of Bule Hora was established in 1942.¹⁶⁵ At the time the areas of the land allotted to be under the control of the municipality was nominally said to have been four *gāshās*. However, the area of land really controlled by the municipality was not more than one and half *gashās*, whereas the remaining land was taken by the surrounding *bāla-rest*.¹⁶⁶

Since its establishment the municipality requested the governor of Arero *Awrajjā* many times to define the boundaries of the town properly. But the boundaries were not defined soon. This was one of the challenges that the Municipality faced at the time to carry out activities according to the plan for the development of the town.¹⁶⁷

The municipality also gave emphasis to the collection of taxes. But the money collected was very small to carry out activities for the development of the town. This was because the municipality officers were not honest to reveal the exact of taxes collected. Hence the town was not showing any progress at the time though it had municipality.¹⁶⁸ That is why the town was also categorized under the third class towns of schedule “B” according to the township proclamation of March, 30, 1945.¹⁶⁹

The development of urbanization was observed in Ethiopia in the 1950s and 1960s .During this period a large number of people moved from rural area to urban centers .The relative concentration of modern economic activities, social and other service and the location of government institutions

¹⁶⁵ B.M.A, a Letter reference number (RN) written from Bule Hora Municipality to *qennāzemach* Hailu Habtemariam, Governor of Arero *Awrajjā* on 1964E.C.

¹⁶⁶ H.M.A, a meeting on *Tikimt* 9, 1943.E.C, on the agenda of delaminate the boundary Bule Hora town.

¹⁶⁷ B.M.A, a letter RN 186/ 1001, from Bule Hora Municipality to Bule Hora *Waradā* administration office, dated *Yekātīt* 19, 1953 E.C; B.M.A, a letter RN 141/ 100/ from Bule Hora Municipality to Arero *Awrajjā* administrative office ,dated 10, 1953 E.C.

¹⁶⁸ Informants: Zeleke Amado, Ashenafi Temesgen and Taye Bekele.

¹⁶⁹ *Negarit Gazeta*, Municipality proclamation No .7, March 30, 1945, p.49.

were among the contributing factors that induced the movement of people towards the town during this period.¹⁷⁰ Bule Hora was one of those towns that showed development throughout this period.¹⁷¹

The year 1950 was an important land mark in the history of the town of Bule Hora. During this period the town attracted the attention of the central government and non-governmental organizations which had significant effect on the development of the town.¹⁷²

To begin with it was in Bule Hora town that a modern school was first established in Guji territory in 1950. It was built by the Norwegian Lutheran Mission who came to the region in the same year.¹⁷³ It was said to be the first modern missionary school in Sidamo province as a whole except one governmental school which was built in 1942 in Yirgalem known as Ras Desta Dantew school.¹⁷⁴

Like any other groups of missionaries which had come to settle in different parts of the country, the first objective of these groups was to preach the gospel in the region. But they were not limited only to evangelical activities but they also involved in some developmental activities. They established service giving institutions such as clinic, residences and orphanage homes which in turn also led to the growth and development of the town.¹⁷⁵

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s a number of governmental offices were also established in the town. These were *waradā* administration office, police station, court, telecommunication and

¹⁷⁰ Sheferaw Bekele, p.304.

¹⁷¹ Informants: Gebrehana Wolde yohanes, Zeleke Amado and Taye Bekele; see also Melaku, p. 17.

¹⁷² Melaku, p.23.

¹⁷³ Berhanu Lameso (2012), 228; Melaku,p.24.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁵ Informants: Bati Wako; Gebre Amlak Wako; Qes Bizuneh Abera; Qes Bekele Elema.

postal office.¹⁷⁶ Within the establishments of both governmental and non-governmental service rendering institutions, a considerable number of functionaries of the institutions as well as people from the countryside seeking social service came and settled in the town. For example the opening of the mission school encouraged the settlement the of indigenous Guji people who were formerly dispersed from the town.¹⁷⁷

This in turn relatively increased the number of population and economic activities in the town. For instance the number of the population of town in 1966 was 3707, of which 1,777 were male and 1,930 were female. Out of this total population 20 of them were foreigners.¹⁷⁸

The economic activities of the residents of the town were characterized by diverse commercial activities such as retailers, *tej bets*, *talla bets*, tearooms and small hotel. There were about 66 retail traders at open market, but there were no whole sellers in the town at the time.¹⁷⁹

Among the known *tej bet* owners: were W/ro Simeny Gebre; Hadha Hinjiru; W/ ro Belaynesh Bejiga; Hadha Boge. The Arabs particularly the Yemen merchants like Alila Haji, Sala Jagam and Mohammed Ali were the owners of shops at the time.¹⁸⁰

The relative increase of the population demanded the expansion of the physical layout of the town. However, the municipality's attempt to include the previous urban land which was circumscribed

¹⁷⁶ Melaku , p.17.

¹⁷⁷ Informants: Zeleke Amado, Fisaha Zergabachewu and Qes Bekele Elema.

¹⁷⁸ Central statistical office (CSO), *Survey of major towns in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, December 1968), p. 76.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*; p.106.

¹⁸⁰ Informants: W/ro Mestawot Desta; Fisaha Zergabachewu; Zeleke Amado and Mommad Ali.

by Balcha Safo faced serious challenges from the surrounding *bālā-rest* those expanded their domains at the expense of the town.¹⁸¹

These *bāla-rest* were Ato Abdi Godana and Ato Gada Wudessa from the east, Ato Bekele Tekle and Ato Gebre Tsadik from the west, Ato Alemayehu Shifawu (the first Deacon of Mariam church who came to the region with the ark of st. Mery in 1915 E.C) and Belachew Ayele from the north, *Fitāwrāri* Angasu Jima and those inherited from Dinsa Kondalo from the south.¹⁸² Despite these challenges the town showed progress at the time and even after¹⁸³.

The other important factors that contributed to the growth and development of Bule Hora town was the construction of Addis Ababa -Moyale highway which passes through the town.¹⁸⁴ As was noted earlier, before the Italian occupation, the town was not connected with the center by motor roads. During the occupation period, however, the Italians constructed the dry weather road that connected Bule Hora with the center and southern region through Jaba Sire.¹⁸⁵

Though there were some changes after the occupation still the town remained a rural hamlet until the introduction of modern institutions and infrastructures which promoted its growth in the post-liberation period, particularly since the 1950s.¹⁸⁶

Following the evacuation of the Italians, the roads as in all other parts of the country were left to unrepaired almost for a decade. But starting from the early 1950s, the Ethiopian government gave

¹⁸¹ B.M.A, a letter Reference number(RN) 303/ 1001/58 from Bule Hora Municipal office to *Bārāmbārās* Zerfu Damte written on Tir 17, 1958 E.C.; H.M.A, a letter RN 491/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality office to *qēññāzmāch* Zewude Nigatu, Governor of BuleHora written on *Miyazia* 5, 1953 E.C.

¹⁸² B.M.A, a letter RN 141/1001 from Bule town municipality office to *Fitawurari* Genene Bedane, Governor of Bule *Waradā* written on Hidar 3,1953 E.C.

¹⁸³ Informant: Zeleke Amado; Lako Tachane; Bekele Anole.

¹⁸⁴ Melaku,p. 16.

¹⁸⁵ Informants: Taye Bekele, Temesgen Ashenafi; Fisaha Zergabachewu; see also Melaku, p.15.

¹⁸⁶ Melaku ,p.23.

priority to the maintenance of all roads built by the Italians. It was on the basis of this that the asphalt highway that connected Addis Ababa with Moyle was constructed.¹⁸⁷

The imperial highway Authority which was established in 1951 started the construction of Addis Ababa-Moyle highway in 1966 and the construction of the road was completed in 1970.¹⁸⁸ The construction of this road had a significant effect on the growth of urban centers located along the road. This was also true for Bule Hora town which the international highway passes through.¹⁸⁹

Following the construction of this road, national bus service began to connect the town with the southern towns and capital city of Ethiopia which facilitated the movement of people and commodities to the town and vice-versa. With the improvement of transport facilities the Commercial activities in the town expanded more than before.¹⁹⁰

For instance the coffee trade expanded in the town. Informants stated that before the construction of the road merchants who brought coffee from the surrounding countryside sold it in Yergachefe. But with the construction of the road they started to send it to Addis Ababa. Soon coffee mill was established in Bule Hora by *Bālāmbārās* Girma Ayele. This in turn enhanced the economic growth of the town. Kadir Abba Hawa, Ali minda Mare, Alemayehu Shefa, Shibru Aliminda and Tafese

¹⁸⁷ Berhanu Lmaso (2012), p. 226; Melaku, p. 16.

¹⁸⁸ Melaku, p.16. a letter RN 3083/ 63 from Bule Municipality office to lieutenant General Nega Hailesilassie written on Hamle 30, 1963 E.C.

¹⁸⁹ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p. 27; B.M.A, a letter RN 3083/ 63 from Bule Hora Municipality office to lieutenant General Nega Hailesilassie written on Hamle 30, 1963 E.C; Informants: Tafese Wudneh and Temesgen Ashenafi.

¹⁹⁰ Informants: Temesgen Ashenafi; Tafase Wudneh; see also Melaku, p.16.

Simeny were the prominent merchants of coffee trade at the time.¹⁹¹ *Bālāmbārās* Batu Dugo opened the first modern hotel and then followed by Ato Digafe Tasew and Alemu Dubale.¹⁹²

Many types of commodities from Addis Ababa and Moyle also entered the town. A large number of merchants and people from the surrounding and other distant areas also came to the town to do business.¹⁹³

Due to the construction of this road, Bule Hora town also became an attractive destination and enjoying place for foreign tourists and senior governmental officials, particularly those who came from Kenya to Addis Ababa and from Addis Ababa to Kenya.¹⁹⁴ Concerning the arrival of many merchants and people to the town from the surrounding areas and the existence of foreign tourists in the town within the construction of the road, one official letter from Bule Hora town Municipality in 1963 E.C. indicates the following:

Amharic

.....የሀገረ ማርያም ከተማ {የቡሌ ሆራ ከተማ} የኢንተራናሽናል አስፋልት መንገድ በማህላ የገባላት በመሆኗ የእድገቷ መልክ ሆንዋል፣ ገና ካሁኑ ነጋዴዎች እና ነዋሪ ሕዝቦች በብዛት መግባት ላይ ይገኛሉ፣ እንደሁም የቱሪስት ድካም መውጫ፣ የአየር መለወጫ፣ መነሻ፣ ሙድረሻ ሆናለች (see a *Iso Appendix IV*)¹⁹⁵..

¹⁹¹ Informants: Tadese Yigeletu, Yirgete Waro, Ato Fisaha Zergabachew; Tafese Wudene; Taye Bekele.

¹⁹² *Ibid*

¹⁹³ B.M.A, a letter RN 3083/63 from Bule Hora Municipality office to *Qaññāzemāch Hailu Habtemariam*, Governor of Arero *Awurājjā* written on Hamle 23, 19 63 E.C.

¹⁹⁴ B.M.A, a letter RN61/64 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Arero *Awurājjā* office written Meskerem 25, 1964 E.C.

¹⁹⁵ B.M.A, a letter RN 3083/ 63 from Bule Hora Municipality office to lieutenant General Nega Hailesilassie written on Hamle 30, 1963 E.C.

Gloss

The asphalt road that crosses the town became the sign of the growth of the town. It was for this reason that people from the country side and merchants had begun to reside there. Equally important, the town had become an important tourist attraction center and thereby it became a point of origin and destination for tourists.

Even though the construction of Addis Ababa-Moyle highway stimulated the development of the town in different ways, the problem of the size of urban land became a challenge to the municipality. This was because, the size of land really in the hand of the municipality was too small to accommodate the increasing number of the population of the town and to expand the establishment of service giving institutions. Besides this the town was not supported by modern Master plan and as a result the styles of the buildings of the houses were unattractive not only for foreign tourists but also for the town dwellers themselves. One official letter from Bule Hora town municipality explains this as follows:

Amharic

.....የአገረ ማርያም ከተማ {የቡሌ ሆራ ከተማ} የኢንተርናሽናል አስፋልት መንገድ በማህላ የገባላት መሆኗ የእድገቷ ምልክት ሆኗል። ገና ከሁኑ ነጋዴዎች፣ የገጠር ነዋሪ ህዝቦች በብዛት መግባት ላይ ስለሚገኙ የህዝብ ብዛት አጣቧታል፤ ስለዚህ በመዘጋጃ ቤቱ እጅ ያለው ከተማ ከመሰረቱ በጣም የጠበበና በጎላን ያልተቀየሰ ጥንታዊ ከመሆኑ የተነሳ የከተማው ቤት አሰራር መልኩንና ውበቱን አጥፍቷት ይታያል (see also Appendix V)¹⁹⁶::

Gloss

The construction of international asphalt road that traversed the town was a harbinger of the growth of Hagera Mariam (Bule Hora) town. Soon after the

¹⁹⁶B.M.A, a Letter RN 3083/63 from Bule Hora Municipality office to *Qaññāzmāch* Hailu Habtemariam, the governor of Arero *Awurājja* written on Hamle 23, 1963E.C.

construction of the road, merchants and rural people were flocking in to the town. Consequently, the town was over crowded. From the very beginning, the town was not supported by modern Master Plan and its size was small. Due to this reason, the shape and beauty of the town remained amorphous and less attractive.

In a condition where the boundary of the town was not defined, it has been very difficult to tackle the problem of the shortage of the urban land and to draw the modern Master plan. As indicated earlier in all directions the *bālā-rest* pushed the boundaries of the town which was delimited by Balcha Safo and controlled all most all urban lands. This was the main obstacle to the Municipality to expand the urban land from the very beginning.¹⁹⁷

To solve this problem the Municipality together with the *waradā* administrator attempted many times and also made many exchange of letters between them. For instance, they demarcated the boundaries of the town in 1942E.C. and 1954 E.C. But it was not effective because the *bālā- rest* nullified their agreement¹⁹⁸ and then they began to distribute land by themselves without planning receiving 20 birr from each individual for 20x60 size of land .This in turn exposed the people to pay taxes two times. One to *bālā -rests* and the other one to the municipality.¹⁹⁹

At the expense of all these challenges the municipality continued its efforts to solve the problem. The shortage of land became more acute particularly with the growth the town and increase of the

¹⁹⁷ B.M.A, a letter RN 794/694/ 62 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Ato Digafe Tasewu, the Governor of Bule Hora *Waradā* written on Megabit 29, 1962 E.C.

¹⁹⁸ B.M.A, a letter RN 669/1001 from Bule Municipality office to Bule Hora *waradā* office written on Nehāse 8, 1955 E.C; H.M.A, a letter RN 794/694/62 from Bule Hora Municipality to Ato Digafe Tasewu, the Governor of Bule Hora *waradā* written on 8, 1962 E.C.

¹⁹⁹ B.H.A, a letter RN 111/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Are ro *Awurājjā* office written on Hidar 3, 1953 E.C; B.M.A, a letter RN 360\64 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Bule Hora *waradā* administration office written on Tir3, 1964 E.C.; B.M.A, a letter RN 3271/ 89 from Aeroro *Awurājjā* administration office to Ato Tesfaye Chefik, Governor of Bule Hora *Waradā* written on Megābit 6, 1957 E.C.

population of the town as a result of the construction of the Addis Ababa-Moyle highway.²⁰⁰ To this end, that means in 1964 E.C, the governor of Bule Hora *Waradā*, Ato Digafe Tasew together with Ato Demere Gebre Kidan, Bule-Hora Municipality authorities as well as *bālā-rest* and elders who knew clearly the original boundary of the town discussed the issue and then they had properly delimited the boundaries of the town. They also decided to give land to the *bālā-rest* outside the Municipality's limit on the basis of their preference (See appendix VII).²⁰¹

Then the town's Master Plan was made on *Sane* 12, 1964 E.C. Within this, new houses were built according to the plan; feeder roads were constructed in the town.²⁰² Moreover, a strategically central place was allocated for market. Around this newly established market place shops, flour mills, *Tej bet*, tearooms, and hotels were established by merchants and this new *safar* came to be called *Addis ketema safar*.²⁰³

The town was also divided into different *safars* (quarters). The old *safers* continued with their previous names. Among these one was *Arada safar*. This *safar* is found at a place where the present commercial bank of Ethiopia, Bule Hora branch is located. It was in this *safar* that for the first time service houses such as *tala bet* (local beer), *tej bet* (mead house), tea houses as well as small shops were opened.²⁰⁴

Bacho Safar was another one which is situated adjacent to *Arada safar*. It was named after the Oromo speaking people known as *Bacho Oromo*. These people came from central Shawa during

²⁰⁰ B.M.A., a letter RN 61/64 from Bule Hora Municipality office to *Arero Awurājjā* office written on Meskerem 25, 1964 E.C.

²⁰¹ B.M.A, a Meeting on Meskerem 6, 1964 E.C, on the agenda of delaminating the boundary of Bule Hora town.

²⁰² B.M.A, a letter RN 1561/64 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Bule Hora *waradā* office on Sene 12, 1964 E.C.

²⁰³ Melaku, p.17.

²⁰⁴ Informants: Ato Ashenafi Temesgen; Fisaha Zergabachew; Bizuneh Abera; Turunesh Bedada.

1908 campaign of Balcha's soldiers to the region. Initially, they were few in number but later on because the area is fertile they attracted their relative from central Shawa and founded a *safar* known as *Bacho safar*.²⁰⁵

According to my informants there were also another Oromo -speaking people called Mecha Oromo who came to the region for hunting wild animals from southwestern parts of Ethiopia a little before the arrival of Menilek's army to the region. This Oromo group was attracted by good climate of the area and gradually settled in the South eastern part of the town and then the area came to be known as *Mecha safar*.²⁰⁶

Yaquesoch safar (quarter of priests) was also another *safar* of the town at the time. It is located around the place where the present St.Mariam church is found. At the time this area was mostly inhabited by priests and other members of the clergy who give service to the church. Then the *safar* is called *yeqesoch safar* (quarter of priests).²⁰⁷

The other *safar* was *Burji safar*, which is found in the south western parts of the town particularly in the present day 03 Qebele. It was named after the Burji ethnic group who came from Sayomo six kilometers in the western part of the town and settled in the region.²⁰⁸

There were also settlers which came from the surrounding regions like Amaro. The people who came from Amaro were Koyrigna speaker's .The area where this people settled though few in numbers, was named *Koyra safar*. It is located in the northeastern part of the town in 01 Qebele.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Informants: Ashanafi Temesgen; *W/ro* Turnesh Badada; Demeqech Balcha; see also Meleku, p.11.

²⁰⁶ Informants : Fisaha Zergabachewu; Ashanafi Temesgen; Gebrekirstos Dulacha

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*

²⁰⁸ Informants: Taye Bekele, Zeleke Amado; see also Melaku,p. 11.

²⁰⁹ Mamo Denbela, Bekele Sahlu, Lakewu Techane; See Melaku, p.11.

Nevertheless one cannot conclude that the *safars* in the town was based on ethnic identity. This was because of the fact that some *safars* are named on the bases of economic activities. For example there is a *safar* named *qatqachoch* (blacksmith) *safar*, which got its name from the people who live by engaging in the production of instruments like knives , axes, plough shares and other. Their particular area is around st. Mariam church.²¹⁰

The other one is Kala *safar*. Kala is derived from kalo in local Oromo language, which means that a certain land with sufficient grass for grazing. According to my informant Shegicho Ketolo *kala safar* served the merchants from the Borana region. These people keep their pack animals in the kala when they came to the town. The animals were used for riding and transporting goods on the market days. Due to this reason the area is named as *kala safar*. It is located in the southern part of the town.²¹¹

Beside these sections there are many business establishments and public service centers in the town. Because of these establishments all of the neighborhoods around them got their respective names. For instance *Missionoch safar*, the place where the Norwegian missionaries and their followers were settled and their service giving institutions were established. It is located in the southeastern part of the town.²¹²

²¹⁰ Informants: Qes Abebe Wadayohanes ; Gebre hana Walda Yohanes; see also Melaku,p.11.

²¹¹ Informants: Ato Shegicho Ketelo; Bekele Anole; Benecho Dereso; also Melaku, p. 11.

²¹² Informants: Qes Buzuneh Abera, Qes Bekele Elema; Bati Wako; see also Melaku, p.13.

3.2 The Town's Relations with Rural Hinterlands and the Neighboring Areas

Bule Hora's location in the richest agricultural production and live stock rearing area contributed much to its interaction with rural hinterlands. The immediate rural hinter lands such as Qillenso, Chamari, Kuyya and Ifata Ferda, had strong interaction with the town.²¹³

Due to different environmental conditions, the different rural areas supplied various types of agricultural products to the town. The major food crops that were supplied to the town included *teff*, wheat, barley, maize and crops like coffee. In addition to these agricultural products the hinterland rural areas also provided live stock and honey to the market.²¹⁴ The main source of agricultural product to the town was Qilenso. In order to show this the town men say ቂሊንሶ የሀገር ምሥራ (Literary Qilenso the pillar of the country).²¹⁵

The town also supplied the dwellers of rural areas with manufactured goods such as cloth, sugar, soap and etc. The small industries in the town such as weaving and hand craft also contributed in supplying different utensils like knives, plough shares and etc to the rural dwellers²¹⁶. Ato Lagese Ayano, Ato Gezaheny Wolde Amanuel, Ato Biru Anberbir, Ato Mekonnen Feleke and Mammo Mokonnen were among those engaged in weaving in the 1960s.²¹⁷

Though Bule Hora is located in a midst Guji Oromo people, it also brought together different ethnic groups with different languages and cultures.²¹⁸ It served as a center of interaction for different ethnic groups from the very beginning. For instance, written sources indicate that in the

²¹³ Bule Hora Municipal Council, "Socio –Economic profile of Bule Hora Town 2005. E.C), P. 35, Informant: Lakawu Techane and Gebre amlak Wako.

²¹⁴ Melaku, p. 18.

²¹⁵ Informants: Bati Wako ; Ashenafi Temesgen; Lakaw Techane

²¹⁶ Informants; Shagicho Ketelo, Ato Zeleke Amado; Gebrekirstos Dulecha.

²¹⁷ B.M.A, a letter RN 697/11/96 from Neguse Aregawu, Bule Hora Municipality's tax officers to Teklu Tesema, Bule Hora Municipality's financial officers written on Hamle 5, 1956E.C.

²¹⁸ Melaku, p.18.

first decade of the twentieth century the market of Kuku, in the present town of Bule Hora was the most important center of trade where many of the ethnic groups of the region exchanged goods like grains ,honey and etc.²¹⁹ In this regard Burji, Koyra and Gedeo ethnic groups can be mentioned.²²⁰

Two market days (Wednesdays and Saturdays) were established in 1960 E.C.²²¹ From the two Wednesday market is the main market day in which a large gathering of people from the town as well as the country side and neighboring areas attend.²²² As a result of altitudes and climate conditions of their areas these ethnic groups brought different items or commodities to the market to sell. For instance the Burji ethnic group mostly brought *teff* to the market whereas the Gedeo ethnic group mostly brought *qocho* (false banana).²²³

Concerning the transportation of goods to Bule Hora at the time the Surrounding and the nearby ethnic groups depended mostly on pack animals and human porters. As a result the movement is very slow and took long time with great exhaustion.²²⁴

3.3. Bule Hora during the Derg period (1974-1991)

The 1974 revolution brought changes on Bule Hora town like elsewhere in other parts of Ethiopia. This change was related to the nationalization of urban land and extra houses.²²⁵ According to proclamation of number 47 of 1975, which declared government ownership of urban land and

²¹⁹ Berhanu Lameso (1993), p.50.

²²⁰ Melaku,19.

²²¹ Bule Hora Municipality Council P.20.

²²² *Ibid*; p.18. see also Melaku,p.19.

²²³ Informants: Bekele Anole; Mammo Denbala; see also Melaku, p. 19.

²²⁴ Melaku, p.20.

²²⁵ *Ibid*; p.37.

extra houses, all kinds of houses more than necessary for residence of a family or used to for renting income were nationalized.²²⁶

Informants stated that by this proclamation many houses including hotels in Bule Hora town were nationalized and were turned either into government offices or were rented. The wealthy urban dwellers were disappointed. These discouraged capital investment by individuals out of fear of confiscation.²²⁷

There was also no stability in the town at the time. As a result many people left the town and there was also a wide spread looting in the town. For instance the parts coffee grain mills were looted during this unstable period. All These conditions in turn brought about an adverse effect on the development of the town.²²⁸

Besides this like Bale and Hararghe, the Sidamo province was also equally affected by the 1977-1978 Ethio-Somali war. Following the revolution, Somali republic wanted to detach part of the Ethiopian territory as far as the Awash River .To this end the republic effectively exploited the Oromos in Hararghe, Bale and Sidamo.²²⁹

Indeed, the Oromo who experienced the long years of exploitation of the *Naftaññā* settlers were easily attracted to the propaganda of the Somali nationalist idea. Thereby, the surrounding Guji Oromo of Bule Hora town fled to the Somalia and came back with weapons. Then they attacked Bule Hora town.This resulted in losses of many lives, the destruction of many houses and the

²²⁶ Christopher Clapham, p.142.

²²⁷ Informants: Amelework Tesema, Ashenafi Temesgen, Gebre Amlak Wako;see also Melaku,37.

²²⁸ B.M.A, a Letter RN 881/ፆሐ/313 written by Bariso Dukale , the Governor of Bule Hora waradā to all concerned body on Tahisas 1,1973 E.C. see also Melaku, p.37.

²²⁹ Wagayehu Belewu, “ The Aftermath of the 1977/78 Somali Invasion : Politico-Economic and Social impact” B.A Thesis, Department of political Science, Addis Ababa University, 1985,p.41;Bille and Colin,Legum, *The Horn of Afrca in continuing crises* (New York: African publishing Campany,1979),pp. 35-36.

closing down of many services rendering institutions. The social and economic interactions that had existed between the town dwellers and the rural population were also interrupted for a time being.²³⁰

This in turn adversely affected the economic development of Bule Hora town because those people which were potentially capable to invest in the town and make the town economically active were not willing to go back there and invest money fearing that the same sort of instability and insecurity would happen again. These entire situations had setback the progress of the town observed a few years before.²³¹

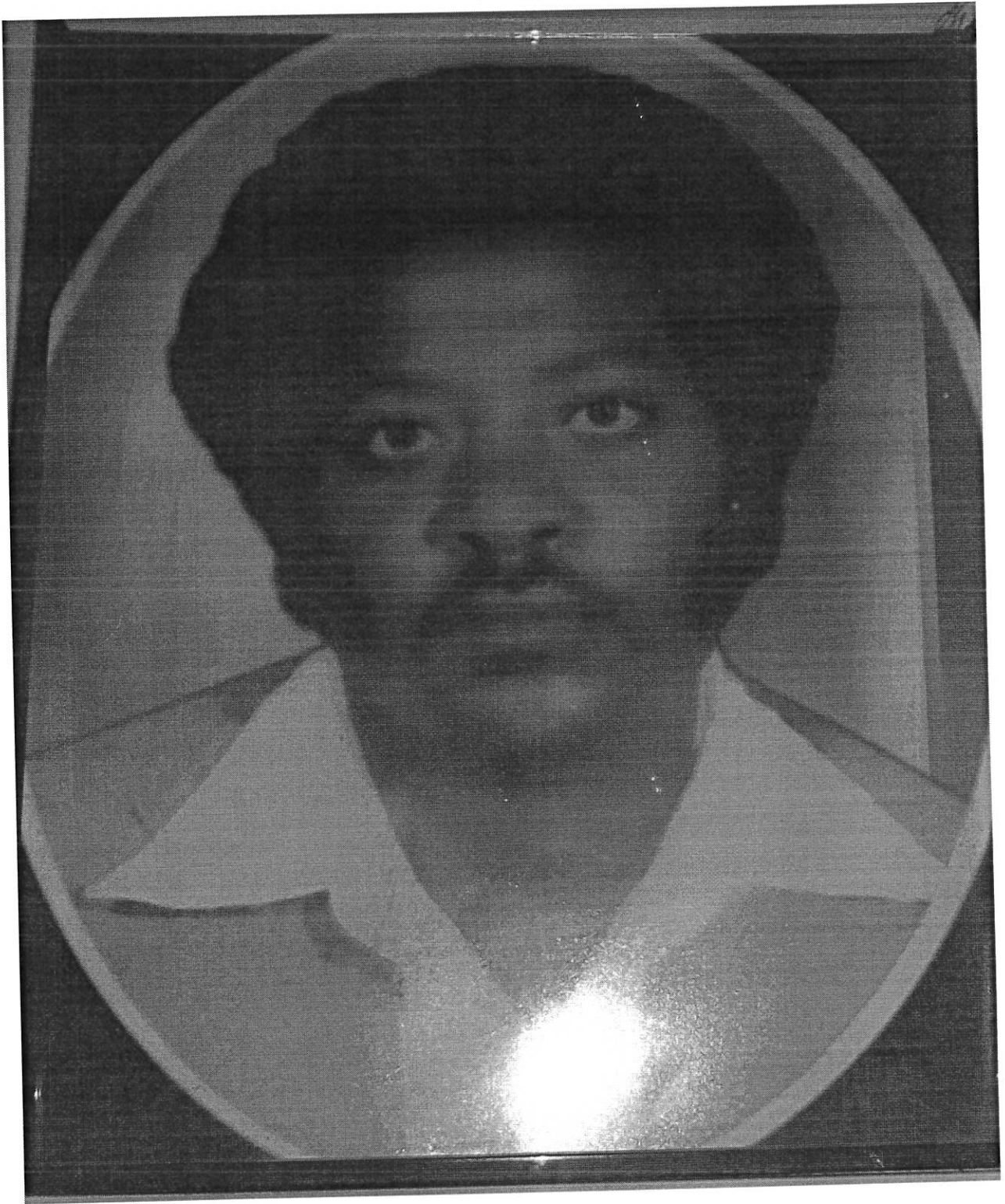
However, the town showed some developments since 1980 due to the restoration of peace and stability in the waradā in general and in the town in particular by the effort of Ato Beriso Dukale, the governor of Bule Hora warada at the time.²³² Within the restoration of peace and stability in the town different developmental works that contributed to the development of the town were established.²³³

²³⁰ Informants: Amale work Tesema, Gebre kirstos Dulecha, Ashenafi Temesgen, Taye Bekele and Fisaha Zergabachew.

²³¹ Melaku,p.3

²³² *Ibid*

²³³ Bule Hora Municipality Council,p.26.



Photograph1. Ato Bariso Dukale

One of the establishments was the commercial Bank of Ethiopia Bule Hora branch. It was established in 1980.²³⁴ Since the period of its establishment the Bank gave loans for those merchants who were engaged in trade activities as well as for the peasant association to encourage the production, consumption and distribution of goods. For instance, the Bank lent 100.000 birr for Warka sankaro peasant association in 1984.²³⁵ It had also enhanced the growth of the town by making funds available for expansion of services such as Hotels.²³⁶

High school was opened for the first time during the administration period of Bariso Dukale. Other service giving establishments such as electric light operated by diesel generator, water supply and others were also improved.²³⁷

Many dry weather roads which connected the town with the rural and neighboring areas were constructed. For instance 53 kilometers of dry weather road was constructed from Bule Hora to Burji in 1981.²³⁸ The dry weather road was also constructed from Bule Hora to Qellesso, the coffee growing area in Bule Hora *waradā*.²³⁹ During the imperial period because of the absence of such type of roads the transportation of goods was mostly done by human porters. As a result the movement of goods was very slow.²⁴⁰ But the construction of this dry weather road made possible the smooth flow of resources both from rural and the neighboring areas to Bule Hora's market.

²³⁴ Bule Hora Municipality Council, P.26.

²⁴⁷ B.M.A, a letter RN 380/5/ from Warka Sakaro peasant service cooperative to Bule Hora *Waradā* office written on *Tahāsās* 27,1979 E.C.

²³⁶ Informants: Taye Bekele; Ashanafi Temesgen; Mammo Denbela.

²³⁷ Informants: Bati Wako, Bekele Anole, Mengestu Bekele; see also Melaku, p.38.

²³⁸ National Archive and library Agency (NALA), Folder Number (FN) 11 , a letter from Arero *Awrajjā* to the Sidamo province written on Yekatit 16,1975E.C; Informants :Bekele Sahle and Mengistu Bekele..

²³⁹ B.M.A, a letter from Ato Eedema Debela, the Governor of Bule Hora *Waradā* to Bule Hora *Waradā* peasant association office written 14/9/1977 E.C.

²⁴⁰ Melaku,p.20.

This in turn enhanced the commercial activities in the town.²⁴¹ The saw mill which was established in 1976 and stopped working because of instability had restarted its work with the restoration of peace and security in the town. This in turn also enhanced the town's interaction with the rural hinterlands for it obtained the construction material from rural areas as well as produced items of value for rural population like timber.²⁴²

The coffee mill which was also stopped working because of the absence of stability and its parts looted was maintained following the restoration of peace and stability in the town. Before its maintenance people had travel of 100km distances in order to process the coffee collected from the rural area.²⁴³ However, by the meeting which took place on *Tahāsās*, 1980 the *waradās* product campaign committee decided to give the coffee mill to Ato Gez Ali who was able to cover the price of the maintenance. Within this Ato Gez Ali spent 10,000 birr and bought parts of the coffee mill which was looted and then started to work. This in turn also enhanced the linkage between the town and the coffee growing rural area.²⁴⁴ All these led to the development of the town by facilitating the smooth undertakings of commercial activities in the town. Many merchants and laborers also came to the town. This in turn enhanced the growth of the town's population²⁴⁵. For instance the number of population in 1986 was 7,323; of these 3,844 female and 3,483 male.²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ Informants: Gebreamlak Wako, Gobena Dube; Fisaha Zergabachew.

²⁴² Informants: Teshome Ageze; Taye Bekele; Gobana Dube.

²⁴³ B.M.A, a Letter RN 881/dH/313 written by Bariso Dukale, the Governor of Bule Hora warada to all concerned body on Tahisas 1, 1973 E.C.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*

²⁴⁵ Informants: Mesele mesaye; Shegicho Ketelo; Ashenafi Temesgen.

²⁴⁶ National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), Folder Number (FN) 17, a letter RN/00/22/01/42 from Sidamo province to the Minister of National administration office, dated Ginbot 22, 1977 E.C.

CHAPTER FOUR

Urban Land Use, Town Administration and Urban Services

4.1 Urban Land Use

As stated in chapter one, before the incorporation of the Guji land into the Ethiopian empire the Guji society held land communally. Every Guji was free to use the land of its own clan. But with the incorporation of the Guji land to the Ethiopian empire, the communal land holding system was replaced by the feudal land holding system.²⁴⁷

This was also true for Bule Hora area which is part of Guji territory. Following the incorporation of the region, the land was distributed to the *naftaññnā*²⁴⁸. As Bule Hora was founded as a garrison town land was distributed among the officials and soldiers based on their status. The appointed representative took a large plot of land (500 *gashās*) whereas his subordinates took lesser amount. “After applying the principle of *Siso*, the remaining land was distributed to the soldiers of the garrison in one *gāshā* unit” and then the indigenous population were made *gabbārs* of the soldiers²⁴⁹.

When the garrison at Kuku evolved into garrison town it needed the physical expansion. Then Balcha Safo allocated 4 *gashās* only for the newly evolved garrison town also expecting to

²⁴⁷ Taddesse Barisso (1988), p.11; Abiyot Negera, p.22; Berhanu Lameso (2012), pp.114-115; Getachew Godana, p.29.

²⁴⁸ Berhanu Lameso (2012), p.174; Getachew Godana, p.34; McClellan(1988), pp.122-123.

²⁴⁹ McClellan (1988), 83.

accommodate the increase of population in the future.²⁵⁰ Though the amount was not mentioned he also added other land for the purpose of *rest* station known as *Messaferiyya* for merchants²⁵¹.

He defined the boundary of the town properly. Accordingly, in the east Ato Abdi Godana's house and Mitid river and a type of tree locally known as *Abalo*; in the west his own *Hudād* land; in the north a big *warka* (Sycamore) tree; in the south *Mamre* Haile's *qalad* and Ato Altaye's *Māderya* land (see also appendix II).²⁵²

When the Municipality was established in 1934 E.C. the areas of the land allocated to be under the control of the Municipality was nominally four *gāshās*. But the area of the land which was practically controlled by the municipality was not more than one and half *gashās*, while the remaining land was taken by the surrounding *bālā-rest*²⁵³.

From all directions of the town *bālā-rest* of the surrounding area pushed and controlled the land that belongs to the town.²⁵⁴ The Municipality asked the restoration of land. But *bālā-rests* were not willing to hand over to the municipality because they profited more from the land by cultivating and collecting tax from the people who lived on the limit of the territory. This became a subject of dispute between the municipality and *bāla-rests*.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ B.M.A, a letter RN 148/129 from Bule Hora municipality to Arero *Awurājjā* written on Hidar 16, 1956 E.C; B.M.A, a letter RN 141/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality to *Fitawurari* Ganane Badane, Governor of Arero *Awurājjā* written on Hidar 10, 1953 E.C. .

²⁵¹ B.M.A, a letter RN 38/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality to *Fitawurari* Ganane Badane, Governor of Arero *Awurājjā* written on Meskerem 12,1952 E.C; B.M.A ; a letter RN 148/129 from Bule Hora municipality to Arero *Awurājjā* written on Hidar 16, 1956 E.C

²⁵² *Ibid*

²⁵³ B.M.A, a meeting on *Tikimt* 9, 1948.E.C, on the agenda of the boundary of Bule Hora town.

²⁵⁴ B.M.A, a letter from Bule Hora Municipality office to Bule Hora *waradā* written on Hamle 29,1955E.C; B.M.A, a letter RN 494/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Bule Hora *Waradā* written on Meskerem 12,1956 E.C.

²⁵⁵ B.M.A, a letter RN 474/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality to Arero *Awurājjā* written on Megbit 24,1956 E.C;H.M.A, a letter RN 491/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality office to *qaññāzmāch* Zewude Nigatu, the Governor of Bule Hora *Waradā* written on Mīayazia 5,1953 E.C.

A meeting was held on Tikmit 9, 1948 E.C at three o'clock on the issue of the urban land. *Dejjāzmāch* Genene Bedane, the Governor of Arero *Awrajjā*; Ato Mulugeta Mismaku, the main general secretary; Ato Achule Kebiret, the vice president of justice; Ato Shambel Tufa, the police commander were the participants of the meeting. After a series of discussion the following resolutions were passed;

1. The commission understood that the land belonged to the town was 4 *gashās*; out this, the land distributed to the urban people was not more than one and half *gashās*, while the rest 2.5 *gashās* were controlled by people for over three generations.

The expansion of the town did not reach this area rather it was confined to one and half *gashās*. Thus rather than taking away the land from *bālā rests*, the commission decided to divide the land for their family members and registered in their name and to pay tax to municipality. Those *bālā-rests* who did not register the land in their name it could be taken away from them and to be handed to other people.

2. The vacant land of the area could be distributed to the other people who would pay tax to the municipality.
3. Those who were said to have bought land could continue tax payment and must be registered. They could also construct residential houses within six months. If they failed to build houses within six months, the land could be taken by municipality and to be given to other people of the town.
4. Although the total land granted to the town was four *gashas*, 2.5 *gāshās* of it was under the control of *Bālā-rests*. With the further expansion of the town, they either had to build a

house as the others did. If not, they had at least to continue paying land rent for the service they availed for the land (see also appendix I).²⁵⁶

However, *bālā rests* were not accepted on the ground that the land is not in the limit of the town and as it was given to them in the past according to the land measurement of the time.²⁵⁷ Thus they continued to collect taxes from the people. As a result those people who lived within the limit of that territory pay taxes not only to the municipality but also to the *bālā-rests*. Even they compelled the people to pay tax for water. The people appealed for the full demarcation of the boundary of the town on the ground that they should not pay taxes twice.²⁵⁸

Thus in 1954 E.C, Ato Hailemariam Belo, the governor of Bule Hora *waradā* together with some members and elders those clearly know the original boundary of the town discussed the issue and demarcated the boundary of the town according to its original boundary²⁵⁹. Then the Municipality was allowed a full controlled and ownership of all the lands which were previously dominated by *bālā rests*. The people who lived in the limit of that territory and paid taxes for *bālā-rests* before were also informed not to pay taxes for bale-rests, but to the Municipality.²⁶⁰

Despite the demarcation of the boundary, the *bālā-rests* continued to collect taxes from the people. In other words the demarcation of the boundary did not prevent the *bālā-rests* to taxes from the people. For instance a letter written from Bule Hora municipality to Bule Hora *waradā* on Sene 9,1955E.C indicates that the *bālā-rest* collected taxes from about 63 people forcefully (See

²⁵⁶ B.M.A, a meeting on *Tikimt* 9, 1948.E.C, on the agenda of the boundary Bule Hora town.

²⁵⁷ B.H.A, an application of Ato Gebre Tsadik to Arero Awraja administration office on 17/12/ 1953 E.C.

²⁵⁸ B.M.A, a letter RN/ 141/1001/ from Bule Hora Municipality office to Fitawurari Genene Badane, Governor of Arero Awurājjā written on Hidar 10, 1953 E.C.

²⁵⁹ B.M.A, a meeting on the boundary of the town which spearheaded by Hailemariam Belew, the governor of Bule Hora warada on Nahāse 18, 1954 E.C.

²⁶⁰ B.M.A, a letter RN 669/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Arero Awurājjā written on Hamle 29, 1955 E.C.

appendix III)²⁶¹. Another letter also indicates that Ato Gada Wudesa, one of the *bālā -rests* of the time collected tax from Ato Edema Bokan, Ato Mammo Waldemikael, Ato Birega Chirkos and Ato Tolera Beri forcefully.²⁶²

The mass of the people appealed for the proper demarcation of the boundary of the town for the reasons mentioned above. Besides to the Municipality also repeatedly requested the precise definition of urban land boundary in order to draw a modern master plan.²⁶³

At the same time *bāla-rist*s were not willing to hand over the extensive land that was dominated by them to the municipality. This was a great challenge that faced the Municipality at the time. The municipality tried its best continuously to solve the problem. They exchanged many letters with the *waradā* office and Arero *Awurājjā*, but they were not successful.²⁶⁴

One of the letters written from Arero *Awurājjā* office to Ato Asefa Chefik, the governor of Bule Hora *Waradā* on Meābit 6, 1958 E.C indicates that the carelessness of the *Waradā* office about the issue was the reason behind for the absence of clear and long lasting demarcation of the boundary of the town.²⁶⁵ In fact according to the declaration of Negarit Gazeta number 74 on the municipality houses and urban area it was the *Waradā* office that had the power to limit the boundary of the town.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*; B.M.A, a letter RN 669/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Bule Hora *waradā* Governor written on Nehāse9, 1955 E.C; B.M.A, a letter RN from Desta Wube , Bule Hora Municipality authorities to the Governor of Bule Hora *Waradā* written on Megabit 8,1955E.C..

²⁶² B.M.A, an application of Ato Edema Boka to Bule Hora Municipality on 17/4/ 1955E.C; B.M.A, a letter RN 669/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Arero Awurājjāwritten on Hamle 29,1955 E.C;B.M.A, a letter RN 37 46/89/56 from Arero Awurājjā administration office to Bālāmbārās Zerfe Damte, Governor of Bule Hora *Waradā* written on Megābit 18,1958 E.C.

²⁶³ B.M.A, a letter RN 15687/12/25/30 from Yeshigeta Mekonen to Bule Hora Municipality office written on Ginbot 19,1955E.C.

²⁶⁴ B.M.A , a letter RN 3274 /8957 from Ato Bekele Alemu, the main secretary of Arero Awurājjā administration office to Ato Asefa Chefik, the governor of Bule Hora *waradā* written on Megabit 6, 19 58 E.C.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*

The problem become even worse with the construction of the international asphalt road that passes through the town. This was because on one hand as a result of the construction of the road many houses that were found along the road were demolished, hence those people were dislocated due to this needed an exchange of land.²⁶⁶ On the other hand within the construction of the road many people and merchants from the county side and other area came to the towns which in turn also increase the number of population in the town and also the establishment service-giving establishments.²⁶⁷

For instance with the increasing of the population in the town the municipality wanted to include particularly three *gāshās* which lay on the northern side of the international asphalt road that led from Dilla to Bule hora.²⁶⁸ As the town is a garrison town when it was established the major criteria taken into consideration was its military significance rather than topographic feature for urban settlement. Hence, it is difficult to expand the physical layout of the town in all directions.²⁶⁹ The Municipality preferred more land to expand the town in northern side of the international asphalt road because the topographic feature of the land is plain which fits for modern master plan it was as well connected with the old town. But the problem was the control of the area by *Bāla-rests* at the time.²⁷⁰

However, this prolonged problem was minimized in 1964 E.C. In this year Ato Hailu Habtemariam, the governor of Arero *Awurājjā*; Ato Digafe Tasew, the Governor of Bule Hora *Waradā*; Ato Demrewu Gebre Kidan, Bule Hora Municipality authorities; Teklu Tesema, the main

²⁶⁶ B. M.A, a letter RN 25 16/65 from Bule Hora *Waradā* office to Arero *Awurājjā* land ownership and administration office Written on Megābit 22, 1965 E.C.

²⁶⁷ B.M.A, a letter RN 3083/ 63 from Bule Hora Municipality office to lieutenant General Nega Hailesilassie written on Hamle 30, 1963 E.C .

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*

²⁶⁹ Melaku,p.38.

²⁷⁰ B.M.A, a Letter RN 3083/63 from Bule Hora Municipality office to *qaññāzmāch* Hailu Habtemariam, the governor of Arero *Awurājjā* written on Hamle 23, 1963E.C; Informants; Taye Bekele, and Ashenafi Temesgen.

secretary of Bule Hora Municipality; Ato Gebeyehu Gonfa, the *safar shum* of Bule Hora Municipality as well as *bāla-rist* and elders who knew clearly the original boundary of the town discussed the issue and then they had properly delaminated the boundary of the town.²⁷¹

Then the urban lands previously controlled by *bāla-rests* were included within the Municipal boundary. But because these *gāshās* were not enough to accommodate the increased population of the town additional *gāshās* were included to the limit of the Municipality. For instance, from Hamsa Aleka Demeke Bekele, one gasha; from Meto Aleka Tafese Simeny, one *gāshā*; from Balachew Ayele, one *gāshā*; from Basha Dinsa Kondala and Fitawurari Angasu Jimma 10,0461metrs karees were added for the growth and expansion of the town. It was also agreed to give these individuals land in exchange outside the Municipal limit.²⁷²

The town master plan was drawn in 1964 E.C.²⁷³ According to this plan the town was delimited within 9 *gashās*.²⁷⁴ The planners were Ato Legese Yegale; Ato Solomon Desta; Ato Getu Zewude and Ato Alayehu Gebresillasie whereas Ato Shifereaw Zewude was a car driver for the team.²⁷⁵ They stayed for five months working on the plan. During the whole stay the Municipality covered all the expense that was about 11, 0 00 *birr* (See appendix VII).²⁷⁶

²⁷¹ B. M.A, a Meeting on Meskerem 6, 1964 E.C, on the agenda of delaminating the boundary of Bule Hora town.

²⁷² B.M.A, a letter RN142/65 from Demere Gebrekidan, Bule Hora Municipality authorities to Bule Hora *Waradā* administration office written on Tikimit 28, 1965 E.C.; H.M.A, a letter RN 597/66 from Bule Hora *Waradā* administration office to Arero Awurājjā land administration office written on Hidar 7, 1966 E.C.

²⁷³ B.M.A, a letter RN 1561/64 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Bule Hora *waradā* office on Sene 12, 1964 E.C.; Informants: Taye Bekele and Ashenafi Temesgen.

²⁷⁴ B.M.A, a letter RN 758/65 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Sidamo province administration office written on Sene 22, 1965.

²⁷⁵ Bule Hora ,a letter RN from Fitawurari Woldesemayat Gebrerewold, Sidamo province *mikitle inderāse* to Bule Hora Municipality Financial authorities written on Hidar 13, 19 64 E.C.

²⁷⁶ B.M.A, a letter RN142/65 from Demere Gebrekidan, Bule Hora Municipality authorities to Bule Hora *Waradā* administration office written on Tikimit 28, 1965 E.C.

The Municipality did not use all additional land until 1965 E.C because the exchange land was not given to *bāla-ristis*²⁷⁷. Thus before the place for a Hospital, government office, church, school, industry, big hotel, stadium, road and others were not clearly known the people built their residential houses by destroying the stone demarcation that was made during the master plan preparation. This was the main challenge to the municipality at the time.²⁷⁸

The master plan of the town was improved in 1969 E.C. Then the area of urban land rose to 14 gashas. The planners were Ato Solomon Desta; Ato Hailemariam Benti; Ato Alemayehu Hailessilasie; Ato Fantaye Taye and Ato Getu Zewude²⁷⁹

4.2. Town Administration

The Municipality of Bule Hora was established in 1934 E.C. As was noted earlier, according to the Municipal proclamation of March 30, 1945 Ethiopian towns were classified into two major categories; schedule A and schedule B. Towns under schedule A were declared to have municipalities. These were Addis Ababa, Gonder, Harar, Desse, Jimma and Diredawa. All the rest of the towns were under schedule B and were declared as townships. On the basis of this classification Bule Hora was also recognized as a township under schedule B in the third class division of townships.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ B.M.A, a letter RN 758/65 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Sidamo province administration office written on Sene 22, 1965.

²⁷⁸ B.M.A, RN from 263/65 from Bule Hora Municipality to Bule Hora Waradā police administration office written on Tahisas 13, 1965 E.C; Informant: Zeleke Amado.

²⁷⁹ B.M.A, a letter RN 4636/38/36/36 from Bule Hora Municipality to Sidamo administration office written on Hidar 11, 1969 E.C.

²⁸⁰ Negarit Gazeta, Municipalities proclamation, No .74, March 30, 1945, p.49.

The Municipality had municipal councils which were responsible to administer the town.²⁸¹ The following were the Municipal officers who administered the town between 1947 E.C and 1965E.C. Ato Desta Wube ; Ato Digafe Tasew; Ato Demerew Gebre Kidane; Ato Geremew Serda; Ato Techane and Ato Arega Wale.²⁸²

The municipality's responsibilities included granting of commercial licenses to various trading activities, collection of taxes and revenue, maintenance of peace and security, control of trade and movement of people, judiciary activity, administration of urban land and development works such as social services.²⁸³

The Municipality facilitated the administration of the town in cooperation with the *safar Shums* (neighborhood chief) who were appointed to transmit the order of the municipality to the people. In other words they served as the bridge between the municipality and the population of their respective *safars*.²⁸⁴ For instance Gebeyehu Gonfa was one of the *safar shums* of the town in 1963E.C.²⁸⁵

They collected taxes from the town dwellers which was the Municipality's basis of income. These taxes were collected from the merchants, who attended the market based on the quantity and quality of their trade items and the other inhabitants monthly or annually relying on the type of the occupation. Taxes were also collected from service giving houses such as *talla bet.*, *tej bet*, hotel, tea houses and shops.²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ Melaku, p. 22.

²⁸² Informants; Taye Bekele; Fisaha Zergabachew; Ashenafi Temesgen.

²⁸³ Melaku, p. 22.

²⁸⁴ Informants; Ashenafi Temesgen; Taye Bekele; Tafese Wudneh

²⁸⁵ B.M.A, a Meeting on Meskerem 6, 1964 E.C, on the agenda of delaminating the boundary of Bule Hora town.

²⁸⁶ Informants: Zeleke Amado; Fisaha Zergabachew; Lakewu Techne.

All of these taxes were important to facilitate the works of the municipality for the development of the town. However, the collected taxes were not enough to facilitate the works of the municipality.²⁸⁷ A number of factors had accounted for this limitation. These were dishonesty of the municipality offices in tax collection²⁸⁸ reluctance of town dwellers to pay tax expected of them and the concentration of extensive lands in the hands of *bālā-rests* limited the income of municipality.²⁸⁹

As stated earlier when the municipality was established in 1942, the urban land allocated under its control was nominally 4 *gāshās*, but the area of the land that was really controlled by Municipality and known as a source income for the municipality until 1965 E.C was only one and half *gāshā*. The rest of the land was under the control of *bāla-rests* who also collected tax from the people lived within the limit of that land.²⁹⁰

In 1954 E.C this area of the land was put under the control of the Municipality and the people who lived in that territory were made to pay tax to Municipality.²⁹¹ But ignoring the power of the Municipality in collecting tax from the newly added lands, the *Bāla-rests* compelled the people to pay tax to them. Even as revenge they made the payment of tax more than double than before (increased from 10 birr to 60 up to 100).²⁹²

²⁸⁷ Informant: Ashanafi Temesgen; Taye Bekele; Zeleke Amado.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*

²⁸⁹ B.M.A, a letter RN 555/64 from Demere Gebrekidan, Bule Hora Municipality authorities to Ato Asefa Ijigu, the Governor of Bule Hora *Waradā* written on Megabit 11, 1964 E.C.; B.M.A, a letter RN/494/1001 from Desta Wube, Bule Hora Municipality officers to Bule Hora *Waradā* Governor written on Meskerem 13, 1956 E.C.

²⁹⁰ B.M.A, a letter RN/758/65 from Bule Hora Municipality to Sidamo province administration office written on Sane 22, 1965 E.C.

²⁹¹ B.M.A, a letter RN 669/1001 from Bule Hora Municipality office to Arero Awurājjā written on Hamle 29, 1955 E.C.

²⁹² B.M.A, an application from Ato Edema Boka, Ato Mammo Waldemichael, Ato Birega Markos to B.M.A, Municipality on Tir 14, 1958 E.C.

The people appealed to the *Wāradā court*, but the appeal fell on deaf ears .Even the court intimidated them to pay the tax to the *bāla-rests*²⁹³. This could be probably he that the judge might have been given bribes by the *bāla rests*. Those people who lived on one and half *gāshā* were also not interested to pay taxes. As a result the income collected from urban land was very small. Even this small amount was collected using police force. In short the revenue collected from urban land had not contributed that much for the development of the town at the time (See AppendixVI)²⁹⁴. Despite these the development of the town continued because the commercial activities in the town developed due to the construction of the road at the time.²⁹⁵

Following the 1974 revolution the structure of the administration of the town was changed. The town was reorganized under one higher (*kefetenya*) and three *qebales*. These Qebeles had their own social and economic committees and local courts to assist the municipality council²⁹⁶. From 1975-1991, Takele Mindaye, Ato Digafe, Ato Edale Gada, Abebe Wase, were the successive Municipal officers of the town.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ H.M.A, an application from Ato Mammo Wolde Michael to Bule Hora Municipality on Hamle 29, 1955 E.C.

³¹¹ B.M.A, a letter RN 555/64 from Bule Hora Municipality to Asefa Ijigu, the governor of Hageremariam Waradā written on Megābit 11, 1964 E.C.

²⁹⁵ B.M.A, a letter RN 3083/ 63 from Bule Hora Municipality office to lieutenant General Nega Hailesilassie written on Hamle 30, 1963 E.C

²⁹⁶ Central statistical Authority, 1984 Population and Housing Census: Analytical Report on Sidamo Region (Addis Ababa, 1989), P.93; Informants: Ashenafi Temesgen and Taye Bekele.

²⁹⁷Informants: FisahaZergabachew, Zeleke Amado and Lakaw Techane.

5. Urban Services

5.1 Water Supply

The main water supplies to the dwellers of the town prior to the installment of pipe water supply were Mitidi, Dolcha and Bule Hora ponds and springs.²⁹⁸ Dolcha and Mitid are located on the eastern side of the town and Bule Hora is located on the west²⁹⁹. The use of pipe water service in the town was introduced in 1966³⁰⁰. It was built by the government and was distributed from two centers. These distribution centers were located at Burji *Safars* and near the Telecommunication office. Initially the pipe system could supply a total of about 105 gallons a day³⁰¹. Ato Tesfaye Belay was assigned as the operator of the system at the time³⁰². The introduction of pipe water system improved the life of the people in the town remarkably. Informants stated that before the introduction of the pipe water system many people were affected by water born disease but with the introduction of pipe water system it showed a reduction.³⁰³

After few years of functioning the pipe faced a problem on its force pump stopped working until 1967 E.C. In this year a new force pump was replaced which was bought by Ato Yohannes Tenkolu from Addiss Ababa and started its function. Ato Kebede Tasewu who had ample

²⁹⁸ Bule Hora Municipality Council, "Socio-Economic profile of Bule Hora Town 2005. E.C),P. 22.; Informants: Bizuneh Abera, shagicho Ketelo and Bekele Anole

²⁹⁹ *Ibid*; Melaku, p. 29.

³⁰⁰ Informants; Fisaha Zergabachew, Zeleke Amado and Gebre kirstos Dulecha.

³⁰¹ Informants; Turunesh Badada, Taye Bekele and Tafese Wudeneh; see also Melaku, p.29.

³⁰² B.M.A, a letter RN885/68, from Bule Hora Municipality to Bule Hora Waradā administration office written on Tir 18, 1968 E.C.

³⁰³ Informants: Bati Wako, Bekele Anole and Gebekirstos Dulecha.

experience in operating the system was employed to run this new pipe water system as daily worker being paid 2 *birr* each day³⁰⁴.

In 1981 an additional water supply system was designed to meet the increasing demand of its inhabitants and one reservoir (which contains 1500,000 liters) was constructed. The number of distribution centers also increase to six. This in turn enabled the inhabitants of the town to obtain water within short distance³⁰⁵.

5.2. Electric Service

Electric service was introduced in Bule-Hora town in 1969 by Ato Leyaw Kebede. This privately owned electric light was generated by diesel engine.³⁰⁶ Informants stated that Ato Leyaw kebede, the owner the generator collected four birr per lamp a month and give service for four hours a day³⁰⁷. However, the service was stopped in 1974 because the owner of the generator left the town due to the instability that prevailed following the revolution. Then the town lost the supply of electric light up to 1981.³⁰⁸

In 1981 the town dwellers together with *waradā* development office and the Municipality had contributed about 385,000 *birr* and bought a diesel generator which produced 135 kilowatt that supplied energy five hours a day.³⁰⁹ Informants stated that this new public owned generator provided service for all town dwellers at the time. The urban dwellers association collected three

³⁰⁴ B.M.A, a letter RN/1346/1/68 ,from Bule Hora *Waradā* administrative office to Bule Hora Municipality office written on Megābit 2, 1968 E.C.; H.M.A, a letter RN885/68 , from Bule HoraMunicipality to Bule Hora*Waradā* administration office written on Tir 18,1968 E.C.

³⁰⁵ Informants: Fisaha Zergabachew, Tafese Wudineh and Mengistu Bekele.

³⁰⁶ B.M.A, a letter RN/ 485/385/6/6 , from Colenel Bekele Firehiwot, yesidamo Tekilay gizat mikitil inderase to Hageremariam Municipality written on Tir 21,1961E.C.; Iformants:Taye Bekele and Temesgen Ashanafi.

³⁰⁷ Fisaha Zergabachew, Benecha Dereso and Gebrekirstos Dulecha.

³⁰⁸ Informants: Taye Bekele, Bekele Anole and Gobena Dube; See also Melaku, p.33.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*

birr per lamp a month from the users. Besides this public owned generator there were many privately owned generators³¹⁰. In 1984 the distribution of housing units by type of light was as follows: those who had electric meter privately were 190, shared 121, who used lamps that consumed kerosene oil were 575 Lateran and others were 534 those not stated were 16 and the total 1436.³¹¹

5.3. Education

In the town of Bule Hora there was no formal education given by government or public school until the 1950s. Before this period there was traditional church education particularly by the Orthodox Church. This church education was started directly with the establishment of St. Mriam church in Bule Hora in 1922.³¹²

Informants stated that the *tabot* (ark) was brought from Hagereselam, the then administrative center of Sidamo province. The church was built by Balcha Safo in 1922. Soon it became important center of traditional education. Most of the students at the beginning were children of priests. Therefore, their numbers were very few. But later on even those who did not follow the religion attended this traditional education³¹³.

The type of lessons that were given was *Fidalqotara* (learning of letters), *Nibab* (reading), *Dawit Dagama* (recite the Psalter of David) and *Yekal Timihirt* (reciting). This institution played a great

³¹⁰ Melaku, p.34.

³¹¹ Central statistical Authority, 1984 Population and Housing Census: Analytical Report on Sidamo Region (Addis Ababa, 1989), P. 342.

³¹² Informants: Qes Abebe Walde Yohanes, Qes Abere Buzineh and Fisaha Zergabachew; see also Melaku ,p.26.

³¹³ Qes Abebe Wolde Yohanes, Taye Bekele and Qes Bekele Anole.

role for the development of education in the town until the introduction of modern school by Norwegian missionaries in 1950³¹⁴.

The Norwegian Lutheran missionaries started their evangelical activities in southern Guji beginning in 1950 from Bule-Hora. Besides evangelical activities they gave schooling service and so they built the first modern school in Bule-Hora town in 1950³¹⁵. It was an elementary school which covered grades from one to four³¹⁶.

The problem at this initial period was that of low student enrolment because of unwillingness of either the children to attend or the parents to send them to school. To attract the students they gave clothes, money and other materials to children. Then soon the number of students relatively increased. Later on this primary school added grade five and six. Since its establishment the school provided modern education to the students of Bule-hora towns and the nearby areas. Besides this they also established orphanage in 1951.³¹⁷

This missionary school was followed by many state owned schools which were opened at different times. The first government school was opened in Bule- Hora town in 1951 in the location where today telecommunication station is found. The school was poorly facilitated and even the number of students was very low at the time³¹⁸.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*

³¹⁵ Berhanu Lameso (2012),p. 228; Melaku,p.26.

³¹⁶ Informants: Bati Wako, Gebreamlak Wako Yisak Choke and Qes Buzuneh Abera.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*

³¹⁸ Informants: Bati Wako, Qes Bekele Anole and Gebre amilak Wako; see also Melaku,p.28.

Other school was opened in 1952. This school was relatively better than the previous one in all aspects. It had four class rooms and one office and even the number of students also increased than before³¹⁹.

The Swedish International Development Agency played an important role in building primary school³²⁰. This was also true in case of Bule-hora. In Bule-Hora this international agency built a better facilitated elementary school in 1963. The school continued to serve as elementary school for about a decade. However, it was upgraded to the level of junior secondary school 1972.³²¹

There was no high school in the town before 1984. Therefore, after they have completed their junior secondary education, students were expected to go to the town of Yabello, Dilla and Yirgalem to attend their secondary education. To tackle this problem the people of the *waradā* contributed for the construction of high school and founded the first high school in 1984 in the town. This school was equipped with modern educational facilities and modern building with almost sufficient classes and teachers.³²²

5.4. Health Service

Modern health service in Bule-Hora town started with the coming of Norwegian Lutheran missionaries in 1950. They opened the first clinic in the town in 1950³²³. It gives medical service for the town people and the surrounding areas. The clinic had 5 beds at the beginning of its

³¹⁹ *Ibid*

³²⁰ Beharu Zewude. *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1955-1974* (Addis Ababa: Addis Abab University, 1991), p. 20.

³²¹ Informants: Ashenafi Temesgen, Gebreamilak Wako, and Tadese Yegeletu; Melaku, p. 28.

³²² *Ibid*

³²³ Berhanu Lemeso (2012), p. 231, Melaku, p. 25.; Informants: Qea Bezuneh Abera, Bati Wako and Qes Bekele Anole.

foundation. Each room had two beds, one delivery room, one examination room and one reception room.³²⁴

The government clinic was established in the town in 1977. This health center gives service both for the towns and rural people. However, medical services in the town are not satisfactory at the time. Moreover, the health facilities are poor in quality. Hence, many people of the town and the surrounding localities used to go to Yirgalem hospital for further treatment.³²⁵

5.5. Other Facilities

Telephone network which is one of the sign of development was first established in the town in 1964³²⁶. There is a post office established in the town, which started giving service in 1967.³²⁷ The saw mill was also installed in Bule-Hora town in 1976 by Ato Halemariam Nigatu. The main sources of raw materials for this wood processing small industry were the surrounding rural areas such as Bada Magada forest, Jabasire, and Gerba³²⁸. This saw mill contributed to the growth of the town. According to my informants there were two factories side by side and each produced 8 cubic mts. per day. The factory provided jobs for about 80 people and construction material for the town's people which helped them to build modern houses, hotels and shops.³²⁹

³²⁴ Informants: Gebreamlak Wako, Qes Bezuneh and Qes Bekele Anole.

³²⁵ Informants: Gebrekirstos Dulecha, Bati Wako and Taye Bekele; Melaku, p. 35.

³²⁶ Melaku, p. 31.

³²⁷ *Ibid*

³²⁸ Informants: Teshome Ageza, Taye Bekele, Ashenafi Temesgen and Gobena Dube

³²⁹ *Ibid*; Beyene Hirpo

CONCLUSION

Bule Hora town is one of the Southern towns which emerged in the land inhabited by Uraga clan of Guji Oromo. Its foundation trace back to the early decade of twentieth century with the coming of Menilek's force to the region. Before the conquest and incorporation of the region by the forces of Menilek the site had served the Guji Oromo as center for exercising their traditional religion and Gada ceremonies.

There was also seasonal economic exchange around the site before the conquest. Since the area was a center of bandit soon after the conquest Balcha Safo sent his soldieries together with his *Inderāse* to the region and they were camped at the traditional site known as Kuku. These officials and soldieries as well as their followers were permanently settled in and around the camp. Within this, the military centers at Kuku eventually evolved into the garrison town.

The long distance caravan trade routes network that passed through Kuku (Bule Hora) in the first decade of the twentieth century contributed for the relative growth of the market of Kuku at the time. The market served as a trade center for exchange of locally produced goods and imported items from the southern Somali coast.

The Italian occupied Bule Hora in July 13, 1936. The general climate of insecurity in the region during the invasion period disrupted the trade activities in the town. But some improvement was seen during the occupational period. This was due to the construction of the dry weather roads that connected Bule Hora town with Addis Ababa and other towns by Italians. Within the construction of this road motor vehicles were introduced and manufacture goods became available for Bule Hora retailers.

Following his restoration, emperor Haile Silassie made many changes in the administrative structure throughout the country. Accordingly, a new administrative structure such as Municipality, the *Waradā* administration, court and police station were established in Bule Hora town.

The years 1950s and 1960s were important years for the growth and development of the town. Throughout these years governmental and non-governmental service rendering institutions which led for the growth and development of the town were established. For instance the first modern school and Clinic were established in Bule Hora town in 1950 by Norwegian Lutheran Mission. The *waradā* administration office, police station, Telecommunication, and postal office were also established in the town in 1950s and 1960s. The establishments of all these institutions led to the immigration of population into the town.

Moreover the construction of Addis Ababa-Moyle highway in 1960s had a significant effect on the growth of Bule Hora town. Within the construction of this road which passed through the town a large number of merchants and people from the surrounding and other distant areas came to the town to do business. This in turn facilitates the commercial activities in the town.

The location of the town in richest agricultural production and livestock rearing area enhanced the growth of the town. The town depended on the country side for its food supply. Similarly the town supplied the country side with necessary manufactured products. Though the town is located in a midst Guji Oromo, it also brought together different ethnic groups with different languages and cultures.

The 1974 revolution brought changes on Bule Hora town like elsewhere in other parts of Ethiopia. By the proclamation of number 47 of 1975, which declared government ownership of urban land and extra houses many houses including hotels in Bule Hora town were nationalized. These discouraged capital investment by individuals out of fear of confiscation. There was also no stability in the town at the time. As a result many people left the town.

In addition to this the surrounding Guji Oromo of Bule Hora town who experienced the long years of exploitation of the Nafteñña settlers were easily attracted to the propaganda of the Somali nationalist idea and fled to Somalia and came back with weapons. Soon they attacked the town because the Nafteñña settlers were dominant in the town. This resulted in losses of many lives and the closing down of many service rendering institutions. This in turn also brought an adverse effect on the development of the town at the time.

However, the town showed some developments since 1980 due to the restoration of peace and stability in the region and the introduction of certain establishments such as commercial bank of Ethiopia, High school, dry weather roads that connected the town with rural and neighboring areas and other urban services.

The surrounding bala-rests those who expanded their domains at the expense of the town affected the urban land use by Municipality from the very beginning. The area of the land allocated to be under the control of the municipality was nominally said to have been four *gashās*. But it was only one and half *gāshās* that practically controlled by the Municipality, while the remaining land was taken by *bālā-rests*. Hence this limited the physical expansion of the town and the revenue collected from urban land by the Municipality. However this problem was minimized in 1964 E.C with proper delimitation of the boundary of the town.

Glossary

Awrājā: A lower level administrative unit during the imperial period which formed a sub-division of taqlay-gizat or governorate general.

Bāla rest: Hereditary owner of the land

Bālābbāt: local land lord

Dejāzmāch: a military title below Ras

Fitāwrāri: a warrior title, literally means “leader of the vanguard army”

Gabbār: tenant

Hudād: Extensive farm or estate owned by state or individual land lords that was cultivated by gabbars or tenants in southern Ethiopia.

Indarāse: Literally, it means “like me”. This was the title of Hailesillassie’s officials that were responsible

Naftaññā: The term that derives from the Amharic word “naft” for a rifle. It refers the northern Ethiopia patrons who owned gabbars. They earned this name on account of carrying a rifle during the campaign of territorial expansion.

Qebele: The post -1974 name for villages

Siso: One third

Waradā: Administrative unit below awraja

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List of Informants

No	Name of Informant	Sex	Age	Place and Date of interview	Remarks
1	Abebe WoldeYohanes	M	85	Bule Hora town 15/11/2015	He has a good knowledge about the introduction of orthodox church in the town. He also well informed about church education in the town.
2	Amlework Tesema	F	75	Bule Hora Town 17/11/2015	She has good memories about the instability in the town following the 1974 revolution.
3	Ashenafi Temesgen	M	80	Bule Hora town 8/11/2015	He is a well informed oral informant on general history of the town. He lived in the town since his childhood.
4	Bati Wako	F	70	Bule Hora town 15/11/2015	She served as clinical nurse in the missionary's clinic of the town since 1960s. She has sufficient knowledge about the contribution of the clinic to the town and the surrounding people. She has good knowledge about the contribution of the missionaries to the development of the town
5	Bekele Anole(Qes)	M	85	Bule Hora town 18/11/2015	He has good knowledge about the expansion and contribution of protestants.
6	Bekele Areda	M	74	17/11/2015	He has good knowledge about the general history of the town
7	Bekele Elema	M	80	Bule Hora town 16/11/2015	He has good memories about mission school in the town.
8	Bekele Sahlu	M	78	Bule Hora town 16/11/2015	He has good knowledge about the development of infrastructure that connected the town with rural and neighboring areas during the Derg period.
9	Beyene Hirbo	M	70	Bule Hora Town 15/11/2015	An informant with knowledge on saw mill factory
10	Bizuneh Abera(Qes)	M	87	Bule Hora town 17/11/2015	He has good knowledge about the general history of the town. He is native to the region. He served as a head of mission church in the town for long period of time.
11	Demeqech Balcha	F	65	Bule Hora town 16/11/2015	She is a well informed informant about the early settlement of Bacho Oromo in the town.
12	Fiseha Zergabachewu	M	89	Bule Hora town 16/11/2015	He has good knowledge on the general history of the town. He lived in the town since his child hood.
13	Gobena Dube	M	75	Bule Hora town	He has good knowledge about the

				9/12/2015	expansion of public service in the town
14	Gebreamlak Wako	M	76	Bule Hora town 7/12/2015	He was one of the students of mission school. He has good memories about the material support provided by missionaries.
15	Gebrehana Wolde Yohanes	M	70	Bule Hora town 15/11/2015	He provides me information about the contribution of the establishment of government institution for the development of the town.
16	Gebre Kirstos Dulecha	M	75	Bule Hora town 17/11/2015	He is native to the region. He is well a informed oral informant on the general history of the town
17	Girja Godana	M	66	Bule Hora town 18/11/2015	He is a well informed oral informant about the early settlers of the region.
18	Lakew Techane	M	80	Bule Hora town 9/12/2015	His information on the interaction between the rural hinterland and the town is very important.
19	Mammo Denbela	M	78	Bule Hora town 18/11/2015	He has a good knowledge about education during the imperial period. He was a teacher at the time.
20	Mengistu Bekele	M	72	Bule Hora town 8/12/2015	He has good knowledge about the Italian period.
21	Mesele Mesaye	M	60	Bule Hora town 8/12/2015	He is a well informed oral informant about the early settlers in the region.
22	Mestawot Desta	F	70	Bule Hora 9/12/2015	She has good memories about the establishment of service giving institution during the imperial period.
23	Mohammed Ali	M	76	Bule Hora town 8/12/2015	A long time settler in the town. He is engaged in different trade activities
24	Shegicho Ketelo	M	88	Bule Hora town 9/12/2015	He has good memories about the contribution of the weather roads that built by Italians during the occupation period.
25	Taddese Yigeletu	M	95	Bule Hora town 16/11/2015	He has good knowledge about trade activities in the town during imperial period.
26	Tafese Wudneh	M	80	Bule Hora town 18/11/2015	His information about the role of the construction of the Addis Ababa –Moyle road on the development of the town is important.
27	Taye Bekele	M	82	Bule Hora town 19/11/2015	He has good knowledge about general history of the town
28	Tesfaye Belay	M	73	Bule Hora town 19/11/2015	He has a good knowledge about education during the Derg period. He was a teacher at the time..
29	Teshome Ageze	M	60	Bule Hora town 9/12/2015	He has worked in sawmill factories since its establishment. He has sufficient knowledge

					about the contribution of the factories for the development of the town.
30	Yisak Choke	M	63	Bule Hora town 8/12/2015	He has good memories about mission school in the town.
31	Yergete Waro	M	66	Bule Hora town 19/11/2015	He has good memories about trade activities in the town during imperial period.
32	Turunesh Badada	M	95	Bule Hora town 8/12/2015	She has good knowledge about the expansion of service giving institution in the town.
33	Zelege Amado	M	96	Bule Hora town 19/11/2015	He has good knowledge about general history of the town. He worked in municipality office during imperial period. He has good memories about the challenge of bala-rest those who had land around the town.

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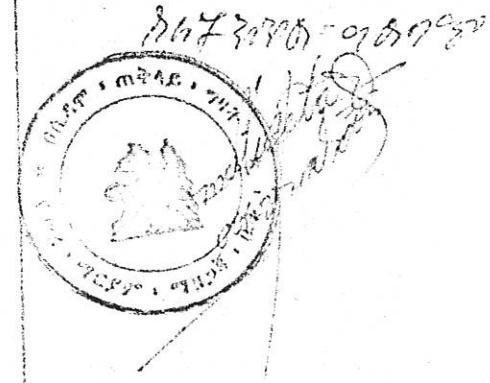
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 55 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡
 56 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡
 57 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡
 58 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡
 59 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡
 60 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡
 61 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡
 62 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡
 63 ማገገሙ፡ ማገገሙ፡



ዓ = ግዛቲያ = ከካገሮ - ግዛቲ ማረጋገጥ = ማ/ቤቶች = በከገጠሉ
ሃንጻሊ ሃንገረው ልጅ = ሃገራ = በካ = ግዛቲያ = ሃንገረው ገራ

[Handwritten signature]
ግዛቲያ ግዛቲያ
ግዛቲያ ግዛቲያ

ግዛቲያ

ከገገግ ግዛቲያ = ግዛቲያ ግዛቲያ = ግዛቲያ = ሃ-|ቤቶች

ሃገራ

በካገሮ = ግዛቲያ = ማረጋገጥ = ማ/ቤቶች = ግዛቲያ = ማ/ቤቶች

ሃገራ

ከገገግ - ማረጋገጥ = ማረጋገጥ = ግዛቲያ = ሃ-|ቤቶች

ሃገራ

Appendix VII

Handwritten header text in the top right corner.

Handwritten text in the upper section, including phrases like 'POLY...', 'PH...', and 'PH...'. The text is arranged in several lines.

Handwritten text in the middle section, featuring a list of items numbered 3 through 11, such as '3 PH...', '4 PH...', '5 PH...', '6 PH...', '7 PH...', '8 PH...', '9 PH...', and '10 PH...'.

Handwritten text in the lower-middle section, containing phrases like 'PH...', 'PH...', and 'PH...'. It appears to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of notes.

Handwritten text in the bottom section, including phrases like 'PH...', 'PH...', and 'PH...'. This section also contains a list of items numbered 2 through 11.

