SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

A History of Hadiya People, 1886 to 1991

BY

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This is to certify that the dissertation prepared by Asrat Ermolo entitled, “A History of Hadiya People, 1886-1991” submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standard with respect to originality and quality.

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ACRONYMS

AESM = All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement

EDU = Ethiopian Democratic Union

EMLDU = Ethiopian Marxist Leninist Democratic Union

EPLF = Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front

EPRDF = Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front

EPRP = Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party

H.V.A. = United N.V. Handelsvereeniging Amsterdam

PMAC = Provisional Military Administrative Commission

POMOA= Provisional Office of Mass Organizational Affairs

PA = Peasant Association

SIM = Sudan Interior Mission

SAIDE = Societa Agricultura Indesterale di Ethiopia

SCES = South Central Ethiopian Synod

TRANSLITERATION

I have used the following IES transliteration system.

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

1st	በ	=Bä
2nd	ቡ	= Bu
3rd	ቢ	= Bi
4th	ባ	= Ba
5th	ቤ	= Be
6th	ቦ	= Bï
7th	ቦ	= Bo

II. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

ሸ = Shä

ቸ = Chä

ኘ = Gnä

ዠ = Zhä

ጀ = Jä

III. Glotalized sounds are represented as follows:

ኀ = Ka

ቀ = Ḳä

ጠ = Ṭä

ፀ = Ṡhä

ጸ = Ṣa

IV. Gemination should always be indicated by doubling

Examples: *Däjjazmach, Jarra*

V. General Exmples

ጠጅ = *Ṭäjj*

ደጃዝማች = *Däjjazmach*

ሸለቆ = *Shäläko*

ቀኛዝማች = *Ḳägnazmach*

ጨለንቆ = *Ċhäläṅḳo*

ፀሐይ = *Tsähay*

ገዠ = G*äzhi*

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ABSTRACT

Many authors are seen considering the period of Hadiya history that started from the 13th century and disappeared in the late 16th century, and made an attempt to disconnect the medieval Hadiya from todays Hadiya people. The researcher argues that, before the 13th century, the Hadiya had travelled a long historical trajectory that ultimately helped them to undertake state formation. The long process of the formation of Hadiya state was completed in the 10th century, but reached its climax of power in the 14th century. During their heydays, the Hadiya had spent times of friendships and animosity with the Christian kingdom and the neighboring states. They gave their daughter to King Zara Yacob and through her, the researcher argues that, they protected the Christian religion and state from complete annihilation by the coordinated forces of the neighboring Muslim states and Ottoman Turkey. Through her, the Hadiya had also contributed for the beginning and development of Ethiopia's international diplomacy. Since the end of the 16th century, however, the Hadiya began to experience the period of agony and complete disintegration.

The dissertation examines the history of Menilek's expansion to southern Ethiopia, particularly the Hadiya area. It talks about the stiff resistances of the Hadiya people against the northerners in the years between 1886 and 1894. It deals with the use of modern guns by Menilek's army against spears and arrows that the Hadiya people had employed during the war of conquest. It argues that the invasion of the partially assimilated Hadiya (Ḳäbena and Maräḳo) was a decisive one for Menilek to invade the other part of Hadiya easily. Lack of unity on the part of the Hadiya clans had helped the northern forces to attack one Hadiya group after the other.

Mainly because of their pastoralist economy and rebellious behavior, the consecutive Ethiopian governments, since the times of incorporation, antagonized the Hadiya people and brought the neighboring ethnic groups like the Kämbata to their side. The incorporation had resulted in negative consequences on the identity of the Hadiya people. The government reorganized the Hadiya and Kämbata people into two sub-provinces. These were: 'Lemo and Shashogo' and 'Kämbata'. After Ras Abata Buayalew came to the Awraja administration in 1897, the two divisions were brought to a single administration and renamed as 'Lemo and Kämbata'. Such reorganization stayed in force till the late 1930s. During their five years stay in Ethiopia, the Italians renamed the sub-province as 'Kämbata', excluding the Hadiya or Lemo name.

From the outset, the Hadiya were struggling to recover the identity that they lost to the Kämbata and other neighboring groups. The struggle became strong after the withdrawal of the Italians from Ethiopia. The expansion of education, following the restoration of the Ethiopian government, contributed a lot for the increment of socio-economic and political consciousness of Hadiya people. Particularly, the establishment of Wachämo highschool in Hossana in the 1960s could be considered as a turning point for the advancement of the awareness of the Hadiya people. Students began to raise the issue of land, identity and development. In the 1960s and 70s, particularly because of the identity question, there had been conflicts between the Hadiya and Kämbata students both in Hossana and Addis Abäba. It is said that the government in the Awraja (sub-province) and also the provincial level were against the identity question of the Hadiya people. It was after the coming to power of the Därg government that such questions were responded, at least partially.

Following the conquest, the formerly independent people were brought to the hitherto unknown Gäbbar system. The Gäbbar system had resulted in the violation of not only the economic freedom but also the social, cultural and psychological makeup of the people. The highly intensified oppressions and exploitations of the Gäbbar system were believed to have brought the majority of the Hadiya people to tenancy. After the restoration of the Haila-Salassie government, new laws were passed on tenancy that ultimately reduced a tenant to sub-human level. Moreover, at this period, the government using different mechanisms converted the majority of the Hadiya Gäbbars to tenancy. Since the incorporation till the fall of the Haila Selassie government, tenancy dominated the livelihood of Hadiya people. Consequently, the researcher preferred to use the term Ċhisägna system (system of tenancy) for the ups and downs that the Hadiya had experienced for about a century.

Following such brutal undertakings on the part of the central government, considerable number of Hadiya people left their land to large scale agricultural schemes and big towns for labor work. Some sections of the Hadiya went to the extent that they took up arms against the regime like the one done by the Jarso peasants in Badäwacho. After the late 1960s, the Hadiya students and peasants began to work together against the old regime. In 1974, the Hadiya peasants and students accepted the new government with great enthusiasm and joy. Following the intrusion of the EPRP and other civilian based parties in the area, however, the relation between the military and the Hadiya students and peasants began to take different directions. It was after the completion of the Red Terror in other parts of the country that Petros Gäbre, the then administrator, brought it to the Awraja. The terror took the lives of many promising individuals who would have been able to contribute to the development of the Awraja in particular and the country in general.

This dissertation is a comprehensive study of the history of Hadiya people from 1886 to 1991. The work ruptures the centric way of looking at the Hadiya socio-economic, political and cultural history during the 'feudo-military' system in Ethiopia from the perspective of the north. Mainly because of lack of archival sources, the researcher relied mostly but not exclusively on oral informants. Crosschecking of one source against the other and systemic scrutiny of information are made to validate the work.

***Key words: gäbbar, Ċhisägna, incorporation, feudalism, tributes, revolution, military, red terror,* identity, land, education, struggle.**

PREFACE

This dissertation is a study of a history of Hadiya people from 1886 to 1991. It is a comprehensive historical study of one of the major ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia. The year 1886 was the time in which Menilek started to incorporate the Hadiya people to his empire and the date, 1991, saw the end of the military regime and its replacement with the EPRDF government. The main themes covered in the dissertation include: incorporation and resistance; the introduction of the *Gäbbar* system and its replacement with *Chisagninat* (tenancy) at a later date; the sufferings of the Hadiya people under such systems; the denial of the Hadiya names and other cultural identities; the contributions of the Hadiya at the Battle of Adowa; the replacement of unifying roles of the *Fanadanano* and Islam by Protestantism; the contributions of missionary schools and the government ones in the process of raising ethnic consciousness; the consecutive resistances and rebellions of the Hadiya people since the period of incorporation; the joint revolutionary movements of the Hadiya peasants and students in the 1960s and 70s; the intrusion of political parties and organizations in Hadiya and their role in advancing the political knowledge of the people; the reforms of the Därg; the Red Terror; villagization and developmental activities.

The sources used for this research were collected from October 2020 to August 2021. The sources that the researcher collected at various times before the beginning of this graduate program are consulted. In addition, whenever the already collected data needed to be reconciled and consolidated, the researcher went to the archival centers for a brief period during the write up. Archival materials of ENALA (Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency), Waldamaskal Tariku Memorial Archival centers are accessed and extensively used. Both

secondary and primary sources of the IES are consulted. Moreover, contemporary party bulletins, newspapers, journals, and important secondary sources are effectively used. Unfortunately, I couldn't access the archival centers of Hadiya Zone which were burnt down to ashes in the years between 2014 and 2015 for the reason difficult to know. Oral sources are extensively used to fill many of the gaps left by written sources. This is largely because, written sources before the 1940s are scanty.

The time from February to September 2020 was challenging for the researcher since free movement of people from one area to the other had been restricted due to the occurance of Corona pandemic. It witnessed the closure of the National archives, Waldamaskal Tariku Memorial centers, the IES and so on. It was difficult to access aged informants in particular since they were the highly vulnerable groups of the disease. The Zonal and *Wäräda* administrators and workers were not in their offices and so, I couldn't get permission to move freely and access the varieties of sources.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter deals with the geographical and historical background of Hadiya people. It mainly assesses the unifying roles that *Fändänano* and Islamic religions had played in the process of the formation of strong Islamic state in the Horn of Africa. It also talks about the contributions of the Hadiya people in protecting the Christian kingdom and Christian religion from total destruction that might have come from the neighboring Muslim sultanates and their allies, the Ottoman Turkey, through their daughter, Queen Elleni. It also talked about the role that the Queen had played in the process of the development of Ethiopia's international diplomacy. The second and third chapters deal with the incorporation of the non-assimilated and partially assimilated Hadiya people into Menilek's empire. From the two groups, Menilek made his first conquest against the former. While he was

trying to invade the non-assimilated Hadiya, one of the partially assimilated groups (Ḳäbena) declared jihadic war against him. Following such event, Menilek's generals left aside the former and returned to the later. It was in 1889 that the last strong hold of Ḳäbena's war was crushed at Jäbdu Meda. The battle of Jäbdu Meda was decisive for Menilek to invade the non-assimilated Hadiya and other southern states as Embabo served Menilek as 'blank sheet' to incorporate the south west. The modern weapons that Menilek's force armed was a decisive one to have the upper hand over the spears and arrows that the Hadiya groups equipped with. A comparative analysis of the *Gäbbar* system in the north and southern Ethiopia was the main points of discussion in chapter four. The chapter also discusses the emergence of autochthonous power in Hadiya and the occurrence of socio-economic cleavage among the Hadiya people on one hand and with the northern administrators and the settler populations on the other. The fifth chapter talks about the introduction of *Gäbbar* system and its replacement with *Chisagninat* (tenancy). Here, the researcher argues that *Chisagninat* was the dominant socio-economic system of the Hadiya people than the *Gäbbar*. The incorporation of the Hadiya people was immediately followed by the introduction of the *Gäbbar* system. It, however, could not play a dominant role for long as it began to be replaced by *Ċhisägna* system after the elapse of one or two decades. For this reason, the researcher preferred to use the term *Ċhisägna* than the *Gäbbar* for the socio-economic relationship that the Hadiya had experienced since the incorporation. The six chapter deals with the introduction of missionary and government schools and their contributions for the rise of identity consciousness in Hadiya. In this chapter attention was given to the Hadiya-Kämbata relationship and their competitions to dominate the *Awraja* (sub-province) since the incorporation. The seventh chapter discusses the impacts of 'feudo-military' rule on *Fändänano*, equality and migration. The incorporation was said to have affected the indigenous religion of

the Hadiya people. It was followed by the introduction of Orthodox Christianity and its negative effect on *Fändänano*. Menilek's administration also affected the egalitarian life of the Hadiya people and consequently it harmed the traditional justice system. The formerly egalitarian based society was now exposed for the oppression and inequalities of the Shäwan administration. The last chapter talks about the Ethiopian revolution and its consequences in Hadiya. The intrusion of contending parties in Hadiya and their inimical relationship with the Därg and also with each other were the other points that the researcher gave much space in this chapter. The liquidation of the prominent individuals who could contribute for the development of the country in general and the *Awraja* in particular without undertaking due process of law is the other points that are well discussed in the chapter.

The general objective of this research is to investigate thoroughly and reconstruct a comprehensive history of Hadiya people from 1886 to 1991. Attempts have been made to critically examine the relationship between the Hadiya people and the imperial regime on one hand, and the Hadiya people and neighboring ethnic groups on the other. The dissertation also gives due considerations to the relationship that had been existed among the Hadiya people themselves.

It is obvious that professional works that have been written on the socio-cultural, economic and political history of the Hadiya people in the period between 1886 and 1991 are very scarce. Until recently, Ethiopian studies have not been rich in the histories of the southern peoples in general and the Hadiya in particular. It is frequently noted by many writers that the early professional historians (mainly the 1960s and 70s) had limited interest in the reconstruction of the history of the southern Ethiopian peoples (which also includes the Hadiya). Their lack of interest was believed to have been associated with the absence of written sources. The majority of

professional works on Hadiya in the aforementioned period are written by students both at the M.A. and B.A. levels. There are three M.A. theses written on the Hadiya. Nevertheless, it is hard to find a comprehensive historical study not only within the study period, but also the over all history of the people. The difference that all the three works mentioned above with the one that the researcher undertook can be explained in terms of scope, detail and substance. The main target of the works other than my dissertation in the study period are to treat the political and socio-economic history of the Hadiya people without depth, and so, they are not be able to raise the issues that the researcher discussed in this dissertation. In spite of the vital role that their theses play for this dissertation, they failed to treat many points that are beyond their reach. So, having this in mind, the researcher discussed issues that these sources failed to treat.

INTRODUCTION

Since time immemorial to the 13th century A.D., the Hadiya people had not been established well organized state. They had spent much of their time moving from place to place within the confines of the today's Ethiopian territory. Conflict and scarcity of resources might have been considered as the background causes for their restless move. At that time, the *Fändänano* religion was the dominant religion of the Hadiya people which had played its part in the process of unifying the different Hadiya clans. With the introduction of Islam to Hadiya land since the 11th century A.D., the process of unification was strengthened and the different fragmentary entities of the Hadiya came to live together in the east and south eastern parts of the country. This is to mean that Islam became a dominant unifying factor in Hadiya region. Nevertheless, during this period, *Fändänano* had not been avoided completely from their daily activities. The two religions began to live together synchronizing in their hearts. Particularly since the 14th century A.D., the Hadiya people managed to establish a strong Islamic state in the Horn of Africa. This period was the time when the people had experienced their heydays which would not be seen in their history once again.

The strength of the Hadiya Muslim state had forced the then dominant Christian military power in Ethiopian region (Christian kingdom) to forge political marriage with them. Garad Mohammad (the Hadiya king) gave Queen Elleni (named after baptism) as marriage partner to Zara Yacob, one of the strongest kings of the Christian kingdom during medieval Ethiopia. Though there are sources which made attempts to detach the Queen away from Hadiya line, all the contemporary and primary sources confirm that the Queen was originated from the Hadiya people. She became 'wife of the right' in Zara Yacob's court. Here, it is possible to say that the Hadiya, through their daughter, had contributed a lot for the cultural, political and socio-

economic development of the highland Christian kingdom. Depending on her diplomatic capability, the Queen played major roles in the political activities of the Christian kingdom for about half a century since the death of her husband, Zara Yacob in 1468 and protected the kingdom and the Christian religion from destruction that might have come from the collaborative efforts of the neighboring Muslim states and the Ottoman Turkey. Therefore, one can say that the Hadiya had left their characteristic imprint on the long history of the Christian kingdom and its religion, and also for the development of Ethiopia's deplomacy.

The consecutive Muslim-Christian conflicts since the 14th century and the major population movements of the 16th century could be taken as the major cause for gradual decline of the Hadiya Muslim state and its total disintegration. It was since the 2nd half of the 17th century that the Hadiya began to lose their prior strength and became an easy pray for the strong cultures and identities of the time. Following this, some of them were forced to move to the present dwelling areas and the remaining ones stayed in their places assimilating with the mainstreaming cultures. The period, from the mid 17th to the late 19th century, could be counted as 'Period of Agony' in the long historical trajectory of the Hadiya people. During the 'Period of Agony', Islam had lost its unifying role and gave way for the revival of *Fändänano* religion. The different Hadiya groups moved to their present settlement areas one after the other and settled along the banks of Bilate and Gibe river basins. At this time, the various Hadiya clans said to have developed their own identity independent of the other and began to quarrel with each other, and as a result a kind of animosity was created among them.

In their heydays, the researcher argues that the Hadiya were said to have practiced mixed economic system with trade as dominant factor. During the 'Period of Agony', however, the

Hadiya lost both farming and trade activities and confined to pastoralism except for the existence of Barley production.

Here attempt is made to classify the general Hadiya population of our times in to three: the Non-assimilated Hadiya (those Hadiya who are able to preserve their identity and living in the present day Hadiya zone), the partially assimilated Hadiya (like the Ḳäbena and *Maräḳo*) and fully assimilated Hadiya (like the one who lost their identity and living with other ethnic groups). When Menilek came to the Hadiya land, he found both the 'non-assimilated Hadiya' and 'the partially assimilated groups' disunited and fighting each other. After crushing the forces of the partially assimilated Hadiya (Ḳäbena and *Maräḳo*), Menilek began to attack the different Hadiya entities one after the other. The last Hadiya group to be incorporated was Badäwacho which was to be annexed with Wolayta in 1894. The ill-armed and ill-organized Hadiya groups were exposed for the modern guns that the northerners brought from the West. Following the incorporation, the different Hadiya clans were reorganized either into 'Lemo and Shashogo' or the 'Kämbata' administrative units. With the exception of the Badäwacho group, the rest of the Hadiya clans were made to live under 'Lemo and Shashogo' sub-division. With the coming of Abata Buayalew to the *Awraja* administration in 1897, however, the Kämbata and Hadiya areas were brought into a single *Awraja* called 'Lemo and Kämbata'.

The northern administration found the Kämbata people suitable for their existence than the Hadiya and began to approach them. This was mainly because the dominant pastoral way of life of the Hadiya people was a challenge for Menilek's administrators and settler population who came from the agricultural north. In addition to this, the Kämbata, particularly the Oyata clan tended to create blood ties with the 'Amhara'. This is to mean that the Oyata clan of the Kämbata considered themselves as the one who originated from the north. Following this, the northerners

began to give their ears to the Kämbata people in the *Awraja* administration than that of the Hadiya. The rebellious behavior and pastoral life of the later was a major factor for their Kämbata counterparts to dominate the political, economic and social activities of the sub-province.

During the Italian occupation, the Hadiya were once again relegated to the margin of the socio-economic and political affairs of the *Awraja*. The stubborn resistance and un-collaborative behavior of the Hadiya was a green light for Kämbata leaders to come to the sides of the Italians. Following the election of Bargano as the *Awraja* administrator in 1937, the work of undermining of the Hadiya culture and identity was highly intensified. The former name of the *Awraja*, which was 'Lemo and Kämbata' was rejected to be dully replaced by a single word, 'Kämbata'. The Hadiya name was undermined and the people were forced to subsume to the Kämbata identity. After this time, the Hadiya people began to be known to other Ethiopians as Kämbata. From the outset, the former had been struggling to recover their identity that they lost to the Kämbata and other neighboring ethnic groups. The struggle became strong after the withdrawal of Italians from Ethiopian soil.

The expansion of education in Hadiya contributed a lot for the increment of ethnic consciousness. With the exception of Orthodox Church educational centers, there had not been schools in the area till the expulsion of Italians from Ethiopia. Though they gave some spaces for the children of the rulers from the autochthonous population, the Orthodox religious institutions were not ready to teach the children of Hadiya *Gäbbars* and tenants. Following the Italians' withdrawal, both government and Protestant missionary schools were built and expanded in the area. Dubancho, Bobicho and *Ras* Abata were the main missionary and government educational centers which helped the Hadiya people to have basic education. The establishment of Wachämo

high school in Hossana in the 1960s believed to have advanced their political, social and cultural consciousness. Some of them were able to join Addis Abäba University to further their education. The Protestant missionary schools even went to the extent that they gave scholarship for some of the oppressed Hadiya children. Following such educational advancement, the Hadiya began to raise the issue of land, identity and development. In the 1960s, particularly because of the identity question, conflict broke out between the Hadiya and Kämbata students both in Hossana and Addis Abäba. The later were not happy to entertain the demands of the Hadiya people, i.e. to include the Hadiya name on the name of the sub-province. It is said that the government both in the *Awraja* (sub-province) and the provincial level were against the interests of the Hadiya people. It was after the coming to power of the Därg government that the identity questions were addressed, at least partially.

After the Hadiya were incorporated into Menilek's administration in the early 1890s, a new socio-economic system (*Gäbbar*) was introduced. The *Gäbbar* system reduced the hitherto free people from egalitarian way of life to the level of 'slavery'. Since the annexation up to the establishment of ministerial council in the late 1900s, the Hadiya people had lived as *Gäbbars,* and the land and the people belonged to the government. After the establishment of Ministerial council, however, the landlords and other dignitaries, in collaboration with the foreign legations, made land private property and the owners were allowed to sell their holdings. Following such measures, land became a commodity and many of the Hadiya people were changed from *Gäbbar* to tenancy. This was highly intensified until the Därg came to the Ethiopian political leadership. After the Italian's withdrawal, tenancy was encouraged by the government and almost all Hadiya people became landless tenants. Unlike the pre-Italian period, the post 1941 Hadiya tenants had much burdens to fulfill. The pre-Italian tenants were free as far as they were paying the required

share of their produces to the landlords. But in the restoration times, however, the ones that were imposed on *Gäbbars* on the pre-Italian period were brought to tenants. Arbitrary evictions, oppressions and exploitations were increased highly on tenants and as a result, they had no alternatives, except migrating to big towns and large scale agricultural schemes to earn money as laborers or living with greedy landlords under extreme subjugations. Those Hadiya people who had gone to large scale agricultural areas were exposed to other kinds of labor exploitations by industrial owners. It seemed that such oppressions were brought to its end when the Därg came to power in 1974.

As mentioned above, following the conquest and its resultant subjugation, the egalitarian way of life was disrupted and gave way for the emergence of social stratification. The *Gäbbar* system had resulted in the violation of not only the economic freedom but also the social, cultural and psychological makeup of the people. Socially, it damaged the long stayed culture of equality and respect and created socio-economic stratification within the Hadiya people. Psychologically, it hurt the confidence and self-esteem of the people and as a result, considerable number of people started to think about their inferior position compared to the northerners. Since the incorporation till the fall of the Haila Selassie government, tenancy dominated the livelihood of Hadiya people. Consequently, the researchers preferred to use the term *Chisagninat* (system of tenancy) for the ups and downs that the Hadiya had experienced for about a century.

It is already indicated that, since the restoration of the Ethiopian government in 1941, the government intensified its oppressions and exploitations and changed the majority of the Hadiya people to tenancy. It is also mentioned that, following such brutal undertakings on the part of the central government, considerable number of the Hadiya people left their land to large scale agricultural schemes and big towns for labor work. Some sections of the Hadiya even went to the

extent of taking up arms against the regime like the one done by the Jarso peasants in Badäwacho. After the late 1960s, the Hadiya students and peasants began to work together against the old regime. Students were seen advising the Hadiya peasants to be conscious of the then political situation and raised their confidence. The later, on their part served students as strong mass base so that they would protect students from any possible future attacks that would probably come from the government authorities.

Though different civilian sectors staged demonstrations to defy the old regime since the 1960s, the final showdown of the 1974 revolution was the work of the military. At the beginning, the Hadiya peasants and students accepted the revolution with great enthusiasm and joy. Following the intrusion of the EPRP and other civilian based parties in the area, however, the relation between the military and the Hadiya students and peasants took different direction. It was after the completion of the Red Terror in other parts of the country that Petros Gäbre, the administrator of the Hadiya and Kämbata sub-province at the time, brought it to the *Awraja*. It took the lives of many promising individuals who would be able to contribute to the development of the *Awraja* in particular and the country in general.

CHAPTER ONE
1. Geographical and Historical Background

1.1. Geographical Background

Hadiya is one of the major ethnic groups of the present day Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. The area is dominated by highlands and located in the south-central part of Ethiopia. Its territory extends from Lake Shala in the west to Gibe river in the east. Its width is 3978.14km^2. The area is also located between 7^0 45' N and 38^0 28' E. Its distance from Addis Abäba is 232 km. Hadiya is bordered with Gurage and Sïlti in the north, Oromiya and Yam in the west, Kämbata Tämbaro and Wolayta in the south and Sïlti, Halaba and Oromiya in the East. Today, the zone has 10 *Wärädas* and 2 administrative towns (Hossana and Shone).[1]

According to the zonal finance and economic development department, the 2004 population number of Hadiya is 1, 427,207. From this figure, males are 709,687 and females are 717,520. This report also indicates the annual population growth rate, which is 2.9 percent. However, the 1994 population and housing census of Ethiopia indicates that the total number of Hadiya people were 1,050151.[2] Here, the annual population growth rate is not compatible with the aforementioned figures, i.e. the growth rate is not 2.9 percent per annum.

Three climatic conditions prevail in Hadiya. These are *Däga* (high land), *Wäina Däga (*Moderate) and *Ḳola* (lowland). The dominant climatic condition of the Hadiya area is *Wäina Däga* which accounts for 68.7%, followed by *Däga* and *Ḳola*. It is obvious that the existing

[1] Kibamo Addise, "A Political History of Hadiya, 1890-1941," M. A. Thesis, Addis Abäba University, Department of History, p. 1.
[2] Ulrich Braukamper and Tilahun Mishago, *Praise and Teasing: Narrative Songs of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia*, Frankfurt am Main: Frobenius, 1999, p.15.

climatic condition determines the socio-economic condition of the area. In the areas of *Däga* and *Wäinä Däga* of Hadiya land, it is possible to find crops like wheat, barley and others. *Ensät* is the other crop that extensively exists in the *Däga* areas. On the other hand, maize, *ṭeff*, pepper, onion, potato and others can be seen in *Ḳola* areas of the Hadiya land.[3]

The geographical feature of the Hadiya ranges from high mountains to the lower ones. The tallest mountain which is located in Duna *Wärada* (one of the *Wärädas* in Hadiya zone) is Sangiye. It is 2970 meters above sea level. Moreover, there are also mountains in Hadiya area like Tula (2940 meters above sea level) located in Misha, and Shankola range of mountains in Sorro *Wärädas*. The peak point of Shanqola range of mountain is 2800 meters above sea level. The lowest point in Hadiya zone is Gibe river basin, which is 800 meters above sea level. There are rivers in Hadiya that flow throughout the year. Among these Gonbora, Ajo, Bilate (Wara), Dogosa, Gibe, Amaka, Batena, Gudar, Gamuna, Sana, Ajacho, Gingita, Lintala, Handoshana and Ha'a are the dominant ones. Bilate (Wara) river is the longest one in the area that covers 116 kilometers. In addition to these, there are seasonal rivers that flow half or quarter of a year. All the rivers in Hadiya tend to fluctuate highly which hinder their usage for irrigational purpose. There are river falls in Hadiya like Finchuwa in Badäwacho, Habicho in Gombora and Gamoja fall in Misha *Wärädas*. There are lakes in Hadiya zone like Boyo in Shashogo, Tilo, Machafara and Budamada in Badäwacho *Wärädas.*[4]

In Hadiya land, in the past, the over use of natural resources has caused soil erosion which aggravated the tendency towards a scarcity of arable land so that the area is seriously threatened

[3] Ulrich Braukampe, *A History of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia,* Harrassowitz Verlag : Wiesbaden, 2012, pp. 17-18

[4] Gedeon Addise, "A Socio-economic and Cultural History of the Hadiya to 1991," M.A. Thesis, AAU, Department of History, 2008, pp.1-4.

by over population. Currently, according to Braukamper and Tilahun, the original plant species like Cedars (*Juniperus Procera*) are not available in Hadiya land.[5] Rural-urban migration in the area is very high. Similar to other parts of Ethiopia, the majority of Hadiya people dwell in the countryside than towns. Like the external migration, the rural-urban ones have great socio-economic impact on the Hadiya people.

1.2. Historical Background

The sub-groups of the Hadiya nowadays are Lemo, Sorro, Wetogira, Shashogo, Badäwacho and Maräḳo (Libido). Käbena is believed to have descended from the Hadiya ethnic group. Today, Maräḳo and Käbena are administered as parts of the Gurage zone. Authors like Ulrich Braukamper say that peoples like Halaba, the major part of Sïlti, Sidama, Kämbata, Wolayta, Arsi and Bali areas are ethnically linked to the Hadiya group.[6]

In the present Hadiya administrative zone, there are peoples who tend to trace their origin to the northern parts of Ethiopia. The names of these groups are Dubämo, Dänta, Kinchichila and Masmassa. They are, partially or totally assimilated by the Hadiya people. The Dubamo live dominantly in today's Sorro and Duna *Wärädas*. Even if the major part of the Dubamo culture is assimilated by the dominating Hadiya group, one can see them preferring to speak Kämbata than Hadiya language. Contradicting with their Kämbata language, however, the Dubamo trace their origin to the Amhara (Gondar). This contradiction is similarly held by the Danta and Kinchichila peoples. Danta and Kinchichila are also living in Sorro *Wäräda* dominantly. The Masmasa are

[5] *Ibid*.
[6] Braukamper, *A History of the Hadiya…,* pp. 4-5.

totally assimilated group by the Hadiya. They speak the Hadiya language, but like the other groups in the area; they tend to link their genealogical root to the Amhara people.[7]

Regarding the origin of Hadiya people, some oral tradition says that the origin of the Hadiya ethnic group was South Arabia. In line with this, Seifu Dibabe says, "**የሀዲያ ህዝብ መሰረቱ እንደ ሀበሻትና እንደ ነገደ ሳባ ከደቡብ አረቢያ ሲሆን እነዚያ ወደ ሰሜን ኢትዮጵያ እንዳመሩት ሀዲዮቹም በባበል ማንደፉብ በኩል ተሻግረዉ በሰሜንና ምስራቅ ኢትዮጵያ እንደሰፈሩት ከዚያም በዘመን ብዛት የአዋሽን ሸለቆ በመከተል ወደ ደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ የገቡ መሆናቸዉ ይነገራል።**"[8] This can be roughly translated as, "Like the Habäshat and Saba clans, the homeland of the Hadiya was South Arabia. The Hadiya came to the northern and eastern parts of Ethiopia through the Bab-el Mandeb. Through time they were able to come to the south following the Awash valley." But Seifu is unable to give us full information regarding the exact place and time of departure.

Haile Bubamo (using linguistic method) is the other scholar of the Hadiya area who made an attempt to indicate the original homeland of Hadiya people. In contradiction to the above tradition, Haile argues that the Hadiya ethnic group is one of the ancient peoples that emerged and flourished around the present day Eritrea and Tigray. He used to oppose the above traditions that say the original homeland of Hadiya people was South Arabia. For him, the original settlers of the Eritrean highland were the Hadiya. And also, he made an attempt to associate the ancient civilizations of the northern coastal areas (Punt, Damat and Aksumite) with Hadiya people. He says, from there, they gradually moved to the Amhara area and then to the south eastern parts of Ethiopia. According to him, after centuries of their stay in the south-eastern part, they moved to

[7] Informants: Aboche Takiso and Tesfaye Wäldemeskel

[8] Seifu Dibabe, *Azmatch: Ye Gurage Hizb Achir Tarik,* Tesfa Gebre Sellassie Matemia Bet, 1966, p. 9

their present settlement.[9]

The route that Haile tries to show is also upheld by many of my oral informants. Some of my oral informants, nevertheless, indicate vaguely that the origin of the Hadiya people is in the east. They are unable to show the source of their movement in a specific way.[10] As to these informants, the original place of the Hadiya people was around Arsi, Harar and Bali areas. It is fortunate that there is agreement between the scanty written sources of the medieval Hadiya and the dominant oral informants with regard to the origin and routes of the Hadiya movement, i.e. from the east.

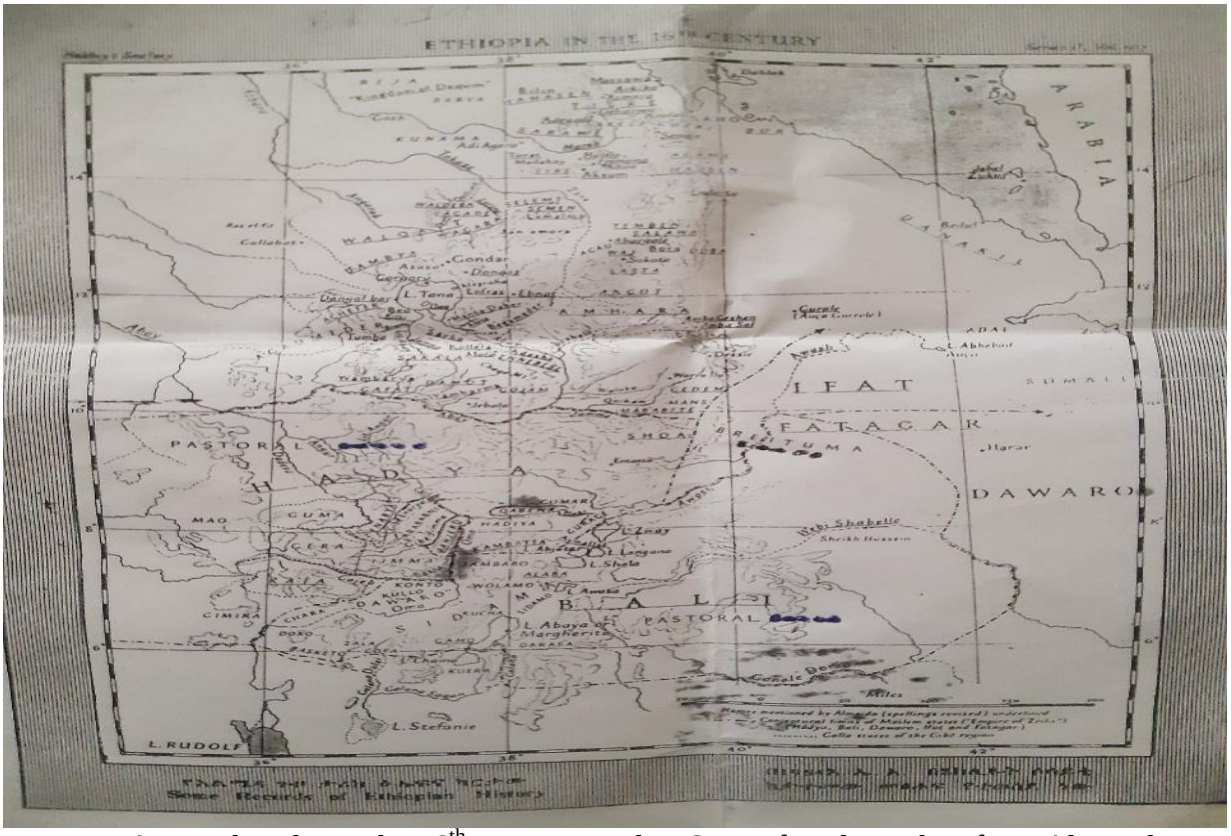

Figure 1: A map that shows the 16th century Muslim State of Hadiya taken from Al-Meida travel account.

[9] Haile Bubamo, *The Linguistic Influences of Hadiya on North Ethiopia, A Hypothesis,* Language Miscellaneous 2, Faculty of Science, Addis Abäba,: Haile Sellassie I University, 1972, pp. 155-157.

[10] Informants: *Dagna* Wamisho Wosoro, *Dagna* Shifäraw and Abebe Dutiso

It is my understanding that the trend of externalizing or associating the Muslim states with the Muslim world or with the Arabian nations has emanated from their religious linkages that they had established since the last centuries of the 1st millennia. The religious and commercial linkage that these Muslim states had developed in their long historical trajectory led them to develop Arabian affiliation in their minds. Given the fact that the Hadiya language is connected with the Cushitic family, it is hard to believe that their origin was one of the dominant Semitic areas (Arabia). It is highly asserted that the origin of the Cushitic peoples is in Africa, and so, one can say that, since Hadiya belonged to the Cushitic stock, their original homeland is here in Africa.

Nevertheless, it is hard to be certain about the original homeland of the Hadiya people. In connection to this point, Haberland says the Hadiya are perhaps among the difficult peoples in Ethiopia to easily attach their ethnic background to a certain homeland; they represent a group that had for centuries changed their habitat from as far as in the east as, presumably, near Chercher ranges to as far as to the south central highlands of Ethiopia in the west.[11] Today's Hadiya people have historical, cultural and blood ties with the Arsi, Bali, Ḳäbena, Halaba, Sidama, Sïlti, Ṭämbaro and other peoples of Ethiopia.

These days, the Hadiya area is one of the densely populated zones of the SNNPR. Largely because of this, the people have been clearing forests for agriculture. These activities are affecting the climatic condition and thereby, the formerly *Däga* areas are in the process of changing to *Ḳola*. *Ḳola* areas are becoming inhospitable for the people; as a result inhabitants prefer to abandon their areas to other places. Many of them used to cross Gibe river to Dawro, Jimma, Yäm, and Käffa areas. Migration is not a new experience for the Hadiya people. They

[11] Eike Haberland, *Notes on the History of Southern Ethiopian People, 1924-1992*, 1975, pp. 31-32.

have also been moving to Dire Dawa, Wonji, Mätähara, Shashämäne, Agaro and Wändogänät areas since the conquest of the area by Menilek's army. They are the dominant population in Wonji and Mätähara large scale sugar plantation agricultural areas, not in the pastoral countryside. Because of factors associated with feudal exploitation and oppression, particularly since 1941, the Hadiya were forced to leave their land and migrate to large cities like Addis Abäba.[12] In Addis Abäba the first migrants were engaged in tree cutting by moving from place to place in the city holding bundle of axes with rope. But later on the majority tended to change their occupation to shoe shine and other works that needs less labor.[13] However, since the last two or three decades, the Hadiyas are migrating in large numbers to South Africa. In South Africa, their number is estimated to be more than 100,000. Such migration, however, is affecting agricultural activities, since almost all of the migrants are the youth. They are leaving all agricultural works to elders and children, whose capacity is very limited to produce sufficient crops for them and the country at large. It is also affecting the socio-cultural makeup of the area. Every family in Hadiya is eager to send their sons to South Africa, mainly to earn prestige in the society. They also go to the extent that they give their daughters to those young men who were able to go to South Africa or to those whose history is associated with South Africa.[14]

1.2.1. Hadiya's Historical Relations with the Neighboring Muslim States (14th to 16th Centuries)

In the history of medieval Ethiopia, it is already indicated that there were a number of Islamic states in the Ethiopian region. They had religious affiliation with one another, particularly in comparison with the Highland Christian Kingdom. The names of these states were the Hadiya,

[12]*Ibid.*
[13]Informants: *Dana* Wamisho Wosoro, *Dana* Shifäraw and Abebe Dutiso
[14]Informants: Moliso Watiro, Melese Erose and G/Michael Moltilo

Bali, Fatagar, Ifat, Sharka, Arbabani, Dawaro and so on. All of them were under the influence of the Christian kingdom, and as a result they were in constant war with the later. Regarding this, Lapiso writes, "**በግምት ከ890 እስከ 1300 ባለዉ ጊዜ ዉስጥ በምስራቅ ከዘይላ ጠረፍ ጀምሮ በመሀል ሀገር እስከ ጊቤ ወንዝ አከባቢ በሚገኘዉ በደቡብ ምስራቅና በደቡብ መሀል ኢትዮጵያ በጥንቱ የሀርላ-ሐድያ ምድር በንግድና በእርሻ የተሰማሩ ጥንታዊ የሸዋ፣ የይፋት፣ የአዳል፣ የዳዋሮ፣ ሐዲያ፣ አርባባኒ፣ የሻርካ፣ የባሌና የደራ ሱልጣኔቶች ተከሰቱ።**"[15] Its rough translation reads, "In the time between 890 to 1300, in the ancient Harla-Hadiya territory, there were states like Shäwa, Yifat, Adal, Dawaro, Hadiya, Arbabani, Sharka, Bali and Dara. These sultanates were living in the areas that extend from Zaila to the Gibe river and engaged in trade and farming activities."

The overall administrative territorial extent of Islamic states was greater than the territory that was held by the Christian kingdom. The land held by the Muslims was dominantly semi-tropical and suitable for pastoral economy.[16] The unity among the Muslim states was strengthened in the time of the attack from the Christian kingdom.

The Hadiya Muslim state undertook frequent wars with Christian kingdom. It had also participated in the wars of Ahmed Gragn. It is said that the Hadiya Muslim state supported the Muslims in such major wars. Ulrich Braukamper states, "... During the Jihad, Ahmed Gragn's troops invaded Hadiya from the region of Dawaro in 1531/32. Since the majority of the Hadiya were themselves Muslims, they seem to have agreed voluntarily to the change in rule and joined the Adal armies in their campaigns against the Christians."[17] There is an idea in Braukamper's

[15]Lapiso G. Dilebo, *Ye Ethiopia Rejim Yehizbina Yemengist Tarik,* Addis Abäba: Nigid Matemia Bet, 1982, p. 45.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17]Braukamper, p. 58.

book that the anonymous king of Hadiya gave his daughter named Muriyas to Ahmed Gragn in order to strengthen his relationship with the later. Moreover, Abdal Nassir (war leader of Ahmed Gragn) was also said to have married the Hadiya princes.[18] From this marriage relationship, one can understand that, in the times of war, intermarriages and cultural contacts were common among the warring parties or friendly states.

No one can deny the fact that the expansion of Islam in Ethiopia strengthened the Muslim sultanates, like Christian expansion put the Christian states on solid ground. The relations that the Christian kingdom had with the Hadiya Muslim state was not based on suzerain-vassal relationship, but it was grounded on the level of competition. The competition can be expressed in terms of hostile wars. Regarding this, Tekle Tsadik Mekuria says, "**...ከዩኩኖ አምላክ ወዲህ እስከ ልብነ ድንግል ድረስ የዩኩኖ አምላክ ተከታዮች የኢትዮጵያ ነገስታትና አምደፂዮን፣ ዳዊት፣ ይስሀቅና ዘረዓ ያዕቆብ ሰፊዉ የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሰ ነገስት ግዛታቸዉ እንዳይከፈል ወይም እንዳይቀነስ ከሚሸፍቱባቸዉ ከይፋት፣ ከሐዲያ ከዳዋሮና ከአዳል ባላባቶች ጋር ያደረጉት ጦርነት ብዙ ነዉ።**"[19] The rough translation of this is, “Since the reign of Yikuno Amilak to the times of Libna Dingel, there were protracted fighting between the Christian kings and the south and south eastern *Balabats* like Yifat, Hadiya, Dawaro and Adal. The reason for their conflict was that the Christian kingdom did not want to see the reduction of its territories to the southern states. The Christian kings who made frequent wars against the southern states were Yikuno Amlak, Amda Tsion, Dawit, Yishak, Zara Yacob and Labna Dingel.” The major reason for the Christian-Muslim conflict was economic, rather than political.

According to the Christian chronicles, Amda Tsion (1314-1344) was the first to conquer the

[18]*Ibid*, pp. 58-61

[19]Tekle Tsadik Mekuria, *Ye Ethiopia Tarik: Ke Atse Yikuno Amlak Iske Atse Libne Dengel*, 5nd Edition, Addis Abäba: Tesfa Matemia Bet, 1951, p. 54

Hadiya land. After the collapse of the Zagwe dynasty, the Christian center moved southward from Lasta to Showa. The move from the north to the south made the center of Christian kingdom near to the Muslim states. Such a move can be considered as the main reason for the economic competition that had happened in the medieval period. Emperor Zara Yacob also made a similar expansion towards the south and south east.

Amde Tsion made a number of attempts to expand the Christian territory towards the south and south east. Huntingford states that the Muslim states also made frequent attempts to conquer the Christian kingdom.[20] *Gärad* Amäno of Hadiya, *Gärad* Ali of Bali and Sultan Sebredin of Ifat made frequent effort to conquer the Christian kingdom.

According to Huntingford, Amde Tsion made frequent wars to subdue the Muslim state of Hadiya.[21] The major reason for the conflict was the refusal of Hadiya king (Amano) to pay annual tribute to the Christian kingdom. Amda Tsion's Chronicler indicates that the Hadiya *Gärad* was subdued by Amda Tsion and reduced to tributary status of the Christian kingdom. However, the Hadiya did not remain long in paying tribute to the Christian kingdom, rather they used to rebel against their suzereigns. In the war that was undertaken between Amda Tsion of the Christian kingdom and *Gärad* Amäno of Hadiya, war materials like shields, bows, spears and knives were employed on both sides.[22] Taddese Tamirat, based on Al Umari's sources, explains that the quantity and quality of the war materials that were used by the Muslim state of Hadiya were greater than that of the Christian kingdom.[23] Using different war tactics, however, Amde Tsion was able to defeat the Hadiya Muslim state. Taddese also indicates that after the departure

[20] George W. Huntingford, *The Glorious Victories of Amda Tsion, King of Ethiopia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 5.
[21] *Ibid*., p. 19.
[22] *Ibid*., p. 58
[23] Taddese Tamirat*, Islam and Trade in Ethiopia c. 900-1332*, History Miscellanea 1, p. 84.

of Amda Tsion from the Hadiya land, i.e. from 1316 to 1329, the later refused to pay tribute to the Christian kingdom.[24] In line with this, Braukamper says, in 1329, when Amda Tsion mentioned his 'colonies', he never mentioned the Hadiya kingdom. This is an indication of Hadiya's refusal to pay annual tribute to the Christian kingdom or their independence status from the Christian kingdom.

In 1329, *Gärad* Amäno fought against Amde Tsion. But he was defeated and escaped to Ifat. Again, together Ifat's ruler (Sebredin), Amäno launched another attack against the Christian kingdom. Once again, he and his ally, Sebredin were defeated. In this war, it was mentioned in Amde Tsion Chronicle that, a certain prophet by the name of Bele'am advised the Hadiya king to stand strong and fight against the Christian kingdom. Regarding this, Huntingford says that *Gärad* Amäno was advised by a certain prophet that was aimed at boosting the Hadiya's moral against the Christian kingdom. Bele'am, according to Huntingford, said, "... Go not the king of Seyon (Ethiopia); do not give him gifts, if he comes against you, be not afraid of him, for he will be delivered into your hands and you will cause him to perish with his army."[25] Trimingham also mentioned the so called 'false prophet' who was behind *Gärad* Amano's aggression against the Christian kingdom. He states, "… One army attacked Hadiya whose sultan Amäno was being incited by a 'false prophet' in the guise of Bala'am. …"[26] Based on critical analysis of secondary sources and oral traditions, I can say that the aforementioned 'prophet' was *Anjancho*, who was a priest of *Fändänano* religion.

It is said that, during the medieval period, there was a kind of federalism among the Muslim sultanates of the south and south-east. Such federal kind of relationship was named by some

[24]*Ibid.*
[25]*Ibid.*
[26]Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London: Oxford University Press, 1952, p. 71

scholars as "Zeila Islamic federation". Within such federation, there were Hadiya, Sharka, Bali, Ifat, Dawaro, Fatagar, Arbabani, and Gara Muslim states. Among these states, Ifat and Hadiya were the strongest states and had the largest army. Some authors like Braukamper tend to make the Hadiya army larger and stronger than Ifat. He states that, "Ibn Fadl Allah al-Umaari repeated this information in his encyclopedic work and referred to Hadiya as the largest and militarily most important among the seven states of the Muslim federation of Zeila. Its army was estimated at 40,000 horse men and double amount of foot soldiers."[27]

In 1332, the Hadiya Muslim state, by allying itself with Ifat's ruler, Sebredin, fought Amde Tsion for the third time. But Amano was defeated and his kingdom became tributary to the Christian state. Mainly because of continuous wars that the Christian kingdom undertook with Muslim states, the former failed to keep its administration for long. In a frequent way, the Hadiya used to rebel against the Christian kingdom and ceased to pay tribute.[28]

1.2.2. Queen Elleni and the Christian Kingdom

The animosity that was created between the Hadiya and the Christian kingdom did not cease to exist during the time of Amde Tsion. The quarrel continued in the time of his successors like Dawit (1382-1413) and Yishaq (1414-1429). Emperor Zara Yacob (1434-1468) was known in territorial expansion and philosophy in religion and other secular aspects. The challenge that Emperor Zara Yacob faced from the Hadiya Muslim state was very strong and as a result he was forced to seek other alternatives. The alternative that he adopted was political marriage. To materialize his plan, Zara Yacob married the sister of *Gärad* Mäyäko or the daughter of *Gärad* Mohammed. Some oral informants give local name for the woman who was married to Emperor

[27]Ulrich Braukamper, *A History of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia*, 2002, 57
[28] *Ibid.*

Zara Yacob. She was said to have been named as 'Erlende' by her own people. But Zara Yacob, after marriage, replaced the name 'Erlende' with Queen Elleni.[29] Tekle Tsadik says that the emperor gave the right side seat of the crown (**ቀኝ በአልቲሐት**) for Elleni.[30] This political marriage was arranged in about 1434, immediately after the king took power in Christian kingdom.[31]

The chronicle of Emperor Zara Yacob, in its Amharic translation, lists the names of the sub-groups of Hadiya State which existed in the 15th century. The chronicle mentioned Kebena, Halaba, Genza, Godala, Gedebicho, Hadabo, Diho, Saga, Genicho, Bamo, Gogala (Dodola) and Gab as Hadiya ethnic division. These ethnic groups had direct relations with today's Hadiya people. Even if the Hadiya used to give their daughters to the Christian kings, they were not happy to pay tribute to the later on regular basis. The Christian kings, despite the marriage relationship, could not keep the Hadiya as their loyal ally. The Hadiya fought frequently with the Christian king, Zara Yacob. They even went to the extent that the *Garad* of Hadiya allied himself with the ruler of Ifat, Ahmed Badley.[32] In 1445, the Hadiya with Ahmed Badley's Ifat fought against Emperor Zara Yacob, though their attempt to score victory over the Christian kingdom remained futile. They were fatally defeated at the hands of the Christian kingdom. Ahmed Badley was killed at the battle. Even after his defeat, the king of Hadiya, Mayako, was not ready to pay tribute to the Christian kingdom. His refusal to pay tribute to the Christian kingdom was expressed in the chronicle of Zara Yacob. The chronicle states, "**ወደ ሐዲያስ ገራድ ማንገሻዉን ወይም ግብሩን ተሸክመህ ወደ ደጃችን ና ብለዉ የንግሱን ቃል በላኩበት ጊዜ ሐዲያስ ገራድም**

[29]Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Records of the History of Southern Ethiopia and a Short History of Kämbata*, Addis Abäba, 1987, p. 36.
[30]Tekle Tsadik, p. 168.
[31]*Ibid.*
[32]Tekle Tsadik, *Ye Ethiopia Tarik ke Yikuno Amlak…* p. 186

(ማሂኮ የሚባል) የገራድ መሀመድ ልጅ የንግስቲቱ የጣጉን ዜላም ወንድም በቀኝ በገባርነት ወደ ደጃችሁ አልመጣም። ከሀገራም አልወጣም ብሎ ላከ። የንጉሱን ቃልም ምቢ አለ::" [33] Its rough translation reads, "When message was sent to Hadiya *Gärad* (with the name Mahiko, the son of *Gärad* Mohammad, or the brother of Queen Zhan Zella) summoning him to court with tribute, he refused to do so and said, 'I wan't leave my land'. He rejected the words of the king."

Unlike the previous times, Zara Yacob began to follow the policy of divide and rule, which was aimed to weaken the power of the Hadiya warriors. The method that Zara Yacob followed was to approach *Gärad* Gadayto and assign him to spy over Mayako's preparation for war. Gadayto accepted the demand. Concerning this, the Amharic translation of the chronicle of Zara Yacob states, "...ከእሱ ጋር ማን ተባበረ? የሀዲያ ሰዎች ሁሉ ናቸዉን ወይስ እኩሌቶቹ ናቸዉ? በምንሰራዉ ስራ ምን ምክር ይሻላል? አለዉ ለገዳይቶ ገራድ። ከሱ ጋር የተባበሩት ጎዳላ ገራድ፣ ዲሆ ገራድ፣ ሐደቦ (ሀይቦ) ገራድ፣ ገንዝ ገራድ፣ ሳግ ገራድ፣ ቀባዕን ገራድ፣ ጎጋላ (ሰገላ) ገራድ እና ሀሊቦ ገራድ እኒህ ናቸዉ። ጌታዬ ሆይ የሚመስለዉ ምክር ገራድ ባሞን፣ የአባቱን ወንድም ያምጡትና... ምክሩን ያጠፋዉ ዘንድ በዚያ ይሹመት አለዉ".[34] Its English translation reads, "The king asked *Gäda*yito *Gärad*. 'Who are his collaborators? Are they all or half of them? What is your advice?' Then *Gäda*yito responded 'the collaborators are *Gärad* Godala, *Gärad* Diho, *Gärad* Hadabo or Hayibo, *Gärad* Ganz, *Gärad* Sag, *Gärad* Kaban, Gogala or Sagala *Gärad*, and Halibo *Gärad*. My advice is that it is good to bring *Gärad* Bamo (the uncle of the king) to your court and appoint him as king of Hadiya. Then *Gärad* Bamo will distort the plans of *Gärad* Mahiko (the rebelling king)." Zara Yacob, depending on the advice that he got from *Gärad* Gadayto sent messages to *Gärad* Bamo. Based on the advice, *Gärad* Bamo came to

[33]The chronicle of Zara Yacob, Amharic translation: p. 13
[34]*Ibid.*

Debre Birhan and was given the title of kingship over the Hadiya. Hearing the treason that Bamo made on him, Mayako fled to Adal together with his loyal companions. *Gärad* Bamo was welcomed by other *Gärads* of the Hadiya kingdom. Later on, however, *Gärad* Bamo was replaced by *Gärad* Gedayto. Zara Yacob made Gedayto and his descendants the real ruler of the Hadiya. *Gärad* Bamo was given large ***gult*** in Hadiya. Unlike other Muslim states, Hadiya had indirect administrative relationship with the Christian kingdom. Emperor Zara Yacob used to assign his own men over much of the southern kingdoms and provinces, but in Hadiya, the king made indirect relationship by appointing leaders from the autochthonous population.

After the death of *Gärad* Mayako, the unity and strength of the Hadiya Muslim state was highly shattered.[35] However, the resistance and struggle that the Hadiya Muslim state created against the Christian kingdom did not ceased altogather. Regarding this, Braukamper states, "... Throughout the entire 15th century, the Hadiya had struggled repeatedly to obtain its independence from Ethiopia. …"[36]

There were many grand events that were undertaken during the medieval period. Events like the expansion of the Christian kingdom towards the south and south east, the war of Ahmed Ibn Ebrahim El-Ghazi, the strengthening of foreign diplomatic relationship, the Oromo population movement and the frustration and weakening of the Hadiya and other Muslim states were major events that happened in the medieval period. During this period, there were women who played great roles in keeping the interest of their own sultanates and kingdoms. Queen Elleni, Bati del Wombera and Seble Wengel were some of the giants in such period of catastrophe. Among the three women, Queen Elleni could be mentioned as pioneer and model, and left her characteristic

[35] Tesfaye, p. 36.
[36] Braukamper, *A History of the Hadiya…* , p. 57

imprint on the history of the country.

There are some scholars who do not accept that Queen Elleni was from the Hadiya ethnic line. Tadele Gedle, Yilma Deressa and Fikre Tolossa are some of the authors who tried to detach Queen Elleni from Hadiya descent. Tadele and Yilma tended to associate the Queen with Dawaro, whereas Fikre made an attempt to make Elleni's genealogical line with the Oromo. Tadele argues, "**ንግስት ኢሌኒ የአጼ በእደ ማሪያም ባለቤት ሲሆኑ በ15ኛዉ መቶ ክፍለ ዘመን የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ስማቸዉ ጎልቶ ይታወቃል። … ከሀዲያ ገራዶች የአንዱ ማለትም የደዋሮዉ ባላባት የመሀመድ ልጅ የነበሩት ልዕልት ወደፊት የሀገር መሪ ይሆናሉ ተብለዉ ለታሰቡት ለልጅ በእደማሪያም በጋብቻ ተሰጡ።**"[37] Its rough translation reads, "Queen Elani's name was magnified in the 15th century. She was the wife of Ba'eda Mariam. From among the Hadiya *Gärad,* Elleni was the daughter of Dawaro *Balabat* named Mohammad. She was given to Ba'eda Mariam." For Tadele, Elleni was the Queen of Dawaro and the wife of Ba'da Mariam. On the other hand, Fikre Tolossa says, "… **ከዚህ ጋር በተያያዘ ታዋቂዉ የታሪክ ፀሀፊ ተክለ ፃዲቅ መኩሪያ (የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ) "ንግስት ናኦድ ሞገሳ እሌኒ ሐዲያ ናት" ብለዉ የጻፉትን እዚህ ላይ ማንሳት ይኖርብኛል። ቱሉ በደሳ የሚለዉ የአባትዋ ስም ኦሮሞ መሆንዋን ያረጋግጣል። በተጨማሪ ሀረር ዉስጥ እስከ ዛሬ ድረስ በደሳ እየተባለ የሚጠራ ቦታ አለ። የቱሉ አባት አቶ በደሳ ባላባት ሆኖ እሱን ለማስታወስ ከጊዜ በኋላ በሱ ስም ቦታዉ በደሳ ተብሎ ይሆናል። ወይም እሱ ከመወለዱ በፊት በደሳ ተብሎ በደሳን ለመዘከር የተሰየመ ነዉ። ሐዲያ ዉስጥ ግን እኔ እስከማዉቀዉ ድረስ በደሳ የሚባል ቦታ የለም።..**[38] This can be translated as, "It is important to raise the idea of the famous historian, Takla Tsadik Makuria regarding Queen

[37]Tadele Gedle, *Asdenakiwochu Yenegestatina Yemesafint Debidabewoch,* Addis Abäba, 2010, pp. 8-9.
[38]Fikre Tolossa, *Ye Oromona Ye Amhara Iwunetegna Yezer mench,* Addis Abäba: Nebadan Publication, 2016, p. 80.

Elleni's blood relation with the Hadiya. Takla Tsadik relates Elleni's ethnic line to the Hadiya. Her father's name, Tulu Badesa, however, indicates her Oromo ethnic background. Moreover, there is a place known as Badesa in Harar. Badesa, the father of Tulu, was the *Balabat* in Harar. It is probably after the elapse of many years that the area got its name, Badesa. The name might have been given to this area in memory of Tulu's father. As far as I know, there is no place with a name Badesa in Hadiya." The chronicles and other kinds of contemporary sources, however, link Queen Elleni to the Hadiya line. The chronicle of Zara Yacob, the book written by Francisco Alvarez, Tekle Tsadik Mekuria, oral traditions among the Hadiya are sources that disqualify the assertions of the three authors. For instance, Alvarez in his book entitled, "The Prester John of Indies" states, "Libne Dengel, son of Naod, was the grandson of Ba'eda Mariam through his first wife Romane Work. But although this queen was capable of asserting herself when necessary, she was wholly surpassed by the forceful personality of Queen Elleni. The woman, the daughter of Mehmad or Muhammad, the Muslim governor (*Gärad*) of Hadiya was married by Zara Yacob; she was his senior queen (the queen of the right)."[39]

Like Alvarez (the contemporary writer), the chronicle of Zara Yacob reads, "**ወደ ሀዲያ ገራድ ወደ አዳሉ ገዢ ግን ግብር ይዘህ ና ብለዉ የአጤን ቃል በላኩ ጊዜ የገዢዉ የመሀመድ ልጅ በቀኝ የተሸመች (አልቲሐት) የእቴጌ ጣን ዜላ ወንድም ስሙ ማሂኮ የሚባል ያ የሀዲያዉ ገዢ እምቢ ብሎ መለሰ፡፡** ..."[40] Its translation is, "When a royal message was sent to the Hadiya *Gärad*, the administrator of Adal, to bring tribute, the later refused to do so. He was the brother of Zhan Zella and the son of Mohammad. His name was Mahiko." Tekle Tsadik Mekuria on the book entitled, "**የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ከአጼ ዩኩኖ አምላክ እስከ ልብነ ድንግል**" confirms the

[39]Francisco Alvarez, *The Prester John of Indies*, C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Vol. 1, 1958, p. 14.

[40] Ye Atse Zara Yacob Zena Mewal, p. 50

aforementioned contemporary sources and stands on the opposite side of Fikre, Tadele and Yilma. Tekle Tsadik states, "**አጼ ዘርዓ ያዕቆብ ይሄን ማሂኮ የሚባለዉን የሀዲያ ባላባት በዝምድና ከርሳቸዉ ጋር እንዲደባለቅና ታማኝ ዜጋ ለማድረግ አስበዉ እህቱን አግብተዉ ቀኝዕ በአልቲሐት ብለዉ ሰይመዉ ደንበኛ ሚስት አድርገዋል።**"[41] It can be translated as, "So as to make the Hadiya *Balabat*, Mahiko, loyal to him, king Zara Yacob married his sister, Elleni and let her to sit on the right side of his throne." In the aforementioned book, Tekle Tsadik stated that Elleni was the daughter of Mohammed, and sister of Mahiko of the Hadiya. He writes, "… **ይሄም መሀመድ የሀዲያ ገራድ የቀኝዕ በዓልቲሓት የንግስት ኢሌኒ አባት ነዉ።**…"[42] Its translation is, "The *Gärad* of Hadiya, Mohammad, was the father of Elleni." Tadele, Yilma and Fikre are not in a position to support their argument with contemporary or primary sources and evidences. Fikre's intention in particular could not take the historical movement and geographical shift that the Hadiya people undertook through time. His mistake emanates from the idea that the geographical location or settlement pattern of the nowadays Hadiya people and the medieval ones are similar. The chronicle of Zara Yacob and the book written by Alvarez made Mohammed, not Tulu Bedesa, the father of Queen Elleni. We also see Fikre confusing his readers by calling the two or three queens as one or a single woman. However, in the contemporary sources, Queens like Naod Mogassa, Tsion Mogasa, Elleni Mohammed are written separately as different women.

It is already said that Emperor Zara Yacob took political marriage as alternative to war in his approach towards the Muslim states, particularly the Hadiya. Based on the aforementioned contemporary sources and chronicles, one can say confidently that Zera Yacob was married to

[41]Tekle Tsadik, p. 168
[42]*Ibid.*

Queen Elleni of the Hadiya Muslim state. She was the daughter of *Gärad* Mohammed and the sister of Meyeko.[43] After marriage, the emperor made Elleni Queen of the right and let her to advise him on different issues. She was given the status of "*Nigist"* or Queen. Contradicting his own former work, Tekle Tsadik (in the book entitled, '**የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ከአጼ ልብነ ድንግል እስከ አጼ ቴዎድሮስ**') argues that Queen Elleni was the wife of Ba'da Mariam and she was from Adal. He says, "… **ስለዚህ በዚህ አካሄድ አፄ ዘርዓ ያዕቆብ ከሀዲያ ባላባት የምትወለደዉን ጽዮን ሞጋሳ የምታባለዉን ሴት አግብተዉ ነበር። እንደዚሁም ልጃቸዉ በዕደ ማርያም እሌኒንና ሮማነ ወርቅን ሁለቱም ካዳል ባላባት የሚወለዱትን አግብተዉ ነበር።**"[44] This can be translated as, "… Then, Emperor Zara Yacob, married the daughter of Hadiya *Balabat* named Tsion Mogasa. Similarly, his son (Ba'eda Mariam) married Elleni and Romana Work, both of whom were descended from the Adal *Balabat."* Nevertheless, his later argument is disproved by the contemporary sources and other primary materials.

Her relatives, (the Hadiya Muslim state) gave her title known as "Ete zhan Zeila" or the Queen of Zeila.[45] The major objective of such political marriage was aimed to make the Hadiya sultans loyal to the Christian kingdom. With regard to this, Seifu Dibabe states "**ከቶዉንም ታላላቆቹ ነገስታት ሳይቀሩ የሀዲዮቹን ሱልጣኔቶች ሴቶች ልጆችን በክርስቲያን ሀይማኖት እያስጠመቁ በቆስጠንጢኖስ እናት ስም እሌኒ እያሰኙና የእቴጌነት ማዕረግ እየሰጡ አንግሰዉ ያገቧቸዉ ነበር።**".[46] Its translation is, "The great kings of the Christian kingdom used to marry the daughters of Hadiya Sultans. After marriage, they were given Christian name, Elleni, and forced to take baptism, and gave them important positions." There is also strong oral tradition in Hadiya

[43] *Ibid.;* Alvarez, p.14

[44] Tekle Tsadik Mekuria, *Ye Ityopia Tarik: Ke Atse Lebne Dengel Iske Atse Tewodros,* Addis Abäba, 1981, p. 21

[45] Informants: Mekonnen Abebe and Tesfaye Menchulo

[46]Seifu Dibabe, pp. 41-42

that the Muslim sultans had the trend of giving their daughters to the Christian kings by undertaking different religious ceremonies.[47] Regarding the marriage relationship, Stephan Grenstedt says, "... One of the famous female personalities in Ethiopian history was actually Hadiya princess, Elleni, who married Zara Yacob."[48]

The kings that succeeded Zara Yacob were weak and young who had no experience in the administrative and other political aspects. It is said that such political and administrative vacuum had been effectively filled by Queen Elleni. She served for long as regent and advisor for such kings. Her regency and advisory role remained intact from the time of Ba'ede Mariam to Libne Dingel. Regarding her capacity, Yilma states, "**ከመማክርቱ መሀከል በተለይ ኢሌኒ በእድሜና በአእምሮ የበሰለች ከመሆኗ ሌላ በሀገራችን ትምህርት የላቀች በባህሪዋ ብልህነትና እርጋታ ያላት ከመሆኗ በላይ ኢትዮጵያን በዙሪያዋ ከከበቧት የእስላም ገዢዎች ጋራ በቤተሰባዊ ዝምድና ምክንያት በሰፊዉ የምትቀራረብ ስለነበረች በይበልጥ ልታገለግል የምትችልበትን የዉጭ ጉዳይ ፖለቲካ ጭምር እንድትመራ ተመረጠች።**"[49] The rough translation of this is, "In addition to the maturity and wisdom that Elleni had among the dignitaries of the Christian kingdom, she was endowed with wise behavior and rich in the then education. Mainly depending on her Islamic background, she was selected to lead the foreign affairs of the country in the Christian kingdom."

Queen Elleni also made great contribution in religious and other cultural aspects. She built many churches and monasteries during her regency. The famous Mertula Mariam monastery, which is located in Eastern Gojjam, was built by her. Many religious books were translated from Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic language to Geez. Her contribution in foreign relation or other diplomatic spheres were very great. She was able to exchange a number of letters and other forms of

[47]Informants: Degelo Tale, Haile Womiso and Temesgen Abute
[48] Grenstedt, 45
[49]Yilma, p. 22

messages with European and Arabic world. She exchanged letters of friendship with Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, so that she reduced the dangers that would come to the Ethiopian land from such Islamic world. She also tried to make diplomatic balance, by playing a kind of game between the Muslim and the Christian world.[50]

One of the renowned letters of Queen Elleni was the letter sent to Portugal. It was through Mattew that the letter was sent. In the letter, it is worthy to mention that, the Queen was eager to make political marriage with the family of Portuguese royalty. She states, "... If you are willing that your sons be bound in marriage with our daughters and our sons with your daughter (we are willing to do so)."[51] From this statement, it is possible to understand that, the Queen planned to solidify or concretize the political bonds between the two nations, so that she would defend her kingdom from the possible assault that could arise from the neighboring Muslim states and the outside Islamic world like the Ottoman Empire.

From the same letter mentioned above, it is possible to infer that the Queen was amazed by the mighty power of Portugal. The letter says, "... We heard the things done by your soldiers in India. It seems to us a miracle and not the work of human. If you wish to mobilize 1000 ships, we will send you provisions."[52] The letter shows the Queen's strong belief in creating friendship with the Christian world and to attack the Muslim nations that were moving around the Red Sea areas. All the letters written by the Queen indicates the level of experience that she acquired in the long journey of her political role.

Some authors argue that the Queen had no sons or daughters. But from the contemporary sources, it is possible to understand that the Queen had sons. Francisco Alvarez, for instance, in

[50] *Ibid.*
[51] Sergew, pp. 556-558
[52] *Ibid*

his book entitled, "... The Prester John of Indies" states that the Queen had sons from Emperor Zara Yacob.[53] In line with this, Sergew says king Naod was the son of Queen Elleni.[54] During her regency and advisory period, there were six kings that had ruled the Christian highland kingdom one after the other. The names of these kings were Ba'ede Mariam, Naod, Eskindir, Amde Tsion II, Yakob and Libne Dengil. The major part of Ba'ede Mariam's life was influenced by Queen Elleni. Particularly after the death of his mother, Tsion Mogasa, Ba'ede Mariam was brought up by Queen Elleni. Even after his ascendency to power (kingship), the Queen helped him in different areas of the government administration.[55]

In her regency and advisory period, the Queen was successful in supporting and enabling the young rulers to tackle the problems coming from different directions.[56] In the coup d'état that was aimed to overthrow Eskindir, Queen Elleni was said to have been behind it. The coup was made in 1486, mainly because of Eskindir's inefficiency to administer his kingdom.[57] It was with the recommendation of the Queen that king Libne Dengil came to power. With regard to this, Alvarez states, "... When Libne Dengil at the age 12 came to power, it was Elleni, ... who with the Abun's help put him on the throne."[58]

As stated above, Queen Elleni, hoping to strengthen the diplomatic relationship with Europeans, with Portugal in particular, sent messengers under the leadership of Mathias to king Amanuel of Portugal in 1509. After a long period of journey, the Queen's messengers arrived Portugal in 1513. It is said that the Portuguese king, Amanuel, warmly welcomed the Queen's messengers and sent them back to Ethiopia with promises and hopes. Associated with this idea, Corado Zoli,

[53]Alvarez, p. 14
[54]Sergew, p. 552
[55]Alvarez, p. 14
[56]Yilma, p. 21
[57] Alvarez, p. 14
[58]Alvarez, p. 14

translated by Zerihun Gebre says, "... **የፖ'ርቹጋል ንጉስ አማኑኤል የኢትዮጵያን መልዕክተኞች በአክብሮት ተቀብሎ ካነጋገራቸዉና የተልዕኳቸዉን ጉዳይ በሚገባ ከመረመረ በኋላ ኢትዮጵያን ለመርዳት አስፈላጊዉ ነገር ሁሉ እንዲፈጸም ትዕዛዝ ሰጠ።**"[59] The rough translation of this is, "After talking and wisely investigating the issue that the Ethiopian messengers brought to him, King Amanuel of Portugal ordered his officials to help Ethiopia and to do whatever supportive things to the later." The major reason behind the Queen's move towards the Portuguese government was the fear that she developed because of the Ottoman Turkish aggressive movement around the Red Sea areas. Based on the above ideas, it is possible to say that, Queen Elleni had the potential to understand the global developments that had been undertaken along the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. This was an indication of her intelligence or active stand, not only of the internal political situation, but also the international ones. By the time when the Portuguese government sent 400 soldiers under Christopher Degama, the Queen was already dead at a place called Mertulla Mariam monastery in Eastern Gojjam in 1532.[60]

The Hadiya *Gärads* did not benefit from their blood relation that they had made with the Christian kingdom. Their restless rebellious nature could be considered as the major reason for their exclusion from the benefits of the Christian kingdom. In line with this, Seifu Dibabe writes, "**በመሰረቱ ሀዲዮች … ከኢትዮጵያ ነገስታት ጋር በግድም ሆነ በዉድም በጋብቻና በትዉልድ ቢተሳሰሩም እንደሌሎቹ አዉራጃ ህዝቦች በዝምድናዉ አምነዉና ዝምድና ቆጥረዉ በሹመትና በሀብት ሊጠቀሙበት አለመፍቀዳቸዉ የሚያስደንቅ ነዉ። የዚህም ምክንያት የሀይማኖት ልዩነትና ራስን በራስ የመግዛት የነጻነት ፍላጎት መሆኑን መገንዘብ ይቻላል።**"[61] Its translation

[59]Corado Zoli, *Ye Ethiopia Tarik Ke Atse Naod Iske Algawerash Ras Teferi Mekonen,* Addis Abäba: Elleni Matemia Bet, (interpreted by Zerihun Gebre), 1999, p. 66

[60]*Ibid.*

[61] Seifu Dibabe, p. 45

reads, “Even though the Hadiya created marriage and ethnic ties with Ethiopian kings, it was amazing that they couldn’t exploit such advantage to their benefit. Strong desire for independence and the religious differences may be taken as the major reason for their failure to use such advantages.”

The Queen died in 1532 at Martulla Mariam and was burried there. At the time when the Queen died, Alvarez was in Ethiopia. There were, according to him, great mourns in the churches, monasteries, and diocese, because of her death.[62]

1.2.3. The Alliance between Hadiya Islamic State and Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim El-Ghazi in the War against the Christian Kingdom (1529-1543).

In the Christian-Muslim conflict of 1527-1543, the Hadiya Muslim state participated on the side of Ahmed Gragn (Muslims). After the battle of Shimbra Kure in 1529, the Hadiya land became a battle ground for both the Christian and Muslim sultanates. It is said that all the Christian soldiers were forced to evacuate from the Hadiya land since 1532.[63] To further strengthen his friendship with Hadiya Muslim state, Ahmed Gragn was believed to have married Hadiya woman named Murias. As mentioned above, his army general, Abdal Nassar also was married to the Hadiya woman. Both Adal and Hadiya Muslim states went to the extent that they were able to establish common army, which was jointly trained to combat against the Christians.[64] The army of Hadiya and Adal which were jointly commanded by Wazir Adole and Abdul Nassir attacked Bali and killed its leader, *Azmatch* Adalu. This was because Adalu collaborated with Christians which was headed by Gelawdewos.

[62] Alvarez, p. 439
[63]Tesfaye, 1986: 38
[64] Braukamper, p. 56

At the time when Gragn was defeated by Gelawdewos in 1543 at *Wäinä Däga*, the Hadiya Muslim warriors were believed to have fought on the side of the former. With regard to the defeat that the Hadiya warriors faced at *Wäinä Däga*, Ulrich Braukamper writes, "... The Hadiya more or less voluntarily joined the Adalites in 1531, established marriage relations with their leaders and fought the Christians forcefully until the final collapse of the Muslims offensive at the battle of *Wäinä Däga* by allied forces of the Portuguese and the Christian kingdom in 1543."[65] After the death of Ahmed Gragn, Hadiya once again came under the control of the Christian kingdom. As usual, the tributary relationship between the Christian kingdom and the Hadiya Muslim state did not remain for long. It stayed from 1544-1559, until Gelawdewos was defeated by the army of Emir-Nur at the battle of Good Friday. The Hadiya took part at this battle and shared the fruits of the victory; i. e. the Muslim state of Hadiya liberated its areas of jurisdiction from the influences of the Christian kingdom.[66] After the battle of Good Friday, Hadiya and other Islamic states were liberated from Christian kingdom.

Though the Hadiya liberated itself from the influences of the Christian kingdom, the impact that the long aged Muslim-Christian conflict had brought was very high. It weakened and made them easy prey for the disintegration of the state and migration of its people. The disintegration of the sultanate and migration of the people from the original areas further to the south created fertile condition for the Oromo population expansion of the second half of the 16th century. In relation to this, Braukamper says, "... The long lasting military action of the holy war which did not come to an end before the death of Amir Nur in 1568, deeply affected the demographic and cultural situation in north east Africa. Among the territories which had been devastated to the utmost

[65]Braukamper, p. 15
[66]Tesfaye, p. 39

degree was that of the Hadiya." [67] Following the collapse of the Hadiya Muslim state, peoples who had been administered under the territorially and administratively structured domain were disbanded in different directions.[68]

1.2.4. The Post- *Wäinä Däga* Battles in Hadiya (from the 2nd Half of the 16th to the 1st Half of the 17th Centuries).

Even though the Hadiya Muslim state was frustrated after the major wars of Muslims and Christians, the state remained intact. Minas, the successor of Gelawdewos, attempted to regain the Hadiya tributary status, but he was unable to subdue the Hadiya. Sarsa Dingel also led a huge army against the Hadiya, but faced a very strong army of the Hadiya which was headed by *Gärad* Aze. The first combat was undertaken in 1569 between *Gärad* Aze and Serse Dingel. Tesfaye says, "… In 1568 Sarsa Dengel fought with Aze, the *Gärad* of Hadiya, for usual reason of non-payment of tribute and defeated him in 1569."[69] Aze was defeated, mainly because of the frequent wars that the Hadiya had undertaken in the previous times with the Oromos and the highland Christian kingdom. Regarding this, Mohammed Hassen states, "... Aze, the Muslim governor of Hadiya refused to pay tribute to Sarsa Dingel. The Muslims of Hadiya who earlier had suffered at the hands of the Oromos, no longer had any desire for war with the Christians."[70]

After the death of Sarsa Dingel, Yacob came to power in the highland Christian kingdom. Yacob also followed the policies of his predecessors and made great attempt to reconquering the Hadiya. The attempt was made in 1604, but he was defeated and repulsed back by the Hadiya

[67] Braukamper, p. 15
[68] Tesfaye, p. 39
[69] Tesfaye, p. 16
[70] Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History, 1570-1860,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 32-33

warriors. It was *Gärad* Aze that fought against both Sarsa Dingel and Yacob. As a result, the Hadiya was able to resist the attacks of the Christian kingdom.

Gärad Side was the other successful leader of the Hadiya who undertook frequent wars with King Susenyos of the Christian kingdom. He defeated Susenyos and his Gurage allies. Susenyos, according to his own chronicle, was unable to conquer the Hadiya and made it tributary to the Christian kingdom.[71] From the Chronicle, it is possible to understand that *Gärad* Side was strong warrior who forced the Christian combatants to leave the Hadiya land.

As mentioned above, the Hadiya Muslim state was exhausted by the long civil wars of the 16th century.[72] Since the middle of the 17th century, some sections of the Hadiya were forced to move to the south central direction. The majority who remained in Bali, Arsi and Harar were assimilated into the Oromo culture. They were exposed to adopt the Oromo language, way of living and incorporated into the *Gäda* system. The major reason for the easy adoption of the Oromo culture by the Hadiya was the opportunity that the *Gäda* system had rendered for the newly incorporated peoples. From the *Gäda* system, *Mogassa* played an important role for the Oromos in bringing the different societies or peoples, which also included the Hadiya into the Oromo cultural denomination.[73]

Gudifecha was the other way of assimilation that the Oromos used to bring the different ethnic groups into their culture. Based on such systems, the Oromos were able to assimilate a large number of people, which also includes the Hadiya. The rest were forced to leave their former land and scattered in different directions, but the majority moved to the southern part of the present day Ethiopia. In connection with this idea, Braukamper and Tilahun Mishago states, "...

[71] The chronicle of Susenyos, 2005, 25-29
[72] Braukamper, p. 62
[73]Lapiso, 1975, p. 30

Between the 13th and 16th centuries, the Hadiya constituted one of the most important political entities of north east Africa. Their coherent territorial block was shattered in the turbulent periods of the Christian-Muslim struggle of the 16th century and the subsequent expansion of the Oromo."[74]

1.2.5. Indigenous Administrative Structure of the Hadiya

In Hadiya, there has been indigenous way of solving socio-political problems. They have also indigenous system of socio-political structure. Such hierarchy has five levels. To put it in ascending order, it starts with *Mine* and then proceed to *Mollo, Sulla, Gichcho,* and *Gira*. *Mine* is an expression of a family, whereas Mollo is for the aggregate of two or more families. *Giira* is the highest level in the socio-cultural strata. There are no clear boundaries among these hierarchies. The leader of *Giira* is named as *Gildana* or *Gärada* or *Adilla*. Side by side to *Mine* and *Mollo,* one can find *Nafara*, in which its leader is entitled as 'Nafar Dana'. Unlike the other, 'Nafar Dana' has the power to solve problems of the people in and outside of the Hadiya ethnic groups in their areas of jurisdiction.[75]

It is said that power transfer among the Hadiya before their incorporation to Menelik's administration was in a way which is partially democratic. Being orator, knowledge of the society's history, capacity to solve problems, bravery, acceptance from the society, administrative capacity, physical fitness, having treasury and ethnic lineage are criteria that should be fulfilled from the candidate. Regarding this, Kibamo says, "... of course, the socio-political organization of the Hadiya was not entirely egalitarian... Various political positions were acquired mainly on the basis of prestige, intelligence, physical capabilities and

[74]Braukamper and Tilahun, p. 16
[75] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Maskalo Lonsako and Asafa Bunte.

experiences."[76]

The Hadiya developed a tradition of keeping their customs and laws orally. These laws and cultural practices had been transferred from generation to generation in oral form. Even today someone can see such oral rules and customs among the Hadiya being used by their traditionally elected leaders. In the time of conflict, such orally kept laws are used by the culturally appointed person.[77]

Religiously, the Hadiya before Ethiopian middle age were *Fändänano*. During the middle age, however, Islamic religion was highly expanded and finally overwhelmed the *Fändänano*. The former became the basis for the formation of religious and administrative rules and laws of the Medieval Hadiya state. In these times, Islamic religious practices and its resultant cultures had not replaced entirely the *Fändänano* practices; rather there was a kind of religious syncretism.[78]

In the medieval period, the Hadiya kingdom had no centralized administrative system. Rather it pursued a kind of federalism. In the chronicle of Zara Yacob, one can see the names of 11 administrative structures under the Hadiya kingdom. These administrative structures had the overall administrative authority at the center. At the time of war in particular, these administrative units tended to unite against external assault. In the same chronicle mentioned above, all the 11 administrative structures were seen united against the Christian kingdom under

[76]Kibamo, p. 5

[77]Informants: Haji Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido, Bäkälä Moliso and Abäbä Tumiso.

[78]Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Maskalo Lonsako and Asafa Bunte.

their renowned leader called Mayako. The relics of such trend can be seen in today's Hadiya. Nowadays there are *Gärads* in each of the Hadiya ethnic sub-divisions.

During the medieval period, there were *Anjamas* who were supposed to help the *Gärads. Anjamas* were religious leaders whose roles were associated with purifying the people from their sins. *Anjamas* were expected to support the rulers by forecasting the future. They used to tell kings what the future might bring to the people. The advisory roles of the *Anjamas* to the kings were enormous. Moreover, they were engaged in performing rituals and other religious ceremonies. With regard to this, Ulrich Braukamper states,"... in Sarsa Dengil's chronicle *Anjama* had dignitaries whose power was hereditary in lineage and based on quasi-divine legitimation. They represented a type of spiritual leaders with legal and ritual functions. This co-existence of war chiefs or peace chiefs is a specific feature of Hadiya social structure which, according to the oral traditions, has always existed."[79] The *Anjamas* were priests of the *Fändänano* religion. Even though the *Fändänano* religion is on the verge of extinction, someone can see Anjancho's in some parts of the today's Hadiya. Particularly we can see them among the nowadays Badewacho people. In the other parts of Hadiya there are *Fändänano* practices syncriticizing itself with other religions like Christianity and Islam. An instance in this case is the songs that the Hadiya youths sing on the eve of *Masqal* holiday. In such songs there is a verse that proves the existence of *Fändänano* practices within Christianity and Islam. Here is one of the plays that can be seen in nowadays Hadiya.

[79]Braukamper, p. 46

Hadiya	**Gloss**
Doollaanni gattehe	Be saved from bad fortune
Damuumii gattehe	Be saved from headache
Daama'i xiiga laphphehe	Shade red blood on your for head
Di'ir maara ittehe[80]	Eat fatty meet

From the above verses, it is the third one that indicates the existence of *Fändänano* practices among today's Hadiya people. The practice of shading red blood on the forehead of an individual is an old *Fändänano* practice.

As mentioned above, power was not centralized in Hadiya during the Hadiya heydays. At these times and even after that, dictatorship and absolutism have no room. Below *Gärad*, there were rulers who used to rule their respective areas. Tributes and taxes were one of the incomes that the Hadiya cheifdoms depended on. During the medieval Hadiya, rulers tended to collect taxes and tribute in kind and cash. But there were no well-structured tax collection systems.[81]

[80] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Maskalo Lonsako and Asafa Bunte.

[81] Informants: Haji Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido, Bäkälä Moliso and Abäbä Tumiso.

CHAPTER TWO

2. The Incorporation of Hadiya People into Ethiopian Empire

As described in chapter one, the Hadiya between the 13th and 16th centuries had been one of the stronger states in the Horn of Africa with Islam as a dominant religious factor. Before the 13th century, the Hadiya people were said to have been adherents of indigenous religion called *Fändänano*. During the era of *Fändänano,* the Hadiya have had a fragmentary political system that highly deterred the formation of strong state. This does not mean that *Fändänano* had not played any role in the formation of the Hadiya state. At that time, the state formation process was undertaken slowly. But it was with the intrusion of Islamic religion and its takeover of the dominant place in Hadiya that the state building process was believed to have hastened highly.[1] This was mainly because the newly introduced Islamic religion became a uniting force for the Hadiya people that were affected by various disintegrating factors. Islam and the new geo-political and economic developments in the Horn of Africa helped the Hadiya people to come together and form a strong state.

During the heydays (13th to 16th centuries), the *Fändänano* religion was not totally uprooted from the lives of Hadiya people. It continued to exist side by side with Islamic religion, though the later was the dominant factor in Hadiya till the 16th and 17th centuries. In addition to creating unity among the various Hadiya branches who were living independent of each other, Islamic religion was believed to have helped in the territorial expansion of Hadiya state to vast areas in the south and the southeast in the times before the 16th century. By drawing all the Hadiya groups to unity and expanding to vast areas, the religion enabled them to control the long

[1] Ulrich Braukamper, *A History of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia,* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012, pp. 60-69.

distance trade route that runs from the southwest to Zeila and further east.[2] The control of such trade route connected the Hadiya both economically and politically, like the other Muslim states of the time. It became a back bone in the process of the formation of strong Islamic state. An endeavor to dominate the regional economy might be considered as the main reason for the conflict between the Muslim states, which also included the Hadiya, and the medieval Christian kingdom.

Some authors like Cerulli argue that the medieval Hadiya Muslim state was heterogeneous ethnically. According to him, the usage of the name Hadiya in the medieval period was no more than the name of the state. For him, the Hadiya name had no connection with a single ethnic group. Such point has been highly echoed in the later literatures that allegedly became 'fact' in the historical discourse of Ethiopia. Cerulli says, "The mention of Gudola *Gärad* … in the chronicle of Amda Tsion suggests that the people now known as Hadiya, but who call themselves Gudela, were then simply Gudela, Hadiya being no more than the name of the state."[3]

From the existing chronicles, oral tradition and ethno-cultural investigation, however, it is possible to say that the medieval Hadiya's heterogeneous status was less important than their homogeneity.[4] The different Hadiya *Gärads* of the medieval period were part of the larger Hadiya ethnic group. In other words they were the sub-divisions or clans of the then biggest ethnicity called Hadiya. It was after the eventual disintegration of the larger Hadiya ethnicity, following the major events of the 16th century that its sub-parts gradually evolved to develop

[2]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asafa Bunte and Damise Mänsido.

[3]Ernesta Cerulli, *Peoples of the SouthWest Ethiopia and Its Borderlands,* London: International African Institute, 1956, P. 85

[4]Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido, Bäkälä Moliso and Abäbä Tumiso.

their own respective identity.[5] Some of the renowned examples of such event were the case of Halaba, Ḳäbena, Ulbarag, Maräḳo, and many of the clans living in Wolayta, Arsi, Kämbata, Afar, Somali, and the Sidama. These clans and many of the Hadiya people living with other ethnic groups eventually developed new identities in the areas of language, religion and other cultural spheres as a result of their long independent historical trajectories.

It is already mentioned that, following the major events of the 16th century, the Hadiya people were dislocated from their former areas and moved to different parts of the present day Ethiopia in different directions.[6] Though many of the medieval Hadiya people were remained in their former areas assimilated by the dominating culture, the rest were forced to migrate to the present Hadiya land and its surroundings. After their arrival to their current location, they began to quarrel with each other in a struggle to dominate the resources of the area and grab more land. Such animosity remained in force for long; i.e. from the 17th to the 19th century.[7] Throughout the 19th century till the conquest of Emperor Menilek, there had been frequent wars among the various clans of the Hadiya for land and other resources.

Wars between Sorro and Lemo, Wetto Gira and Sorro, Shashogo and Halaba, Badäwacho and Wolayta, Badäwacho and Kämbata, Wetto Gira and Kämbata, Ḳäbena and the Säbat Bet Gurage clans and so on was frequent. From such conflicts and the later developments, one can understand that the Hadiya clans were not able to develop a sense of unity and cooperation in the time when Menilek's force came to their land. The total absence of unity among the various clans of the Hadiya made them easy prey for the Shäwan conquerers. The Badäwacho, Maräḳo and Ḳäbena showed stiff resistance against the expansionists, albeit they undertook their war

[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Ulrich Braukamper, p. 164.
[7] *Ibid.*

independently of their fellow Hadiya groups. The Shashogo, Lemo, Sorro and the Badogo were also forced to fight Menilek's forces independently.[8]

It was in Shäwa that Menilek's grand desire for territorial acquisition and expansion was born. Since the middle of the 16th century, the hitherto dominant Christian kingdom was forced to retreat far north. They were totally detached from the southern states and principalities. This happened mainly because of the long Muslim-Christian conflicts and the pressure exerted on them by population movements. After their departure from the center, they began to develop new cultures and established their permanent capital at Gondar. Eventually, it became difficult for the northerners to control Shäwa, their medieval political center, let alone the southern non-Amhara people. Shäwa began to develop its independent political culture and followed the policy of expansion to the neighboring Tulama Oromo territories since the time of Sahla Sillassie.[9]

In the time of King Sahle Selassie (1813-1847), Shäwa was divided into nine administrative divisions. During this time, it was said to have become center for the refugees coming from Begemidir, Tigray, Gojam and Wollo. Mainly because of population pressure, Shäwa began to look for new land and as a result territorial expansion to the neighboring Oromo territories began. King Sahle Selassie and his son, King Haile Malakot (1847-1855) were able to expand towards the Karayu, Tulama, Mecha, Sodo Gurages, and Lake Ziway areas. After Sahla Selassie conquered the northern Gurage (*Kistane* or the Sodo), he began to call himself as 'King of Shäwa and the Gurage'. Kofi Darkwah writes:

[8]Informants: Ayala Lombebo, Beyoro Erduno and Asäfa Bunte.

[9] Bahru Zawde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991,* Second Edition, Addis Abäba, Addis Abäba University Press, 2002, p. 61.

Sahla Selassie had initiated the expansion of Shäwa towards the southerly and south westerly provinces and had made considerable conquests in those areas. His motives had been imperial, religious and economic. Menilek had all these motives, but the imperial and economic ones appeal to have been dominant. This is not to imply that the religious motives faded out of his considerations.[10]

Sahla Selassie, however, appeared to have given much attention for the political and economic issues than religion. His political and economic motives were by no means equivalent with the religious ones. Conversely, the approach that Menilek had followed in religious spheres was stronger than Sahlasilassie's or Hailamalakot's deliberations. Where ever the former went to new areas, the arch and priests usually followed him. After annexation, forceful conversion of the autochthonous population to Orthodox Christianity and planting of new Christian churches were the norm of the time.[11] In the face of such an endeavor, it is difficult to say that Menilek's religious deliberation was less than the one followed by Haila Malakot and Sahla Selassie.

It is hard to know, according to Tasfaye Habiso, Emperor Tewodros's expansionist motives towards the areas south of Shäwa. The expansion of Tewodros to Shäwa was said to have deterred, at least for the time being, the later's expansionist endeavors.[12] Warnar Munzinger, quoted by Braukamper notes, "… with intensified strength, exerting a destructive effect on the people in the south, the policy of expansion (Sahla Sellassie's and Haila Malakot's) was pursued by Emperor Tewodros II."[13] Warnar Munzinger also writes, "The war with the Muslim Oromo, which was conducted with great persistence, made southern Abyssinia, where previously milk

[10] Kofi Darkwah, *Shäwa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire, 1813-1889*, London: Heinemann, 1975, pp. 95-96.

[11] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.

[12] ተስፋዬ ሀቢሶ፣ ገጽ፣ 224.

[13] Ulrich Braukamper, p. 254.

and honey flowed and an ox-load of wheat cost only a franc, into a desert, and completely dislocated trade."[14] We see both Braukamper and Warnar Munzinger considering Tewodros's Wollo and Showa expansion as southward expansion. It is possible to infer that the expedition that Tewodros had undertaken was not towards the non-Amhara areas; rather it was directed against Wollo and Showa. Attempt had not been made by the northern Amhara (Gondarian) to conquer the non-Amhara territories of the south, southwest and the southeast.[15]

From among the Shäwan rulers, it was Menilek who was able to intensify the southward expansion. Menilek, with the strong patronage and support of Workit of the Southern Wollo, escaped from Makdala royal prison and took the Shäwan throne in 1865.

In 1878, he submitted to the over lordship of Emperor Yohannes IV, and in turn he was confirmed over the kingship of Shäwa and Wollo. It was after these major events that Menilek began to follow the policy of expansion towards the south, southwest and southeast which was already started by his predecessors.

To fulfill his and his predecessors' mission of imposing Shäwan rule over the present day Ethiopian peoples, and also to contest the Tigrian power, Menilek began the process of strengthening his emerging kingdom economically and militarily.

He managed to pursue the policy of establishing secret alliances with Italians and other European powers that was aimed to get firearms and administrative advisors. In relation to this, Asäfa Jalata pointed out that Christian ideology, geo-politics and the process of class differentiation and state formation in Ethiopian proper allowed the Amhara-Tigrian rulers to seek and establish

[14]*Ibid.*
[15]*Ibid.*

alliance with European colonial powers and 'colonizes' the Oromo and other peoples in order to exploit their economic and human resources.[16]

It is true that, European imperialism had helped Menilek to bring the Oromos and the various independent chiefdoms of the south like the Sidama, Afar, Kafa, Hadiya, Wolayta, Konso, Somali and others under his subjugation.

The approach that the medieval ancestors of Menilek followed was more like a federal approach in its traditional form. This was largely because, after their victories over the rulers of the south and the southeast, the medieval Christian kings managed to assign a local chief as a supreme ruler of his land which was partially free from intervention from the Christian kingdom. They were even reluctant to create garrison stations in the newly conquered areas. Their conquests were not followed by subjugation and exploitation of the local people. They were not seen bringing the *Gäbbar* system to the south. The absence of modern war materials like the one employed by Menilek could be taken as major reason for the failure of the medieval Christian kings to bring the *Gäbbar* system to the south. It was hard for them to control the region for long, let alone applying the *Gäbbar* system and other forms of subjugation on the invaded people. Things under their capacity at the time were: dominating the trade routes that run from the southwest to Zeila and Massawa, and also to Matama and collecting annual tributes from the conquered regions in the face of great resistances.[17]

Emperor Menilek's administrative approach towards the south, the southeast and the southwest was much harsher than the one followed by his medieval ancestors. Unlike the medieval rulers,

[16] Asäfa Jalata, *Oromia and Ethiopia, State Formation and Ethno-National Conflict, 1868-2004*, Boulder and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1993, p. 1

[17] Informants: Aboche Takiso and Asäfa Bunte.

the Shäwan conquest was followed by incorporation and oppression. During the Shäwan rule in the south, the local people were given to the Shäwan administrators, the *Näfṭägna, Mälkägna*, the local appointees (the *Balabats*, *Sanga Qoros*, the *Ċhiḳashums* and the *Wana*) to be 'eaten'[18] and subjugate.[19]

It could be said that the process of firearm collection and the southward expansion had direct relationship. Menilek pursued southward expansion mainly to strengthen his economic capacity so that he would be able to purchase a large number of modern war armaments. Such an endeavor believed to have helped him to take the imperial power from Tigrians. In this regard, Menilek's intention initially was not primarily directed to secure his rule over the southern provinces; rather he came to the south for economic exploitation and so he would be able to strengthen his military power; that in turn helped him to rule over the *Mehal Hager* or the center. His initial intention was to secure his over lordship over the *Mehal Hager* (the north) by depending on the economic resources that would be collected through plunders and exploitations of the *Dar Hager* (the periphery).[20]

Finally, the south, the southwest and the southeast were conquered by emperor Menilek thanks to the arms and ammunitions which were collected from Europeans particularly the French and Italians.[21] In line with this, Perham argues that the ease with which this great extension of the empire was made after the boundaries of Shäwa had been halted for many centuries is explained

[18] The term 'eat' indicates the intentions of Menilekean warlords to exploit the newly incorporated areas.

[19] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Anshiso Awilo

[20] Informants: Birhanu Yakob, Tamire Danano, Asäfa Bunte, Haji Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[21] *Ibid., p.47.*

by the superiority over the spear and arrow of the new firearms which the emperor was obtaining in large quantities from France and Italy.[22]

It is said that both Menilek's Shäwa and his empire were a product of European imperialism and the fire arms. "The strongest derive for feudal centralization; expansion, annexation and administration of territories came from Shäwa, and was activated and nurtured by European imperialism. The kingdom had acquired access to the growing traffic in arms and ammunitions, especially after 1870s."[23] Lapiso says the advent of European colonialism strengthened, expanded and kept alive Ethiopian feudalism that Tewodros had tried and failed to destroy in the 1850s and 60s.[24] Father Lorenzo, Guglielmo Massaja, Pierre Arnoux, Count Pietro Antonelli, and Alfred Ilg were agents of European imperialism in Ethiopia. Similarly, Kofi Darkwah writes that the influx of Europeans closely affected Shäwa's relations with the northern princes, as well as his expansion.[25] He says the influx of various European nationals into Shäwa during Menilek's reign had important effects on the final stages of the rise of the kingdom. According to him, Menilek was eager to employ any European willing to work for him on any aspects of development.[26] Accordingly, he brought Pottier (French man), Pino (also French), Alfred Ilg and Zemmerman (Swiss engineers) that was aimed to advance the military service and enhance the road and bridge buildings. In relation to the import of firearms and European personnel, Richard Punkhurst says that in 1876 Menilek used a French man called Pottier to train his troops and to

[22] Margery M. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, Second Edition, London, Faber and Faber, 1969, pp. 293-294.

[23] Tasama Ta'a, "The Political Economy…," p. 121.

[24]Lapiso G. Dilebo, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia, 1865-1916: National Unification or Amhara Communal Domination," PHD Dissertation on History, Howard University Domination, 1974, p.49

[25]Darkwah, p. 57.

[26] Darkwah, p. 58.

fight against rebels and he also received another French man called M. Joubert to erect gun powder factory near his capital, Ankober.[27]

Ilg succeeded to build important bridge on the Awash river that would help Menilek to conquer the southern provinces which also included the Hadiya. It was Antonelli who was able to create Italo- Shäwan relationship. He convinced Menilek that friendly relationship with the Italians would benefit him than other European countries, especially with the supply of fire arms. In 1887, he succeeded to make an agreement with Menilek II against Yohannes IV who was in a war tension with the Italians in Eritrea.[28]

As indicated above, Menilek was well aware of the advantage of approaching Europeans and other nations which were much better in military technology than the Shäwans. Menilek, unlike Tewodros, approached them not mainly to bring those technicians who could establish centers to produce firearms in Ethiopia; rather his relationship was limited to importing war materials. Darkwah says, "… very early in his reign, Menilek realized the immense value which European firearms would be to him. Menilek was, however, frustrated by the British, who feared that arming Menilek would complicate their involvement with Tewodros, made representation to the French officials in Paris and at Aden."[29] From Darkwah's statement, it is possible to understand that the British were reluctant to help Menilek. In relation to this, Markakis notes, "Britain, the most ambitious colonizer, placed Ethiopia under an arms embargo to keep it weak and pliable. France and Italy, however, thwarted British plans, allowing Menilek to obtain a sizeable arsenal

[27] Richard Punkhurst, "Menilek and the Utilization of Foreign Skill in Ethiopia," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1967, p. 30.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Darkwah., p. 58

from both."[30] This is to mean that the bulk of firearms were imported to the kingdom, Shäwa, from French and Italians. British policy of preventing Menilek from getting modern war materials had failed because of the French, Italian and also the Russian Tzar friendly approach towards the later.

Regarding the means of exchange, Darkwah writes:

> *… Menilek paid for those fire arms partly in thalers and mainly with local products: coffee, ivory, gold, civet gum etc… There is thus a direct connection between the influx of firearms in Shäwa and the pace of the conquest. On the one hand, the more firearms that were obtained the greater was the need for ivory, gold etc. to pay for them, and the greater this need became the more the campaigns were intensified and pushed further a field towards the very source of these products.*[31]

Menilek is said to have conspired on Emperor Yohannes in the war that the later engaged against the Egyptians. In the modern sense, it can be said that what Menilek did was treason against his suzerain. Menilek made an agreement with Egyptians to come to their side in times of war with Yohannes and received some firearms from them. He could not, however, come practically to the Egyptian side in the wars that were undertaken in 1875 and 1876 at Gundat and Gura respectively. In this case Menilek betrayed both Yohannes and the Egyptians. It is said that in 1875 Menilek got some 500 rifles and one canon from Egyptian ruler, Khedive Ismael Pasha that was aimed to join the Egyptians in the war against Yohannes IV. By the end of 1870s Menilek had acquired some 4000 firearms from Egyptians, French and Italians. In the years between 1882 and 1883 Menilek got about 8000 muskets and rifles.[32]

From the history of his foreign policy, it is possible to say that Menilek gave priority for the independence of his kingdom, Shäwa, and then to pursue the policy of expansion both to the

[30] John Markakis, *Ethiopia: the Last Two Frontiers*, East African Series, James Currey Ltd, UK, 2011, p. 92.
[31] Darkwah, p. 96.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 96-98.

north and the south. "… In his dealings with the Europeans, Menilek's foremost interest was to safeguard the independence of the kingdom over which he ruled. As he saw it, the only way by which he could achieve this was to build up Shäwa's military strength to a position strong enough to resist successfully and if possible, conquer, his neighbors, including the northern provinces of the empire."[33]

Considerable quantity of firearms began to flow to Menilek's kingdom with the arrival to Shäwa of the two European arms dealers: Soliellet and Antonelli in 1882 and 1883. Soliellet supplied Menilek with 400 and Antonelli with 500 firearms. In the years between 1885 and 1886, Menilek bought from French traders 48,800 rifles, 3000 muskets and 24 guns. In 1886, Menilek also received from Italians 4000 rifles. In 1887, Menilek conquered Harar and confiscated 6 canons and 600 rifles and a huge numbers of cartridges. In the same year the king also received 8000 Remington rifles from French arms dealers. In 1888, it is said that the Italian Prime Minister, Crispi, sent for Menilek some 1000 rifles. In the years between 1888 and 1889, Menilek was able to receive more than 100,000 rifles from both French and Italian sources. In 1891, Menilek got 80,000 and 60,000 rifles from Tzar Nicholas II and French sources respectively. From the battle of Adäwa, Menilek managed to collect considerable number of firearms. The supply of firearms and cartridges continued to enter into Menilek's court with huge amount. In the late 1880s, Menilek was able to import large amount of firearms that was mainly aimed to take the imperial power from Emperor Yohanness. The amount of modern war materials in 1896, 1903 and 1935, according to Lapiso, was 112000, 600000 and 60000 respectively.[34] In 1903 the importation of fire arms reached its apogee. Of the 600,000 modern armaments, almost half of them were possessed by the provincial governors.

[33] *Ibid*, p. 58

[34]Lapiso, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia…," pp. 61-62

In 1935, however, because of arms limitation imposed on Ethiopia, the amounts of arms importation to the Ethiopian land were highly reduced. Huge arms importation continued to exist till 1906. This was the time when the tripartite powers agreed to limit the importation of firearms to Ethiopia. Depending on such huge armament, Menilek succeeded to defeat the southern Ethiopian people one after the other. The southern Ethiopian peoples had no alternatives, except facing the modern armament with their traditional war materials like spears, bows, knife, shields and the like.

It was in the early 1870s that Gobana Dache (the ardent supporter of Menilek) and other Shäwan nobilities began to expand their territories to the south and south western Ethiopia. Each Shäwan war lord was able to organize his respective regiment which was planned to materialize their grand mission.[35] Emperor Yohannes was busy confronting external enemies like Egyptians, Italians and Mahadists. He could not get time to halt the rapidly growing power of Menilek. As indicated above, while Yohannes was struggling to stop the external powers from encroaching towards the hinterland of Ethiopia, Menilek was creating secret relationships and agreements with Ethiopian enemies like the Egyptians, Italians and French.[36]

Borelli, as quoted by Lapiso, states that there were thirty different Sidama groups in the year that he visited the southern Ethiopia, (1888). He classified them into 4 major divisions. One of the four divisions includes ethnic groups like the Gurage, Hadiya, Maräḳo, Halaba, Kämbata, Danta, and Donga.[37] Soleillet, (quoted by Perham) who wrote his traveller's account in 1886 also

[35] ባህሩ ዘዉዴ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ፣ ከ1847 እስከ 1983፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ፣ 2007 ዓ.ም፣ p. 70.

[36] Lapiso, pp. 61-62.

[37] Lapiso, "Emperor *Menilek*'s Ethiopia…," pp. 95-96

counted fourteen Sidama states including Kafa, before the conquest.[38] Perham on her side tried to divide Ethiopian region into three: the northern highland provinces, the Oromo and the non-Oromo. The non-Oromo, according to her, were further divided into four: the Sidamo-Hamites, the Negro, the Danakil and Somali region. Under the Sidamo-Hamites, she included all the today's southern region including the Hadiya.[39] Kofi Darkwah made an attempt to classify the south, southeast and the southwest as the Oromo and Sidama.[40] Markakis's classification of the Ethiopian people is different from the aforementioned writers. He classifies Ethiopia as center, highland periphery and lowland periphery. The Hadiya and its neighbors are categorized under the highland periphery.[41]

Lapiso argues that the name Sidama was first given to these areas by the Oromos.[42] In the book translated into Amharic, we see Alexander Bulatovich criticizing a traveller who came to Ethiopia and visited the south for merely employing the term 'Sidama' for those southern peoples except the Oromo and the Kafa.[43] He writes, "**ከዚህ በፊት የነበሩት ተመራማሪዎች (ለምሳሌ ማሳያና አንቱአን ዴ አባዴ) በመሀከለኛዉ የኦሞ ወንዝ ዳር የሚኖሩትንና ድሮ እራሳቸዉን የቻሉ የተለያዩ መንግስታት የነበራቸዉን የዳዉሮን፣ የኮንታን፣ የቁጫን፣ የወላይታ፣ የጋሞንና የጎፋን ጎሳዎች ሲዳማ በሚል ጥቅል ስም ይጠሩዋቸዋል።**"[44] It's rough translation reads, "The previous researchers (Masaja and D'Abadie) were seen using collective name, Sidama, for those people who are living along the Omo valley and had their own independent states like Dawro, Konta, Kucha, Wolayta, Gamo and Gofa." Soleillet, nevertheless,

[38] Perham, p. 316
[39] Perham, p. 263
[40] Darkwah, p. 96.
[41] John Markakis, *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers*, James Currey, 2011, p. 45.
[42] Lapiso., "Emperor *Menilek*'s Ethiopia…", p. 93
[43] **አሌክሳንደር ቡላቶቪች፣ ከአጼ ምኒልክ ሰራዊት ጋር፣ (አምባቸዉ ከበደ፣ ተርጓሚ)፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ፣** 2007 **ዓ. ም.፣ ገጽ.** 56.
[44] *Ibid.*

tended to include the Kaffa under the Sidama division. Bulatovich came to the south as part of Menilek's expedition force in 1897.[45]

It is my conviction that Bulatovich was on the right track. The trend of including all the southern peoples which are diversified historically, linguistically and racially under the Sidama stock needs to be reinvestigated through the mirror of historical methodologies. It is also convincing to accept Lapiso's argument. This was largely because of his consideration of the name 'Sidama' not as the name of a single ethnic group, but as an imagined concept. Apart from Lapiso and Bulatovich, the rest authors and travellers mentioned above have some sort of misunderstanding regarding the ethnic composition of the south. Giving such a name for such diversified societies indicates that the authors and travellers were unable to take the diversities into consideration. In the so called 'Sidama' region, there are people that range from deep black to white skinned color, and from the Omotic linguistic group to Cushitic. They have also different historical background.

Particularly in the period between 1875 and 1898, with the help of strong warriors like *Ras* Darge, *Ras* Wolda Giorgis, *Ras* Gobana Dache, *Ras* Makonin, *Dejj*. Wolda Gabriel, *Ras* Wälde Ashagre, *Dejj*. Wadajo Gobana, *Dejj*. Tasama Darge, *Dejj*. Basha Aboye, *Dejj*. Girmame, *Dejj*. Mäshäsha Seifu, *Dejj*. Balcha Safo, *Dejj*. Mangasha, *Fit.* Habta Giorgis, *Fit*. Hailu, *Fit.* Teklu and others, Menilek succeeded to create the modern Ethiopian Empire. Though the formation of the modern Ethiopian state had long history and also contributed by invisible hands, the aforementioned Menilekean warlords and their modern rifles played direct role in bringing the various societies of the present day Ethiopia to the Shäwan subjugation. Regarding the presence of invisible hands in the formation of modern Ethiopian state, Brian Yates states, "… Abyssinia (Ethiopia) is not solely the product of Semitic civilization and the Oromo are a significant part of

[45]*Ibid.*

this state at all level."[46] It is true that in the formation of the modern Ethiopian state, the Oromo and other southern peoples had played significant role, though their contributions wittingly or unwittingly neglected in the modern Ethiopian literatures.[47]

According to Perham, Menilek, as king of Shäwa and later as an emperor, expanded his territories in all directions. She says, in 1875 parts of the Gurage were re-conquered, but it was in 1889 that the whole Gurage was brought to Menilek's empire. In1882, *Ras* Gobena forced the states of the southwest which were previously administered by Kaffa to accept his rule. Most of these states were the Gibe states. These were Jimma, Guma, Limu Enarya, Goma and Gera. They were obliged to submit peacefully to Menilek's emerging empire. As a result, their local rulers were given semi-autonomous status to administer their own people. In the same year the first expedition was sent to the Arsi, but it was unsuccessful. The Arsi people, nevertheless, were defeated and brought to Menilek's empire by Wälde Ashagre in 1886. The war over the Arsi was one of the bloodiest wars that ever undertaken in modern Ethiopian empire. In the same year, *Ras* Gobana was able to force the Wälaga states to submit peacefully. The conquest of Hadiya which was begun in 1890 was completed in 1894.[48]

In the other direction, Menilek expanded to the east and brought Harar to his empire in 1887. It was after the crush of the strong resistance led by Emir Abdulahi and other Oromo at the battle of Ċhällänḳo that Harar came to the Shäwan rule. At the same time, Illu Ababora was conquered and brought to the Shäwan subjugation. In the years between 1886 and 1889, the Säbat Bet Gurage and the Käbena (sometimes named as northern Hadiya) had fought frequent wars against

[46] Brian J. Yates, "Invisible Actors: The Oromo and the Creation of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1913)," PhD Dessertation, University of Illinois, 2009, p. 246.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Lapiso, pp. 78-85.

the invading forces. The well-coordinated forces of the Gurage-Hadiya declared *jihadic* wars and were able to score frequent victories over the conquering armies. Finally, they were defeated and incorporated to the Ethiopian Empire in 1889.[49]

In the same year, Dawro, Yam and Konta were brought to the Shäwan rule. In 1891, the Ogaden, Bali and Sidama were invaded. In 1894, Wolayta, the Badäwacho Hadiya and Gofa were subdued and incorporated. Particularly, the Wolayta and the Badäwacho stubborn resistances gave hardtimes for Menilek and his warlords. The oral tradition in Hadiya says that the Badäwacho warriors were the vanguard force of Tona's army. We know that *Kawo* Tona led the coordinated forces of the Badäwacho and Wolayta against the well armed Shäwans. The Wolayta and Badäwacho were able to leave aside their traditional animosity and were successful in establishing a united front against the invading forces. The war against Wolayta was one of the bloodiest battles which were fought in the process of the formation of modern Ethiopian Empire. In 1896 and 1897 Borana was conquered and brought to Menilek's Empire after their resistance at a place called Mega. It was *Fitawrari* Habta Giorgis that was able to bring Borana to the newly emerging Menilek's empire. In 1897 Benishangul was submitted peacefully to Menilek. In the same year, Kafa was defeated and reduced to tributary status to the northerners. The Kafa leader, *Tato* Gaki Sherocho fought a bloody war against the forces of *Ras* Wolda Giorgis. *Ras* Wolda Giorgis also succeeded in incorporating the vast semi-desert areas that stretched upto Lake Turkana into the Ethiopian Empire.[50] In 1900, Menilek completed his territorial expansion and was able to create a vast empire.

[49] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[50] አሌክሳንደር ቡላቶቪች፣ ከአጼ ምኒልክ ሰራዊት ጋር፣ (አምባቸዉ ከበደ፣ ተርጓሚ)፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ፣ 2007 ዓ. ም፣ ገጽ 263.

Detail discussion on the incorporation and subjugation of the territories apart from the Hadiya is beyond the reach of this paper. Largely because of this, the paper is forced to limit itself to the Hadiya and its surroundings. For it was part of the medieval Hadiya, this research work gives some light for the history of the Ḳäbena struggles against the Shäwan expansion. The Ḳäbena state was said to have established by the Hadiya people. It is also called by some authors as the 'northern Hadiya'.[51] The researcher, however, preferred to call them as 'the Partially-Assimilated' Hadiya.

2.1. The Expansion of the Partially Assimilated Hadiya and the Aborted Restoration of the Hadiya Muslim State.

In the medieval period, particularly before the 16th century, the Hadiya had well organized Islamic state which had collapsed following the long period of wars with the Christian kingdom and the emergence of great population movement. The medieval Muslim state of Hadiya undertook frequent wars against the Christian kingdom which was aimed mainly to defend its economic interests. The Hadiya Muslims had also fought the northerners to protect their religion from the Christians assault.

As indicated above, the Halaba, Sïlti, Maräḳo, Ḳäbena and the other Hadiya peoples who were assimilated by the neighboring ethnic groups were parts of the medieval Muslim state of Hadiya. For some authors like Lapiso, the Gurage people were also part of the medieval Muslim state of Hadiya.[52] He states, "… some writers, nevertheless, tend to classify the Gurage with the Habäsha because of the presence of Semitic linguistic elements in their language. This classification,

[51] አለባቸዉ ኪሚሶና ሳሙኤል ሀንዳሞ፣ የሀዲያ ህዝብ ታሪክ እና ባህል፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ ሰራር አታሚ፣ ሀምሌ 2002 ዓ.ም.፣ p. 69; Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Maskalo Ayano, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Tashale Abara and Abatikun Lamboro.

[52] Lapiso, "Emperor *Menilek*'s Ethiopia…," p. 94.

however, overlooks the historical fact that the Gurage were part of the medieval Hadiya kingdom."[53] The aforementioned peoples developed their own independent historical routes and cultures after the 16th century, but they were clans of the great Hadiya of the medieval period.

Before their disintegration following the 16th century major socio-political developments, the Hadiya were strong enough to resist external challenges that were targeted against their religious, economic and political independence. They were able to develop Islamic brotherhood with the neighboring Muslim peoples and states. They even went to the extent that they managed to establish Islamic educational centers in different parts of their state. They were also succeeded to import Islamic religious teachers to their sultanate. This was planned to strengthen and also expand Islamic ideas to the other peoples of the horn. Such strong Islamic sentiment was discontinued after their disbandment following the 16th century major historical events.[54] The Hadiya clans and peoples who were once under the strong shade of the Hadiya Muslim state were forced to leave their original homeland to different areas in the horn. They also started to develop their own independent historical routes and cultures. After their disintegration, they became easy prey for different cultures and adopted the neighboring peoples' economic systems, languages and other cultural elements.

Following the collapse of the Hadiya Muslim state, Islamic religion began to give way for the revival of *Fändänano*. In the late 19th century, Christianity became the major threat to both Islam and *Fändänano* religion. Christianity, nevertheless, was not strong enough to uproot Islamic religion and cultures from the lives of Hadiya people. The Ḳäbena symbolized or became the microcosm of the revival or renaissance of the medieval Hadiya Islamic state. After abolishing

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Hajji Abadir, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Uliso Tirore.

Umar Bakisa from his power, Hassan seemed to have determined to revive the medieval Muslim state of Hadiya. Though his attempt was partially unsuccessful, he was able to prepare plan to establish strong Islamic state in Ethiopia.[55]

During their settlement in and around the present day Gurage areas, the Ḳäbena Hadiya people were led by more than 25 elected and famous warriors as well as horsemen. Among them, Walga Moche (the father of Hassan Unjämo) was the strongest leader and unifyimg spirit of the Hadiyas who succeeded to establish the Ḳäbena state.[56] It is believed that Walga was the overall commander of the Ḳäbena warriors. Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo states, "**በ19ኛው ክፍለ ዘመን የቀቤናን ህዝብ በአግባቡ አደራጅተዉና ማንነታቸዉን ጠብቀዉ በጥንካሬ የያዙትን አከባቢ ተቆጣጥረዉ እንዲቆዩ ካስቻሉ መሪዎች መካከል ዋልጋ ሞጬ የቀቤና ታዋቂ መሪና የሀሰን ኤንጀሞ አባት በዋናነት ይጠቀሳሉ።።**"[57] The rough translation of this idea is: "Walga Moche, the father of Hassan Unjämo, was one of the 19th century strong leaders who enabled the Ḳäbena Hadiya to keep their identity and stay long in their occupied territories."

The major part of the Hadiya oral tradition claims that the origin of Ḳäbena people was around Halaba areas.[58] This is to mean that it was from Halaba area that the Ḳäbena started their migration to Gurage land. From Halaba, some section of the Hadiya moved to Mugo under the strict guidance of Walga Moche. The Gurage people who were already settled near the area opposed the Hadiya settlement. The later left Mugo to Enamor. After they stayed at Enamor for

[55] Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

[56]Warku Nida, "The Revivalist Movement of Hassan Unjämo," B.A. Thesis, Addis Abäba Univerasity, Department of History, 1984, p. 25; Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo and Hajji Abadir.

[57]**አለባቸዉ ኬሚሶ እና ሳሙኤል ሀንዳሞ፣ ገጽ** 69.

[58] Informants: Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Damise Mänsido, Shifäraw Bifebo and Masqalo Forsido.

some years, they moved to Chaha area; but the Chaha people fought them. Later on, the Hadiya returned to the 'no man's land' around Enemor.[59] Then the Hadiya named their new settlement Walga Ber (named after their strongest leader, Walga Moche).[60]

Following the initial immigrants, other Hadiya people followed suit. At their new settlement, they formed strong community under the leadership of Walga. The Gurage continued to harass the Hadiya. The Ḳäbena Hadiya people were Muslims and had strong tradition of political administration. This was because they were remnants of the Medieval Muslim state of Hadiya. They became rich in cattle but they were occasionally looted by the Gurage and the surrounding Oromo pastoralists. Alongside with conflicts, intermarriages and cultural intermingling was the norm of the time. For example, Walga Moche was married to Enamor woman, and from whom he got a child under the name, Hassan Walga.[61]

Ali Danabo helped the Hadiya to settle in Zanna Bannar, the later Ḳäbena. Because of the disagreement that was created between Ali (strong Muslim adherent and leader) and other Chaha traditional religious followers and their leaders, the former was obliged to leave Chaha to Enamor, where the Hadiya Muslim community made their abode. Ali told Walga his intention to help the Muslim Hadiya to settle in Zanna Bannar. Ali accompanied by Walga persuaded the Aklil, Wolane, Sodo and Mekorkor Gurages to come to his side and help him settling the Hadiya in Zanna Bannar. Having achieved in bringing these Gurages to his side, Ali and Walga settled in Damankuarm and Seba in Zanna Bannar respectively. Following such great event, a large number of Hadiya people mainly from Lemo and Halaba appeared to have migrated to Zanna

[59] Informants: Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir.; Warku, p. 26.

[60] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye and Dagafa Sabir.

[61] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo and Hajji Abadir.

Bannar. Since Ali was a man from Chaha, considerable number of people from Chaha began to move to Zanna Bannar and embraced Islam. Zanna Bannar is important place for the settlers, mainly because the area is surrounded by two rivers: Kareb in the south and southeast and Wabi in the north. The two rivers had strategic importance for the Ḳäbena people. This was mainly because they were using the rivers as defense from the possible attacks coming from the neighboring Gurage clans. After the elapse of some years, the Hadiya renamed their settlement as Ḳäbena. The settlers began to adopt new economic systems like farming and commerce. They founded a renowned market town called Mojar, which was the antecedent of the commercial center of Ḳäbena.[62]

Under the rule of Imam Bakisa and Hussan Walga, after the death of Walga Moche, Islam grew strong in Ḳäbena. One can say that the Muslim state of Ḳäbena was advanced in the times of the three rulers: Walga, Bakisa and Hussan. Bakisa came to Ḳäbena from Chaha. The reason for his coming to Ḳäbena was the treason that he committed against the later. Before Bakisa's expulsion, the Sebat Bet Gurage had a plan to attack Ḳäbena in surprise and destroy it. Their plan to destroy the Ḳäbena was made partly because the Sebat Bet Gurage heard the statelessness of Ḳäbena following the death of Walga. The plan of the Sebat Bet to attack the Ḳäbena was in response for what the later did against the Gurage. Umar Bakisa, however, disclosed the secret operation that the Sebat Bet Gurage planned to undertake against the Ḳäbena. He told all the secrets to Ali Danabo, the spiritual leader of Ḳäbena and the vanguard in the establishment of Hadiya settlement in Zanna Bannar.[63]

[62] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

[63] *Ibid.*

The Säbat Bet Gurage, mainly the Chaha discovered Bakisa's conspiracy and as a result he was forced to leave the Gurage land. Then, Bakisa arranged the destination of his exile to Ḳäbena. He was warmly welcomed by the Ḳäbena people, because Ali had already convinced its inhabitants, the Hadiya.[64] Based on Ali Danabo's recommendation, Bakisa was made ruler of the Ḳäbena people. After coming to Ḳäbena, Umar Bakisa began to attract the different Gurage groups, mainly the Chaha, to Ḳäbena. He was also able to strengthen Islamic religion in Ḳäbena. During his time the renowned Islamic teachers and preachers were brought to Ḳäbena. He brought Islamic teachers and preachers like Sheikh Worako from Ifat and Shaikh Umar Dillo from Afar.[65] Lapiso says, "… the Imam made Hadiya (Ḳäbena) into an important commercial center where gather together merchants, soldiers of fortune, deserters and displaced persons and he built mosques, imported teachers, and made the people to send their sons at the age of six or seven to school in these Mosques."[66]

Ḳäbena had maintained commercial and political relationship with the kingdom of Jimma in the time of Bakisa and Hassan. After taking power in Ḳäbena, Bakisa began to rule his people harshly. Per month everybody in Ḳäbena was expected to pay tribute like a *Ḳuna* of flour, a certain measure of grass and firewood and one *Waket* money.[67] Unwillingness to pay such tribute would lead his subjects to one month imprisonment and a double payment of tribute in the coming month. Such oppression and exploitation was particularly resisted by the Hadiya in

[64] Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.; Warku, p. 32.

[65] **አለባቸዉና ሳሞኤል፣ ገጽ** 70; Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

[66] Lapiso, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia…," p. 99.

[67] Informants: Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Kabada Erguno and Ayala Sumoro

Ḳäbena. As a result, Bakisa began to follow discriminatory approach towards the Hadiya than the Gurage. It is said that Bakisa threatened highly the Hadiya in every socio-economic arenas.

In 1875 Imam Bakisa submitted peacefully to Menilek's administration and agreed to pay annual tribute. This is to mean that the Muslim state of Hadiya agreed to send tribute to the Christian ruler at the end of each year. Concerning Imam Bakisa's submission, Tesfaye states,

> **በወቅቱ የቀቤና መሪ የነበረዉ ኢማም በቅሳ በራሳ ያለምንም ግጭትና ጦርነት ለሚኒሊክ በመገበሩ የደጃዝማች ማዕረግ ተሰጥቶት በየአመቱ መጠኑ በዉል ተለይቶ ያልታወቀ ግብር እየገበረ በእስልምና ሀይማኖቱና በገዥነቱ እንዲቆይ ተፈቀደለት።።**[68]

Its rough English translation reads:

> *At that time the leader of Ḳäbena, Imam Bakisa, agreed to pay annual tribute to Menilek peacefully. Following his submission, he was given the title Däjjazmach and allowed to rule his kingdom. He was permitted to exercise his religion freely. The tribute that Imam Bakisa agreed to pay was not known.*

This was another fuel that ignited the already deep rooted grievances in Ḳäbena. From the aforementioned quote, one can understand that Bakisa received a title, *Däjjazmach* from the Shäwan ruler. In addition, he got the recognition of his autonomy over Ḳäbena and religious tolerance from the king. This created strong feud between Imam Bakisa and his subjects, particularly the Hadiya. In spite of such negative endeavors, Islamic religion had grown highly during his rule. He made Mojar his religious, political and commercial center.[69]

There are a number of reasons for the incorporation of Ḳäbena by Menilek's force. One of the reasons was the long stayed tradition in the northern Ethiopia about the existence of medieval church treasuries on the island of Lake Zway. The second reason was the claim of King Sahile Selassie as 'king of Shäwa and Gurage'. The second insistence in particular led his grandson,

[68]Tesfaye Habiso, p. 229

[69] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

Menilek to consider Gurage land that also included Ḳäbena as part of his kingdom. The existence of big market in Ḳäbena was the third reason that attracted the Shäwans attention. The Muslim market of Ḳäbena was important particularly in slave trade and the dominant one in Gurage. Moreover, other precious items had also been traded in Ḳäbena. The Amhara and Tigrian merchants were said to have participated in the slave market, though the main dealers were the Chaha and Ulbarag.[70] Since they are hardworking people, slaves from Gurage areas were highly demanded in the outside world. Having the upper hand in such market was equivalent to controlling large amount of taxes at the end of each year. The fourth reason was the strategic importance of Ḳäbena in the long distance trade route that runs from the southwest to the southeast. Menilek also considered the area as stepping stone for further expansion towards the south and southwest, as Wollo served Menelik in his northward expansion. Without controlling Ḳäbena and other Gurage land, it would be difficult for the Shäwans to bring the remaining people of Hadiya, Wolayta, Dawro and so on to his growing empire.[71]

As indicated above, Bakisa submitted to Menilek's overlordship and continued to pay tribute until the late 1870s. Hassan, however, disturbed Menilek's tribute exaction from Ḳäbena, and hampered the harmonious relationship that was developed between the two. Contrary to my informants, Braukamper and Tilahun Mishago argue that the tributary relationship between Menilek and the Ḳäbena continued to exist till the early 1880s.[72] Based on pertinent oral accounts, it is possible to say that Hassan was in a state of expansion towards the Gurage land in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Before starting wars of expansion, Hassan was organizing the

[70] Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Amo Mudasir Waraki, Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Darsabo and Anshiso Awilo.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] Ulrich Braukamper and Tilahun Mishago, "Praise and Teasing: Narrative Songs of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia, Frankfurt am Main: Frobenius Institute, 1999, p. 21.

Hadiya community which was aimed to dethrone Bakisa from his power. He was also engaged in coordinating the surrounding Muslim communities for the *jihadic* wars. From the early 1880s, Hassan was working hard to bring all the Säbat Bet Gurage to Islamic religion. Therefore, Hassan after assuming power from Bakisa through coup d'état in about 1879 succeeded to halt the tributary relationship that had existed between the Ḳäbena and the Shäwans.[73]

In the 1876 campaign of Menilek against the Sebat Bet Gurage, Bakisa was showing the way for the former covertly. At first Bakisa was showing ways for Menilek to Gumar. But the former could not help Menilek reach his target. Menelik failed to get the right way and took the direction of Chaha, instead of Gumar. This was mainly because Bakisa was not with him till the final destination. Menilek sent part of his soldiers under Mäshäsha Seifu and other war commanders twice to Gumar, but the coalition forces of Gumer, Chaha and Geyto defeated Menilek's army. Then Menilek himself and the demoralized army of Mäshäsha fought the Gurage for the second time. At this battle Menilek scored some victory over the united Gurage forces. Menilek, instead of chasing the defeated Gurage, preferred to return to Liche. In these battles, it is said that Menilek lost one-third of his army.[74] As a result, the conquest of the Säbat bet Gurage was delayed until the coalition forces of Ḳäbena and the Gurage under Hassan's leadership were defeated in 1889.

The tolerant approach of Menilek towards Islam in Ḳäbena was considered as the main factor for the rise of Hassan Walga. A party began to gather around Hassan under the umbrella of Islam and counted him as their *Mahdi.* The party became a strong backbone for Hassan in his rise to power in Ḳäbena, and also to launch Muslim holy war, *jihad*, against the Christian conquerors.

[73]Informants: Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Amo Mudasir Waraki, Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Aboche Takiso.

[74]Informants: Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga and Emam Aliye; Tasfaye Habiso, p. 230.

Bahru Zawde notes, "…**እንዲያዉም ሀሰን እንጃሞ በተባለ የቀቤና መሪ አዝማችነት ጠንካራ የእስልምና ተሀድሶ ንቅናቄ ምዕራብ ጉራጌን አጥለቅልቆ የሸዋን አገዛዝ ከፍተኛ አደጋ ዉስጥ ጥሎት ነበር።**"[75] "Hassan, the leader of Ḳäbena, succeeded to undertake Islamic reformation movement and such an endeavor flooded the western Gurage and endangered the Shäwan rule in the area."

Hassan was the son of Walga Moche. He is Hadiya on his father's side and Enamor Gurage on the side of his mother. His father, Walga Moche was the one that led the Hadiya to come to Ḳäbena and settled there. The first settlement place for Walga was Enamor, but with the strong diplomatic works of Ali Danabo and Walga himself, they were able to settle in today's Ḳäbena land permanently. The center of Walga in Ḳäbena was Seba. But Imam Bakisa changed his seat to Mojar. Hassan took preliminary Islamic education while he was in Enamor, but after coming to Ḳäbena he was made to attend higher Islamic learning under a Wallani religious man called Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz. He was said to have made intimate religious contacts with his Wallani teacher till 1889. Sheikh Abd-al-Aziz ultimately became the ardent supporter and advisor of Hassan.[76]

As indicated above, Imam Bakisa's rule was exploitive and oppressive. It was also discriminatory toward the Hadiya in particular. He took the kingship position after the death of Walga Moche. Walga was from Hadiya ethnic group and led the Hadiya people from Halaba to Enemor and then to Ḳäbena. In the times of Walga, the Hadiya ethnicity had spent glorious times and enjoyed a lot. But with the coming to power of Imam Bakisa, they began to be considered as second class citizens, next to Chaha Gurage and suffered a lot. Bakisa became hostile to the

[75] **ባህሩ ዘዉዴ፣ ገጽ** 67.

[76] Informants: Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Amo Mudasir Waraki, Damise Mänsido, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Bäkälä Petros and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Hadiya and gave Chaha Gurage greater opportunity in the government and work. Moreover, Bakisa was said to have undermined Hassan's power and tended to take whatever measure without the knowledge of the later. Bakisa ruled Ḳäbena for 33 solid years. In this period Hassen was believed to have served him as interpreter, since the later was alien to the Hadiya and their language. It is said that Hassan did his best to persuade Bakisa not to harm the Hadiya (his kins men) and give opportunity as the later did to the Chaha. Such contemptuous treatment grieved the Hadiya and they were waiting for an opportune time to rebel and dethrone Bakisa.[77]

The Hadiya also resented the subservient position of their state to the Christian king, Menilek. The Hadiya had long established tradition of Islam, and they preferred to see the adulteration of their religion on their graves. Then they, under their leader Hassan, decided to overthrow Menilek's puppet, Bakisa. Externally, Hassan was supported by the Walani Islamic chiefdom. This was because Hussan was said to have taken his religious education under Sheikh Abdel Aziz. He was also supported by the Muslim Wollo immigrants who came to Ḳäbena under the leadership of Sheikh Ziyin. These immigrants were behind the strong determination of Hassan's *jihadist* endeavor against Menilek and his puppet, Imam Bakisa. Hassan was also supported by *Abba* Jiffar of Jimma in his attempt of expanding Islamic education in Ḳäbena.[78] The later also gave Hassan religious instructors, both indigenous and foreign. He also gave Hassan gifts in slave and money (Maria Theresa Taller) before the later's rise to power in Ḳäbena. Hassan is also believed to have received moral support from Mahadist Sudan. His descent from the royal family (as son of Walga Moche), administrative experiences that he developed as spokesman of

[77] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Tumsido Anebo, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

[78]Lapiso, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia…" p.99; Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki,

Imam Bakisa and from his father too, his strong fighting potentials and also his kind and generous behavior all contributed to his rise to power in Käbena.

According to informants, Hassan had a number of objectives as a leader of a community of his own and as one that was backed by external factors. His first objective was eliminating the hurdle that stood on his path, Umar Bakisa. The other major objective was the need for establishing a strong Muslim empire and wanted to be the head of such empire. He had a vision of expanding Islamic religion to non-Muslim areas. Mainly influenced by the Mahadist Sudan and Wollo fundamentalists, Hassan was also wanted to purify Islam from adulteration that was believed to have been undertaken during the rule of Umar Bakisa.[79] It is also said that, largely because of his victories over the neighboring Säbat Bet Gurage, the Muslims of Ḳäbena respected Hassan as a man of divine origin, and also they were persuaded that he was a *Mahdi.*

In the late 1870s, Hassan organized the Hadiya community for revolt in Seba (his father's capital) and marched to Mojar which was aimed to end the long stayed Bakisa's rule. When Hassan arrived at Mojar, according to Worku Nida, Bakisa and his companions had already left their center and their rule to Aklil.[80] But there are sources which argue that Bakisa fought Hassan before his departure from Mojar.[81] It is difficult to believe that Imam Bakisa left his power without resistance. What ever the case was, Hassan destroyed the properties of both Bakisa and his companions. The inhabitants of Mojar enthusiastically welcomed Hassan and his Hadiya

[79]Worku Nida, pp. 48-49; Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

[80]Warku Nida, p. 53; Informants: Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye and Dagafa Sabir.

[81]አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ገጽ 71-72, Informants: Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye and Dagafa Sabir.

entourages. Then, after distroying the properties of his antagonists, Hassan returned to Seba, and made it his center.[82]

In Aklil, Bakisa was able to gather the Gurage around him and inspired them to fight Hassan. Many of the Gurage came to his side. Mainly because of the existence of Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz, however, the majority of the Walane refused to back Bakisa, as the former was the teacher and religious advisor of Hassan. In the meantime, Hassan made himself busy organizing and preparing his troops to defend his power and people in Ḳäbena. The Hadiya in particular were determined to fight their former oppressor, Umar Bakisa.[83] The two parties met at the battle of Mojar in about 1879, where the war continued for three days. At this battle Hassan got decisive victory over Umar Bakisa. This was the end of Bakisa's plan of reinstating himself and at the same time it was the first important victory for Hassan Walga Moche.

The name 'Unjämo' was the name of his horse, and has meaning in Hadiya language. 'Hassan', was given to him by his Hadiya family. It is said that some of his Muslim companions used to call him as 'Seid Hassan'. Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo states, "**ሀሰንና ኤንጃሞ ሁለቱም የአንድ ግለሰብ የተለያዩ ስሞች ሲሆኑ ሀሰን የእስልምና ሀይማኖት ስም ሲሆን ኤንጃሞ ደግሞ ቤተሰብ ያወጣለት ስም ነዉ። በእስልምና ስሙ ሀሰን ኤንጃሞ 'ሰይድ ሀሰን' ተብሎ ይጠራል።**"[84] Its rough translation reads, "Unjämo was not the name of Hassan's father. Hassan and Unjämo are the name of a single person. The name Hassan was an Islamic name given to him by his fellow Muslims, while his family gave him Hadiya name, Unjämo. His full Islamic name was Seid Hassan. The Muslims know him by this name." Based on pertinent oral

[82] *Ibid.,* p. 69.

[83] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye and Dagafa Sabir.

[84] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 71.

sources, I argue that Hassen was the name given to him by his familes, where as Unjämo was the name given to his horse. It is apparent that, in due course of time, his father's name was rejected and substituted by his horse name. This is to mean that, the name Walga (the father of Hassan) was replaced by Unjämo or other Islamic name.

After the battle of Mojar, as expected, Hassan's confidence increased while Bakisa, after his defeat, went to Menilek's court planning to receive arms and soldiers to avenge his defeat. According to oral informants, the later was not in a position to agree with the proposition of the former. Following Menilek's disapproval of his demands, Bakisa returned to Chaha with great frustration.[85]

According to Lapiso, Hassan appeared to have forced all the Säbat bet Gurage and the neighboring Arsi Oromos to embrace Islam.[86] He succeeded to bring all the Säbat bet Gurage (except the Wolani) to Islam, albeit the majority returned to their former religion after his defeat in 1889. The Hadiya were strong adherents of Islamic religion before the coming to power of Hassan Walga.[87]

Tradition says the ideas and influences of the Mahadists had infiltrated into Ḳäbena in two directions: the first one was through Wollaga and Jimma, and the second one was through Wollo. The idea of the Mahadists came to Ḳäbena with the help of Islamic fundamentalists. In the former direction, it is believed that Hassan had directly interacted with a Mahadist official, a certain Seid Ahmad Tayib through the strong service of Mohammad Tahera. As mentioned earlier, Hassan was in regular contact with Walani religious figure, Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz. The

[85] Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Aboche Takiso, Damise Mänsido, Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Gabramichael Wachämo and Abatikun Lamboro.

[86] Lapiso, p. 99.

[87] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo, Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir and Hajji Abdullahi Nuga.

later advised Hassan to declare *jihad* against "the non-believers" and conduct *hijira*, as per the rule of Prophet Mohammad. Then Hassan, Sheikh Zeyin (the leader of Wollo refuges), Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz, and his followers made *hijira* to a hilly side called Garbaja (in Ḳäbena). The *hijira* was undertaken from Seba to Garbaja.[88] Seba became Madina, and Garbaja became the Macca of Hassan Walga.

After their arrival, many Muslims from different parts of the Gurage, Sïlti, Hadiya and other places flocked to Garbaja. Such event ultimately boosted the power of the *Jihadists*. The sub-commanders of the *jihadist* forces under Hassan were: Umar Bakisa from Chaha, Hassan Mane from Aboshe clan, Saliya Namcha from Safato clan, Muktar Jalishe from Safato clan, Eso Fandino from Safato clan, Sulamo Bule from Toro Bora clan, Kabiso Habibo from Dula clan and Jafaro Bamado from Toro Bora clan. Hassan was the overall commander of the *jihadist* forces.[89] Hassan attacked first the Christian garrison which was already established in Ḳäbena under the command of *Ḳagnazmach Wube Argano*. Defeated by Hassan, Wube was forced to leave Ḳäbena to Shäwa. Hassan's second target was the neighboring peoples of the Oromo: Amaya, Nadare and Woliso, and also the Sodo Gurage. Hassan also attacked the Shäwan garrisons in these areas and was able to Islamize the surrounding Oromo people. He was able to bring Sïlti, Wulbarag, Wuriro, Amaya, Nadare and the neighboring Oromos to his side. *Azmach* Ormira from Sïlti and Banti from Amaya Oromo were active participants of the *jihadic* war against the Christians.[90]

[88]Informant: Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Amo Mudasir Waraki, Shifäraw Bifebo and Hailu Kintamo.

[89] Tesfaye Habiso, p. 231: Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye.

[90] Informants: Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Amo Mudasir Waraki, Aboche Takiso, Damise Mänsido, Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Gabramichael Wachämo and Abatikun Lamboro.

Menilek was said to have sent a letter asking Hassan for submission. Following the refusal of the later, Menilek is reported to have sent about 3000 Shäwan troops under the leadership of *Basha* Habta-Sellassie. Habta Sellassie was made to settle at Damakash, about 12 hours journey from Garbaja. Once again Menilek dispatched a letter seeking the submission of Hassan, and in return he would be awarded with a title *Ras* and rule a vast area south of Awash, including the modern Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* areas. With the strong religious advice of the Walani Sheikh, however, Hassan refused to accept the demands of Menilek. According to informants, Hassan replied, "I am not in need of your promotion; rather I have the capability to have the crown."[91]

After such conversation, the battle of Wutin (sometimes named Yamutign or **የመ·ጢኝ**) followed. This battle was undertaken between the army of Hassan and Habte Sellassie in 1882. For about half a day the two forces undertook bitter fight, but the victory went to the side of the Muslims.[92] This was an important victory for Hassan, because it was his first major encounter over the Shäwan forces. The victory boosted the moral of the *jihadists.* Hassan was able to collect a large number of war materials and other forms of booty from the defeated Shäwan army. Menilek had to fight the armies of *jihadists* frequently till 1889. Hassan is believed to have sent a messenger to the court of *Abba* Jifar of Jimma for help. But the response of the later was discouraging for *jihadists* like Hassan who wanted to gather all Islamic elements for the sake of the expansion of Islamic religion. Oral tradition in Ḳäbena says *Abba* Jifar was not in a position to keep his earlier promises and replied to Hassan saying, 'I am not a soldier of *Jihad'*. Despite such discouraging

[91]Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, *Hajji* Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Taräkägn Suldolo and Girma Lonsako.

[92]**ወንድ·መ·ና ጌዲዮን**, p. 273; Informants: Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye and Dagafa Sabir.

responses, Hassan continued his *jihadic* war against what he called the Christian "infidels" as well as the neighboring traditional religious followers.[93]

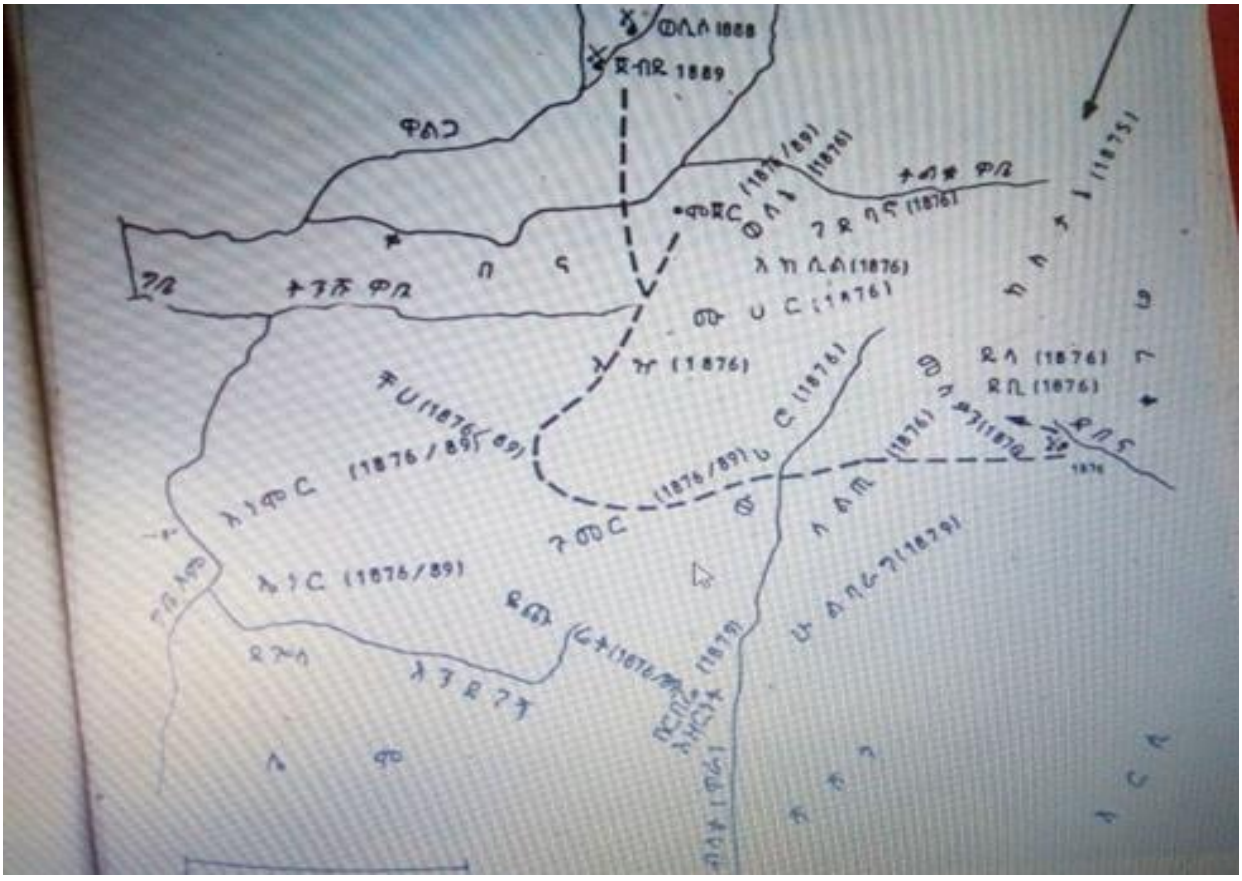

Figure 2: A map that shows the location of the Säbat Bet Gurage, the Käbena and the neighboring Hadiya clans.[94]

After controlling the nearby Oromo clans and converting them to Islam, Hassan dispatched letters to the leaders of Säbat Bet Gurage to embrace Islam and to force their subjects to do the same. Except the chief of Muher, the remaining rulers of the Säbat Bet accepted the demand. In spite of their willingness to embrace Islam, Hassan made frequent campaign against them so that

[93]Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye and Dagafa Sabir.
[94] Tasfaye, p. 229.

he would check whether they embraced Islam practically or not.[95] His first campaign was undertaken against Makorkor. He entered there without resistance. He destroyed the churches and centers of traditional religions in Makorkor. He then moved to Aklil, and like the Makorkor, Hassan would not face resistance. The churches and traditional idols faced the same fates. The people of Aklil, willingly or unwillingly, embraced Islam. But their leader, Fankir Obate (a Christian) had already gone to Muher to join Agaz Shabata Sorgano (king of Muher). The *jihadists* set to fire the properties of Fankir Obate and his followers. In the meantime, nevertheless, Umar Bakisa came to Aklil with his Muslim companions and submitted to Hassan. The coming of the former to the side of Hassan not only boosted the *jihadist* army, but also the army began to be led by two leaders.

Bakisa's submission is an important step for Hassan, largely because Bakisa had his own army and such an event led Hassan to consider himself as 'God chosen' leader of the movement and further raised his confidence. Then, the two forces marched to Ezha in different directions and destroyed the altars of traditional religions. There were no churches in Ezha to be destroyed by the *Jihadists*. This was because the area was devoid of Christians. Then the two *jihadist* forces moved to Chaha and controlled their land without resistance. The people embraced Islam willingly or unwillingly. The Muslims burnt the altars of traditional religions to the ground. Then the *jihadists* moved to Enamor and converted the people and their leader. As usual they destroyed the traditional religious centers.[96]

In the time when the two *jihadist* forces were about to march to Endegagn, the later's leader came to Enamor and asked Hassan not to march to his land. He said that he was ready to

[95] Informants: Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Abinat Mandido, Tasama Kalbore and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[96] Informants: Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Amo Mudasir Waraki, Haile Ergano and Erbalo Agago.

embrace Islam and force his people to do the same. Hassan and Bakisa agreed with the proposition of Endägagn ruler and changed their direction to Geyto.[97] The leader and inhabitants of Geyto were forced to receive Islam. The *jihadists* destroyed their traditional religious centers. While Hassan and Bakisa were at Geyto, Muslims from Inakor, Wuriro, Sïlti, Wulbarag and others from neighboring areas came and warmly welcomed the *jihadists*. Then the *jihadists* moved to Gumar, and like the other parts of the Säbat Bet Gurage, the people of Gumar accepted Islam with the exception of some of their leaders.

Unlike the other parts of the Sebat Bet Gurage, Hassan faced stubborn resistance in Muher. The people of Muher were devoted Christians and had good war experiences. Hassan undertook a campaign against Muher after he secured the submission of other Gurages of the Sebat Bet. The leader of Muher, Agazh Shabata, and its people were determined to fight the Muslims. Refugees like Fankir Obate of Aklil and *Ḳägnazmach* Agebo of Gumar participated in the war on the side of Muher. As expected, the morally boosted and numerical superior army of Hassan defeated Muher at the battle of Aechana and chased them to the far distant areas.[98] The aforementioned leaders of Muher escaped to Shäwa to report the issue to King Menilek. The other branch of the Christian Muher, who was headed by Agazh Aemado, fought against the *jihadists* in the area of Kolla Muher. The leader of the *jihadists* was Salia Lamacha. As usual the Muslims scored victory over the Christians and the two fronts of the Christian Gurage resistance were crushed. Then the *jihadists* destroyed Muher and killed many of its people. The people in Muher were forced to embrace Islamic religion. Many of them, nevertheless, returned to Christianity after the

[97] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

[98] Informants: Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Amo Mudasir Waraki, Shifäraw Bifebo and Bäkälä Lämädo.

fall of Hassan Walga in 1889. The *jihadists* (Hadiya and Gurage coalition) left their prior animosity and united under one umbrella, Islam.[99]

Figure 3: A sword of Hassan Unjämo.[100]

[99]Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Damise Mänsido, Abinat Mandido, Täsäma Kalbore, Shifäraw Bifebo Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

From the aforementioned historical record, it is possible to conclude that the expansion of Islamic religion in Gurage area was attributed to the Muslim state of Ḳäbena. Before the coming of the Hadiya people and their state formation in Ḳäbena, Islamic religion was limited to some individuals and very small places in Gurage, like the Walani. The credit for conversion and existence of a large number of Muslims in today's Gurage land should go to the Hadiya of Ḳäbena, whose leader, Hassana Walga played a leading role. Before the *jihadic* movement of the Ḳäbena, many of the Gurage people were either adherents of indigenous religion or Orthodox Christianity.

After invading and controlling all the Säbat Bet Gurage, Hassan fought *Dejazmatch* Wälde Ashagre (the governor of Sodo or 'Kistane' Gurage) in 1886. Prior to this, however, the Shäwan army under the leadership of *Ḳägnazmach* Wube Argano and Habta Selassie confronted Hassan at different times. In such confrontations, Wube and Habta Selassie were defeated. Wälde Ashagre also faced the same fate as Wube and Habta Selassie. He was defeated and his brother was killed at the war front. In 1887, the Hadiya-Gurage coalition was extended to include the Arsi in their *jihadic* campaign against the Christian force. Then, the name could be changed to Hadiya-Gurage-Arsi coalition force.[101] Before a year, it is known that, the Arsi were defeated by the Christian army commanded by *Ras* Darge after strong resistance and considerable bloodshed. But now the Arsi formed a coalition with the Hadiya and the Gurage and stood against Menilek's army for revenge.[102]

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[100] ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 274.

[101] Informants: Abäbä Kemiso, Fitebo Ersumo, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

[102] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Lolamo Detamo, Lamboro Shomoro and Abaye Side.

In 1888, Menilek sent once again a huge force under the leadership of Wälde Ashagre against the jihadists. After his arrival in Gurage, Wälde sent about 3000 troops under the leadership of *Däjjazmach* Garadaw and *Basha* Wochiso to fight the *jihadists*. The two forces met at the battle of Williko in Walani in the same year. At this battle, the united *jihadist* force scored astounding victory over the Showans. The defeated and demoralized army of the Christians retreated to the base of *Däjjazmach* Wälde. Hassan and Bakisa chased the defeated northern army till their base and encircled them. At night the Muslims made a surprise attack and undertook summary execution against the Christians.[103] Then Hassan and Bakisa returned to Garbaja, their *hijira* center.

While *Däjjazmach* Wälde with his remaining forces was running to Shäwa, he met with other Christian force which was headed by the commander-in-chief of the Shäwan army, *Ras* Gobana Dachi. According to Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo, *Fitawrari* Habta Giorgis was also took part in the campaign against the jihadists, though the overall commandment was left to Gobana Dache. Wälde decided to return to Ḳäbena with the forces of Gobana. After camping at Kille in Walliso, Gobana was said to have sent a messenger to Hassan for peaceful submission. As usual Hassan was not ready to submit peacefully and he was in favor of war.[104] Oral informants in Ḳäbena say that the messenger of Gobena was killed by Hassan. This led Gobena to give up the peaceful solution and determined to vanquish the *jihadists*. Then war started between the Muslim coalition forces and the well-armed forces of Gobana and Wälde at the battle of Jabdu Meda in 1889. At this battle, it is said that, Agazh Shabata of Muher and others said to have joined the Christian forces against the Muslims. The assignment to carry out the

[103] Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir, Amo Mudasir Waraki, Muktar Hassan, Ali Sundako and Seid Mohammad.

[104] Informants: Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir.

issue of Islamic religious matter on the side of the *jihadists* was left to Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz of Walani and Sheikh Zayini of Wollo. At Jabdu Meda, it was Hassan that began the war. Depending on his prior military experiences and war tactics, Gobana was able to defeat the coalition forces at Jabdu Meda in 1889. This became the end of the *jihadist* war in south-central Ethiopia. At the battle, Gobana's son, Merid was killed. Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz and Zayni also lost their life at the battle. Regarding this Atme Giorgis, quoted by Kibamo Addise, states:

> **ጎበና ወዲያዉ ዘምተዉ ነበረ ወደ ቀቤና፣ በመጋቢት 18/1881 ዓ.ም. ቀቤናን ቸሀን ስልጤን የእስላም ሀገርን ሁሉ አጠፉት፣ መሬቱን እየከፋፈሉ ላማራ ሰጡት፣ ኡመር በክሳን ያዙት፣ እንጃሞ ወደ ጅማ ሸሸ፣ አገሩን ይዘዉ ሰራዊቶን በዚያዉ ሾመዉ አደላድለዉ በሰኔ ወር እንጦጦ ገቡ።**[105]

This is translated into English as:

> *In 1889, Gobana campaigned to Ḳäbena and destroyed Sïlti, Chaha, Ḳäbena and other Islamic countries. The invaded land was distributed to Amhara. While Umar Bakisa was captured, Hassan was able to escape to Jimma. After stabilizing the Ḳäbena country and appointing his men, Gobana returned to Entoto.*

[105]Kibamo Addise, "A Political History of Hadiya People," M.A. Thesis, Addis Abäba University, Department of History, 2007, p. 57.

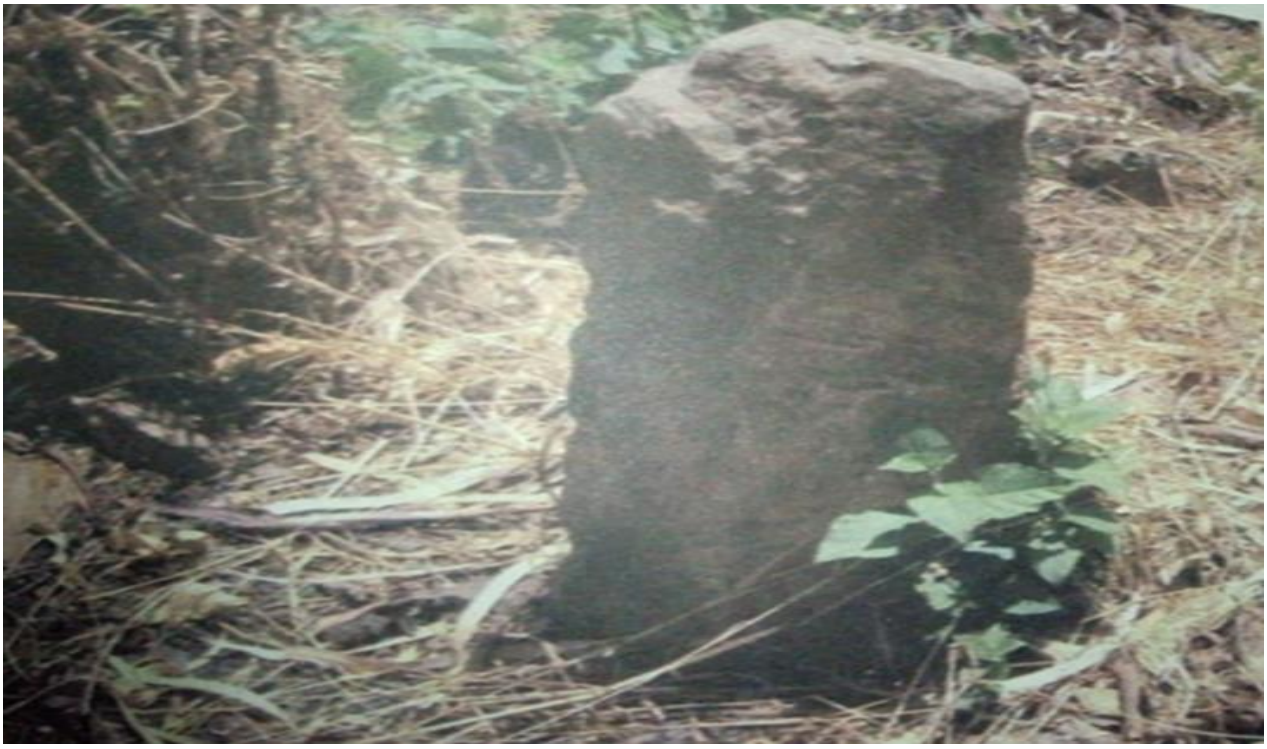

Figure 4: The grave site where Hassan Unjämo was buried.[106]

Unlike the Ḳäbena, Maräḳo resistance was not strong in the face of the numerically and militarily superior armies of the Christian kingdom. Today the Maräḳo people are reorganized under district level in Gurage zone.

There are considerable numbers of sources that tend to draw the Maräḳo people to the Hadiya line. Here, it is possible to say that the Maräḳo are the other Hadiya group living among the Gurage people. They can be considered as the second 'partially assimilated Hadiya', next to the Ḳäbena. But there are sources that connect the Maräḳo people with Hadiya in partial way, not fully.[107]

[106] ወንድሙና ጌድዮን፣ ገጽ 277.
[107] Informants: Balata Shomoro and Kabada Landäbo

The Maräḳo are called by different Ethiopian people in different names. Significant number of people calls them as 'Libido'. Today, however, their official name is Maräḳo. The Wolayta, though they are not neighbor to Maräḳo district and people, used to call their neighboring Hadiya people (particularly the Badäwacho) as Maräḳo.[108] The reason why the Wolayta call the Hadiya people with the name Maräḳo is difficult to know. On the other side, the Maräḳo or Libido people are called by their neighboring Gurage as Hadiya.

Although we don't know the reason why the Hadiya and Maräḳo people have been called by such names interchangeably, one can infer the fact that the two people had travelled the same historical trajectory and above all, they have similar cultural bond. The prevalence of *Fändänano* religion in both Maräḳo and Hadiya in the past, albeit it is on the verge of extinction, is a clear indication of such cultural link. The syncretic nature that had been prevailed between *Fändänano* and Islamic religion in both areas is the other manifestation of their common historical and ethnic line.

There are sources which say that the name Maräḳo is given by other people to Libido; but the indigenous people call themselves as Libido. This is to mean that the people who are living in Maräḳo district prefer the name Libido to Maräḳo.[109] Regarding the origin of the term "Maräḳo", some try to draw far back to the 13th century *Abuna* Zena Markos church, where as others consider the name as given by Emperor Menilek in the time of conquest in the late 19th

[108] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[109] *Ibid.*

century.[110] What ever the case, since the two names have no derogatory connotations, the people do not have any sense of discomfort with both naming.

The existence of fertile land and water resources as well as good climatic conditions in Maräḳo could be taken as the major reason behind Menilek's expansion towards the former. Menilek had acquired information about the rich resources of Maräḳo while he was making frequent campaigns to Ḳäbena, the Säbat Bet Gurage and the Arsi.[111] After the conquest, Maräḳo land became the royal holding and everything collected had been sent directly to the royal treasury.

To materialize the incorporation process, Menilek undertook two campaigns against the Maräḳo. The first one was in 1878 and the second expedition was made four years later in 1882. On the contrary, some oral informants hold the view that the second campaign was conducted a decade later in 1888.[112] However, many of the available literatures and the oral tradition tell us that the second campaign was conducted in the year 1882.[113] Since the Shäwans were busy fighting the Ḳäbena *jihadists* since 1886, it is hard to believe that Menilek would conduct another campaign against the Maräḳo. The Shäwans at the time were facing frequent defeats by the energetic Ḳäbena warriors. The Shäwans even discontinued the occupation of the non-assimilated Hadiya, mainly because of the onset of the Ḳäbena war.

The first Maräḳo-Shäwan war was locally named as 'the war of Ajacho', after the name of their legendary war leader, Ajacho Gäläto. The second campaign was conducted in 1882 and called as

[110] Informants: Lämädo Shamebo and Bäkäläch Suldolo.
[111] Informants: Tale Maskalo, Haile Lamma and Womiso Kalbore.
[112] Informants: Woldämichael Anulo and Madebo Bonke.
[113] Informants: Sulamo Bonkola, Fitoro Shomoro, Hankoro Tumdado and Tumsido Anulo.

'the war of Lächebo'. Lächebo was the son of Ajacho Gälato. The war of Lächebo has also been remembered following its war leader, Lachebo Ajacho.[114] Some authors are seen calling Lachebo's father name as Anjacho, instead of Ajacho. It is obvious that the name Anjacho was a religious title usually given to the leaders of *Fändänano* religion. The linguistic connection created between Anjancho and Ajacho might have emanated from the religious influence of *Fändänano*. My oral informants strongly argue that Lachebo was the son of Ajacho.[115]

The first Shäwan campaign against the Maräḳo was undertaken while Menilek was struggling to eliminate his power rivals in his home, Shäwa. Menelik's wife, Bafana and other rivals were conspiring against him till their elimination in the early 1880s. The problem that he was facing in his homeland weakened his force, and consequently, he encountered frequent defeats by southern peoples who were fighting for the survival of their independence. It was in the middle of such catastrophic situation that Menelik tried to conquer the Maräḳo. At the first Maräḳo-Shäwan war, the Showan force was defeated and repulsed back to his homeland.[116] His campaign to Maräḳo was made after the submission of Soddo Gurage (Kistane), and the conquest of 'Gogot' force (Sïlti, Wulbarag, Misqan and others).

Menilek did not undertake another attack against the Maräḳo in a short period of time, mainly for the reasons mentioned above. Even if the Shäwans were superior in modern armament, they could not bring the Maräḳo under their subjugation till 1882. Alabachaw and Samuel, based on Tasfaye Habiso's information, write:

[114] Informants: Bäkälä Wamisho and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[115] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Habtamu Kenore and Ersumo Tasfaye.
[116] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Lolamo Detamo and Lamboro Shomoro.

ማረቆዎች ልዩ የሆነ ቋንቋ ይናገራሉ። በዝርፊያ የሚኖሩና ጥሩ ፈረሶች ያሏቸዉ ናቸዉ። ምኒልክ ጦር በከፈተባቸዉ ጊዜ የጦር መሳሪያዉን አልፈሩም። የፈረሶቻቸዉን ጆሮ በጨርቅ በመሸፈን ጠላታቸዉን የምኒልክን ሰራዊት ፊት ለፊት ገጠሙት። አንድ የጥይት ድምጽ ከ2000-3000 ህዝብ ሊያስበረግግ በሚችልበት ሀገር እንዲህ ማድረጋቸዉ ለታላቅ ጀግንነታቸዉ ጥሩ ምስክር ነዉ። የማረቆ ነገድ ከ7000 ግለሰቦች የማይበልጥ ነዉ። ዳር ድንበሩ ከእንግዲህ ወዲያ በመንዝና በአርሲ አይገፋም፤ ወደፊት ሊደርስ ከሚችለዉ ጥቃት ተጠብቋል።[117]

This can be roughly translated into English as:

The Maräḳo speak a language which is unique. They lived with plundering and had good horses. They were bold when they saw Menilek's firearms and his war declarations. They fought conventional war by covering the ears of their combating horses with piece of cloth. In the country where a single noise of firearm terrifies 2000-3000 people, what the Maräḳo did was a strong witness for their bravery. The Maräḳo clan did not exceed more than 7000 people. Their territorial domain would not be violated by the Manzian and Arsi warriors and they were protected from the possible attacks in the future.

As indicated above, the second campaign of Menilek against Maräḳo was undertaken after the elapse of four years, i.e. in 1882. This campaign was led by Menilek himself and the renowned war commander, Gobäna Dache. As usual, before the campaign began, the king dispatched letters and messengers to the leaders of Maräḳo for peaceful submission in return for retaining autonomy, or face war and the subsequent subjugation. Following the request, the Maräḳo leaders and clans were divided into two. The Madore clan who dwelled north of Wajja river preferred peaceful submission, whereas the Shebo clan under the leadership of Lächebo determined to fight the invading force. Lachebo was able to coordinate the overall Maräḳo forces which were living south of the Wajja River. But he failed to bring Madore clan to his side. The split of Maräḳo people highly hampered their success at the final battle. Four years before, Ajacho Galato was succeeded to unite all Maräḳo people against their enemy, but this was not repeated in the time of his son half a decade later.[118]

[117] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 75.

[118] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Lolamo Detamo, Lamboro Shomoro and Abaye Side.

In the war against Maräḳo, in addition to his force, Menilek employed the armies of the conquered territories. He succeeded to recruit a significant number of troops from the already conquered territories of Sïlti, Ulbarag, Misḳan and Soddo Gurage and used them effectively in the campaign against the already disunited Maräḳo. Menilek also exploited the division that was created among the Maräḳo people and instigated the peacefully submitted Maräḳo clan against the resistance fighters.[119] The occurrence of such division appeared to have given advantage for Menilek and made it easy for him to crush the last Maräḳo resistance.

The war started between the two forces at the battle of Dabbana, a border land between Sïlti and Maräḳo in 1882. However, Braukamper states that the numerically and materially superior forces of the invaders and the Libido war was undertaken in the area between Butajira and Koshe, not between Sïlti and the Libido.[120] In spite of their initial success, the Maräḳo were unable to resist the numerous bullets of the invading force. The fighting continued the whole day until the leader of the resistance army, Lächebo was shot and dead. The united forces of Gobana, Menilek and the newly recruited troops overwhelmed the Maräḳo numerically. They also had the upper hand in modern armaments. Depending on such advantages, the Maräḳo resistance was ruthlessly crushed. In line with this, Ulrich Braukamper says many east Gurage and Miskan, hereditary enemies of the Libido or Maräḳo, joined the Shäwans in the expectation of abundant booty and a possible expansion of their territories.[121]

[119] Informants: Larebo Markos and Ayala Kajebo
[120] Braukamper, p. 267.
[121] Braukamper, p. 267.

The casualty was very high on the side of the Maräḳo than the invading forces. Many of the defeated Maräḳo left their land to join the armies of Arsi and southern Hadiya. There is oral tradition in Hadiya which say that the casuality increament on Maräḳo side was mainly because of the virulent things that the Sïlti chief, Ormora, did against them. Braukamper states, "… A number of survivors (the Maräḳo) joined the then still autonomous Arsi Oromo and Hadiya proper, while the rest yielded and sent *Wolab Gärad* Misebo Burqamo as negotiator to Menilek. Even those who had capitulated could not be sure that they would be spared as Ormoora, a Sïlti chief, focusing on the consequent advantages for his own group, convinced the Christian Ethiopians that the resistance of the vanquished could only be broken by their physical extermination. As a consequence, many of the Libido captives were allegedly murdered."[122]

Then the victorious Menilek and his troops returned to their camp with huge booty. Large number of cattle and people were raided by Menilek, but with great efforts of the Maräḳo elders, the enslaved people were returned to their home. Where upon Maräḳo became the tributary of the royal family and everything yielded there was directly sent to the royal treasury. It is already mentioned that the Maräḳo people had not only fought the Shäwan invaders, but also the neighboring ethnic groups like the Sïlti. During the war of Lachebo, the conquerers were numerically superior to Maräḳo. The Maräḳo (Libido) were brave warriors, but they were defeated because of the modern fire arms and the superiority in man power on the side of the Shäwans. Ulrich Braukamper and Tilahun Mishago write, "… The Libido who had offered heroic resistance to the invaders, were finally defeated in 1882."[123]

[122] Braukamper, p. 267.
[123] Ulrich Braukamper and Tilahun Mishago, p. 21.

The peacefully submitted clan, Madore, became the ruling family in Maräḳo, and Burḳamo became the *Balabat* of the area. Then the relationship between the Maräḳo and the Addis Abäba government became smooth. But such good relationship was sometimes interrupted by the rival attitudes of the Lachebo clan. The controversy between the Shebo and Madore clans was evident in the power struggle for Maräḳo's leadership after the incorporation. In the campaign against the Wolayta, Menilek using the local *balabat* (Burḳamo) recruited mainly the cavalry from Maräḳo's fighters.[124]

[124] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Hajji Umar Abasimbo and Zamadikun Erdolo.

CHAPTER THREE

3. The Conquest of the Non-Assimilated Hadiya (Southern Hadiya)

After incorporating the Maräḳo, Ḳäbena and other Gurage groups, Emperor Menilek's target was directed to the neighboring people of Hadiya or to the non-assimilated Hadiya. According to my informants, the defeat of Ḳäbena and Maräḳo was considered as the defeat of the southern Hadiya and its surroundings. The fighting moral of the southern Hadiya was highly hurt following the collapse of the Ḳäbena and Maräḳo resistances. The collapse of the long and stubborn resistance of the Ḳäbena and the Maräḳo as well as the neighboring people like the Arsi can be taken as an important step strategically for Menilek to occupy the other areas of the south. Some authors like Donald Donham, however, tend to overlook such important victory and give much consideration for the three battles only: Embabo, Ċhällänḳo and Adäwa. He rejects the importance of the battle of Jabdu Meda, Azule, Korga and the Wolayta. Donham writes, '… three battles were common in establishing the Shäwan hegemony over the Abyssinian north and in conquering the south: the battle of Embabo…, the battle of Ċhällänḳo…, and the battle of Adäwa."[1] It is my argument that the battle of Embabo opened the way for the further conquest of the southwest, not the south central region. It is also possible to say that the battle of Azule was more important than the battle of Ċhällänḳo. This was largely because, had it not been the defeat of the strong Arsi resistance, the defeat of the Harari at Ċhällänḳo would not have been materialized.

[1] Donald Donham, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire, Themes in Social History," in *the Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia, Essays in History and Social Anthropology,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 23.

It is apparent that the battle of Adäwa gave Menilek fame and moral as well as modern war materials. The territories and peoples conquered after the battle could not show Menilek strong resistance; or in other ways many of the areas invaded after Adäwa were vacant land occupied by pastoralists. The defeat of the Ḳäbena *jihadist* force in 1889 could be considered as a landmark for the invasion of the densily populated and poorly coordinated clans of the Hadiya and its surroundings, as Embabo served him for the southwest expansion. The *jihadist* movement of Ḳäbena was not only to defend their independence, but also expand the religion outside of the south and create an Islamic state which also planned to include the Christian areas in the north.[2] So the *jihadist* movement of Ḳäbena was more dangerous for Menilek than any other movements or battles that had been undertaken against the Shäwans. Other movements were limited to defend their independence from the Shäwan invasion.[3] Therefore, from this point of view, the battle of Jabdu Meda was more significant for Menilek than any other battles in the process of empire building.

Before the coming of the Shäwan force, according to the oral tradition, there were prophesies probably in Badäwacho that circulated all over the Hadiya land regarding the coming of invaders and the harsh rule they would impose on them. Braukamper states three soothsayers or prophesies that rightly predicted the coming of alien rule to the Hadiya land. He mentioned Abooshe, Kuume and Toloolle as soothsayers who successfully prophesized the coming of foreign subjugation to the people of Hadiya. Here, the researcher found important to quote

[2] Hajji Umar, Hajji Abadir, Hajji Abdullahi Nuga, Emam Aliye, Dagafa Sabir and Amo Mudasir Waraki.

[3] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Toloolle's prophesy that help me understand the socio-economic conditions of the Hadiya prior to the coming of Menilek's administration. It reads:

> *You (the Hadiya) will soon settle far to the north of Damoota and these people (the Wolayta) will follow you and only make a stop in the plain north of the mountain. You will then go across water,… and find a new place of settlement in a well-fortified area. There after a war like opponent will subjugate you, but after a time you will live in understanding with him. Then a selfish man will marry an equally selfish girl and our people will no longer live in closed kraal settlements like before, but in individual houses.*[4]

From the aforementioned quote, it is possible to infer the idea that the Hadiya were dominantly pastoralists before the onset of Menilek's subjugation. Living in 'kraal settlements' rather than in individual houses before the conquest was an indication of the pastoral life that the Hadiya had experienced. The phrase 'selfish man will marry an equally selfish girl' also indicates the gradual degradation of the mobile pastoral life or the decline of communal way of living and its replacement with farming or formal settlement. We know that in pure pastoral environment, people used to live communally and the probable existence of selfishness is very low. The aforementioned Toolelle's prophesy was an indication of the replacement of the pastoral life (in which they led their life in kraal settlement or communal way) with farming (more of 'selfish').[5]

3.1. The Conquest of the Shashogo

In the mid-1880s, side by side with the conquest of the Ḳäbena, Menilek occupied Sïlti, the Shashogo and Lemo. Based on Borelli's information, Braukamper says that the conquest of the Shashogo was made in the mid-1880s.[6] *Ras* Gobana Dache conquered the Shashogo while the later's *Abag*ä*das* and other war leaders were in Kämbata for war and peace settlement. Gobana camped at Musagesa on the highland slope of the Shashogo from where he would be able to

[4]Braukamper, p. 261
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

plunder and reverse the Shashogo counter attack. The time when Gobana came to their land, the Shashogo warriors were making peace with Kämbata to settle their disagreements at a place known as Lamacha. A day before the arrival of Gobana's army in Shashogo, the later was fighting against the Kämbata. They were fighting them at the battle of Buchamo. After hearing the news of the conquest of their land, the Shashogo warriors returned to save their home from complete destructions. Traditions among the Hadiya hold the view that while the Shashogo warriors were returning from Kämbata, they saw huge smokes from burning of their houses and other properties by Christian troops. Braukamper says, "While looking down from the neighboring highland, they saw the fiery glow coming from their dwellings which had been set on fire by the Habäsha soldiers."[7] After approaching their land, the Shashogo sent *Abägaz* Gedo Bashir with tribute of small number of livestock, butter and other foodstuff to the camp of the conquerors. Gobana demanded the Shashogo to pay additional tribute and to handover Migo Ayano. Migo was reported to have killed an Amhara officer. The tribute that was demanded by Gobana was a good looking horse. Gedo gave him the horse, but hesitated to handover Migo Ayano. Migo, nevertheless, surrendered to Gobana to avoid further bloodshed. Gobana pardoned Migo allowing him to go to his family. [8]

Why did Gobana failed to offer alternatives between peaceful and forceful submission for the Shashogo, as they did in other places. It might be related to the absence of the leaders of the later on the eve of Gobana's arrival. Oral traditions in Hadiya say that Gobana sent frequent letters to Shashogo leaders that asked them to submit peacefully, but there were no one in Shashogo to respond to Gobana's letters, as all the leaders and the fighters were in Kämbata for war and

[7] Braukamper, p. 268.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

peace settlement. After effective occupation, Gobana assigned *Abagäda* Gedo Bashir as the first *Balabat* of the Shashogo people. As mentioned above, such occupation did not stay long, mainly because of the onset of the Ḳäbena *jihadist* movement. Shashogo became free from the first round Christian occupation, not by its own effort, but by the strong struggles of the Ḳäbena.[9]

They, nevertheless, lost their independence once again in 1892 following their defeat by *Ras* Wälde Ashagre and *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana. In the second conquest, the Shashogo under the command of *Abagäda* Hosiso and *Abägaz* Gedo Bashir fought the Shäwans strongly at the battle of Shamo. Their resistance, however, was crushed and they were forced to accept the *Gäbbar* system. As far as this issue is concerned, Ulrich Braukamper states:

> *… five years later, in March 1891, the troops of Christian Ethiopians came again. In the place of Ras Gobana, who had died two years before, Däjjazmach Wälde Ashagre led the campaign, henceforth directed at the systematic conquest of the territory. The Shashogo geared up to defend themselves to the utmost, although the experienced leader Gedo Bashiro implored them not to do so, urging a diplomatic solution. It was known from the experience of Libido and Arsi that the only successful fighting method was to get rid of the shields recognized as useless in the face of rifle bullets and to seek close combat as quickly as possible in between the fusillades when the enemies were reloading their guns. After battles with heavy losses on both sides, the Habäsha troops withdrew from the marshy, malaria infested Shashogo territory in May 1891, but returned with strong contingents once more in October after the rainy season. During this campaign the Shashogo were finally defeated and a large part of the tribe taken captive.*[10]

Gedo Bashir was seen advising his kinsmen to give up armed struggle and come to the table for negotiation. Gedo did this because he knew the modern war materials that the Shäwans were armed with. He understood well that armed resistance with spears and swords against the rifle bullets could not succeed. Though he tried his best for peaceful solution, no one listened to him. Finally, as in many parts of Ethiopia, war became the arbiter. The Shashogo preferred guerrilla

[9] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[10] Braukamper, p. 269.

war to that of the conventional. At first their effort seemed to have produced results, but as time dragged on the victory went to the Shäwans who were armed with European war materials. Then the occupation of the Shashogo was finally sealed by Wälde Ashagre and Wodajo Gobana.[11] Following their second round occupation, Wälde assigned *Abagäda* Hosiso as the second *Balabat* of the Shashogo, next to *Abagäda* Gedo Bashiro. Hosiso was given a new Amharic title called *Abägaz.* He was forced to ignore his traditional title, *Abag*äd*a*.

Then power struggle began between Hosiso and Gedo. According to my informants, such an endeavor was deliberately done by the Shäwans. It was aimed to weaken the unity of the Shashogo and paralyze further uprisings and resistances. Later on, however, the power struggle between the two Shashogo *Balabats* came to an end when Gedo was found killed by unknown person. Till the coming to power of the Därg regime, the line of Hosiso was kept as hereditary rulers or the *Balabats* of the Shashogo. The immediate successor of Hosiso was Umako, a nephew of Hosiso.[12]

Since the climatic condition of the Shashogo was unsuitable for those who came from the highland areas, the Shäwans could not establish garrisons in Shashogo. The major part of the Shashogo land was a breeding ground for mosquito which helps to expand malaria. As a consequence, the Shäwans established their garrison on the nearby Lemo highlands, and from there they were able to collect tributes of different kinds from Shashogo people.[13]

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[12] Informants: Asfaw Tirulo and Bäkälä Anebo.
[13] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Tämäsgän Kintamo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

3.2. The Conquest of Lemo, Wetogira and Endägagn

Like the Shashogo, *Ras* Gobana Dache conquered the Lemo clan of the Hadiya in 1886. But his occupation was limited to the northern parts of Lemo. From the outset, Lemo warriors rejected the letters of the Christian lords that aimed to incorporate them peacefully, and as a result war followed in 1886. After heroic fighting, their resistance was broken and their land was invaded. The leader of Lemo at this time was *Adil* Ada. In the war, the Gurage, the Libido, the Shashogo and Sïlti participated on the side of the invaders. While Gobana was undertaking war of conquest against Lemo in the mid-1880s, *Ras* Wälde Ashagre was simultaneously rushing to conquer the Sorro. However, the later was unable to conquer the Sorro, because he was ordered to return to Ḳäbena. It is said that a messenger was sent to him following the rise of strong *jihadist* movement in Ḳäbena against the Shäwan Christians.[14] Such an event helped the Sorro to be rescued from the Shäwan invasion, at least temporarily.

Like the Shashogo, *Ras* Gobana failed to control Lemo for long. As mentioned above, it was mainly because of the rise of Hassan Walga against Menilek in Ḳäbena in the years 1885/86. The outbreak of cattle disease and epidemics in Ethiopia were the other factor that hindered the Christian force to control the Shashogo and Lemo for long. The third reason for the failure of the invaders' stay in Shashogo and Lemo areas after 1887 was that Menilek became busy in the process of taking the imperial throne from Yohannes IV. These were the three reasons accounted for the short duration of the rule of the Christian army in Shashogo and Lemo. In the 1886 campaign against the Shashogo and Lemo, *Ras* Gobana was said to have plundered 80,000 cattle and gave them to the treasury of the King Menilek. Such plunder was believed to have helped

[14] Informants: Bizunesh Abure and Abara Muturo.

Menilek's court during the drought seasons or the 'Great Famine'. Gobana died suddenly in 1889, and his post to reconquer the southern Hadiya, Halaba and Kämbata areas was left to his son *Däjjazmach* Wadajo Gobana and *Ras* Wälde Ashagre.[15]

After crushing Hassan Walga's *jihadist* army and taking the imperial throne from Emperor Yohannes IV, Menilek determined to restore his lost territories like the Shashogo and Lemo, and to continue the war of occupation against the other Hadiya groups and their neighbors. During the second round, it is said that the resistance movement in Hadiya proper was stronger than the Kämbata and other neighboring peoples. *Adil* Ada and *Adil* Firito of Lemo, *Adil* Ine of the Wetogira and Hemacho Sekite of the Endegagn were war leaders who tried to stop the second Shäwan conquest. Among them, *Adil* Ada was the most experienced war lord of Lemo. But they were unable to stop the Shäwans with swords, knives and spears. This was because the Shäwans were armed with European modern weapons. Today the Endägagn who were once independent ethnic group, are mixed highly with the Lemo Hadiya. In other words they are mixed with the Lemo Hadiya linguistically and in other cultural domains. After incorporation, it is said that they were made to pay their tributes in Hossana.[16]

Though the Lemo people undertook war of resistance under the strong leadership of *Adil* Ada and *Adil* Firito, their last war commander who submitted to Menilek was Orse Bibiso. According to oral informants, after Lemo and the Wetogira lost the conventional war, they began to take the guerrilla tactics against the invaders. In line with this, Braukamper says, "The Lemo warriors, who had mobilized to defend their territory, and the Badogo under Adil Ine, could not withstand

[15] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar, Shifäraw Bifebo and Wondïmu Erbalo.

[16] Informants: Balata Petros, Mussie Tamirat and Shifäraw Bifebo.

the invasion of 1891, avoided open combat and chose to confine themselves to guerrilla operations."[17] It is believed that the onset of the guerrilla war in Lemo and the Wetogira might be the major reason for the delay of the Shäwan occupation of the remaining Hadiya. The war of conquest in Hadiya continued for three to four years, 1891-1894.

Following their victory over Lemo combatants, the invaders endowed Orse with the status of *Balabat.* Contrary to this, Braukamper argues that a person who was entrusted with the status of *Balabat* in Lemo was Hemacho. "… Before the resistance was finally quelled, the Christian Ethiopians appointed the Lemo man, Hemacho, whose leadership also the Badogo and the Endägagn acknowledged, to *Balabat*."[18] My informants, however, tend to associate Hemacho to Endägagn ethnic line, not to that of the Lemo.

After invading the Lemo and Wetogira, according to Tasfaye Habiso, *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana established Balbula or Damala as his political capital and later on he moved to Ana (on the mountains of Lemo) and settled there.[19] But Kibamo Addise argues that it was *Däjjazmach* Basha Aboye, not *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana who was able to establish the small towns of Balbula and Ana on the Lemo highlands.[20] "At the command of *Däjjazmach* Wodajo, they established fortified garrisons at Bulbula and Damala. A short time later, after the Katama in Bulbula burnt down after having been struck by lightning, the new commander *Däjjazmach* Basha had the residence located to Ana."[21] The two garrison towns, Balbula and Damala, according to Braukamper, were established by Wodajo, whereas Ana was founded by

[17] Braukamper, p. 270.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 270.
[19] ተስፋዬ ሀቢሶ፣ ገጽ 239
[20] Kibamo, p. 68.
[21] Braukamper, p. 270.

Däjjazmach Basha Aboye. According to Tasfaye, as indicated above, all the garrison towns in Lemo highlands (excluding Hossana) were established by *Däjjazmach* Wodajo, but Kibamo is seen connecting the three towns with Basha Aboye. Based on the available oral information and systemic historical analysis, the researcher argues that garrison places like Damala and Balbula were established by *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana whereas the credit for the formation of Ana should go to Basha Aboye. This was because the conquest of the Hadiya areas was completed by different commanders from different directions. Wodajo was the one that occupied Damala area; where as Basha Aboye and *Ras* Wälde Ashagre were the other Shäwan war leaders who occupied Ana and its surroundings. The oral traditions in Ana remember Basha Aboye than Wodajo Gobana. The Lemo areas were invaded by different commanders from different directions: Wodajo Gobana, Wälde Ashagre and Basha Aboye.

The name 'Balbula' is sometimes pronounced by some authors like Braukamper and Kibamo as 'Bulbula'. Today in An-Lemo district, there is a place called Balbula which is located near to Damala. This indicates that the right name of the area is Balbula, not Bulbula. The other worth mentioning point here is the alternative usage of the name 'Balbula' and 'Damala' for a single place by Tasfaye Habiso and Kibamo Addise. We see Braukamper using the two names for different places.[22] Balbula and Damala, as aptly expressed by Braukamper, are places that are located in different areas in the Lemo highlands. For those who have direct experiences and detail observations in Lemo areas, it becomes apparent that the alternative usage of the two names for a single place is totally wrong. Today, nevertheless, the two places are merged to form one *Ḳäbäle* named as Damala-Balbula. What so ever it is, the three towns served as centers of

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

administration and garrison for the invading army. Though their growth has stagnated, they were the first towns in the history of urbanization in Hadiya.

The Lemo, the Wetogira and the Endägagn warriors tried to unite their forces against the invaders. With the exception of such an event, the Hadiya clans could not show the invading army a united front in their war of resistance. All the clans fought independently.[23] The Lemo and Wetogira as well as other Hadiya tribes were unable to withstand the modern rifles that Menilek brought from Europeans.[24]

Following the collapse of their resistance which was led by *Adil* Ada and *Adil* Firito, the Lemo people decided to migrate to other areas. This decision emanated from:

1. The confiscation of their land and other properties.
2. Their dominant pastoral economy, because they could easily move without problems.
3. Lack of knowledge about the extent of Menilek's conquest outside of their land.[25]

In the time when the Lemo lost their land and freedom to the northern invaders, they undertook a secret meeting and decided to leave their homeland to other area.[26] From their decision, it is possible to understand that the Lemo were unaware of the mighty power of the invading forces or they could not imagine that the northern invaders occupied almost all the present Ethiopian territories. The Lemo assumed wrongly that the northerners occupied their land only, or in another word the other parts of Ethiopia for them were free from the Shawan occupation. It was

[23] Informants: Shimalis Abara, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Firde T/Giorgis.

[24] Informants: Shimalis Abara, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Wändïmu Mänsido.

such wrong perception that led them to undertake a secret meeting and decide to migrate to other areas. Their decision was made to flee from the imposition of the Shäwan rule and to save their identity. Regarding this, oral informants in Hadiya say:

አጼ ምኒልክ ሀዲያን በሀይል ከወረረ በኋላ ሀዲዮች ከዚህ በፊት የነበራቸዉ ነጻነት ሙሉ በሙሉ ተገፈፈ፡፡ በገዛ ሀገራቸዉ ባይተዋር ሆኑ፡፡ መሬታቸዉን ነፍጠኛ በሀይል ወሰደባቸዉ፡፡ ሌተ-ቀን ለነፍጠኛ በጉልበት እንዲያገለግሉ ተደረገ፡፡ ከሚያመርቱት ምርት አብዛኛዉ በሰበብ አስባቡ ለነፍጠኛዉ አስተዳደር እንዲሰጥ ተደረገ፡፡ የገባሩ ሚስት ቀን ቀን የነፍጠኛዉን ቤተሰብ ወገቧ እስኪቆረጥ ድረስ ስታገለግል ትዉላለች፡፡ ሲመሽ ደግሞ ባሏ በተራዉ የነፍጠኛዉን ግቢ ሲጠብቅ ያድራል፡፡ በዚህና በሌሎች አሰቃቂ ድርጊቶች የተበሳጨት በተለይም የሌሞ ሀዲዮች ሀገራቸዉን ጥለዉ ለመዉጣት ድብቅ ስብሰባ አደረጉ፡፡ በዚህ ምስጢራዊ ስብሰባ ዉስጥ ሁለት አማራ ዉስጥ ቆይተዉ የመጡ ወጣቶች ነበሩ፡፡ እነዚህን ወጣቶች ራስ ወልዴ አሻግሬና ደጃዝማች ወዳጆ ጎበና ሌሞን ባጠቁበት ጊዜ ተይዘዉ ወደ ሰሜን የተወሰዱ ነበሩ፡፡ አጼ ሚኒሊክ በኢትዮጵያ በተለያየ አከባቢ ወረራ ሲፈጽሙ ከየአከባቢዉ ታዳጊ ወጣቶችን በመጥለፍ ወደ ሰሜን በመዉሰድ የአማራን ባህል፣ የእርሻ ዘይቤዉንና ቋንቋዉን በማስተማርና በማሰልጠን መልሰዉ ወደ ትዉልድ ሀገራቸዉ ይልኳቸዋል፡፡ ይህን የሚያደርጉበት አላማ አዲስ በሀይል የተያዙ ህዝቦች ነፍጠኞችን በአማራ የምግብ ዝግጅት ስርአት እንዲያገለግሉ ለማድረግ፤ እርሻ አስተራረስ የማያዉቁትን እንደ ሀዲያ አይነት አርብቶ አደር ህዝቦችን የአማራን አስተራረስና አዳዲስ የእህል ዝርያዎችን ለማስተዋወቅ፤ በተለይም የምኒልክ ሀይል ምን ያህል የማይበገርና እጅግ ሲበዛ ግዙፍ እንደሆነ በማሳየት አዲስ በሀይል የተወረሩ ህዝቦች ለጥ ቀጥ ብለዉ አንገታቸዉን ደፍተዉ እንዲኖሩ ለማድረግ ነዉ፡፡ በዚህ መልኩ ሰልጥነዉ የመጡ ሁለት ወጣቶች ናቸዉ እንግዲህ በሌሞ ሚስጥራዊ ስብሰባ ዉስጥ የነበሩት፡፡ የስብሰባዉ መሪዎች ምን እናድርግ? በዚህ አይነት መብት ገፈፋ ዉስጥ እንዴት ሆነን መኖር እንችላለን? በማለት ለታዳሚዎች ሀሳብ ሰነዘሩ፡፡ ከዛ ታዳሚዎቹ አንድ በአንድ እየተነሱ መሰደድ አለብን በእንዲህ አይነት በደል ዉስጥ መኖር አንችልም አሉ፡፡ በዚህ መሀል አማራ ሀገር ቆይተዉ የመጡ ወጣቶች ቡሌ አታሮና ቡሌ አጋጎ የሚባሉት ሀሳብ ለመስጠት እጃቸዉን አነሱ፡፡ ታዳሚዉ በሙሉ ተቃወማቸዉ፣ እድል እንዳይሰጣቸዉም ሰብሳቢዎቹ ላይ ጮሁባቸዉ፡፡ ህዝቡ ሁለቱን ወጣቶች እንዳይናገሩ የተቃወመዉ አማራ ሀገር ቆይተዉ ስለመጡ ለአማራ ያግዛሉ በሚል ነበር፡፡ በዚህ መሀል ሰብሳቢዎቹ እጅግ ሲበዛ ብልህ ስለነበሩ እስኪ እንዲናገሩ እድል እንስጣቸዉ፡፡ ከተስማማን እንወስዳለን ካልተስማማን ሀሳባቸዉን ዉድቅ እናደርጋለን አሉ፡፡ በዚህ መሀል ታዳሚዉ ጸጥ አለ፡፡ ከዚያም ቡሌ አታሮ የሚባል ወጣት ብድግ ብሎ ወገኖቼ ወዴት ነዉ የምትሄዱት? በምስራቅ፣ በምዕራብ፣ በሰሜንና በደቡብ አቅጣጫ ለመሰደድ ብትወጡ ሁሉንም አከባቢ የአማራ አስተዳደር ስለተቆጣጠረዉ ይጨርሷችኋል፤ እባካችሁ ሀገራችሁን ለቃችሁ አትዉጡ ብሎ ተማጠነ፡፡ በዚህ ንግግሩ ታዳሚዉ በእጅጉ ተቆጣ፡፡ ታዳሚዉ የፈራነዉ ይሄንን ነበር፤ አማራ ሀገር ቆይተዉ ስለመጡና የአማራን ጥቅማ ጥቅም ስላገኙ ነዉ ለአማራ እየወገኑ የሚናገሩት በማለት እድል ስለተሰጣቸዉ በመቆጭት ብሶታቸዉን አሰሙ፡፡ ብልህ የሆኑ ሰብሳቢዎችም ለሁለቱ ወጣቶች እሺ ሁሉም አከባቢ በአማራ ከተያዘና መዉጫ ከሌለን ምን እንድናደርግ ትመክሩናልችሁ አሏቸዉ፡፡ በዚህ መሀል ህዝቡ እንዴት ከነዚህ ከሀዲዎች መፍትሄ ትጠይቃላችሁ በማለት ሰብሳቢዎች ላይ ጮሁ፡፡ ከዚያ ጠቢባን የነበሩ ሰብሳቢዎች እንደምንም ብለዉ ተቃዉሞዉን ካረጋጉ በኋላ

ወጣቶቹ የመፍትሄ ሀሳብ እንዲሰጡ ተጠየቁ። ወጣቶቹም መሬትህን ለቀህ አትሂድ በማለት የጊዜ እንጂ የመንግስት ቋሚ እንደሌለ አስረዷቸዉ። ይህንን ንግግራቸዉን ሰብሳቢዎችም፣ ሲጮሁባቸዉ የነበሩ የስብሰባዉ ታዳሚዎችም ተቀበሉ። የመሰደድ አላማቸዉንም ሰረዙ። በነዚህ ልጆች ትግል ነዉ እንግዲህ ሀዲያ አሁን የያዘዉን መሬት አስጠብቆ የኖረዉ። ይሄኔ አብዛኛዉ ሀዲያ ለመሰደድ ቢሞክር ኖሮ በነፍጠኛ ተጨፍጭፎ ያልቅ ነበር፤ የቀረዉ ደግሞ እንደእባብ ልጅ በተለያዩ አከባቢዎች በባርነት ዉስጥ በመዉደቅ ተበትኖ በቀረ ነበር። በተለይ የሌሞ መሬት የአማራ መሬት ይሆን ነበር፣ የሌሞ ሀዲያዉ ለቆ ቢሔድ ኖሮ።[27]

This can be roughly translated as:

After Menilek conquered the Hadiya land, the latter lost completely their freedom. They became 'alien' in their own land. The Näfṭägna took their land forcefully. They were obliged to serve them on daily basis. The major part of their produce was taken by the Näfṭägna with senseless reasons. The wife of the Gäbbar had to work in the houses of the Näfṭägna the whole day. During the night, her husband was forced to serve as guard of the same Näfṭägna house. Disappointed with such subjugation, the Hadiya (the Lemo in particular) decided to migrate to other area. Before migration, the Lemo decided to undertake a secret meeting on how would be the process of their migration. Among the attendants of the meeting, there were two young Hadiya boys who had been taken to the Amhara land by Ras Wälde Ashagre and Wodajo Gobana. The names of the two boys were Bule Ataro and Bule Agago. Emperor Menilek had the trend of taking some youngsters from each conquered areas so that they would learn Amhara culture, the plow system and language. Above all the boys were let to see the military strength of the conquerors, which was aimed to terrify the conquered people. In the meeting, the coordinators asked the people about what to do to escape the subjugation. Everybody in the meeting raised their own respective idea, but almost all of them favored migration. In the middle of their discussion the two boys who stayed for some years in Amhara and returned recently raised their hand to add their point on the discussion. All the attendants of the meeting shouted against them that was aimed to deprive the two boys from giving their ideas. After some controversy, the coordinators were able to persuade the attendants. As a result, the two boys were given time to speak. They said 'there was no a single way for migration, since every place is effectively invaded by the Amhara conquerors.' Then the crowed once again shouted on the two boys saying 'since they are from Amhara, they are favoring them'. Then the coordinators asked the two boys to give them ideas on what to do. Then the two boys said 'time is king. Everything will pass on its own time including the one who are oppressing and exploiting us. If we leave our land, we cannot get it once again. In addition, we will be massacred by the conquerors' since the Näfṭägna were in control of the land surrounding us.' Then, with great efforts and patience of the coordinators, the crowed was agreed to stay in their home land. It is with great efforts of the two boys that the Hadiya were able to retain their fertile land till now. Had it not been the two boys' relentless effort, the major part of Lemo people would be massacred and the other would remain slaves and scattered like the sons of snakes."

[27] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo, Shimalis Abara, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Firde T/Giorgis.

Here, it is possible to say that Menilek was wise enough in his strategy of bringing 'Amhara' culture to the newly incorporated areas. To materialize his mission, he appeared to have depended on the local recruits that he took to the north in the time of conquest. As indicated above, the king took two boys from among the Hadiya in the times of war. The two boys who were sent to Shawa for training were wise enough as they were able to save the Hadiya from total disbandment and extermination. As to my informants, their advice was right, mainly because, in the time when the Hadiya land was occupied, the surrounding ethnic groups were already invaded, and as a result the Hadiya could not get the outlet for migration. The arrival of the two boys to the Hadiya land in such crucial time was important for the survival of Hadiya identity, particularly the Lemo. Had it not been for the arrival of the two boys in Hadiya, their land would have been passed to the hands of the 'Amhara' and the people themselves would be scattered in different corner of Ethiopia, and many of them would be sold as slaves. It was through such methods that Menilek succeeded to impose 'Amhara' way of economy and culture on the southern people in general and the Hadiya in particular. On the other hand, while saving the Hadiya from complete disbandment, the two boys at the same time were seen as serving Menilek's administration by stabilizing the people and telling them the invincible power of the invaders. Following this, the Hadiya decided to live under subjugation, and above all they were totally submitted to the invaders.[28]

3.3. The Conquest of the Sorro.

The defeat of Ḳäbena, Maräḳo and other parts of Hadiya and the surrounding societies brought the Sorro to the Shäwan encirclement. The northerners were seen using the youths of other parts

[28]Informants: Tadala Wändïmu, Salamu Bifebo, Shifäraw Bäkälä and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo

of Hadiya, the Gurage and Sïlti in the campaign against the Sorro.[29] Such well-planned operation hastened the collapse of Sorro resistance. Their resistance movement was commanded by Yarshe and supported by *Adil* Adaye Agago. As usual *Ras* Wälde Ashagre sent letter of submission to the Sorro, but the later determined to fight those 'aliens' which came to their land.[30] The Kämbata, who used to claim their genealogical line to the Amhara, took the side of the later. As a result the Sorro people were encircled by the Shäwans as well as by the neighboring peoples. In spite of all this cooperation on the side of their enemy, Adaye Agago and Yarshe were not afraid to face their enemies that were equipped with modern war materials.

The Sorro warriors preferred to face their enemies using guerrilla tactic. This was aimed to avoid direct combat with the Shäwans. When the news of the Shäwans' approach to their land reached their ears, the Sorro decided to take all their livestock, their people and properties near to the Gibe River. The warriors also made a tactical retreat to the Gibe River. This was made to attack their enemies in surprise. After inflicting immense casuality on their enemies at the beginning of the war, their resistance came to a standstill. They could not continue the war as their enemies deployed a huge army and a large number of European rifles against them. *Ras* Wälde Ashagre defeated the Sorro once and for all at the battle of Gogo (mountainous area located at the border between the Sorro and Ţämbaro) in 1893. *Adil* Adaye Agago was not the leader of the Sorro in the time of the Shäwans conquest. It is said that he was forced to leave the Sorro leadership to Donga some years before the arrival of the invaders.[31] It was from Donga that Adaye joined the Sorro resistance which was commanded by Yarshe. Unfortunately, Adaye was killed at the battle. Following the defeat of the Sorro, the son of Adaye named Anore took the initiative for

[29] **አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል**, pp. 79-84.
[30] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Damise Mänsido.
[31] Braukamper, p. 270

peaceful settlement. Then, the Shäwans endowed Anore with the *Balabat* position. Later on he was succeeded by his son, Seyoum Anore. Seyoum became influential figure in the struggle against the Shäwans oppressive rule, particularly in the time of the Haila Selassie regime. Anore became the *Balabat* of Otoro area in the present day Duna district.[32] At the same time, *Ras* Wälde assigned four other *Balabats* in the other parts of Sorro areas.

The Shäwans became victorious over the Sorro, because:

1. They were superior numerically. They used all the powers of the neighboring subjugated peoples against them.
2. They exploited effectively the hostility that had developed among the various Hadiya clans.
3. They were armed with modern rifles and mortars to their teeth. The Sorro, like the other parts of the Hadiya, fought the Shäwans with primitive war materials.
4. They were able to encircle the Sorro and attacked them from different directions simultaneously.

3.4. The Conquest of Badäwacho

The Badäwacho undertook stiff resistance against the conquerors. They were commanded by *Gatana* Gatiso Balango, *Gatana* Sandabo Bijamo and *Gatana* Fajiso Gode.[33] Though there were a number of battles that were fought between the Badäwacho and the Shäwan forces, the dominant and the bloody one was the battle of Korga. Before the war against the Badäwacho began, Menilek settled at a specific place called Kata. The Badäwacho war included hand to hand fighting against the Shäwans. The final collapse of the Badäwacho resistance was coincided

[32] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Abäbä Manebo.
[33] *Ibid.*

with the defeat of the Wolayta.[34] From among the Hadiya groups, they were the last to be occupied by the Shäwan army. In 1893, it was only the Badäwacho people from among the Hadiya clans who were left independent. The Badäwacho resistance struggle continued until 1894. The coalition forces of *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana, *Däjjazmach* Tasama Darge, *Ras* Mangasha Atikam and *Ras* Wälde Ashagre fought the Badäwacho for long. Using their numerically superior army and modern weapons, the united front was able to score decisive victory against the Badäwacho at the battle of Korga. Following their victory, the Shäwans began summary execution, plundering and burning the Badäwacho properties to ashes. The Badäwacho warriors, however, decided to continue their struggle using guerrilla as a war tactic. They retreated to Wolayta and fought a number of battles against the invaders. Unabling to resist the numerically superior coalition forces which were armed with European rifles, they decided to join the Wolayta resistance group. It is said that the Shäwans were already exhausted with the stubborn Badäwacho resistance at the time when they arrived in Wolayta. Such condition exposed them to the upcoming defeat that they faced at the hands of Wolayta-Badäwacho coalition force. Because of the arrival of a common enemy, the Badäwacho and Wolayta were able to put aside their prior animosity and created a united front against the Shäwan invaders. In many of the battles, the Badäwacho warriors were able to serve the joint army as vanguard force and able to score some victories over the conquerors. Regarding this, Braukamper states, "King Tona was commander-in-chief and the Wolayta had a considerable bigger contingent of fighters than the allied Hadiya. However, the Badäwacho claimed to have been the more aggressive element and to have invariably fought on the foremost frontlines."[35]

[34] Informants: Sugebo Lama, Bäkälä WondÏmu and Tagasa Larebo.
[35] Braukamper, p. 283.

Like the other parts, however, European modern war materials scored decisive victory over swords and spears that the Wolayta and the Badäwacho were armed with. Authors and researchers who undertook their work on Wolayta history appear to overlook the dominant role that the Badäwacho played in the army of *Kawo* Tona. It is said that, at the final stage of their struggle, the Badäwacho army was organized under the overall command of *Kawo* Tona. This does not mean that the Badäwacho played a subservient role in the war. *Kawo* Tona assigned the well experienced Badäwacho warriors to fight the Shäwans being the vanguard force of his army.[36]

In the campaign against the Wolayta, it was Emperor Menilek II who became the overall commander of the Ethiopian army. The leaders of the Shäwan armies against the Wolayta under Menilek were *Däjjazmach* Balcha Safo, *Ras* Abata Buayalew, Jimma Aba Jifar, *Ras* Mangasha Atikam, *Ras* Wälde Ashagre and others. The defeat of the Badäwacho was considered as an important step from which the Shäwans were able to conquer the Wolayta. It was through the Hadiya and Kämbata territories that Menilek personally led the Shäwan army to Wolayta.[37] The united force of the Badäwacho and Wolayta were defeated because of:

1. The usage of modern war materials by the Shäwans.
2. The occurrence of cattle disease. The disease exterminated almost all the Hadiya cattle and horses which would be used for agricultural production and war, respectively.
3. The outbreak of small pox aggravated the already sever problems.
4. Experiences and numerical superiority of the Shawans. Menilek, in addition to his regular force, employed human power from the conquered territories.

[36] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Takatal Lämädo
[37] *Ibid.*

5. Lack of unity among the Hadiya clans against the invaders. It is said that Menilek used effectively the defeated Hadiya clans against their kinsmen via the good offices of the *Balabats.*

After their defeat in 1894, the Badäwacho land was divided among three *Balabats*. The three *Balabats* who were entitled for tribute collection were *Ḳägnazmach* Tiqamo, *Ḳägnazmach* Hirboro, and *Ḳägnazmach* Worako. Like the other parts of Ethiopia, the northern administrators tended to make tribute appropriation with the help of the local *Balabats.* My informats say that the stability of the Hadiya land was directly related with the appointment of the formerly traditional leaders over their people.[38] Had it not been for the usage of the local *Balabats* in the administration of the conquered territories, the invaded people and their areas could not be pacified.

3.5. The Conquest of the Halaba, Ṭämbaro and Dubamo

The Halaba people, who were considered as a branch of the Hadiya ethnic group, were marshaled by *Abägaz* Bare Kajawa in the war of resistance against the invaders. It was Wodajo Gobana who took the leadership agaist the Halaba. The later were able to collaborate with some of the Arsi clans and fought the Shäwan strongly, but they were unable to stand for long in front of the modern firearms that the invaders armed with. *Woma* Choforo, though unsuccessful, brought all the Ṭämbaro people under his sway and undertook war of resistance against the Shäwan force. Finally, they were defeated by the Shäwans and made to live under the *Gäbbar*

[38] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido and Abara Kalacha.

system. The Dubamo under the leadership of *Woma* Garima did their best to resist the invaders, though unsuccessful.[39] They were defeated and brought to the *Gäbbar* system.

As mentioned else where in this chapter, Menilek managed to use the neighboring ethnic groups against the Hadiya in the war of conquest.[40] This created a sense of hatred among the neighboring peoples of the south central Ethiopia in the later times. A sense of hatred among the Hadiya clans, however, was not started in the time of invasion. Authors like Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo write:

> **በንጉስ ምኒሊክ ዘመን የተደረገዉ የወረራና የማስገበር ጦርነት ግን ሀዲያ ያሉትን ያክል ጊኞዎች እራሳቸዉን የቻሉ የተለያዩ ጦርነቶች ተደርገዋል። ይህ ሁኔታ ጊኞዎች የየራሳቸዉ የሆነ የግል ታሪክና ልምድ እንዲኖራቸዉ በማድረጉ የነበራቸዉን የአንድነትና የወንድማማችነት ስሜት አቀዝቅዟል። … ስርአቱን በጋራ በመቋቋም ፈንታ እርስ በእርሳቸዉ በጥርጣሬ እንዲተያዩ የራሱን አስተዋጽኦ አበርክቷል።**[41]

Its rough English translation is:

> *In the time when the Shäwans came to their land for conquest, the Hadiya clans undertook struggles independently against them. Such endeavor let each Hadiya clan to develop its own independent experience and history, and degraded the spirit of brotherhood among themselves. Such an event opened the door for the development of uncertainty among the clans, and above all paralyzed their unity and cooperation.*

The unity of the clans of the Hadiya, however, began deteriorating after the collapse of the Medieval Hadiya Muslim state. In the 19th century, before the coming of the Shäwan invaders, every clan of the Hadiya tended to fight each other, or in other words there had not been unity among them before the conquest. It is difficult to accept the idea that the Hadiya had a sense of brotherhood before the *Gäbbar* system imposed up on them. This was largely because attacks and counter attacks were the norm of the time among the various Hadiya clans, and as a result

[39] Informants: Tafara Gimore, Ersumo Densamo and Tenaye Gäbre.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] **አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ** 84.

animosity escalated to the higher extent before the Shäwan invasion. The major reasons for the prevalence of feud among the Hadiya clans before Menilek's conquest were land and other resources like water.

Generally speaking, the advancing forces of Emperor Menilek succeeded in occupying Lemo, Shashogo, Wetogira, Sorro, Endägagn, Masmas, Dubamo, Halaba, Donga, Ţämbaro and the Kämbata through the Enamor and other neighboring territories.[42] As noted above, *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana and *Ras* Wälde Ashagre defeated leaders of the aforementioned Hadiya and neighboring ethnic group one after the other. The Shäwan Christian conquerors appeared to have used a strategy of attacking every clan of the Hadiya separately.[43] Menilek's war leaders worked hard to dismantle the unity of the Hadiya and let them to face their modern rifles separately. The support that the neighboring ethnic groups had given to the Shäwan invaders was the other factor that brought the Hadiya to their subjugation. The neighboring ethnicities not only gave the invaders human power, but also strategic places from which the later used to attack the Hadiya. The occurrence of rinderpest epidemic appeared to have killed almost all of the cattle in Hadiya. This was a huge blow for peoples like the Hadiya who depended on pastoralism for their livelihood. In the time when the Shäwans reached their land, the Hadiya were already exhausted by the draught and the rinderpest catastrophe. These were huge opportunities for Menilek's war leaders to crush the wars of resistance in southern Hadiya easily. As mentioned above, *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana moved to the Halaba and invaded their land in 1892. Like the other Hadiya clans, they became easy prey for the invaders for the reasons mentioned above. Finally,

[42] Informants: Markos Makebo, Dogiso Abe, Shamebo Letebo and Kabiso Molla.
[43] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 68.

the two war leaders (Wodajo and Wälde) succeeded to bring the overall Hadiya territory under the Shäwan hegemony.[44]

In Kämbata, refusing to accept the overlordship of Wodajo Gobana over the Kämbata area, the old aged *Woma* Dilbato Dagoye decided to fight the invaders. Despite the effort to pacify the situation by his grandson, Moliso Helamo, war became inevitable between the two. The military superior invading armies of Menilek commanded by *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana and *Ras* Mangasha Atikam crushed the numerically and militarily inferior army of the Kämbata. Then, wholesome massacre followed against the Kämbata people.[45] The conquering armies ruthlessly massacred and burned to ashes all the houses of the Kämbata leaders at Enano court (the palace of Dilbato).

It is very controversial to know exactly who ruled the Hadiya area after the conquest. According to Lapiso, the today's Lemo, Sorro, Shashogo and Kontab were collectively renamed as 'Lemo *Awraja'* and were given to Basha Aboye, whereas Angacha, Kadida Gamela, Sike and Ţämbaro were renamed as 'Kämbata' and *Däjjazmach* Tassama Darge was assigned to administer it.[46] But some oral informants say that the Hadiya and Kämbata areas were divided into three parts and given to three different governors of Emperor Menilek. While Sorro, Lemo and Shashogo were given to Basha Aboye, Kontab became the administrative domain of his brother, Lamma Aboye. Badäwacho was reorganized under the administrative division of *Däjjazmach* Tasama Darge who was already endowed with areas like Angacha, Kadida Gamela and Ţämbaro.[47]

[44] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Ermolo Badulo and Asäfa Bunte.
[45] Informants: Dagalo Tone, Kabada Darsabo and Fitebo Lamango.
[46] Lapiso, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia…," pp. 93-116.
[47] Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Firde T/Giorgis and Damise Mänsido.

Braukamper on the other hand states that after the removal of *Däjjazmach* Wodajo, Basha Aboye was given the whole Hadiya and Kämbata areas to administer as a single province from 1894-1895 from Ambaricho. After Basha Aboye, according to Braukamper, Tassama Darge came to Kämbata and Hadiya area. Like Basha Aboye, he used to rule the whole Kämbata and Hadiya areas as a single administrative unit. The author says, *Däjjazmach* Tassama Darge moved his political seat from Ambaricho to Angacha. It was Tassama that established Angacha town in 1895.[48]

The oral traditions in Hadiya strongly hold the view that in the time of Wodajo, Basha and Tassama, the Hadiya and Kämbata areas were divided into Lemo and Shashogo on one hand and Kämbata on the other.[49] It seems to me that Lapiso and the arguments of my oral informants are convincing. This was mainly because following the conquest, the Kämbata-Hadiya land was distributed among the commanders who participated in the campaign. Regarding the naming of the *Awraja*, the idea of Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo reads:

> **ይህ ከላይ የተጠቀሱት የአጼ ሚኒሊክ ደጃዝማች ተሻሚዎች ያስተዳድሩ የነበሩት የአስተዳደር አከባቢ በጥቅሉ ከምባታ ሌሞና ሻሾጎ ተብሎ ይጠራ እንደነበረ ኪበሞ ገልጻል፡፡ ከምባታ ከሚለዉ ከዚህ የአስተዳደር ክፍል ዉስጥ ከሀዲያ ዋና ጊቾዎች ዉስጥ የባደዋቾ ጊቾ በአጠቃላይ ሲቄ በሚል ተገቢ ባልሆነ ስም እንዲወከል ተደርጓል፡፡ የተቀረዉ የዛሬዉ የሀዲያ ህዝብ (ሶሮ፣ ሌሞ፣ ሻሾጎ፣ ባዶጎ) በአንድ ላይ ሌሞ በሚለዉ ክፍል እንዲወከሉ በማድረግ ቀድሞ ያልነበረ አጠቃላይ ማንነትን ለመፍጠር ጥረት ተደርጓል፡፡ ሌሞ የሚለዉ መጠሪያ ከላይ ለተጠቀሱት የሀዲያ ጊቾዎች የተሰጠበት ምክንያት የአስተዳደሩ ከተማ በሚገኝበት ጊቾ ስም ነዉ ተብሎ ቢወሰድ እንኳን ህዝቡ ተገቢና ሁሉን የሚያቅፍ የጥንት የማንነቱ መገለጫ የሆነዉን ስሙን እንዳይጠቀም እንደተደረገ መመልከት ይቻላል፡፡**[50]

[48] Braukamper, p. 289.
[49] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Boltano Handino.
[50] **አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ** 86.

This can be translated into English as:

> *Kibamo mentioned that, the aforementioned Däjjazmachs' administrative areas were classified as Kämbata on one hand and Lemo and Shashogo on the other. In the Kämbata administrative sub-division, one of the major Hadiya clans, Badäwacho, was classified and renamed wrongly as Sike. The rest Hadiya clans like the Sorro, Lemo, Shashogo and the Badogo were given collective name called Lemo, and by doing so they tried to offer them new identity. Even though the reason for the rendering of the name Lemo for the aforementioned clans was because of the location of its capital, there had been strong attempt to annihilate their identity.*

We see the two authors criticizing Emperor Menilek's regime for deliberate attack against the name, 'Hadiya'. According to them, it was the Shäwans who gave the name 'Sike' to Badäwacho people. Instead of using the common name or the medieval name (Hadiya), the Emperor gave a new administrative identity for the people of Lemo, Sorro, Shashogo and Badogo. At first, these clans are named 'Lemo and Shashogo', and then the area was renamed as 'Lemo'. Alabachaw and Samuel argue that the naming and renaming process of the area was deliberate and aimed to reject the renowned medieval name, Hadiya.[51]

Based on the historical analysis of the existing sources, I argue that the naming and renaming process of the area was not aimed to dismantle the original Hadiya name. This was because, following the disintegration of the Hadiya Muslim state and the disbandment of its people in different directions, the original name began to lose its status and the different clans of the Hadiya that came to their present settlement used to call themselves by their own respective clan names. The Lemo people, for instance, preferred to call themselves as Lemo, rather than Hadiya. This was the same with other Hadiya clans. When the Shäwans came to the Hadiya land in 1886, they first encountered the Lemo people and then the Shashogo. When they returned to Shäwa because of the Ḳäbena *jihadist* movement, they held in their minds the Lemo and the Shashogo

[51] *Ibid.*

names, but not the Sorro and the Badogo or other clans of the Hadiya. At the time of their second return to Hadiya in the early 1890s, they knew the names and peoples of Lemo and Shashogo. As a result, after the completion of the conquest of all Hadiya people in 1894, they were seen naming the major parts of the Hadiya land as Lemo and Shashogo.[52]

Because of the distance of the Badäwacho land from the mainland Hadiya, the Shäwans were seen administering them as part of the Kämbata. They renamed the area inhabited by the Kämbata, Ţämbaro and Badäwacho as Kämbata. The strong work that the *Balabat* of the Kämbata (Moliso) had done could be mentioned as the main reason behind the naming process. As mentioned above, the Kämbata used to trace their ethnic origin to the 'Amhara', and they effectively exploited such relationship in the naming process of the area.[53]

After their incorporation, *Ḳägnazmach* Moliso Helamo became the *balabat* of Kämbata and began to play a dominant role in the future career of the *Awraja*. Unlike Dilbato, Moliso had submissive behavior to the Shäwan conquerors. He had served them with all potential and became strong loyal for the one that brought the horrible land tenure system to his people.[54] Mainly because of his submissive behavior, all the *Näfţägna*, northern settlers and administrators were near him than his Hadiya counterparts. Some of my informants say that Moliso was behind the naming process of the *Awraja*, Kämbata. It is said that he persuaded the Shäwan administrators to name the area as Kämbata.[55] In line with this, Braukamper states:

> *... from 1893 onwards the Kämbata through the skill of Moliso, the grandson of the last king Dilbato, who in contrast to the rest of his family had come to an arrangement with*

[52]Informants: Tadala Wändïmu, Salamu Bifebo, Shifäraw Bäkälä and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] Informants: Mishamo Boke and Abäbä Anulo.
[55] Informants: Gabramariam Wachämo and Aboche Takiso.

> *the Habäsha in good time, procured an advantage for their group. The whole territory between the Gurage Mountains in the north, the Omo (Gibe) in the west, Wolayta in the south and the boundary between Allaaba and Arsi to the east was from then on designated Kämbata province.*[56]

However, the major part of my oral informants and other pertinent sources argue that the name Kämbata was given to both Kämbata and Hadiya people during Italian occupation. It was Bargano Moliso, (the son of Moliso Helamo) who named the *Awraja* as Kämbata.[57]

After the departure of Tasama Darge and the death of Basha Aboye at Adäwa, *Ras* Abata Buayalew came to the leadership of 'Lemo and Kämbata' province. He changed his seat from Angacha to Sech Duna in 1897. *Ras* Abata was said to have established Hossana town and the one who gave the name Hossana to Sech Duna.[58] This was because the time when he changed his seat was in the time of Hossana. In Christian religion, a week before Easter is termed as 'Hossana'. The formation of the town was the result of the late 19th century political development, i. e. the Shäwan territorial expansion.

Regarding the establishment of towns in Ethiopia in general, there are authors who forward different views. "Population size, control of natural environment, technological development and the development of social organization are factors for the emergence and development of towns."[59] Many authors of Ethiopian urban history, according to Tasama, are seen associating the emergence of urbanization in the western and south western Ethiopia to the end of the 19th

[56] Braukamper, p. 288.

[57] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Damise Mansido , Abatikun Lamboro , Aboche Takiso, Anshiso Awilo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[58] Alabachaw and Samuel, p. 86.

[59] Tesema Ta'a, "The Process of Urbanization in Wollaga, Western Ethiopia: the Case of Neqemte Town," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies,* Vol. 26, No. 1, 1993, p. 51

century. The author criticizes them for merely connecting the emergence and growth of urbanization in the west and south western Ethiopia to the religious and political development of the last quarter of the 19th century, i.e. to Menilek's occupation. He goes on to say that, the emergence and development of towns in the western and south western Ethiopia was not only attributed to the religious and political factors, but also with the socio-economic, demographic and ecological makeups[60] Akalou W/Michael is one of the authors who contradicts such view points. He states, "… Important contributory factor to the changing status of urbanization in Ethiopia in the second half of the 19th century were territorial expansion, development of a new system of administration and development of communication and commerce."[61]

It is my understanding that internal socio-economic factors were the dominant ones than the externals in the emergence and advancement of many towns in the south, southwest and the southeastern parts of Ethiopia. But there are towns in these areas which were established as a result of external factors like the territorial expansion of the late 19th century. Such towns evolved from garrisons as Akalou states, '… many of the garrisons were relatively small, nonetheless, they performed a primary service in the urbanization movement of the period.'[62] Hossana was one of such towns that evolved through such process. In Hadiya, except Hossana, the rest towns are the result of internal socio-economic factors. Gimbichu, Fonko, Morsito, Habicho, Balesa, Hachamo, Ansho, Jajura, Lisana and other small towns in Hadiya are emerged and developed because of internal socio-economic factors than the external religio-political

[60] Tesema, "The Process of Urbanization," p. 59-60.
[61] Akalou Wälde Michael, "Urban Development in Ethiopia, 1889-1925," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1973, p. 1.
[62] Akalou, p. 1.

reasons. Garrison places in Hadiya like Ana, Dämala and Balbula could not developed to the level of town, except for the existence of very small number of primitive houses.

According to my informants, *Ras* Abatä changed his seat from Angächa to Sech Duna (Hossana) with the help of some renowned Hadiya war leaders like Geja Garibo (the details about the later is written below). Before Abata's arrival, there were two clans or families who made their abode at Sech Duna. Witto clan dwelled in the Eastern escarpment, whereas Samar Damo family (then small in number) occupied the western part. *Dana* Fitebo was one of the reknowned elders of Witto clan at the time when *Ras* Abata came to such a hilly place. Oral traditions tend to count eight families of Witto clan who dwelled at Sech Duna before and during Abata's arrival. With regard to this, one of my informants says, Witto was the son of Kule. After coming to Sech Duna several years before Abata's arrival, Witto gave birth to two sons named Abo and Kulelo. Kulelo gave birth to six sons: Abiche, Abo, Hoye, Sawo, Acho and Abaye."[63] All these sons and their families were living organized in clan level at Sech Duna. They were living dominantly as pastoralists, but side by side they were practicing farming. Abata approached *Dana* Fitebo so that the later would convince his clan to leave their land. Abata made negotiation not only with *Dana* Fitebo, but also with Samar Damo (the leader of the later Samar Mana family). *Dana* Fitebo, on behalf of Witto clan agreed to leave the land in return for their settlement near Batena River, at a particular place called Kalisha. Moreover, they were said to have given the right to collect taxes from the later Hossana market. *Ras* Abata appeared to have allowed Witto clan to use all the taxes they were collecting from Hossana market for themselves. As far as these issues are concerned, my informants say:

[63] Informants: Damise Mänsido and Shifäraw Bifebo.

አባተ አንገጫ ላይ እያለ ጌጃ ገሪቦ ይሄ ቦታ አይመቾትም የሚመቾትን ቦታ እኔ እመርጥሎታለዉ ብሎ ወደ ሴች ዱና አመጣቸዉ። አባተ ሴች ዱና ሲመጣ በቦታዉ ላይ የዊቶ ጎሳ ነበር። በተጨማሪም የሳመር ዳማ ቤተሰብም በሴችዱና በሌላኛዉ ክፍል ይኖሩ ነበር። የሳመር ዳማ ቤተሰብ አሁን ለሚገኙት የሳመር መና ጎሳ መነሻ ናቸዉ። በራስ አባተ ዘንድ ከሁሉም በላይ ቦታ የተሰጣቸዉ የዊቶ ሽማግሌ ለነበሩት ለዳና ፊጤቦ ነበር። እሳቸዉ በወቅቱ የአጠቃላይ ሌሞ ዳና ነበሩ። በተጨማሪም የሱንዳኬም ባህላዊ ዳና ነበሩ። አባተ ሴችዱና ላይ የሰፈራ ቦታ ፈልጎ ዳና ፊጤቦን አማከረ። 'አሁን እናንተ የሰፈራችሁበትን ቦታ ከተማ ልንመሰርትበት እንፈልጋለን። ከተማ ሲመሰረት ደግሞ የመጀመሪያ ተጠቃሚ የምትሆኑት እናንተ ናችሁ' ሲሏቸዉ ዳና ፊጤቦ ደግሞ በበኩላቸዉ 'እኛ ከወንዝ ዳር ርቀን መኖር አንችልም፣ ከወንዝ ዳር ልታርቁን ከፈለጋችሁ ከዚህ አንነሳም' አሉ። በመጨረሻም ስምምነት ላይ ደርሰዉ ባቴና ወንዝ ዳር ጥሩ ቦታ ተፈልጎላቸዉ ቃልሻ ላይ እንዲሰፍሩ ተደረገ። ከዛ አባተ ለዳና ፊጤቦ ዝናር፣ ጠመንጃና ካባ በስጦታ መልክ አበረከቱላቸዉ። የሆሳዕና ከተማ ገበያን ቀረጥ እየቀረጡ እንዲጠቀሙ ተፈቀደላቸዉ።[64]

Its translation reads:

While Abata was at Angacha, it was Geja Garibo (the later Fitawrari) who advised the former about the presence of suitable area for settlement. Then, he brought Ras Abata to Sech Duna. At that time Witto and Samar Damo families were settled at the eastern and western escarpments of Sech Duna, respectively. The Samar Damo family was the ancestor of the present day Samar Mana people who are extensively living in Lareba. After his arrival at Sech Duna, Ras Abata made a wise decision to approach Dagna Fitebo. This was because Dagna Fitebo was the overall leader of Lemo clan and the Sundako tribe under it. Abata told Dagna Fitebo everything about his plan at Sech Duna. He told him about his plan to establish town, and as a result, they would be the first to earn benefit out of it. Abata asked Dagna Fitebo to convince his people to leave Sech Duna to other areas. In response, Dagna Fitebo said that his clan would not survive if they were forced to go far from the river. As a result, Witto (the clan of Dagna Fitebo) people were allowed to settle at conducive Kalisha plain, near to Batena river. As a response for what he did, Abata gave Dagna Fitebo gifts like rifle, cartridge, and cultural coat. Moreover, Witto clan was allowed to collect and use taxes from the later Hossana market.

The Samar Damo family was also agreed to leave their land to nearby areas of Sech Duna. The specific place where the Samar Damo was made to settle was Lareba. This was done, like the Witto, in response to what they did during Abata's settlement at Sech Duna. It is difficult to know the other compensation that the Samar Damo family was given by Abata. After the two

[64] Informants: Damise Mänsido and Shifäraw Bifebo.

clans left their land, *Ras* Abata was able to settle at Sech Duna with his entourages and soldiers. Then, the northern settlers began to flock to this land in a mass. This was because, the area was very strategic and its weather condition was very suitable to live.[65]

Since the Witto clan was allowed to settle near Hossana town, most of them became members of the Amhara association (*Mahibar* in Amharic). Though small in number, the Samar Damo also took part in such association. Being member to the Amhara association means they became equivalent to the 'Amhara' people living at Sech Duna. The Amhara expect the Witto to act in favor of them against the interest of their wider kinsmen, the Hadiya.[66]

It is said that *Dana* Fitebo who became the leader of Lemo at the time of Abata's arrival at Sech Duna, made oath (on behalf of all the people of Lemo) with the Amhara settlers. The oath was made at Batena River. To put the oath on concrete base, cattle blood was spilled. The oath accompanied by animal blood was considered among the Hadiya as final and binding. In this oath the Amhara became the seventh brother of Lemo. Finally, the two factions swore, '**የገፋ ይገፋ**' 'those persecute should be persecuted'.[67] One of my informants says, with the coming to power of the Därg regime, many of the Amhara land lords and their related groups were persecuted by the land policy of the Därg. For them, it was part of their violation of the oath that they made with the Lemo. During the offense that the other Hadiya clans undertook against the Amhara on the eve of the coming to power of the Därg, it was only the Lemo who refrained from taking any actions against the 'Amhara'. This was because they had an oath at Batena.

[65] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Ermolo Badulo and Asäfa Bunte
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] Informant: Damise Mänsido and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Dana Makoro was the Lemo leader during the last years of the Haila Selassie rule. He was said to have prohibited the Lemo not to take any action against the 'Amhara' on the time when everybody was undertaking virulent things against the later as revenge. *Dana* Makoro was the one that helped the Lemo remember the oath that they made with the Amhara. His intention was to protect his people from the possible occurrence of catastrophe that would result probably from violating the oath. The Lemo believe that catastrophe will occur in the time when one of the parties violates the oath. Even today, there is a saying in Lemo tradition which reads, "Looh Abaay Lem, Lamalek Amhara", "**ሌሞ ስድስት ወንድሞች አሉት፣ ሰባተኛዉ አማራ ነዉ።**" Its rough translation is, "Lemo has six brothers, the seventh one is Amhara".[68]

Regarding the name of the area before the establishment of Hossana town, we see controversies among the Hadiya oral informants and some written sources. Informants argue that the name of the area before the establishment of the town was Wachämo.[69] On the other side, there are sources which say the name of the area prior to the establishment of the town was Sech Duna, not Wachämo.[70] There is also strong disagreement regarding the origin of the name Wachämo. Some say the origin of the name Wachämo was related to the person who dwelled there prior to the establishment of the town. According to this tradition, before the establishment of the town, there was a wizard named Wachämo and it is from this person that the name derived.[71]

[68] Informants: Damise Mänsido and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[69] Informants: Tirago Kabada, Agano Mishamo and Birhanu Manebo.
[70] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[71] *Ibid.*

Other sources argue that the origin of the name Wachämo was related to the attractive climatic condition of the area. According to this argument, Hossana area before its establishment was very attractive because of the existence of interesting climatic conditions. For them, the term 'wachamo' means attractive climatic conditions. The other idea with regard to the origin of the name Wachämo was related to another person who had lived at Sech Duna. This person was said to have dwelt at Sech Duna Mountain and rich enough with cattle and other farming productions. The story is: "once up on a time when a guest came to his house, he was able to offer the guest with plenty of food, milk, honey and others. Then, the guest got surprised with such an offer. The event that surprised him to the utmost was the bulk of milk that was given to him. Then he said 'this is not drinking, rather it is swimming, or Waachima.'" The supporters of this idea say that the term Wachämo or Wachima means 'swimming' and it was from this event that the name Wachämo was coined. Today, we see people with a name Wachämo in Hadiya area. We also see people in the countryside using the name Wachämo to refer to the town, instead of Hossana. Hossana is used by the urban people both in Hossana and outside of it.

It is my argument that the name of the area before the establishment of Hossana town was Wachamo. Sech Duna was the name of a specific hilly place in Wachamo. The later was used to indicate the wider area which includes Sech Duna. Since the names of the majority towns in Hadiya were coined following the establishment of churches, markets, administrative centers, important events and the settlement of reknowned personalities, I come to conclude that the origin of the name Wachamo was linked to a powerful wizard who dwelled at Sech Duna hilly place. It is mentioned elsewhere in this paper that a Wizard or *Kirancho* was the revered figure who possess 'useful' spirit in *Fandanano* religion. Such spiritual figures prefer to dwell on hilly

places covered with dense forests. Long before the settlement of both Witto and Samar Damo families on Sech Duna, a wizard of *Fandanano* religion with the name Wachamo believed to have settled there. People from different parts of Hadiya used to come to Sech Duna to visit the Wizard. The time they encountered problems or wanted to pay tribute, the say 'Waacham Bey Maloona', 'let us go to Waachamo'. This wizard was very powerful from among the wizards of *Fanadanano* religion in the area. It is my stand that the name Wachamo was coined after him.

Abata preferred to settle at Sech Duna (hilly place in Hossana) because of the strategic importance of the area. My informants say:

> **ራስ አባተ ሆሳዕናን የመሰረተዉ በ1889 ዓ.ም. ነዉ። ከሱ በፊት የነበሩ አስተዳዳሪዎች ሀዲያንና ከምባታን ያስተዳደሩት አከባቢዉን ለሁለት ወይም ለሶስት በመከፋፈል ነበር። አባተ ግን ለብቻዉ ነዉ ያስተዳደረዉ። በዚያ ዘመን የነበሩ አስተዳዳሪዎች ከተሞችን ሲመሰርቱ ስትራቴጂነቱን በማረጋገጥ ወይም ደግሞ ከፍታማ ቦታን ይመርጡ ነበር። በዚህ ከፍታማ ቦታ ላይ በሚመሰርቱት ከተማ ላይ በመሆን የሚያስተዳድሩትን አከባቢዎች በሙሉ ማየት ይፈልጋሉ። ራስ አባተ ሆሳዕናን ከመመስረቱ በፊት የተለያዩ አከባቢዎችን ቃኝቶ ነበር። መጀመሪያ የአንገጫ ከፍታማ ቦታዎች ላይ ሆኖ የሚያስተዳድረዉን አከባቢ ቃኘ። አራቱንም አቅጣጫዎች ሊያይ አልቻለም። አና ከፍታማ ቦታዎች ላይ ሆኖ ዙሪያዉን ተመለከተ፣ አሁንም አራቱንም አቅጣጫዎች መመልከት አልቻለም። ቀጫ (ሌራ ከተማ አከባቢ የሚገኝ) ከፍታማ ቦታ ላይ ወጥቶ አየ፣ አሁንም ሁሉንም አቅጣጫዎች ማየት አልቻለም። ከዛ ሴች ዱና ላይ ወጥቶ ሲያይ በአራቱም ማዕዘን የሚያስተዳድረዉን አከባቢ መቃኘት ቻለ። በዚህ ምክንያት ሴች ዱና ላይ ከተማ መሰረተ። ከተማዉንም ሆሳዕና ብሎ ሰየመዉ።**[72]

This can be roughly translated into English as:

> *Ras Abata established Hossana town in 1897. The rulers before him were able to administer the area by dividing the Hadiya-Kämbata region into two or three parts. But the Emperor gave Abata the whole area to rule alone. The then time the Shäwans, before undertaking settlement at any place, take into consideration the strategic importance of the area or mostly they were seen preferring hilly or elevated land. They were in need of observing the area they administer from that strategic or elevated place. Before establishing Hossana, Ras Abata made an attempt to see other places for settlement. The first observation was undertaken from Angacha hilly land, but he couldn't see the area he was given to administer in all directions. Then he went to Ana (in Lemo) elevated land,*

[72] Informant: Shafaraw Bifebo, Firde Takla Giorgis, Ermolo Badulo and Dagalo Shamebo.

but he couldn't see his administrative domains in four directions. He went to Kacha (hilly land located near the present day Lera town) and tried to see the area of his administration in four directions, but he couldn't do that. Later on, he climbed to Sech Duna (an elevated land in Hossana) and tried to see his administrative domains. Finally his effort bore fruit, because he was able to see all the areas of his administration in four directions. Then, he and his companions settled there and established a town and renamed it Hossana.

Since the times of Abata, Hossana became the capital of 'Lemo and Kämbata' *Awraja*. 'Lemo and Kämbata' as a name of the *Awraja* was given to both Kämbata and Hadiya people. Till 1908, 'Lemo and Kämbata' sub-province was said to have been accountable directly to Addis Abäba government. According to my informants, in the time of Abata, Ethiopia was not organized in the provincial (**ክፍለ ሀገር**) level; rather the country was reorganized in sub-provinces (**አዉራጃ**). At that time, Endägagn and Enamor Gurage (locally known as Yachirat) were made to pay their tributes to Abata's capital, Hossana. Abata was considered as the one who expanded the *Gäbbar* system more than any other *Awraja* leaders before him.[73]

In the administrative history of Hossana town (between the conquest and the ascending to power of Emperor Haila Selassie I), *Ras* Abata's rule was more stable than his predecessors. Because of his systematic administrative approach to the Hadiya people and his 'generiosity' and effective administration, the local resistance was highly reduced. He built his sub-provincial palace at Sech Duna. Following his foot steps, other officals under him were able to build their own respective homes and administrative offices surrounding the palace.[74] It is said that *Ras* Abata was known for preparing urban planning. He was skillful in planning and architectural design during the establishment of Hossana town. He managed to teach the *Näfṭägna* how to make

[73] Informants: Tadala Wändïmu, Salamu Bifebo, Shifäraw Bäkälä and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo
[74] Informants: Anshiso Awilo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Dagala Tale.

houses with stairs. It is based on his instruction and designs that a number of mud houses with a single stairs were built in Hossana, especially at Arada and Sech Duna sub cities. Today, the name Sech Duna is serving as the name of sub-town in Hossana. This is to mean that one of the sub-towns in Hossana is named Sech Duna.

Figure 5: The relics of Näfţägna houses in Hossana which were built based on the plan of *Ras* Abata Buayalew.[75]

[75] A photo taken by the reasearcher.

Today, we cannot see the one that was built for *Ras* Abata and his entourages in Hossana. There are, however, not more than three houses with a single stairs survived to exist in Hossana. The modern infrastructural developments are expanding to dismantle the heritages of Abata's government as it is clearly seen in the picture above. It is my idea that the existing zonal administrators should protect the historical heritages that help us remember Menilekean administration of the Hadiya people.

It is said that *Ras* Abata did his best to stretch water pump from Batena River to Hossana town.[76] The plan was aimed to solve the water problem of Hossana dwellers. A manuscript written by an anonymous person states:

> **የእቴጌ ስልጣን መጋቢት 12 ቀን 1902 ዓ.ም. እንደተዘጋ … አባተ ራስ ተብለዉ 1902 ግንቦት 5 ቀን ከንባታን፣ አርሲን፣ ቀጫን፣ ከመንዝ ግሼን ተሾሙ። በከምባታና ሀዲያ አዉራጃ በስማቸዉ የያዙት ምንም ጋሻ መሬት የላቸዉም። አባተ ከአድዋ መልስ የከምባታ አዉራጃ አስተዳዳሪ በመደረጋቸዉ በ1888 የሆሳዕናን ከተማ በፊት በአከባቢዉ ቋንቋ (ሀዲይኛ) አጠራር ሴች ዱና (የማር ቀፎ ዳገት የማር ቦታ) ተብሎ በሚጠራዉ አከባቢ ላይ በራሳቸዉ መሀንዲስነትና ቦታ መራጭነት መሰረቱ። ሆሳዕና ብለዉም ስም ያወጡለት በሁዳዴ ጾም በሆሳዕና ቀን ቦታዉ ስለደረሱ ነዉ ይባላል። መቸም በጊዜዉ እንደነበረዉ የከተማዉ አመሰራረትና ቦታ አመራረጥ ሆሳዕና ከተማ በጣም ትልቅ ተራራ ላይ አልተንጠለጠለችም። ከሌሎች ከጥንት ከተሞች የሚለያት ይኗዉ ነዉ። ከተማዋን የመሰረቱበት ቦታ የአዉራጃ ማዕከል ከመሆኗም በላይ እጅግ አስደናቂና አስደሳች በሆነ ስፍራ ላይ ነዉ። ይኗዉም በሶስት ማዕዘን በጣም ሩቅ ያሉ ስፍራዎችን የምታሳይ ምሽጋማ ቦታ (ገዢ ምድር) ሆና በአንድ በኩል ግን ጭዉ ያለች ሜዳማ ናት። በከምባታና ሀዲያ አዉራጃ የዚሁ ማስታወሻ የሚሆናቸዉ በሆሳዕና ከተማ በራስ አባተ ቧያሌዉ ስም የሚጠራ አንድ በጣም የቆየ ትምህርት ቤት አለ። በዚህም ላይ ከከተማዉ ዳርቻ የሚፈሰዉን ባቴና የተባለዉን ወንዝ የከተማዉና የአከባቢዉ ነዋሪዉ የዉሀ እጥረት እንዳያጋጥመዉ በማለት ጠልፈዉ በከተማዉ መሀል እንዲያልፍ ለማድረግ በራሳቸዉ መሀንዲስነት ፕላን አዉጥተዉ ስራዉ ተጀምሮ እስከ ግማሽ ደርሶ እንደነበር ይታወቃል።**[77]

This is roughly translated as:

[76] Informants: Damise Mänsido and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[77] **የማይታወቅ ጸሀፊ፣ <u>አባተ ቧያሌዉ (ራስ)</u>፣ ማኑስክሪፕት፣ ያልታተመ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ጥናት ተቋም፣ ገጽ** 4-5

> *After the end of the power of Etege Tayitu on 20 March 1910, Ras Abata was reappointed to administer Kämbata, Arsi, Kacha and Gishen from Manz on May 13, 1910. In Kämbata and Hadiya Awraja, Abata did not hold a piece of land under his name. Fourteen years before when Abata was first appointed as the ruler of Kämbata in 1897, he established a town called Hossana at Sech Duna hilly place (an elevated land where hives of honey bees abundantly located) based on his own engineering skill. He renamed the place as Hossana, largely because his first settlement day at Sech Duna was made on the day of Hossana, which was in the eve of Easter holiday in Christian religion. Unlike other palace sites of the time, Hossana town was not located on the top of big mountain; rather it was established at the lower hilly place. Such scenario differentiates Hossana from other towns of the time. The place where the town established was very interesting for settlers and it became the center of the Awraja. Albeit the town was situated on less hilly land, one can see the surrounding areas from three directions. As a result it became an important garrison town. In memory of the founder of the town, a school was established at the center of the town; which was named as Ras Abata School. It is said that Ras Abata made relentless efforts to take some of the Batena water to Hossana using a pipe. His effort, however, was not fruitful, probably because he lost his administrative power without bringing the project to an end.*

It is true that *Ras* Abata did his best to modernize Hossana and he was the one behind the plan of the town and its traditional buildings. The remaining of its heritages is still existent. We see, however, the writer exaggerating the deeds and administrative achievements of *Ras* Abata Buayalew. As mentioned above, it is true that *Ras* Abata's time witnessed effective administration in the history of feudo-military rule in Hadiya. Nevertheless, the issue that *Ras* Abata was free from having *Gasha* land in Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja* is far from true. Since the central government had the trend of allowing the possession of *Gasha* land for all administrators and soldiers who were assigned to keep the conquered areas for long, it is hard to believe the idea that *Ras* Abata was free from land holding in Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja.* Moreover, the offer of *Gasha* land for the administrative personals the then time was considered as a replacement for salary. If they didn't have land and *Gäbbars* for their family and their entourages, their very existence in the area would be put into question. So, it was must for *Ras* Abata to possess *Gasha* land to use for his family as well as to feed banquet for the *Gäbbars*. My

informants told me that *Ras* Abata had some 20 *Gashas* of land in Hadiya, though it was far less than the one held by his son, *Ras* Getachaw Abata who became the administrator of the Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja* and the one believed to have established Shone Town.[78] *Ras* Getachaw Abata had more than 80 *Gashas* of land in Badäwacho.[79]

We see also the aforementioned writer appreciating Abata's generosity and benevolence for the Hadiya people. Such generosity and kindness, however, was limited to the settlers who came from the north and the family of those who were working to their utmost to safeguard the interests of the central government, but not for the autochthonous population. Almost all of my oral informants unanimously agree that *Ras* Abata's time was very harsh for the local people and it was the time when the cruel some *Gäbbar* system was strengthened in Hadiya. The *Gäbbar* system which ultimately became horrible for the autochthones was consolidated during the time of Abata. The issue that Abata attempted to stretch the water pump from Batena River to Hossana was limited to the use of the settler population and the *Näfţägna* family who entirely controlled Hossana town.[80]

Except the settlers, the administrators and the *Näfţägna* families, the autochthonous population was not allowed to enter into Hassana town. From the local population, the *Balabats*, the *Sangaqoros, Ċhiḳashums* and *Wana* were not forbidden to enter since they were the ones who bring taxes and tributes to the *Awraja* administration. If the ordinary Hadiya individuals were discovered in Hossana town, the *Nach Labashs* were the ones who took the lead to punish them

[78] Informants: Damise Mänsido, Shifäraw Bifebo and Maskalo Forsido.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido, Anshiso Awilo and Bäkälä Dudubo.

harshly.[81] The garrison towns in the south like Hossana had served Menilek's administration as centers of tax collection and symbol of *Gäbbar* system. Many of the garrison places were selected based on their strategic advantages.

3.6. The Participation of the Hadiya *Gäbbar* Soldiers at the Battle of Adäwa

Emperor Menilek heard of the Italians crossing of the Marab River and their occupation of Adigrat and Makale, while he was in a campaign against the Wolayta. He received the news from Mangasha Yohannes who has been defeated by the Italians at Kuatit and Sanafe.[82] Having heard about the Italians encroachment, Emperor Menilek returned immediately to Addis Abäba and began huge preparation for war. Then the emperor declared war against the Italians in September 1895. From all directions of the country, the people of Ethiopia flocked to Tigray. The newly incorporated areas also took part in the campaign against the Italians. From Hadiya and Kämbata areas, a large number of troops marched to Adäwa. The overall commander of the Hadiya-Kämbata coalition was *Däjjazmach* Basha Aboye. Under Basha, there were war commanders, among whom the strongest one was *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo. Geja, being the commander of significant number of Hadiya forces marched to Adäwa and fought the Italians with strong determination and bravery. Unfortunately, the commander in chief of the Hadiya and Kämbata troops, Basha Aboye, was killed at the battle. Tasfaye says that in such glorious war, though they were fresh *Gäbbars* for Menilek, the Kämbata contributed a lot for the victory of Ethiopian army at Adäwa.

Basha recruited a huge force from the *Gäbbars* of Hadiya- Kämbata people. His recruitment did not spare females from the war. The Hadiya fought the enemy with courage and bravery. In

[81] Informants: Ashebo Detebo and Tämäsgän Sugato.

[82] ተስፋዬ፣ ገጽ፣ 247

accordance with the direction given to him by Menilek, Basha succeeded to encircle the enemy garrison and gave them hard times.[83] Basha Aboye and *Fitawrari* Shankoru were killed at the battle. In revenge for the death of their leaders, the coalition force was said to have massacred the surrendered Italian soldiers.[84]

In the final show at Adäwa, according to Tasfaye Habiso, thousands of Hadiya *Gäbbars* gave their life for the 'independence' of 'their country'. Tesfaye states, "**በአድዋ ጦርነት፡ በብዙ ሺ የሚቆጠሩ የከምባታና የቀረዉም አከባቢ ህዝቦች የገበሬ ሰራዊት፡ ህይወታቸዉን ለሀገራቸዉ ህልዉና መስዋዕት፡ አድርገዋል፡፡**"[85] Its rough translation is: "Thousands of the Kämbata and the remaining surrounding farmer soldiers sacrificed their life for survival of their nation." At the time, however, the Hadiya *Gäbbars* themselves were under subjugation. They went to Adäwa, not to fight for their independence; rather they did it because they were forced to do so. This was because, since the Hadiya were brought forcibly to the Ethiopian Empire a year before the Adäwa, the recruited *Gäbbar* soldiers were not happy to fight for those who took their land and freedom. The Hadiya-Kämbata coalition force marched to Adäwa to fight for their oppressors and exploiters against colonialism.[86]

At the time of the Adäwa war, the Hadiya *Gäbbar* land was totally confiscated by the settlers, the *Näfṭägna* and the church, and the various administrators of the region. As a result, the formerly independent people were brought to subjugation and oppression that could surpass the

[83] *Ibid.,* p. 248

[84] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Gabramichael Wachämo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo

[85] ኮስፋዬ ሀቢሶ፣ ገጽ 250.

[86] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Gabramichael Wachämo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo

horrible situations that slaves were experiencing in Ethiopia. Here, one can ask that how a people whose human rights were violated could fight for the independence of their country that he didn't know. In reality, however, the Hadiya and Kämbata peoples were not marched to Adäwa to struggle for the independence of their country, as their independence was totally violated by the feudo-military rulers. On the eve and aftermath of Adäwa, the Hadiya were seen struggling as individual basis and sometimes by forming groups to regain their independence that they lost to the northerners.

The Hadiya were forced to march to Adäwa by the local *Wanas, Ċhiḳashums, Sängaḳoros, Balabats*, the Amhara landlords, the settlers, and the various administrators of the area. They were not even conscious of the establishment and significance of the Ethiopian state at that early stage. In line with this, Elizabeth MacCallum states:

> *… Along the frontier condition have been notoriously unsettled. The local tribes are in most cases quite innocent of the sense of nationality. From time immemorial, they have been accustomed to inter-tribal raids and fail to understand why they should discontinue the practice today. They recognize no boundaries but those established traditional understanding among themselves.*[87]

At Adäwa all peoples of the present day Ethiopia were actively participated. Tasfaye argues that the victory of Adäwa was not only the victory of the king, the queen, the nobilities, and other people who were in the higher echelons of power, but also the fruits of the war should go to honey tribute payers, grain tax payers, home servants, mule controllers, wood fetchers, water fetchers, grass cutters and others. The people who gave their lives for the cause of Adäwa were not only the Shäwans, but also the Tigrians, Gojamese, Begemidir, Simen, Wollo, Wallaga, Arsi, Hararge, Gamo, Sidama, Kafa, Kämbata, Wolayta, Hadiya and others. Therefore, the success of

[87] Elizabeth P. MacCallum, *Rivalries in Ethiopia,* Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1935, p. 45

Adäwa was the success of all Ethiopians. The Adäwa battle should not only be celebrated as the victory of the above classes. It was the victory of all Ethiopian people. [88]

Like the other parts of the country, the Shäwan administrators in Hadiya since the times of incorporation were given the power to build their military might in their respective conquered areas. They had the power to organize their military units based on the military divisions such as *Ya Shalläka, Yä Shambäl, Ya Mato, Ya Hamsa* and *Ya Asir*. In their turn, the lower divisions had the power to recruit their troops from among the local people.[89] Such organizations and reorganizations of the military are clearly indicated in Alexander Bulatovich's travel report. In the book translated to Amharic, the author says:

… ከዚህ ጊዜ ጀምሮ ፊታውራሪ ኢማም ለማስተዳደር የሚችሉትን ያህል ወታደር እንዲመለምሉ ተፈቀደላቸዉ። ፊታውራሪ ከ300 ወታደሮቻቸዉ መሀከል ችሎታ ያላቸዉንና ስመ ጥር የሆኑትን መርጠዉ ሻለቃ፣ የመቶ አለቃና የሀምሳ አለቃ አድርገዉ ሾመና የተቀሩትን ወታደሮች በእነሱ መሀከል ከከፋፈሉ በኋላ እንደፈለጉ አዲስ ወታደሮችን እንዲመለምሉ ፈቀደላቸዉ። የፊታውራሪ ጦር በአሁኑ ጊዜ ከ300 እስከ 2000 ከፍ ብሏል። ከላይ የገለጽኩት የፊታውራሪ ኢማም ጦር አመሰራረት ለሀበሻ የጦር ሰራዊቶች ሁሉ አመሰራረት ሞዴል ሊሆን ይችላል።[90]

Its translation is:

> *From now on Fitawrari Yimam was allowed to recruit soldiers from among the local people. From the 300 regular troops, Fitawrari Imam selected some strong men and gave them titles such as Yashalläka, Yamäto Aläḳa and Yaamsa Alaqa. The remaining soldiers were distributed among the selected notables. Then the Fitawrari and his war lords under him were able to recruit soldiers from among the autochthonous population as they could. This time the number of soldiers that Fitawrari Yimam had risen from 300 to 2000. Such military formation can be taken as a model for other parts of Ethiopia or other war commanders.*

[88] Tasfaye, p. 250.
[89] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Abatikun Lamboro and Haji Umar Abasimbo.
[90] Bulatovich, p. 67

From the military organization of *Fitawrari* Yimam, one can understand that the number of northern soldiers who conquered the south were reduced highly through time. After the elapse of time, the *Näfṭägna* became the composition of low number of 'Amhara' warriors and very large number of indigenous troops in the south. This is to mean that, in the newly incorporated areas, the numbers of original conquerors were dwindling from time to time to be duly replaced by the local people. In the time of the conquest of Hadiya-Kämbata areas, for instance, *Ras* Wälde Ashagre and *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana had an army mainly brought from the north. Nevertheless, after the battle of Adäwa, the process of converting the local recruits to the status of *Näfṭägna* had tremendously increased.[91] In 1903, as mentioned above, there was a report regarding the military show of *Ras* Abata Buayalew in memory of the seventh anniversary of the battle of Adäwa. Abata was said to have shown 20,000 soldiers to the emperor in Addis Abäba. From among the 20,000 soldiers, the majority were recruits of the local youths.

At Adäwa, Basha Aboye commanded a huge army mainly recruited from the autochthonous population, and in the time when they returned, they were included in the mainstream *Näfṭägna* soldiers. The local recruits who became the permanent member of the *Näfṭägna* army were said to have called themselves 'Amhara'.[92] Here, the name 'Amhara' indicates a society who was gathered for a single objective. In this case, it is not the name of an ethnic group. Their major objective was implementing and satisfying the interests of their suzerians. Being member of Orthodox Christianity, having Amharic names, adopting the settlers' culture were the major criteria that were set for the locals to be included under the imagined concept called 'Amhara'. Till now those locals who are able to embrace Orthodox Christianity consider themselves

[91] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifaraw Bifebo and Gabramichael Wachamo.
[92] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo.

'Amhara', albeit they were from other ethnic groups. The time when a person asks a local convert to Orthodox Christianity questions like 'which religion you belong?' the later may respond 'my religion is Amhara'. 'Amhara' here denotes the name of the religion, not an ethnic group. At the time every servants of the *Näfṭägna* including their slaves used to live under the shades of the name 'Amhara'. They even continued to use the name even after the downfall of the last feudo-military ruler, Emperor Hailesellassie I. After the end of the so called 'Solomonic Dynasty', all the former servants, slaves and locally recruited soldiers retained the name 'Amhara' for themselves and continued to be called by this name.[93]

During and after the time of Menilek, there was the trend of endowing interesting titles for the autochthonous population who were able to show bravery in battles. From among the local people, the Shäwan administrators in Hadiya upgraded the military title of Geja Garibo to *Fitawrari*, the most respectful title of the time. Geja was born in about 1871. Being strong warrior during his young age and the loyalty that he showed to the Shäwan administrators, he was believed to have been selected to such position. Moreover, the heroic works that he did for the conquerors in the time of their expansion to Hadiya and Wolayta were the other reason that brought him to such honorable title. Above all, his participation at the battle of Adäwa and his bravery that was observed at the battle was the decisive one for the elevation of his status.[94]

Hadiya oral traditions say that once upon a time *Ras* Abata Buayalew sent *Fitawrari* Geja with a letter to Menilek's court. After he reached the palace, he gave the letter to Emperor Menilek, while holding a gun on his hand. Then the king asked him, "Where do you come from? Who sent

[93] Informants: Damse Mansido, Gabramichael Wachamo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifaraw Bifebo and Ermolo Badulo.

[94] Informants: Abäbäch Helebo, Ermolo Badulo and Däsaläch Agano.

you to me?" Geja responded "I come from Hossana, Shäwa province, and Hadiya area". Where upon the king ordered Geja to put down his gun, but the later refused to do so. Then the king asked his title and his name. He responded that his name was *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo. Then the king ordered his servants to serve Geja and give him food and drinks. And finally the king let Geja to return to Hossana after giving him more weapons and approving his title, *Fitawrari*.[95]

At the battle of Adäwa, *Fitawrari* Geja was able to command about 6000 soldiers under his sway. He was said to have led the vanguard force of the overall army of Basha. His army division was organized under the command of Basha Aboye, who was believed to have led about 20,000 troops to Adäwa. Contrary to this, however, there are works which argue that the overall commander of the Hadiya force at Adäwa was *Ras* Abata Buayalew, not Basha Aboye. In the works of Wondïmu Filate and Gedion Addise, it is stated that it was *Ras* Abata Buayalew who was the top leader of the Hadiya army at Adäwa. Nevertheless, they say aptly that *Fitawrari* Geja was the leader of the vanguard force of Abata's army.[96] From the available literatures and the prevailing oral traditions, it can be said that it was Basha Aboye, not *Ras* Abata Buayalew, who commanded the Hadiya army to Adäwa. This was largely because *Ras* Abata was not appointed as the ruler of the *Awraja* before the battle of Adäwa. *Däjjazmach* Basha Aboye, with the strong collaboration of other Hadiya rulers like his brother, Lamma Aboye, was believed to have taken the overall commandment of the Hadiya-Kämbata army at Adäwa, under whose leadership was *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo.[97]

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[95] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo.

[96] **ወንድሙ ፍላቴና ጌዲዎን አዲሴ፣ ገራድ፡ የሀዲያ ታሪክ እስከ 1983 ዓ.ም.፣ 2013 ዓ.ም. አዲስ አበባ፣ ገጽ 288.**

[97] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Tämäsgän Kintamo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo

The journey from Hossana to Adäwa was undertaken on foot and also supported by horses and mules. Geja and his army began their journey from Hossana and arrived in Addis Abäba after a week. During his journey he was accompanied by huge numbers of women and other people who used to give labor service for the active combatants. After arrival in Addis Abäba, Geja was given a place for rest.[98] The place given to him and his regiment was around today's Abinat area, in Lidata *Kifla Katama* (Lidata sub city). He settled there for a week before his departure to Adäwa. In Addis Abäba, his settlement was made according to the then general settlement patterns of the Ethiopian army. He settled near to the camp of Basha Aboye. Even after his return from the Adäwa battle, he was allowed to settle around the today's Markato area. Following the departure of Geja and his huge army back to Hossana, the places where Geja settled was renamed as 'Geja *Safar*'.[99] It was the trend of the time that, places where military leaders and their armies settled appeared to have been renamed after them. Instances in this regard were *Ras* Abäbä Aragay *Safar, Däjjazmach* Balcha *Safar, Fitawrari* Habta Giorgis *Safar* and the like.

Following the end of the Adäwa battle, Emperor Menilek II distributed *Gashas* of land in Addis Ababa to his military commanders. One of Menilek's officials who received vast land in Addis Abäba was *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo. *Fitawrari* Geja was given vast tracts of land in the place where he was able to camp his soldiers in the time of his march to Adäwa.[100] The land that was allotted to Geja was located around the present Markato and Abinat areas. Today we can see a

[98] Informants: Solomon Hankore, Tassama Anito and Masala Shobiso.

[99] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Tämäsgän Kintamo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo

[100] Informants: Bäkälä Minase, Makoro Boltano, Alamayahu Boke and WondÏmu Hanke.

Protestant church with a name Geja Kala Hiwot at Abinat *Safar*. It is believed that the church got its name from *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo. Regarding this my informant says:

> **አጼ ምኒልክ ከአድዋ በኋላ የአዲስ አበባን መሬት ለጦር መኮንኖች ሲያከፋፍል ፊታውራሪ ጌጃ ሰፊ መሬት ከወሰዱት መካከል አንዱ ነበር። ጌጃ የጋሞጎፋና የጋርዱላ አስተዳዳሪ ሆኖ በአጼ ሚኒሊክ ተሹሟል። ጌጃ ሰፈር ተብሎ በአዲስ አበባ የተሰየመዉ ለጌጃ በአጼ ሚኒሊክ በተሰጠዉ ቦታ ላይ ነዉ። ሀገር ሲረጋጋ ጌጃ ወደ ሀገሩ ወደ ሀዲያ ተመለሰ። በርካታ ጋሻ መሬቶችንም በሀዲያ ምድር ላይ አገኘ። እሱ ወደ ሀዲያ ሲመለስ ራስ አባተ የሀዲያና ከምባታ አስተዳዳሪ ሆኖ ተሹሞ ነበር።**[101]

Its rough translation is:

> *Following the end of the battle of Adäwa, Emperor Menilek distributed land for his war lords in Addis Abäba. From such distribution, Geja was able to receive vast tracts of Gasha land around the present Lidata sub-city. Then, Geja was said to have nominated by the Emperor as the administrator of Gamo-Gofa and Gardula areas. The area that was given to Geja in Addis Abäba began to be named as Geja Safar. He also received a number of Gasha land in Hadiya after the creation of suitable situation in the country. Ras Abata was the administrator of the Hadiya-Kämbata area at the time when Geja returned to his homeland.*

Fitawrari Geja was also one of the few commanders who fought the Italians twice both at Adäwa and Temben/Maichaw in the first and second Italo-Ethiopian wars respectively. In the first Italo-Ethiopian war, *Fitawrari* Geja's force was organized under the overall command of Basha Aboye, whereas in the second one, the army of Geja was reorganized under *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha's overlordship.[102] In both battles, *Fitawrari* Geja traveled 900 kms on foot, horses and mules to reach Tigray. Immediately after his arrival in Tigray in the second Italo-Ethiopian war, *Fitawrari* Geja ordered his soldiers to prepare trenches for defensive purpose. In spite of their exhaustion from long journey, they were courageous to dig holes that were planned to defend themselves from the possible showers of Italian bombs and poison gas. At the first combat, the Hadiya-Kämbata warriors fought bravely against the Italians and forced them to retreat in spite

[101] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo.
[102] Informants: Shobiso Anebo and Aboche Tirago.

of the bomb showers and innumerable mortar fire.[103] Adolf Parlsac in the book (interpreted from Czech to Amharic by Tachane Jobre) entitled "**የሀበሻ ጀብዱ**" writes:

> **በዚሁ ቀን ማምሻዉ ላይ በጦር ሜዳ ጀግንነታቸዉ ወደር የሌላቸዉና የማይገኝላቸዉ ወደ 15000 ገደማ የሚሆኑት የከምባታ ተወላጆች በጀግናዉ መሪያቸዉ በደጃዝማች መሸሻ እየተመሩ ከ900 ኪሎ ሜትር በላይ በእግራቸዉ ተጉዘዉ አቢ አዲ ገቡ፡፡ በዚህችዉ ቀን ምሽት ደጃዝማች ማንገሻ ሂልማና ደጃዝማች በየነ ከነጦራቸዉ ስለደረሱ፣ ደከመኝን ከማያዉቁት የከንባታ ልጆች ጋር በዚያዉ ምሽት እስካሁን በልጹ ጦር ብቻ ሲጠበቅ የነበረዉን ቦታ በስተሰሜን በደብረ አምባ በኩል የጽኒን የወንዝ ዳርቻ ይዘዉ መሸጉ፡፡ ከተራራዋ በስተሰሜንና በስተደቡብ በኩል ሆኖ በሁለት ረድፍ ተሰልፎ ተራራዋን ለመቆጣጠር የሚጣደፈዉን የጣልያን ጦር፣ የደጃዝማች መንገሻ ሂልሚና የደጃዝማች በየነ ወታደሮች በግራ በኩል፣ ደጃዝማች መሸሻ ከምባታዉና ደጃዝማች አድማሱ በቀኝ በኩል የጠላትን ጦር ወጥረዉ ይዘዉ፣ ፋታ ሳይሰጡ መተረየስ እየዘነበባቸዉ መልሶ የማጥቃት እርምጃ ወስደዉ፣ ጣልያኖቹን ወደመጡበት ወደወረዩ የጦር ሰፈራቸዉ የመለሷቸዉ መሰለ፡፡ … የደጃዝማች መሸሻና የደጃዝማች አድማሱ ወታደሮች ወደፊት ገፍተዉ በወራዩ የጣሊያኖች የመከላከያ ምሽግ ደጃፍ ላይ ደርሰዉ ጣልያኖች ከምሽጎቻቸዉ እንዲወጡ እየኮረኮሯቸዉ ነዉ፡፡**[104]

Its translation reads:

> *In the night of that day the Kämbata army whose bravery was incomparable travelled with bare foot for about 900 kms to the north and camped at Abi Adi in Tigray. They were commanded by their brave leader, Däjjazmach Mäshäsha. At that night, the army of Däjjazmach Mangasha Hilma and Däjjazmach Beyene arrived at Abi Adi and together the Kämbata army camped near the river, Tsignin. This place was previously occupied by the 'boy's' army or 'ya liju tor'. In collaboration with the armies of Däjjazmach Admasu, Däjjazmach Hilma, and Däjjazmach Bayana, the Kämbata warriors under their strong leader, Däjjazmach Mäshäsha showed their heroic fighting against the expanding Italian force. Däjjazmach Bayana and Däjjazmach Hilma from the left side, and Däjjazmach Mäshäsha and Däjjazmach Admasu from the right flank did their best to stop the rushing Italian invaders. Then they undertook the counter attack and forced the Italians to return to their camp, Warayu, at least temporarily. The armies of Däjjazmach Mäshäsha and Däjjazmach Admasu chased the Italians away until the latter were able to join their fellow combatants. The two Ethiopian regiments were doing their best to force the Italians to evacuate from Warayu camp; but this was doing in spite of the mortar showers that the Italians were using against the ill-armed and ill-defended Ethiopians.*

[103] Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Tämäsgän Kintamo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo

[104] **አዶልፍ ፓርለሳክ፣ የሀበሻ ጀብዱ፣ ተጫነ ጀብሬ መኮንን (ተርጓሚ)፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ፣** 1989 **ዓ. ም.፣ ገጽ** 248.

Adolf Parlsac is seen using the name ‘Kämbata’ for both Hadiya and Kämbata warriors. He tended to use the name Kämbata because of the then dominant political role that the Kämbata had played in the *Awraja*, though they were the minority. It is obvious that the vanguard force of ‘Hadiya and Kämbata’ coalition was led by *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo in both wars against the Italians.[105] Parlsac failed to mention the name Geja, probably because the army of Geja was subsumed under the supreme leadership of *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha Wälde. In both times, *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo undertook heroic deeds, but he was finally killed at the second Italo-Ethiopian War.[106]

After returning from Adäwa, Geja was said to have been sent to Kafa area with the direct order of Menilek. Then he went to the Ethio-Sudanese border to give security service for demarcation committee. Gedeon Addise and Wondïmu Filate say that Geja was able to shoot the Italian’s war plane during the second Italo-Ethiopian war.[107] Such deeds, however, could not be verified with other kinds of sources.

At the time of his old age before the second Italo-Ethiopian war, it is said that Geja came back to Hadiya and settled at Dubancho (the land of his uncle).[108] One day he asked his people at Dubancho about the type of funeral ceremony that his kinsmen would undertake for him at the time of his death. Informants remember:

ጌጃ ለክብሩ በጣም የሚጨነቅ ሰዉ ነበር። በአንድ ወቅት “እኔ ስሞት እንዴት ነዉ የምታለቅሱት” ብሎ ዘመዶቹ የሆኑትን የቃልሻንና የዱባንቾን ህዝብ ጠየቀ። “አንተ ስትሞት

[105] Informants: Damise Darsabo, Lire Achamo and Iyob Sulamo.

[106] Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Tämäsgän Kintamo and Haji Umar Abasimbo

[107] *Ibid.,* p. 289.

[108] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo.

እንደማንኛውም ታዋቂ ሰዉ ሞራ፣ ማጋ እያልን እናለቅሳለን" ብለዉ መለሱ፡፡ "እንዴት ለእኔ እንደማንኛውም ታዋቂ ሰዉ ሞራ፣ ማጋ ብቻ እያላችሁ ታለቅሳላችሁ?" ብሎ ተቆጣ፡፡ በዚያ ግዜ ጀግንነት የሚለካዉ 1ኛ፡ አንበሳ፣ 2ኛ፡ ዝሆን፣ 3ኛ፡ ነብር እና 4ኛ፡ ሰዉ በገደለ ነዉ፡፡ ከዛ ጌጃ እንዲህ አላቸዉ፡፡ "እኔ የገደልኩት ስፍር ቁጥር ስለሌለዉ በእንጨት ላይ ጨርቅና የሰጎን ላባ ታስሮ ከቃልሻ እስከ ዱባንቾ ከዛም ዞሮ እስከ ቃልሻ ድረስ በመደዳ መተከል አለበት" አለ፡፡ በዚያ ግዜ 4 ለገደለ አራት እንጨት አናቱ ላይ ጨርቅና የሰጎን ላባ የታሰረበትን መቃብሩ ላይ ይተከላል፡፡ በተመሳሳይ ሁኔታ 10 ለገደለ 10፣ 5 ለገደለ 5 ጨርቅና ላባ የታሰረበት እንጨት ይተከልለታል፡፡[109]

This is translated as:

> *Geja worry about his dignity. Once up a time he asked his people what they would do or in what way that they mourn, if he dies. They responded, 'we mourn the same to what we are doing for other renowned individuals. We mourn by using words like Maga and Mora.' Then he became disappointed and angered at their response. He says, 'how can you mourn like any other renowned personalities? I am the special person from among the Hadiya known individuals'. At that time, bravery was measured based on the following level of killings. Killing a lion was the first level of bravery while the second one was elephant. The third and the fourth ones were tiger and human being respectively. Then Geja ordered them that since the number of people and animals he killed are innumerable, they have to erect medium level stick tied with a piece of cloth and ostrich feather that would stretch from Dubancho to Kalisha and then back to Dubancho. The then time, for example, for those individuals who killed 4 people, there would be four sticks tied with pieces of clothes and ostrich feathers erected on their graves. The number of sticks increases with the number of people or animals they killed.*

[109] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Kibamo Abame and Lonsako Bafa.

Figure 6: *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo.[110]

Figure 7: Sticks that are erected on the grave sites of prominent individuals in Hadiya

[110] Hadiya zone Culture and Tourism office.

The participation of the Hadiya warriors in the coup de'tat against *Lij* Iyasu was the other concern that deserves some space in this paper. Almost all Ethiopian and Ethiopianist sources do not mention the participation of Hadiya combatants in the coup. But when we see the oral traditions of the Hadiya people, we find something different from sources that are written on the modern history of Ethiopia. Oral traditions in Hadiya strongly argue that about 900 troops were sent from Hadiya area to Harar that was aimed to dethrone *Lij* Iyasu from his power. The troops were recruited from among the Hadiya warriors in response to the requests of *Fitawrari* Habta Giorgis. The 900 troops of the Hadiya were commanded by *Fitawrari* Geja Garibo, a patriot of the Adäwa battle. It is said that Geja spearheaded his troops to Harar and undertook a sudden attack against the army that accompanied *Lij* Iyasu.[111] Geja was said to have scored outstanding victory over the army of *Lij* Iyasu in 1916.

After their return from Harar, according to oral informants, the central government undertook a meeting to deal with the rewards that would be given to the victorious Hadiya warriors. They agreed to let them enter the palace to lead comfortable life and serve them as palace guard. The Hadiya warriors were allowed to enter into the palace as reward to what they did in the coup against *Lij* Iyasu. It is said that there were huge stock of imperial treasury in the palace. Then the Hadiya soldiers began to take the treasuries out of the palace. Having heard of the reduction of the palace treasury, the nobility determined to enter the palace and check the existence of its wealth. They were able to verify that many of the palace treasuries were taken by the Hadiya who were allowed to enter there. Then, the Hadiya escaped from the palace one after the other,

[111] Informants: Aniyo Awilo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Abäbä Makoro

mainly because they heard about the disclosure of their deeds. Regarding this, my key informant says:

> **…ሜኤሶን የዘመቱት የሀዲያ ወታደሮች ለዉለታቸዉ ምላሽ ይሆን ዘንድ ቤተ-መንግስት እንዲገቡና የተደላደለ ህይወት እንዲመሩ ተደረጉ፡፡ በተጨማሪም የቤተመንግስት ጥበቃ ስራም እየሰሩ እንዲኖሩ ተወሰነ፡፡ ቤተ-መንግስት ከገቡ በኋላ ግን የቤተመንግስቱን ሀብት ቀስ በቀስ ማሸሸ ጀመሩ፡፡ የቤተመንግስቱ ወርቅ፣ ነሀስ፣ መዳብና ሌሎች ሀብቶች መቀነሳቸዉን ያዩ አንዳንድ መኳንንት ሸዋ ተበላሽተሀል በማለት ለሌሎች ሹማምንቶች ጉዳዩን አደረሱ፡፡ እንደተነቃባቸዉ ያወቁት የሀዲያ ወታደሮችም በስዉር ሰአት ከጊቢ ጠፉ፡፡ ከዚያ ፊታዉራሪ ሀብተጊዮርጊስ መኳንንቱን በሙሉ በጃን ሜዳ ሰብስበዉ አዋጅ አስነገሩ፡፡ አዋጁም "ስሙ ተሰማሙ ያልሰማ የጌታችን ጠላት፡፡ አጼ ሚኒሊክ በሞት በተለዩ ሰአት ልጅ እያሱ ስሙን መሀመድ እያሱ ብሎ አስቀይሮ ሱማሌ በገባ ሰአት ልጅ እያሱን ማን አሸንፎ ያምጣዉ ሲባል ለከምባታ አስተዳዳሪ ደብዳቤ ተጽፎ ራስ አባተ 900 ወታደር ልኮ ልጅ እያሱ ተይዞ ከመጣ በኋላ ቤተመንግስት እንዲገባ የተደረገዉ የከምባታ ወታደር ጉድ አደረገን፤ ሸዋ ተበላሸን::" ተብሎ ነጋሪት ተመታ፡፡**[112]

This can be roughly translated as:

> *Those Hadiya soldiers who campaigned to Harrar were allowed to enter the palace and serve the government as court guard. It was believed to have made in return for what they did for Shäwans against Iyasu. After they entered the palace, they gradually took away golds and other precious materials from the palace. Those nobilities who were able to discover the reduction of the palace treasury began to air rumor in the palace and its surroundings. Then the Hadiya troops began to escape one after the other during the night, because they understood that their deeds were discovered. After approving the scape of the Hadiya troops from palace, Fitawrari Habta Giorgis summoned all the nobilities and other dignitaries of the government at Jan Meda and made a declaration. The declaration reads 'listen to each other, and those who fail to listen are the enemy of our lords!. After the death of Emperor Menilek, having changed his Christian name to Mohammod Iyasu, the successor of Menilek temporarily left the palace to Somali. When we were searching for a strong army who could defeat and capture Lij Iyasu, Ras Abata sent us 900 troops from Kämbata. As expected the 900 Kämbata troops completed their mission successfully. As a response, the government allowed them to enter into the palace and lead suitable life. Now many of the imperial treasuries were taken away from the palace and now we Shawans are endangered'.*

Apart from the oral sources, there are no much works that support the aforementioned idea. Almost all of the available written sources fail to mention the participation of the Hadiya warriors in the coup against *Lij* Iyasu. Traditions which talk about the war that the Hadiya

[112] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Aniyo Larebo.

undertook against *Lij* Iyasu have some sort of problems, particularly in relation to the period when the coup was undertaken. We know that the coup was made in 1916. At this time the leader of Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja* was *Däjjazmach* Wolda Gabriel Basha, the son of Basha Aboye. The oral tradition in Hadiya, nevertheless, is mentioning *Ras* Abata as the one who sent the Hadiya army to Harar from the 'Kämbata' *Awraja* against *Lij* Iyasu. Such inconsistency among the Hadiya oral informants believed to have arisen from the great fame that *Ras* Abata bore during his rule in Hadiya. As mentioned above, Abata's time in Hadiya was more stable than other rulers who came there before and after him. This could be the reason behind the oral informants in Hadiya for using the name Abata in various events of the area, even though he was not part of it. In the time when the coup was undertaken, *Ras* Abata was in jail at Makdala. The time of *Däjjazmach* Wolda Gabriel was not eventful in Hadiya history. He was not known like the other rulers of the area. It was mainly because of this that the Hadiya oral informants tended to overlook the historical role that Wolda Gabriel played in Hadiya. His role appeared to have been dwarfed by *Ras* Abata Buayalew.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. The 'Feudo-Military' Rule in Hadiya.

4.1. Comparative Analysis of the *Gäbbar* System in the Northern and Southern Parts of Ethiopia.

Giving due consideration for the history of 'feudal' rule in the northern Ethiopian region is important before making critical investigation of the imperial rule in Hadiya that would ultimately help the researcher to have full understanding of the later. In order to have good knowledge about the *Gäbbar* system in the post-incorporation period in Hadiya, one has to make a comparative analysis that the subsequent Ethiopian governments had followed in different parts of the country. According to Lapiso, there were two different approaches that the central government followed to rule the northern and southern parts of the present day Ethiopia. He states, "**ከአባይ ወሎ በመለስ በሚገኘዉ የደቡብ ክፍል ማለትም በደቡብ ሸዋ፣ በአርሲ፣ በሀረርጌ፣ በባሌ፣ በሲዳሞ፣ በጋሞጎፋ፣ በከፋ፣ በኢልባቦርና በወለጋ የአጼ ምኒልክ የአስተዳደር የመሬት የግብርና የገባር ፖ'ሊሲ በሰሜን በአከባቢዉ የመሳፍንትና የባላባት ቤተሰቦች አማካይነት ከተመሰረተዉ የአስተዳደር፣ የመሬት የግብርና የገባር ፖ'ሊሲ በአይነት ልዩ ነዉ።**"[1] Its translation reads, "Menilek's administrative and land policy in the south of Abay and Wollo like Southern Shäwa, Arsi, Hararge, Bale, Sidamo, Gamo Gofa, Kafa, Illubabor and Wälaga,

[1] **ላጲሶ ጌ. ድሌቦ፣ የኢትዮጵያ የገባር ስርአትና ጅምር ካፒታሊዝም፣ 1900-1966፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ 1983፣ ገጽ** 23.

was different from the north." At that time, land was at the center of economic, political and social controversies of both regions.[2]

In the northern parts of Ethiopia, land measurement and its resultant subjugation was believed to have started following the collapse of Aksumite Empire.[3] During the medieval period in the north, land distribution and appropriation had three forms: land for the royal family and the nobilities (**ሲሶ የነጋሽ፣** *Siso Yanagash*), land for the church (**ሲሶ የቀዳሽ፣** *Siso Yakadash*), and land for the ordinary people and the lower lords (**ሲሶ የአንጋሽ፣** *Siso Yeangash*). The most fertile land of the kingdom was reported to have been reserved for the royal family and the nobilities. Land given to the church was sometimes named as *Ya Maskal* land.[4]

The northern *Gäbbars* had their own land (*Rist*) which descended from their forefathers. They had the right to pay tribute with their names. The 'feudal' oppression and exploitation in northern Ethiopia was based on tributary relationship between the *Rist* holders on one hand and the lords (which included the lower lords, the nobilities and the royal families) on the other. Before the beginning of *Gult* system in the north, the *Bala Rist* (*Rist* holder) had obligation to pay tribute to the government or the *Beta Mangist* directly. After the introduction of *Gult* system, however, some *Gäbbars* were distributed to the rulers and other government representatives who were sent directly from the center. *Gult* system was believed to have occurred in the north since the 13th century following the establishment of the so called 'Solomonic Dynasty'. The king also gave *Gult* right for the church and its clergies. After the introduction of *Gult* system, the northern *Gäbbars* were forced to pay tribute to the *Gult* owners as well as to the government. Such an

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] **ተስፋዬ ሀቢሶ፣ ከምባታና ሀዲያ፡ የአስተዳደር አከባቢና የብሄረሰቦች ታሪክ አንዳንድ ገጽታዎች፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ ግንቦት 1983፣ ገጽ 264.**

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

endeavor brought huge socio-economic gap between the ordinary *Gäbbars* on one hand and the rich *Gultägna* (owner of *Gult*) on the other. With regard to this, there is a famous saying among the northern people that indicates such a gap. It reads '**ደሀ በርስቱ፣ ሀብታም በጉልቱ**'; 'The poor with his land that he inherited from his ancestors, the rich with his tribute appropriation right.'[5]

Most of the time in the north, and also in the south, it was the king who had the right to provide *Gult* rights for his officials and the church. But there were occasions for the nobilities and other individuals in the lower echelons of power to offer *Gult* rights for people below them. Regarding the meaning of *Gult*, Mahtama Selassie writes:

> **ጉልት የሚባለዉ ርስት ያልሆነ የመንግስት መትከያ የሆነ መሬት ነዉ። ባለማደሪያዉ በዚህ መንግስትን ያገለግልበታል፣ በማደሪያዉም መልከኝነት ዉስጥ ያለዉ ገባር በመሬቱ የሚገብረዉ ማር ተፈቅዶለት ይጠጣል። ይኂዉም ባለማደሪያ ጉልት ገዢ ይባላል።**[6]

Its translation reads:

> *Gult was tribute appropriation right which was different from Rist. It was given in lieu of Salary. Having received such rights, the Gult owners were expected to serve the government. The Rist owner or the Gäbbar who was tilling the land under the supervision of the Bala Gult can drink honey when he was allowed to do so. The Gult owner was sometimes named as Balamadaria.*

It is stated that *Gult* right was given to the higher authorities of the *Beta Mangist* and the *Beta Kihinat*. Most of the time, *Gult* right was not permanent. In the event when the *Gult* grantor found the *Bala Gult* committing some sort of treason or dishonesty, the right could be taken

[5] ተስፋዬ ሀቢሶ፣ ገጽ 269.
[6] **ማህተመ ስላሴ፣ ዝክረ ነገር፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ 1962፣ ገጽ 115-116.**

away from the later. Sometimes, *Gult* right became permanent and in this case the name by itself changed to *Rista Gult*.[7]

The government had the trend of reserving large tracts of land for the service of the *Beta Mangist* (palace). Such land had many divisions within it and known by different names. *Hudad*, for example, was state land reserved for agricultural purposes; *Wara Ganu* was the other division which was protected for animal breeding that ultimately became a source of meat and milk for the consumption of the *Beta Mangist* (the palace). *Baldaras* was the other division of state land reserved for breeding of horses and mules.[8] Theoretically, however, all the lands of the kingdom including the people living on it belonged to the king. The king was considered as the sole owner of the land of his kingdom or empire. With regard to this, there is a proverb which reads, '**እግዜር በሰማይ፣ ንጉስ በምድር**'; 'As God on the sky, a king on the earth'. But in practice, the land had been distributed among the *Gäbbars*, the regional lords, the church and the government.[9]

Since the medieval period, the northern *Gäbbars* had to pay considerable part of their produces to the *Bale Gult* and they were also obliged to offer labor service for them. They had the right to transfer their land to their kinsmen and used to pay tribute to the *Gult* owner or the king by their name. The *Gäbbar* system which had been practiced in the north was different in many aspects from that of the south.[10]

According to Mahtama Selassie, the northern *Gäbbars* had the following burdens to fulfill: *Asrat, Amsho, Irbo, Siso, Dambagna Kolo, Yachra, Asrat-Bäkurat, Ya Dagna Igir, Yazabitach*

[7]**ተስፋዬ ሀቢሶ፣ ገጽ** 271; Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Haji Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Gabramichael Wachamo.

[8]**ባህሩ ዘወዴ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ፣ ከ**1947-1983, **አዲስ አበባ፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ**, 2007, **ገጽ** 98-99.

[9] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Worku Dolaso and Walda Michael Wachämo.

[10]**ባህሩ ዘወዴ፣ ገጽ** 96.

and *Yasansalat Fachi.*[11] *Gäbbars* who failed to pay tribute on time were forced to pay a kind of compensation called *Dafan.* When the king's army was passing through the *Gäbbars* land or made a camp there, the later was forced to provide all the necessary things called *Fasas*. Since the early medieval period, the Christian kingdom quartered its soldiers among the *Gäbbars'* houses. Such practice was called *Mïrit* (ምሪት) or *Täsärinät* (ተሰሪነት). In relation to this, the *Gäbbars,* not only serve the soldiers with food and other things, but were deprived of many of their rights.[12]

The Shäwan kingdom, after its formation in 1696, pursued the policy of expansion to the neighboring Oromo areas.[13] Such an endeavor was highly strengthened by their renowned rulers like Amha Yesus, Asfa Wosen and Sahla Selassie. After assuming the emperorship position, Emperor Menilek reorganized *Gïndäbäl* land holding system. The soldiers and their immediate commanders became the beneficiary of such system. The officials in the upper echelons of power, however, were given *Madaria* landholding rights.[14]

The *Gïndäbäl* land holding system was the trend that the Shäwan rulers since Nagasi Kirstos had implemented in Shäwa. Menilek II was said to have given a new name for *Gïndäbäl* army called *Näfṭägna* and became the regular army of the Ethiopian empire. With the high increment of the

[11] ተስፋዬ ሀቢሶ፣ ገጽ 277; *Asrat,* which was one-tenth of their produce, was made to give to the king. *Amsho, Irbo and Siso*[11] were the amount of tribute paid for the *Gult* holder alternativelly. *Dembegna Kolo* was the kind of payment in which tribute collectors used to receive from their *Gäbbars*. *Yechira* was the kind of tribute that the *Gäbbars* had to pay for the government based on the head of cattle. *Asrat-Bakurat* was the burden that the *Gäbbars* were made to pay for the *Beta-Kihnat*. *Ye Dagna Igir* was the other kinds of tribute that the northern *Gäbbars* were expected to pay for individuals who were engaged in court activities or in Amharic *Afarsata* or *Awchachign* works. *Yazabitach* was the kind of tribute that the northern *Gäbbar*s had to pay for those individuals who took them to prison. *Yasansalat Fachi* was a kind of tribute that the imprisoned person had to pay for the last person who unchained his hands and legs and let him free from prison; Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Haji Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Gabramichael Wachamo.

[12] ተስፋዬ ሀቢሶ፣ ገጽ 279-280.

[13] Asäfa Jalata, p. 71.

[14] *Ibid*

number of the *Näfţägna* soldiers, the government made them settles in the south, south east and south western parts of Ethiopia. They were not salaried and their main income was the *Gäbbars'* produce. As indicated above, in the north there had been a system of feudal exploitation called *Mïrit* (ምሪት). Not only engaged in confiscating the major produces of the *Gäbbars*, the *Gïndäbäl* soldiers appeared to have violated their basic human rights, like raping the wives of the former and their daughters too. Such evil trend brought to the hitherto independent peoples of the south. As a result, cultural contradictions began to appear and conflict between the southern *Gäbbars* and the *Näfţägna* became the norm of the time. The newly incorporated peoples were unable to tolerate such inhuman activities of the *Näfţägna*. Conflict was said to have escalated during drought seasons, (the *Kifu Ken* or Great Famine) that stayed in Ethiopia from 1888 to 1892.[15]

During the Great Famine, many people of the north including the *Näfţägna* migrated to the south and settled on Hadiya land. The government allowed them to do everything they wanted on the areas they settled. It is said that such feudal exploitation and oppression was high in the areas where forceful annexation was undertaken. On the other hand, the socio-economic exploitation and subjugation was minimal in the areas where peaceful incorporation process was made. Since the Hadiya were one of the forcefully incorporated areas, 'feudo-military' subjugation was implemented harshly. During the last years of the *Kifu Kan* in Hadiya, conflict between the *Gäbbars* and the *Näfţägna* reached its climax.[16]

In Hadiya, particularly since 1891, the *Gäbbars* began to kill the *Näfţägna* under the cover of darkness. Instead of letting the *Näfţägna* take their products, the *Gäbbars* were seen burning

[15] Informants: Bäkälä Takiso, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo, Ermolo Badulo, Abatikun Lamboro and Ambago Gaktiro.

[16] *Ibid.*

down all their yields to ashes and live in forests as bandits. Sometimes, it is said that the *Gäbbars* developed the trend of hiding their products in the time when the *Näfṭägna* predators came to their home. The relationship between the *Gäbbars* and the *Näfṭägna,* prior to 1901 was a kind of pray and predator respectively.[17] "In predatory appropriation, tribute extraction was based on the use of force, the demand of appropriators was chaotic, there was constant recurrence of distruction of productive forces by the appropriators, and appropriator/producer conflict was common."[18] With the escalation of attacks and counter attacks, in 1901 Emperor Menilek made a declaration that prohibited the *Näfṭägna* from entering the *Gäbbars* houses. The declaration reads '**ነፍጠኛ በአራሽ ቤት አትድረስ**';[19] '*Näfṭägna*, don't enter into the *Gäbbars* house'. As a result of this, the long aged *Mïrit* or *Täsärinät* came to an end in the south, which also includes the Hadiya. In its place a new tribute appropriation system called *Asrat* was created in 1901.[20] Then the *Gäbbars* were ordered to pay one-tenth of their produce for the government. The *Näfṭägna* were allowed to receive their daily needs from *Asrat*. Such government measures gave the Hadiya some form of relief at least temporarily. On their part, the *Gäbbars* began to raise their annual yields so that they could satisfy the daily needs of their family as well as they could pay *Asrat* for the government.[21]

The harmonious relationship between the *Näfṭägna* and *Gäbbars* did not stay long. The way *Asrat* was collected created hostility among the *Gäbbars*. The *Gäbbars* were forbidden to collect

[17] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Haji Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Gabramichael Wachamo.
[18] Teshale Tibebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia, 1896-1974,* the Red Sea Press INC., 1995, p. 71.
[19] ማህተመ ስላሴ፣ ገጽ 332.
[20] Teshale Tibebu, p.85.
[21] Informants: Asafa Bunte, Shifaraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Gabramichael Wachamo.

their produces from their field without the presence of government supervisors or *Mislenes*.[22] The *Gäbbars* were also prohibited to take their products to markets that would help them buy the necessary materials for their families. Sometimes, they were made to wait months until the *Mislänes* or other *Mälkägna* representatives came to see and assess the amount of yields that were produced by *Gäbbars*.[23] The punishment was very harsh on those who took their produce to market or collect it before the coming of the government representatives. Such oppression reinstated the inimical situation which had prevailed during the *Mïrit* or *Täsärinät* system. Mahtama Selassie writes, "**አራሽ እህሉን ሲወቃና ሲሰፍር እንደ ደንቡ አስራት ተቀባዩን ወታደርና ጭቃሹሙን ጠርቶ ይወቃል፣ ይሰፍራል፤ ብቻዉን ሲወቃና ሲሰፍር አልተፈቀደለትም። እነዚህን ሳይጠራና ሳይዝ ወቅቶ አጥርቶ ቢገኝ ግን ባያሰፍርም ቅጣቱ እንደ ደንቡ ባላስራት ወታደር የሚገባዉን አስራቱን ተቀብሎ የቀረዉ ያዉድማ ምርት ለመንግስት ዉርስ ይገባል።**"[24] Its translation reads, "A *Gäbbar* or tenant should collect his products in the presence of a soldier or *Ċhiḳashum*. It is forbidden for him to collect his yield in the absence of government representatives. If he violates such rules, both the soldier and the government would confiscate all his products." Moreover, the Hadiya people were deprived of their rights to sell their products to foreigners or travelers without the knowledge of the *Awraja* and *Wäräda* administrators.[25]

Menilek made different land proclamations in different times for the newly incorporated regions.[26] One of Menilek's declarations (as cited by Lapiso) say:

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[22] *Ibid.*; Informants: Asafa Bunte, Shifaraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Gabramichael Wachamo.

[23] *Ibid.*, 335.

[24] *Ibid.*, 335.

[25] Braukamper, p. 301.

[26] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.

1ኛ. ከመሬቱ የተወሰነ ክፍልና መጠን (አብዛኛዉን ጊዜ አንድ ሶተኛዉን) 'የገባር መሬት' ተብሎ ለአርሶ አደር ገበሬዎች ተሰጠ። ገባሮች በግል ይዞታ የተሰጣቸዉን የገባር መሬት እንደግል ሀብት ለመያዝ፣ ለመጠቀም፣ ለመሸጥ፣ ለመለወጥና ለማዉረስ እንዲችሉ በንጉሱ በተደነገገዉ መሰረት ለመንግስት፣ ለጦር፣ ለሲቪልና ለቤተክርስቲያን ሹማምንት ልዩ ልዩ ክፍያ (አስራት፣ ቀረጥ፣ ...ወዘተ) በተወሰነዉ ጊዜ መክፈል ነበረባቸዉ። ይህንን ባይሰጥ ግን ይታሰራል፣ በማናቸዉም ምክንያት አገልግሎቱን ለመክፈል ለሚችል ሌላ ገባር ይሰጣል። መሬቱ የተወሰደበት ገባር ለመንግስት ምንም ግብርና የአገልግሎት ግዴታ ሳይኖርበት የቀድሞ መሬቱን ለቅቆ በሌላ ሰዉ መሬት በጪሰኝነት ሰፍሮ የጉልበቱን ምርትና ፍሬ በዉላዊ ስምምነት መሰረት ለባለመሬቱ እየሰጠ በነጻነት ይኖራል። ባለመሬቱ ጭሰኛዉን ቢፈልግ ከመሬቱ ይነቅለዋል እንጂ ሊያስረዉና በግድ ሊያሰራዉ አይችልም። 2ኛ፡- ከክልሉ መሬት የተወሰነ መጠን 'የባላባት መሬት' ተብሎ ለጎሳ፣ ለሀገር መሪዎችና ተጠሪዎች በግል ይዞታ ተሰጠ። የጎሳ ተጠሪዎችና የአከባቢዉ ህዝብ መሪዎች የባላባት መሬት በግል ይዞታ ለመያዝ፣ ለመጠቀም፣ ለመሸጥ፣ ለመለወጥ፣ ለልጅ ልጆቻቸዉና ለዘመዶቻቸዉ ለማዉረስና ለመስጠት ይችሉ ዘንድ የንጉሱን ህግና ድንጋጌ ሁሉ በገባሮች ላይ በተፈለገዉ ሁኔታ ተግባራዊ ማድረግ ይጠበቅባቸዋል። ነገር ግን ይሄንን ለመፈጸም ባይችሉ ወይም ፈቃደኞች ባይሆኑ የባላባት መሬታቸዉ በመንግስት ተወርሶ ለሌላ ባላባት ወይም ባላባቶች ይሰጣል። 3ኛ፡- ለገባሮችና ለባላባቶች በግል ይዞታ ያልተሰጠ የክልሉ መሬት 'የመንግስት መሬት' ተብሎ በመንግስት ቁጥጥርና ጠቀሜታ ስር እንዲዉል ይደረግ ነበር።[27]

Its translation is:

One third of the southern land was given to the Gäbbars as 'Gäbbar land'. To use, sell, change or transfer their land, Gäbbars were expected to pay the necessary tributes for the government, Näfṭägna, Mälkägna, the Church and other concerned bodies. The time when they failed to fulfill their duties, they would be imprisoned or evicted from their land. The confiscated land would be given to other farmers who could pay the tributes and other necessary payments which were expected from them. The chances of the evicted Gäbbars were going to other landlords to work as tenant. Tenants receive land from the landlords with contractual agreement which was usually oral, not written. Unlike the Gäbbars, tenants had no extra obligation to work for free in the houses of the landlords. From the southern land, the other one-third was given to the Balabats who had the mandate to enforce the government orders on Gäbbars. They were rulers recruited from among the local people. The land they possessed was called the 'Balabat land'. If they were incapable of implementing the government orders, the later is in power to take their land and give to other Balabats. To use, sell, change or transfer their land, the Balabats had to fulfill the interests of the central government. The other one-third of the land was considered as 'government land'. All lands outside of the control of the Balabats and Gäbbars were brought under the direct control of the government.

[27] **ላጲሶ ጌ. ድሌቦ፣ <u>አብዮታዊ የምርትና የባህል እድገት ዘመቻ በከምባታና ሀዲያ አዉራጃ ከ1971-1975</u>፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ 1975፣ ገጽ 34-35.**

From the *Balabat* share, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the government rulers, the *Balabats* (recruited from the local people) and the *Näfṭägna* with *Gäbbar* labor were given considerable amount of land. As mentioned above, such land holding systems were named with different terms: *Madaria, Gïndäbäl, Simon* and the like. The *Näfṭägna* (soldiers) and the *Mälkägna,* the former oppressors of the northern *Gäbbars*, were now given the right to judge, exploit and oppress the autochthonous population in the south.[28] It is said that when the *Gäbbars* undertook different kinds of festivities, they were expected to give the major parts of food and drinks to the *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna* families. Sometimes, the *Näfṭägna* were seen chaining the hands and feet of the *Gäbbars* and flogging them harshly if the later were unable to satisfy their demands. They humiliated the *Gäbbars* in front of their wives and children.[29]

It is said that, following the incorporation of the formerly independent kingdoms, Menilek divided the Ethiopian region in to two. These were the center (**መሀል ሀገር**) and the periphery (**ዳር ሀገር**). The areas which were designated under the center were the Christian Amhara and Tigrian regions. All the incorporated areas of the present Ethiopian region were named 'Periphery'. Menilek's government followed two different approach to center and periphery. Those peoples who were categorized under the center were given special privileges, whereas the so called 'the periphery' were deprived of such advantages. Most of the times, the peoples in the 'center' were allowed to be administered by their own leaders. For the periphery, except for some instances, rulers were sent from the center, particularly from the Shäwa Amhara region.[30] The assigned rulers for the 'periphery' came with a very huge armies and made encampments in different strategic areas. They were made to rule the 'periphery' mainly to

[28]Informants: Damise Mänsido, Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[29]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.
[30] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.

safeguard the interests of the central government. In the areas they settled they established garrisons. Later on, the garrison centers were reported to have developed into towns. Such rulers, as mentioned above, were not salaried and as replacement they were given *Gult* rights and land to use.[31]

4.2. The Administrative Reorganization and the Emergence of the Autochthonous Power in Hadiya.

After incorporation, as already mentioned, governors were assigned directly from Addis Abäba to the Hadiya land. The names of the administrators who ruled the Hadiya land before and after the Adäwa battle till the Italian occupation were *Ras* Wälde Ashagre (1892-1893), *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana (1893-1894), *Däjjazmach* Basha Aboye (1894-1895), *Däjjazmach* Tassama Darge (1895-1896), *Ras* Abata Buayalew (1896-1908), *Däjjazmach* Ayala (1909-1910), *Ras* Abata Buayalew (1910-1911, for the second time), *Ras* Leulseged Atinafseged (1912-1915), *Däjjazmach* Woldagabriel Basha (1916-1917), *Ras* Getachaw Abata (1918-1927) and *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha Wälde (1927 till the Italian occupation).[32] As indicated above, there are disagreements regarding the administrators that had governed the Hadiya and Kämbata areas before the Adäwa battle. Most of the administrative titles given to the Hadiya and Kämbata *Awraja* rulers were *Däjjazmach* [33] and *Ras*[34]. There were no *Fitawraris*[35] or the lower titles from among the lists of rulers who ruled the Hadiya land.

[31] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Anshiso Awilo and Malasa Jinebo.

[32] Ulrich Braukamper, *A History of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012, p. 288-290.

[33] It was the highly respected title next to *Ras*, and had the power to appoint people from *Fitawrari* to *Basha*. He could give such titles from among the people who were sent to him by the central government or from his own loyals, according to Mahtama Selassie, *Zikra Nagar*, p. 650.

[34] It was highly important title and had the power to appoint 2 to 3 Däjjazmaches. The title itself was given by the king or the king of kings. The 'Ras' title which was given by a king was equivalent to

Ras Wälde Ashagre administered the Sodo Gurage from 1876 to 1886 before the subjugation of Ḳäbena by the Shäwan force. Menilek's army was defeated frequently by Hassan Walga (the leader of jihadist Ḳäbena) till 1889. The Emperor was able to defeat the southern Hadiya people in the years between 1890 and 1894. As mentioned above, the defeat of Ḳäbena by *Ras* Gobana Dache could be taken as the land mark for *Ras* Wälde's army to expand easily to the southern Hadiya. *Däjjazmach* Wodajo Gobana was the son of the renowned war commander, *Ras* Gobana Dache. He was married to Menilek's daughter, Shäwaraga Menilek. Side by side with *Ras* Wälde's force, he helped to bring the Hadiya and Kämbata areas to Menilek's growing empire. He was said to have ruled the Hadiya and Kämbata sub-province from 1893-1894, probably in collaboration with other rulers.[36]

Däjjazmach Basha Aboye was the cousin of Menilek and older brother of *Ras* Wolda Giorgis Aboye and Lama Aboye. It is said that Basha ruled the major areas of Hadiya from 1894 to 1895 and became the supreme commander of the Hadiya- Kämbata combined force at the battle of Adäwa. In the middle of the war, he was reported to have been killed by the Italians. Basha and Lama as well as Woldagiorgis (the three brothers) spent most of their times in the process of

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'Däjjazmach' when he came to the kings palce. But there were occasions when the king of kings approved the appointments of kings. It was given the right to give titles from *Fitawrari* to *Basha* without restriction from among the people who were sent from the center or from his own loyals. All titles which were given from *Ras* or *Däjjazmach* may or may no get acceptance from the king of kings in the time when they were transferred to the palace. Most of the time the king gave lower offices in the times of their transfer from the regions to the capital, Mahtama Selassie, p. 650.

[35] This office was below *Ras* and *Däjjazmach* and had no *Shambäl* or others to accompany him, but he had the right to administer *Wärädas* and sometimes Awrajas. (Mahtama Selassie, p. 650). In addition to these, there were offices like *Ḳägnazmach* (commonder of the 100), *Grazmach* (commonder of 50), *Balambaras* (commonder of 50, but had lower power than *Grazmach*), according to Mahtama, on the same page.

[36] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Shäwan expansion to the south and south west. It is known that Lama Aboye was the ruler of Kontab from 1894-1895. Kontab was one of the districts inhabited by the Hadiya people in the sub-province of Kämbata-Hadiya *Awraja*. Today, this district is divided into three and no one can find this name used by any of the three districts. *Ras* Tassama Darge was the grandson of King Sahile Selassie who was able to rule the major part of the Hadiya-Kämbata areas from 1895 to1896. Almost all of the leaders before the battle of Adäwa were made to rule in collaboration with other rulers.[37]

After the Adäwa battle, *Likamekuas* or the later *Ras* Abata Buayalew became the sole governor of Lemo and Kämbata sub-province. Abata got such position because of the heroic work that he did at the battle of Adäwa. It is said that Abata got the position of *Likamakuas* at the age of 18 and grew up in the palace of Menilek. As mentioned above, from among the governors of Hadiya and Kämbata areas, Abata was able to earn great fame from the people he ruled. Abata was one of the leaders of the Shäwan expedition forces to the south, the south east and the south west, and accompanied the king in many of his appearances at various battles. His patriotic stand was seen above all at Adäwa where he participated as canon operator. With his canon, Abata was said to have attacked the Italians military position at Makale and Adäwa. With the strong support of *Däjjazmach* Balcha, he was able to score a magnificent victory over the Italians.[38]

Immediately after his return from Adäwa, Abata was rewarded with a new title, *Ras* and the Hadiya-Kämbata land to rule. He became the most trusted person in the palace in Addis Abäba. He ruled Lemo and Kämbata province from 1896 to 1911. In the celebration of the seventh year

[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Anonymous writer, Abata Buayalew (Ras), Manuscript, unpublished, pp. 2-3.

of Adäwa victory in 1903, as mentioned above, there was military parade in Addis Abäba in front of the emperor. In this show, Abata with his 20000 Hadiya-Kämbata and the *Näfṭägna* soldiers showed his military potential to the Emperor.[39]

Upon the death of *Ras Bitwadad* Tassama Nadaw, *Lij* Iyasu was reluctant to appoint another regent. Being contrary to this, Abata tried his best to fill the regency position left by *Ras Bitwadad* Tassama Nadaw. He organized a group of nobilities against *Lij* Iyasu. With the defection of *Fitawrari* Habta Giorgis and *Abuna* Mathewos to the side of *Lij* Iyasu, however, his plan was failed. With mercy given to him by *Lij* Iyasu and his father, *Nigus* Michael, Abata was allowed to resume his former position (Lemo and Kämbata administration). Shortly after Abata's departure to Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja*, rumor began to circulate in Addis Abäba with regard to his conspiracy against the center. The rumor was '**በሆሳዕና ከተማዉ ወታደር ያስፎክራል**' (He is making war boast in Hossana).[40] Hearing the rumor, the central government frequently sent him messengers to come to Addis Abäba. But Abata refused to do so, pretending that he was sick. Later on he was forced to come to Addis Abäba and was sent to Makdala for imprisonment. He was jailed there until his death in 1918.[41]

Following the imprisonment of Abata, *Ras* Leulseged Atinafseged and *Däjjazmach* Woldagabriel Basha were appointed to rule the Hadiya-Kämbata area respectively. Particularly, the lowland areas of Hadiya was measured with *Kalad* (a kind of rope used to measure land) in the time of *Ras* Leulseged. After *Däjjazmach* Woldagabriel and the death of Abata in 1918, *Ras*

[39] Informants: Shamebo Warku and Aboche Takiso; Anonymous writer, Abata Buayalew (Ras), Manuscript, unpublished, pp. 2-3.

[40] Anonymous, "Abata Buayalew …," p. 5.

[41] *Ibid;* Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.

Getachaw Abata (the son of the later) was given to govern Lemo and Kämbata sub-province.[42] Getachaw ruled the sub-province from 1918 to 1927. Following the departure of *Ras* Getachaw to Kaffa, the son of *Ras* Wälde Ashagre (*Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha Wälde) was given the Hadiya-Kämbata administration. In the 1935/36 war with Italians, it was *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha Wälde who led the Hadiya-Kämbata army to the northern front. He was killed at the battle of Tembien in 1936. When the news of the death of Mäshäsha Wälde reached the ears of the Ethiopian rulers, the later reorganized the Hadiya-Kämbata force under their former ruler, *Ras* Getachaw Abata.[43] A large number of Hadiya-Kämbata *Gäbbar* soldiers were reported to have been killed at Temben and Maichaw.

After the completion of the annexation process, Menilek's government created a new class of local origin called *Balabat*. Regarding this, Ulrich Braukamper states, "… Everywhere in southern Ethiopia, it was a declared political practice of the Habäsha occupiers to appoint leaders of the conquered people who willingly collaborated as liaison officers between the new government and the indigenous population. They were mostly given the title *balabat*, chief appointed by the government."[44] The term 'Balabat' had existed for long in Shäwa since the time of Nagasi Kiristos. But the responsibilities and power endowed to the northern *Balabats* were different to some extent from the southern ones. In Shäwa, all the officials below the king were called *Balabat.* In the south, nevertheless, it was the former traditional rulers of the conquered people who were given the *Balabat* position.[45]

[42] Informants: Wändïmu Mänsido and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Braukamper, p. 265.
[45] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.

In Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja*, the local *Balabats* placed under the Shäwan rulers. The titles of the officials below the *Balabat* position in descending order were *Sängaḳoro, Ċhiḳashum* and *Wana.* Before the incorporation, the *Balabats* were clan leaders of the Hadiya people. Nevertheless, after the incorporation, they became subordinate to the government authorities. Since they had acceptance from their own people, Menilek's administration used them effectively to pacify the southern regions.[46] The *Balabats,* as expected, were effective in bringing the rebellious groups of the Hadiya under the Shäwan hegemony.

Menilek followed such policy that aimed to secure the expropriation of labor and tribute from local population for the benefit of the government. It became apparent for Menilek that land without labor is useless. To rule the autochthonous population, the reorganization of the local people based on status and benefit was required. In relation to this, Lapiso states:

> *…distribution of land among various Habäsha elements was useless without labor, since manual work was considered to be below the dignity of superiors and conquering Amhara race. Menilek's solutions to labor problems were the institution of Balabat and the Gäbbar systems and slavery.*[47]

In this case, it is possible to say that, Menilek followed systematic approach in his way of safeguarding the loyalty and peace of the newly conquered peoples. It was the *Awraja* administrators that had the right to give the *Balabat* position for the formerly local rulers. When selecting *Balabats* from among the local people, there were criteria that should be fulfilled by the candidates. These criteria were having healthy eyes and other body parts and also he had to use his right hand for every activity.[48] According to my informants, the term *Balabat* was derived

[46] Bahru Zawde, p. 99.
[47] Lapiso G. Dilebo, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia…", p. 207.
[48] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, Ermolo Badulo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

from Amharic word *balahibet teshum* or **ባለህበት ተሹም** 'don't leave your position'. One of my key informants says:

> … ይሄን ሁሉ ክፍላተ ሀገራት ከመሰረቱ በኋላ ባለህበት ተሹም አሉ አጼ ሚኒሊክ። ባላባት ማለት የቀድሞ የየአከባቢዉ ባህላዊ ንጉሶች ናቸዉ። ባላባቶችን መጀመሪያ ክርስትና አስነስተዋቸዉ፣ ካባ አልብሰዉ ፊታዉራሪ፣ ቀኛዝማችና ግራዝማች እያሉ ሹመት ሰጡዋቸዉ። እነዚያ ከሰሜን የሚመጡ አስተዳዳሪዎችና ነፍጠኞች ከወረሩት ህዝብ ጋር ለመተዋወቅ ሲሉ ግብር ያበላሉ። በዚያን ግዜ ከወረሩት ህዝብ ጋር የመተዋወቂያ መንገድ ግብር ማብላት ነበር። የአከባቢዉን ህዝብ ከአዲስ የሸዋ ተሿሚዎች ጋር የሚያስተዋዉቁት ባላባቶች ነበሩ። [49]

Its translation reads:

> *After reorganizing the country, Emperor* Menilek *allowed the former traditional rulers to retain their power. He said 'stay in power or don't leave your statuses'. The term Balabat refers to those traditional rulers who had ruled their respective clans before the Shäwan arrival to their land. The Balabats were made to receive Christianity, wear coat and appointed in their respective administrative domains with a title Fitawrari, Ḳägnazmach and Grazmach. Those Näfṭägna administrators, mainly to introduce themselves to local people, managed to prepare banquet for the autochthonous population. The then time, banquet was the main way of introduction of the foreign with the autochthones. In such process, the Balabats appeared to have played significant roles.*

But *Balabat* is a commonly known Amharic word, meaning 'one with a father' which entitles one to land and appointment.

It is said that the establishment of sub-provinces (*Awrajas*) preceded the reorganization of provinces (*Ṭäḳlay Gïzat).* It was in 1908 that an administrative reform that divided Ethiopia into 6 provinces was implemented.[50] The *Balabats* were mostly given titles like *Däjjazmach, Fitawurari, Ḳägnazmach* and *Grazmach*. In Hadiya land, it is difficult to find *Däjjazmach*, but the rest are existent. The *Ḳägnazmach* and *Grazmach* titles were given to the *Balabats* not by the central government, but by the *Awraja* administrators. Sometimes, we see the *Awraja*

[49] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo.
[50] Braukamper, p. 291; Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.

administrators giving the title *Fitawrari* to *Balabats* without the knowledge of the central government, like the case of Geja Garibo mentioned in chapter three.

The officials under the *Balabats* were recruited from among the local people who were proved to be loyal to the government. By doing so, the Shäwan administration succeeded in alienating the *Balabats* and other lower officials from their kinsmen, the Hadiya.[51] In return for their services, they were given land and other benefits.[52] It was the *Balabat* who had the power to recruit the officials under him, and the recruited individuals had to be approved by the Shäwan administrators. They were selected usually from the family of the *Balabats*, not from the ordinary peasant populations. The title next to the *Balabat* was the *Sängaḳoro*. In the same way that the name *Balabat* was coined, the term *Sängaḳoro* was derived from the Amharic name *Sanga Akirabi* or 'ox provider'. The main task of *Sängaḳoro* was to manage the collection of edible domestic animals like ox, sheep, goats and the like from the *Gäbbars*. In their turn, the *Balabats* appeared to have collected all the animals that were brought by the *Sängaḳoros* and gave them to the *Awraja* rulers.[53] In addition to this, the Sangakoro had the mandate to manage the collection of other kinds of taxes from their areas of jurisdiction.

Under the *Sängaḳoro*, there were local rulers who were given the title, *Ċhiḳashum*. Like the aforementioned names, it was taken from Amharic word, *Ye Chiqa Shum* (the appointee of mud). The main task of the *Ċhiḳashum* was to coordinate the offices under him and facilitate tax collection process. The lowest political office in Hadiya was the office of *Wana*. It was this

[51] Braukamper, p. 307.
[52] A letter written from Ṭämbaro *Wäräda* to Ministry of Interior dated *Maskaram* 10, 1966 E.C. No. 625/60.
[53] Informants: Womiso Tone, Shamebo Dagalo and Petros Alango.

office that had direct contact with *Gäbbars*. They were given the mandate of informing the *Ċhiḳashum* about the number of domestic animals and the amount of grain that each *Gäbbar* had.[54] The dues owed by the local people were based on the information that the office of *Wana* had rendered. "… In the Hadiya territory west of the Bilate, the *Gasha* units were divided into four sections for each of which a *Wana* was appointed. This official had to hand in a lump sum of taxes imposed in his district three times a year to a *Ċhiḳashum*, who was appointed by the government."[55] As far as this issue is concerned, my informants say:

> **ከባላባት ስር ሰንጋ ቆሮ የሚባሉት በሂደት ተፈጠሩ። ሰንጋቆሮዎች የሚፈጠሩት በባላባቶች ጥቆማ መሰረት ነዉ። ሰንጋ ቆሮ ማለት ሰንጋ አቅራቢ ማለት ነዉ። ለሰንጋ አቅራቢዉ ስራ እንዳይከብደዉ ከስሩ ጭቃሹም የሚባል ተሾመለት። ከጭቃሹም ስር ዋና የሚባል የበታች መደብ ተፈጠረ። ለጭቃሹሙ ቅቤ ያለበትን ቤት፣ ማር ያለበትን ቤት፣ ሙክት ያለበትን ቤት የሚጠቁመዉ ዋና የሚባለዉ መደብ ነዉ። ከባላባት በላይ በየጠቅላይ ግዛቱና አዉራጃዉ የተሾሙ ሰዎች ይገኛሉ። ከባላባቶች በላይ የሚገኙት የወረዳና የአዉራጃ ገዢዎች ከአጼ ምኒሊክ ጋር 'ሀገር ሲያቀኑ' የነበሩ ሰዎች ነበሩ።**[56]

This is roughly translated as:

> *Through time, under the Balabat, the Sangaqoros were created. It was the Balabats who had given the mandate to help the Shäwan administrators in the process of creating the Sängaḳoros. The literal meaning of Sängaḳoro is 'provider of Sanga or ox'. Underneath the Sängaḳoro, a new title called Ċhiḳashum came into existence. Then, a title known as Wana was created under the Ċhiḳashum. It was the office of Wana that was able to inform the Ċhiḳashum about the Gäbbars who had much honey, butter, ships and other valuable resources. Above the Balabat title, there were Wäräda and Awraja (sub-province) administrators who were directly appointed by the Emperor or other officials below him. Such dignitaries who were above the Balabat spent most of their time in the 'nation building' process.*

In terms of economic status, the *Balabats* in Hadiya were in better condition than many of the *Näfṭägna* population. My informant remembers:

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[54] *Ibid.*
[55] Braukamper, p. 305.
[56] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo

በአንድ ወቅት አንድ የሶሮ ባላባትና አንድ ነፍጠኛ ተካሰዉ ወደ አሰላ ፍርድ ቤት እየሄዱ ሳሉ መንገድ ላይ ጭቅጭቅ ይፈጥራሉ። ባላባቱ ለነፍጠኛዉ እኔን ተካሰህ ማሸነፍ ማለት ከሸንቆላ[57] ተራራ ጋር እንደመጋፋት ቁጠረዉ አለዉ። እኔ ማለት ሸንቆላ ተራራ ነኝ አለ። ይሄ ማለት ከፍተኛ ሀብት አለኝ አትችለኝም እያለዉ ነበር።[58]

This is translated as:

> *While a Balabat from the Sorro clan and a Näfṭägna were going to Assala for justice, they began to argue on the issue that they were quarreling. The Balabats said to the Näfṭägna, 'it is hard for you to defeat me in the Assala court. Getting victory over me means facing and pushing Shonkola Mountain. I am like Shonkola Mountain, which is difficult to push.' He is saying that he had high amount of wealth to do whatever he want.*

The wealth of the *Balabats*, however, was lower than the *Awraja*, *Wäräda and Mïkïtïl Wäräda* administrators who had titles like *Fitawrari, Däjjazmach* and *Ras.* The *Näfṭägna* and the northern settlers were mostly given between half to 2 *Gashas* of land. The *Balabats,* however, owned more than 10 *Gashas* of land. Whenever the *Balabat* made long voyage within the country, he used to carry a carpet decorated with flower. On every journey, there were servants who accompanied him. When the sun sets on his way, he ordered his entourages to search for a *Balabat* house in the area for himself and let his servants to look for *Gäbbar* or *Ċhisägna* house for them to spend the night. On the places where the bed was prepared, the host *Balabat* was seen covering the bed with decorated sheet.[59]

In 1960, the Haila Selassie government made detail investigation on nominees who were below the Deputy *Wäräda* position.[60] Following this, the *Wäräda* rulers in Hadiya reported the result of their investigation to the Ministry of Interior. The table below shows the list of names of some of

[57] Shankola is a range of mountain which was located in Hadiya, specifically Sorro *Awraja*.

[58] Informant: Firde T/Giorgis.

[59] Informants: Womiso Tone, Shamebo Dagalo and Petros Alango.

[60] A letter written from Mulugeta Bayana, Kämbata *Awraja* main secretary to *Grazmach* Täsäma Ayala dated *Ginbot* 4, 1960.

the *Balabats, Sängaḳoro* and *Ċhiḳashums* and their areas of jurisdictions in Sorro *Wäräda.*[61] This is done in the belief that the samples that are used from Sorro *Wäräda* can be generalized to other parts of the Hadiya.

The name of the person in power			The name of the *Ḳäbäle* that he administered.
1st level	2nd level	3rd level	
Ato[62] Tsedeke Garada (*Balabat)*	Hanano Hanksido *(Sängaḳoro)*	Hankebo Ayase (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Dansana Godicho
		Gabrahiwot Landago (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Ansata Godicho
	Goniso Lachane (*Sängaḳoro)*	Lombamo Morago (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Dansa Bata Ana
		Heliso Doyore (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Dansa Loka
	Kasa Gäbre (*Sängaḳoro)*	Eromo Latamo (*Ċhiḳashum*)	Buso Ana
Ḳägnazmach Nuramo Kapeno (*Balabat)*	Bulanche Koshomo *(Sängaḳoro)*	Lapiso Koshomo (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Shakana
		Agisho Sadebo (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Gimbichu
		Takore Agato (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Dubamo
Ḳägnazmach	Banche Walore	Gobana Kartado (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Jawaro

[61] A letter written from Kämbata *Awraja* to the Ministry of Interior dated *Hidar* 29, 1960, No. 965/183.

[62] This title could be given only for the so called 'Chäwa' people. This is to mean that slaves, tanners, smiths and other craft workers were deprived of such a name, according to Mahtama Selassie, p. 647.

Seyoum Anore *(Balabat)*	(*Sängaḳoro*)		
	Wachämo Larebo (*Sängaḳoro*)	No *Ċhiḳashum*	Somicho
	Wangore Lambore (*Sängaḳoro)*	No *Ċhiḳashum*	Mande
Ato Getachaw Haile (*Balabat)*	No *Sängaḳoro*	*Ato* Dimbore (*Ċhiḳashum*)	Harche Sonda
		Ato Hambamo (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Bambo
		Ato Bufebo (*Ċhiḳashum*)	Kacha Danitora
		Ato Molore (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Kacha Danitora
		Ato Forsido (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Hangada
		Ato Ergicho (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Ushumo
		Ato Lorato (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Usmano Bokolo
		Ato Afa (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Kere Dan
		Ato Lalago (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Ushumo
Malkabo Lombaso (*Balabat)*	Dunamo Orgino (*Sängaḳoro)*	Achamo Woshe (*Ċhiḳashum*)	Kankicho
		Abide Shoge (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Ajarana
		Sunumo (*Ċhiḳashum*)	Dabiyago
	Eromo Lambebo (*Sängaḳoro)*	Kalbamo Haro (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Latabo
Inheritances of *Fitawrari* Bäkälä Bishaw	No *Sängaḳoro*	Ergudo (*Chkashum)*	Umfura Somicho
		Lugo Heboto (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Wagabata

(*Balabat*) – Kufana Ilgira			
		Arago Gemejo (*Ċhiḳashum*)	Ilgira
		Wankore Lachebo (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Buure
W/ro Kitabish Asidangit *(Afar Mälkägna)*	No *Sängaḳoro*	Däboch Asdangit (*Ċhiḳashum*)	Shano
W/ro Adanach Bäkälä *(Afar Mälkägna)*	No *Sängaḳoro*	Tasama Hailamichael (*Ċhiḳashum)*	Sage Misa
W/ro Gabayanesh Amare	No *Sängaḳoro*	Arficho Mikore *(Ċhiḳashum)*	Uyaya Sange
Tasama Afrasa *(Afar Mälkägna)*	No *Sängaḳoro*	No *Ċhiḳashum*	Ale Sange
Inheritances of *Ras* Getachaw *(Afar Mälkägna)*	No *Sängaḳoro*	No *Ċhiḳashum*	Wagabata
W/ro Dasta Gizaw *(Afar Mälkägna)*	“	“	Barkuncho

Inheriters of *Grazmach* Abaraga *(Afar Mälkägna*)	“	“	Somicho Tunto
W/ro Tawabach Warke *(Afar Mälkägna)*	“	“	Barkuncho
Haile Wändïmu *(Afar Mälkägna*)	“	“	Omoshara
Tafara Bahiru *(Afar Mälkägna*)	“	“	Barkuncho
Tadala Madafu (*Afar Mälkägna*)	“	“	Dimbe
Asäfa Sadore (*Afar Mälkägna)*	“	“	Kabarbuya
Inheriters of *Ḳägnazmach* Warku (*Afar Mälkägna*)	“	“	Ga’icha
Inheriters of *Fitawrari* Bäkälä Bishawu (*Afar Mälkägna)*	“	Warako Aliko *(Ċhiḳashum*)	Jajura
		Agafari Mitore (*Ċhiḳashum*)	Sundusa
		Amdata Charu *(Ċhiḳashum)*	Jawe

W/ro Dasta Ayala (*Afar Mälkägna*)	No *Sängaḳoro*	No *Ċhiḳashum*	Wagabata
Ḳägnazmach Kintamo (*Balabat*)	"	"	Wagabata

Table 2: Positions reserved for the autochthonous population in Hadiya during 'feudo-military' rule since the incorporation.

In the years after the withdrawal of Italians from Ethiopian soil, some of the government powers which were previously reserved for the autochtonous population began to be given to the 'Amhara' settlers. But still the major part of the *Balabats, Sängaḳoros* and *Ċhiḳashums* were recruited from among the Hadiya people. The *Afar Mälkägna* position during 'feudo-military' Ethiopia was the power below the deputy *Wäräda* administration.[63] In most cases, under the *Balabats* there were *Sängaḳoros* and *Ċhiḳashums*, but for reasons unknown, there were no positions below the office of the *Afar Mälkägna*.[64] In many instances, such positions, except the *Ċhiḳashum*, were hereditary in nature that could be transferred from father to sons or daughters. In the aforementioned report, we cannot see the office of *Wana*. The *Wäräda* officials in Hadiya did not report such position to the Ministry of Interior. My informants, however, unanimously agree that the position of *Wana* was the lowest power totally left to the local people.

[63] A letter written from Lemo *Wäräda* to the Ministry of Interior dated *Tir* 12, 1960 E.C, No, 38/12/60, folder number, 7475.

[64] *Ibid.*

There were two ways of acquiring the power of *Ċhiḳashum*. The position was found below the *Balabat* and *Sängaḳoro*. The means of obtaining the *Ċhiḳashum* position was through inheritance and election. Its term of office was for one year only. This power, however, could be given to the person for long, when he was found to be loyal to the government. The election process for such a position was not democratic. This was largely because it was the *Rist* holders who had the right to elect and be-elect.

The *Balabat* and *Sängaḳoro* positions were acquired through inheritance only. If a will was made by the diseased person as to whom the position should go to, the government respected the decision and there were no other criteria required from the new appointee.[65] In the event that a power holder died without making any will, the right was given to the eldest son, but not to the eldest daughter. This is to mean that, in the presence of male in the family, a woman did not have the right to inherit the power. However, when the diseased person made a will in favor of his daughter, the decisions would be respected.[66]

Since there were no *Gudifacha* (not biological sons and daughters) traditions in Hadiya, we never talk about their rights. In Hadiya, there had not been a tradition of dividing the position of the diseased person among all his sons and daughters, i.e. the rightful person in this regard was a son who was the eldest one in the family and he should be the son of the first wife in the case of the existence of polygamous marriage. If the eldest son was incapable of doing the work or he was under age, he would not be deprived of such rights. A regent was appointed for him to manage the inheritance. Under the banner of regency, nevertheless, the northern administrators were seen controlling such powers. In the post liberation period, there were no rules and laws

[65] *Ibid.*
[66] *Ibid.*

that would deprive the person who took the *Balabat* and *Sängaḳoro* positions from making crimes individuals. In the times of crimes against the government, however, the power holder would be deprived of his rights, and his position would be given to other individuals.[67]

From the aforementioned report, it is possible to say that there was a huge gap in the laws of the country. There were no prepared laws or declarations, for instance, in the case when *Siso* land and other properties of the diseased person which were related to his power were sold or taken through debt and there were no laws that talk about the consequence when the power holder committed crimes. The report could not give us full-fledged information about the full names of the *Sängaḳoros* and *Ċhiḳashums.*[68]

Regarding the tenure of powers of the officials below the *Mïkïtïl Wäräda* in Hadiya, there were no clearly established laws and procedures. As indicated above, the *Balabats* and the *Sängaḳoros* had no limitation with regard to the time of their rule, but there were determined times for *Ċhiḳashums*. The *Balabats* and the *Sängaḳoros* had the right to rule their respective areas until their death and had the right to let their family inherit their positions and the wealth associated with it. Most of the time, according to my informants, *Ċhiḳashums* and *Wanas* were seen losing their power in the time when they were suspected of reducing their loyalty to government, but not for their weakness. It was through election that the positions of *Ċhiḳashums* were filled once the previous owners lost their powers.[69] Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the election was not democratic, since those who participated in the voting process were the northern lords and the *Balabats* who were giving their life for the happiness and joy of the central government. Initially, the position of *Ċhiḳashum* was left entirely for the autochthonous population, but as time went

[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] Informants: Anamo Dune and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

on, the settlers began to be included in such positions through the so called 'election'. There were opportunities for the families of the *Balabats* and the *Sängaḳoros* to participate in the election, and they had the chance to grab the *Ċhiḳashum* positions for themselves. Conditions that prevented a person from competition were illness and incapability to do things in a proper way. Individuals who had no *Rist* land were also deprived of participating in the election process.[70]

There were no procedures of approval regarding the appointments of the *Balabats* or other lower lords from the king. The time when the *Balabat* found committing crimes against the government interest, it was the mandate of the king or other officials to deprive him from his power. The *Balabats* and the *Sängaḳoros* were responsible for the financial deficit that was committed by the person they appointed. For other violations, it was the appointee who was responsible to make compensation or receive punishment. The mandates of all the positions mentioned above were collecting tributes and *Asrat*, keeping the security of their respective areas, controlling the *Gäbbar* and *Ċhisägna* landholding systems and others.[71]

[70] *Ibid.*
[71] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Tamirat Worako and Anshiso Awilo.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. *Ċhisägna* (Tenancy) System and Its Political, Social, Economic and Cultural Consequences on Hadiya People.

It is better to call the land tenure that the imperial government followed in Hadiya as Ċhisägna, rather than calling it the *Gäbbar* system or the *Geber* system. The Hadiya, since the incorporation, were changing rapidly from *Gäbbar* to *Ċhisägna* system. In the post Italian period, following the Haila Selassie land proclamation, the majority Hadiya people became landless tenants. "Although the *Gäbbar* system introduced during Emperor Menilek's time, which had degraded the majority of subjugated peoples to a kind of bondsmen with regard to the *Mälkägna*, was de jure abolished now, the former *Gäbbar* now became tenants on the estates of the big land owners."[1] During feudo-military period in Hadiya, tenancy was the dominant factor over the *Gabbar* system.

Some authors tended to associate the concept, '*Gäbbar* system' directly with tribute payment. **"ገባር የሚለዉን ቃል ስንመለከት ለመንግስት ግብር ይከፍል የነበረዉን ሁሉ (ንጉሰ ነገስቱን ጨምሮ) የሚወክል ቃል እንጂ ጭሰኛ የሚለዉን ብቻ የሚወክል አይደለም።"**[2] Its translation reads, "The term *Gäbbar* is an indication of not only *Ċhisägna*, but also all tribute paying people including the *Nigusä Nägäst* (king of kings)." *Gäbbar* system, however, was not only an indication of the kind of tributes that had been paid by peasants to the government or other authorities; rather it was an indication of social relation. It is my idea that the *Gäbbar* system ceased to exist during the Italian occupation in the south, but tribute (*Geber)* payment was

[1]Braukamper, p. 358.

[2]**ዋጋዉ ቦጋለ፣ ቤተ-ርስት፤ ስልጣን፣ መዋዕለ ንዋይ እና በነ አድራጎት በቀዳማዊ ሀይለ ስላሴ ሀይወት (1933-1967)፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ 2012፣ገጽ 275.**

continued to be exercised by peasants and other sections. The aforementioned author makes a kind of connection between the term *Gäbbar* and *Ċhisägna* as both tribute paying peasants. In reality, however, the two terms indicates two different social statuses of the so called 'feudo-miliary' Ethiopia'.

Why were the landless peasants given the name *Ċhisägna*? Did the system of *Ċhisägna* existed only in the south? Some authors say the smokes or *Chis* (in Amharic) that came out of these landless peasants were the main reason behind such names. Others argue that it was because tenants were liable for eviction easily like smoke or *Chis.* "Tenant households, *Ċhisägna* (the name comes from the word for smoke (*tis),* the idea being, according to one Ethiopian authority, that tenants could be removed from their fields as easily as smoke) consisted of persons who cultivated the *Rist* lands of others."[3] Wagaw says *Chisagna* system was existent both in the north and the south, though its meaning and implementation process was different. Depending on Gabra Wald Ingida Wark's work, he tried to see the term *Ċhisägna* in three ways. The first meaning indicates that *Ċhisägna* could buy land from the *Balabat* or *Mälkägna* and had the right to sell or transfer as far as he was paying tributes in honey, salt, labor and the like. The second one is that a tenant could buy land from the *Mälkägna* or the *Balabat* and live without threat of eviction from the later, but he would be forced to evacuate or buy again when the government gave the land for another *Mälkägna.* The third meaning was that a tenant could live on the land with contractual agreement without buying it and he was exposed to eviction by the landlord at any time.[4] The first two arguments could not work in Hadiya land. In Hadiya,

[3] Donald Donham, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in the Social History," *In the Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Donald Donham and Wendy James (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 5.

[4] ዋጋዉ ቦጋለ፣ ገጽ 274.

the first meaning was related to *Gäbbar* system, but not to *Chisagna*. The third one is a good fit to the lives of Hadiya tenants.

Some oral sources tended to connect the term *Ċhisägna* with the economic status of the indigenous farmers. They say, "**ጭሰኛ የሚለዉ ስም የወጣዉ ከጣሊያን ወረራ በፊት ነበር። ጭሰኛ የሚለዉ ቃል የተፈጠረዉ ከጭስህ ዉጪ ምንም ንብረት የለህም የሚለዉን ለመጠቆም ነበር። እዉነትም ከጭሱ ዉጭ ያለዉ ሁሉ የመሬት ከበርቴዉ እንጂ የሱ አልነበረም።**"[5] Its translation is, "The name *Ċhisägna* was coined before the period of Italian occupation. It was created to indicate that the southern peasants had no property apart from their smoke. It is true that all the properties apart from their smokes were belonged to the landlords."

As rightly expressed above, the issue of tenancy or *Chisagninat* did not exist only in the south, the south west and the south east. In Shäwa such tradition had existed in the 19th century. Gabrasilassie notes, "**በዚህም በመላ ሸዋ ያለ መልከኝነት ግንደበሉም፣ ገባሩም፣ ሰሞነኛዉም ጢሰኛዉም በወገን በወገኑ ይጻፍ ዘንድ በጸሀፊ ትዕዛዝ አለቃ ገብረስላሴ እጅ ትዕዛዝ ወጣ።** …።"[6] Its translation reads, "Order is issued from *Tsehafi Ti'zaz* Gabrasillassie to record the names of *Mälkägna, Gïndäbäl, Gäbbar, Semonagna* and *Ċhisägna* (tenant) in accordance with their category." According to Braukamper, the subjugated peoples of the south were not considered free citizens, but they were included under the rubric, *Gäbbar*, serfs of the state who were not admitted full rights of citizenship.[7] Here, Braukamper is using terms like 'serf' and

[5] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lambor and Aboche Takiso; **ላጲሶ፣ <u>የገባር ስርአትና</u>** … **ገጽ** 33-38.

[6] **ገብረስላሴ፣ <u>ታሪክ ዘመን፣ ዘዳግማዊ ሚኒሊክ ንጉሰ ነገስት ዘኢትዮጵያ፣</u> አዲስ አበባ፣** 1949 **ዓ. ም. ገጽ** 99.

[7] Braukamper, p. 286.

‘*Gäbbar’* alternatively and employing them to express the intensity of subjugation of the Hadiya people. The word ‘serf’, nevertheless, is different from ‘*Gäbbar*’. The former is an expression of the experiences of European peasants in the medieval period; it could not be used for the lives that the Hadiya and other incorporated peoples had spent.

Macmillan English dictionary defines the term ‘serf’ and ‘tenancy’ in different ways. It defines ‘serf’ as someone who lived and worked on land belonging to another person and who couldn’t leave without that person’s permission and ‘Tenant’ is someone who rents a house, office, a piece of land etc… from the person who owns it.[8] Braukamper is limiting the *Gäbbar* system to the southern Ethiopian peoples only. Though the intensity of oppression was different on peasants of the two regions, the northern peasants had been categorized under the name *Gäbbar* since the medieval period in Ethiopia.

There are differences between the idea of tenancy and *Gäbbar* in terms of the rights of people to land access. “**በሚኒሊክ ፖ`ሊሲና ዘመን ገባር ባለመሬት ሲሆን ጭሰኛዉ ግን በዉላዊ ስምምነት የሰዉን መሬት እያረሰ የሚኖር የግል መሬት የሌለዉ አርሶ አደር ነበር።**”[9] This is translated as, “During the time of Menilek, *Gäbbar* was the owner of land where as tenant possessed land based on contractual agreement. Tenants had no land that belonged to them.” Donham says “Tenancy was one way that access to land was matched to the labor supplies of households.”[10] As argued by many authors, a person who was categorized under tenancy was landless peasants.[11] It is said that on the Hadiya land which was classified under ‘Lam’, there could be 20 to 30 tenant families living per *Gasha*. A tenant did not have the right to plant

[8] **ዋጋዉ፣** ገጽ 273.
[9] **ላጲሶ፣ <u>አብዮታዊ የምርትና የባህል</u>** …ገጽ 35.
[10] Donham, p. 5.
[11] Braukamper, p. 358.

whatever he wanted. He is obliged to produce what his landlord told him to do. Most of the time, the owners were not in a position to live in the areas where their land were located. Rather, they preferred to live in the major towns or cities.[12] They assigned delegates to supervise and manage their tenants. Damise Mangistu, for example, was the representative of *Ras* Getachaw's land in Shone, center of Badäwacho Hadiya.[13]

Initially, unlike the *Gäbbars,* a tenant had no much burdens. This is to say that the later had no labor obligations to give to the landlords. He had the right to live freely as far as he was giving the required share. Through time, however, landlords began to add labor duties on tenants. Then, he was made to feed both his families and the families of the landlords, and pay *Asrat* for the government and *Asrat-Bäkurat* to the church. They had no right to pay *Asrat* for the government directly, but they appeared to pay through the landlords. Parts of their produce (quarter or half depending on his agreement) were sent to the land owners who were mostly dwelled in towns or cities, as indicated above. Tenants did not have the right to refuse the demands of the landlords. If they refused, the later tended to imprison them, or sometimes the lord was seen evicting a tenant from his land.[14] With regard to this, the 1945 legal document[15] states that the time when a tenant was ordered by the landlord to leave his land, the former had no right to refuse the later's demand. He did not have the power to change his bosses and refuse to their orders. Tenants should leave the land if they were not in a position to accept the orders of their suzeraign. The time the landlord appealed to the court that his tenant fought him; the later would be ordered to deconstruct his house and leave the land unless there were no special

[12] Informants: Lämädo Ajula, Ermolo Badulo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde Taklagiorgis and Damise Mänsido.

[13] Braukamper, p. 364.

[14] **አዲስ ዘመን፣ ማስታወቂያ፣ ታህሳስ 4 ቀን 1964 ዓ.ም.**

[15] The 1945 legal document numbers 3273, 3272, 3275, 3225, 3368, 711, 3287, 3295, 3321, 3418, 4394, 3425, 3447, 3454 and 3372 which is taken from Lapiso's book entitled, *Abiyotawi …* pp. 41-42,

agreements between the two. Unless the landlord allowed him to stay, a tenant had no right to say 'Since I stayed on the land for long, I will not evacuate from it.' A tenant (a person who was forced mostly to pay 1/3 of his produce) had to till the land with his oxen and grain. He had an obligation to call guarantee for the land he was using.[16] "In the time of locust attack or loss of the harvest because of drought, if no special agreement, a tenant has to give the shares of the landlord without preconditions."[17]

Among the Hadiya, the intensity of oppression was said to have been increased as one went far from Hossana town to the countryside. Tenants who dwelled near the town had more right than tenants who were living in the faraway rural areas. Through time, the intensity of subjugation varied from one action to the other, i.e. the subjugation increased on one event and decreased on the other. Those tenants who were living far from Hossana town were prohibited to wear clothes similar to the *Näftägna* and *Mälkägna* families.[18] But those who were near to the town were seen wearing similar clothes with the northern settlers and the *Näftägna*. My informants say:

> **የጭሰኛዉ መብት ከሆሳዕና ከተማ ወደ ገጠር እየራቀ በሄደ ቁጥር እየቀነሰ ይሄዳል። ለምሳሌ የኔ አባት ጭሰኛ ነበር። ነገር ግን አባቱ የሚያርስበት መሬት ለሆሳዕና ቅርብ በሆነ አምቢቾ ላይ ነበር። እኔ የተማርኩት የተፈሪ ሱሪ የሚባለዉን ልብስ ለብሼ ነበር። ነገር ግን ከኛ ራቅ ብለዉ የሚገኙ ጭሰኞች የተፈሪን ሱሪ እነሱም ሆኑ ልጆቻቸዉ እንዲለብሱ አይፈቀድላቸዉም ነበር። የሚፈቀድላቸዉ ቁንጣና ከላይ ጣል የሚደረግ ማላበሻ ነዉ። ሻሾን ላይ ወይዘሮ አማረች ይልማ የምትባል ባለጋሻ አጎቴን ሆሳዕና አምጥታዉ አስራዋለች የተፈሪን ሱሪ ሻሾን ላይ ስለለበሰ።**[19]

Its translation is:

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[16] ላጲሶ፣ <u>አብዮታዊ …</u> ገጽ 41-42.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, and Firde T/Giorgis.

[19] Informant: Asäfa Bunte, Shifäraw Bifebo, Abatkun Lamboro and Gabramichael Wachämo.

> *The rights of tenants decreased as one moved far from Hossana town to the rural areas. My father, for example, was a tenant. His land was located in Ambicho Ḳäbäle, which is near to Hossana. I attended my education wearing Tafari Suri (Tafari trouser) which was forbidden to the Gäbbars and tenants and also their sons who were living far from Hossana. They were allowed to wear shorts and sheet like cloth on their shoulder. In Shashogo, a woman landlord named Amarach Yilma imprisoned my uncle in Hossana for the simple reason that the latter wore Tafari Suri.*

When the landowners went to their land from towns for visit, tenants were expected to prepare feast for their 'guests'. Most of the time, as mentioned above, the mandate to control and supervise the land of the landlords on regular basis was given to the *Sängaḳoros, Ċhiḳashums* and *Wanas,* and supported by *Mislenes*. The landlords made visits to their lands occasionally, i.e. not more than two or three times a year. It is said that the *Sängaḳoros, Ċhiḳashums* and *Wanas* were harsh in their approach to tenants.[20]

Unlike tenants, *Gäbbars* had their own land and pay tribute by their names. But there were many feudal dues and tributes that the *Gäbbars* had to pay to the landlords.[21] In addition to these, there were *Sangaqoros, Ċhiḳashums* and *Wanas* who used to exploit everything that the *Gäbbar* had. A single *Gäbbar* had to pay tribute for more than six levels of oppressors: *Wanas, Ċhiḳashums, Sängaḳoros, Balabats,* the church and the government. It is said that the level of exploitation was harsher on *Gäbbars* than tenants before the Italian occupation.[22]

Before Menilek, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the Hadiya had no tradition of individual land holding system, rather it was possessed as communal property of a family or a given clan.[23] After Menilek's incorporation, all Hadiya peasants were made *Gäbbars*.[24] Then, the

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] **ወንድሙ ፍላቴና ጌዲዮን አዲሴ፣ ገራድ፣ የሀዲያ ታሪክ እስከ 1983 ዓ.ም. አዲስ አበባ፣ ኢክሊፕስ ማተሚያ ቤት፣ 2013፣ ገጽ** 282.

[22] Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Makebo Lagore and Tamam Hassan.

[23] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Wärkïnäsh Abame; Braukamper, p. 303, **ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ** 289.

government appointed the *Awraja* and *Wäräda* administrators to rule.[25] Tenancy began to appear in Hadiya gradually. Tenancy emerged following the extreme oppression and exploitations which were exerted on *Gäbbars.* It was the *Gäbbars* who were converted to tenancy. "**ለምን ገባር ሆኜ ለ5 ሰዉ ከምገብር ጭሰኛ ሆኜ ለ1 ሰዉ አልገብርም በሚል ነዉ ሰዉ ሁሉ በፈቃደኝነት ወደ ጭሰኝነት የጎረፈዉ። ነገር ግን ሀይለስላሴ ወደስልጣን ከመጡ በኋላ በጭሰኛዉ ላይ አስከፊ አዋጅ መጣበት። ከዛም ብዙዎች ተጸጸቱ። እንዳይመለሱ መሬታቸዉን ሌላ ሰዉ ወስዶባቸዋል።**"[26] Its translation is, "The reason for the conversion of *Gäbbars* to tenancy was the refusal to pay tribute to more than 5 lords, because tenants only pay for a single lord. After the coming to power of Haila Selassie government, however, harsh rule was passed against *Ċhisägna* which was believed to have disappointed them highly." The declarations made after 1941 let tenants to loose many of their freedoms. After such declarations, landlords were given the right to recruit tenants for battles, but it was the government that had the power to recruit *Gäbbars*. Tenants struggled to reassert their rights by going to Asala and Addis Abäba.[27]

During *Ċhisägna* system, the conquered land was divided in to three.[28] According to Perham, "When a new region was conquered by Menilek and set aside for colonization by soldiers, it was measured into *Gashas,* one third was set aside for the local people, and the remaining two thirds divided between the soldiers and the church."[29] In similar tone, Lapiso says the lands of the newly incorporated areas were divided into three parts: *Gäbbar* land, *Balabat* land and

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[24] Braukamper, pp. 286-287; Gedion Addise, "A Socio-Economic History of Hadiya People," M.A. Thesis, Addis Abäba University, Department of History, year 2000, p. 10.

[25]Braukamper, p. 293;

[26]Informant: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28]**ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ** 290.

[29]Margery M. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, Second Edition, London, Faber and Faber, 1969, pp. 296-297.

Government land.[30] For him, the term *Balabat* indicates not only rulers selected from the autochthonous population but also the nobilities and the lower lords who were sent from the center to southern regions. Contradicting to these stands, however, authors like Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo state that the lands of the Hadiya following the annexation were divided into two big categories: the government and the *Balabat* lands. They tend to bring *Gäbbars* under the second category. Braukamper notes that it was from the *Gäbbars* share that the *Balabats* took the most productive land.[31] It is my argument that the Hadiya farmers, during the first two decades of the Shäwan annexation, were given land and allowed to pay tribute in their own names. Until the 1907 Ministerial land declaration, the Hadiya *Gäbbars* were made to pay tributes directly to the government, not through the landlords.[32]

Based on the available sources, I managed to classify the land tenure system that Emperor Menilek and his successors followed in Hadiya. Once again, I argue that, the land tenure system that Emperor Menilek and his successors up to the coming to power of the Därg government followed was *Ċhisägna*. I divided *Ċhisägna* landholding system into three: peasant, *balabat* and Government. Gimit land was classified under peasant sub-division. Government land was divided into two: *Beta Rist* and the *Beta Mangist*. The *Balabat* land was categorized into three groups: local *Balabats*, the northern *Balabats* (nobilities and the lower lords who were sent from Addis Abäba to the south), and the Church (which took shares from this land under the name *Simon*). For more clarification, I put the land distribution system that

[30] ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ የምርትና የባህል…ገጽ 34-35; ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 23.

[31] Braukamper, p. 307.

[32] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Wärkïnäsh Abame; ገብረስላሴ፣ ታሪክ ዘመን ዘ ዳግማዊ ሚኒሊክ ንጉሰ ነገስት ዘ ኢትዮጵያ፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ በአርቲስቲክ ማተሚያ ሊሚትድ ታተመ፣ ቁጥር 6060፣ ገጽ 334-336; ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 26-27; ማህተመስላሴ፣ ዝክረ ነገር፣ ገጽ 71.

the ‘feudo-military’ rulers followed since the annexation of Hadiya land into Minelik’s Empire in diagram as follows:

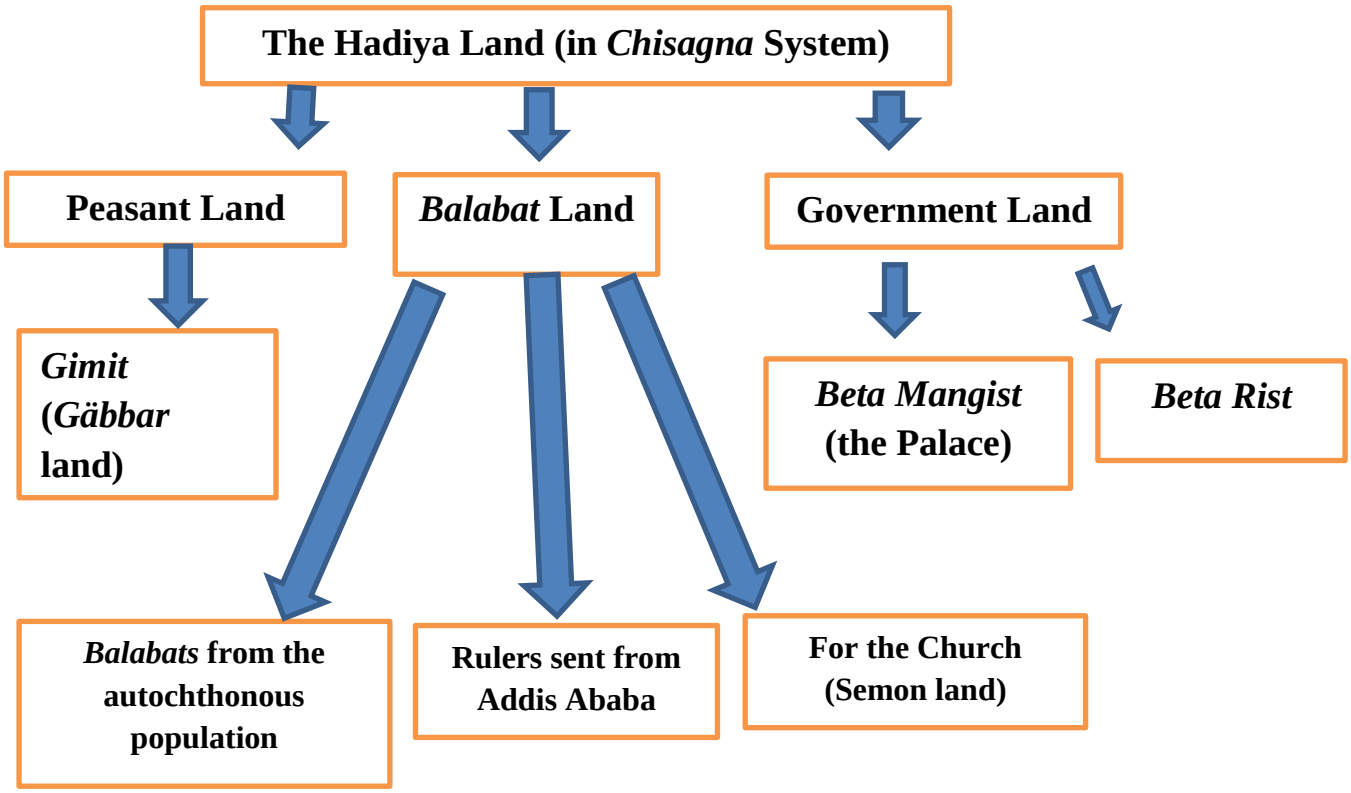

Figure 8: Land distribution system to the different organizations and figures.

Peasant settlement in Hadiya had two characters: *Gimit* and *Gasha*. Such classification was based on the amount of tribute that the *Gäbbars* and tenants managed to pay and the rights they exercised.[33] Those farmers who settled on *Gïmït* land were said to have been the owners of the land and had the right to sell, transfer and exchange as far as they were paying tribute to the government. Farmers, according to my informants, who settled on *Gasha* land, were tenants. Their land belonged either to the *Balabats* or the *Beta Mangist* or the *Beta Rist*. After the Italian occupation and the restoration of the Haila Selassie government in 1941, the majority farmers

[33] ወንድሙና ጌድዮን፣ ገጽ 303.

who settled on *Gïmït* land were changed to *Gasha* because their land were confiscated by the government in the name of *Yabetamangist Marja Maret* (land for the palace), *Taf Maret, Gibra Tal* and distributed to the soldiers who participated during the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935/36. Those peasants who settled on *Gïmït* land were *Rist* owners. The amount of tribute payment was different from one category of land to the other. For example, the annual tribute of *Lam* land under the category of *Rist* per *Gasha* was 80 *Birr,* where as it was 64 *Birr* for *Lam* land under *Madaria* classification.[34] Farmers who settled on *Madaraia* and *Semon* land were tenants.

There have been controversial ideas related to the word *Balabat.* As indicated above, we see authors like Lapiso unanimously using the term *Balabat* for both rulers who came to rule the Hadiya land and those formerly local lords who were selected to serve the government in administration and other activities. Braukamper states:

> *In the Amharic territories, like in Gojjam and Shäwa, Balabat only denoted a man who owned land which was classified in the land tenure system prevalent at that time under the rubric Siso. ... He not only had the right of ownership over a particular quantity of land, but additionally acted as an intermediary between the local population and the Habäsha colonial authority in an area defined as his Balabatinat.*[35]

In the history of Shäwan kingdom, the rulers who were selected from among the people to rule their respective provinces were given *Balabat* titles. Following their expansion towards the south, they appeared to have extended such naming to the local lords of the incorporated areas. So, the *Balabat* land which was mentioned by Lapiso was the land given to officials who came from the north and those who were recruited from among the autochthones. The formerly local

[34] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Zawde Shomoro, Lätebo Handebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo; ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ... ገጽ 226.

[35] Braukamper, p. 306.

administrators who were endowed with the *Balabat* position were given land from the *Balabat's* share.[36] Therefore, from this argument, it is possible to say that, in Hadiya as elsewhere in the south, the term *Balabat* had different meanings and statuses.

The *Beta Rist,* the *Beta Mangist* and the *Balabat* lands were cultivated mainly by tenants and to lesser extent by *Gabbars*. The Hadiya *Gäbbars* were made to plough both their own land and the land of the landlords. Like tenants of the later times, the *Gäbbars* were forced to pay various kinds of tributes for *Gult* holders, the government and the church.[37] Moreover, the *Gäbbars* with their wives were obliged to do whatever works ordered by the landlords.[38] Sometimes, their land would be confiscated by the lords in the name of *Gibra Tal* and brought to the treasury of the palace or given to individuals.[39] The chance of the uprooted *Gäbbars* was to work on other lands of landlords as tenants by making verbal contractual agreement.

The material used to measure the grain tribute was decided by the landlords. During the harvest seasons, the landlords were said to have brought huge *Ḳuna* (grain measuring instrument) so that they could take the greater part of the produce for themselves. There were instances when the Hadiya *Gäbbars* went to Menilek's court in Addis Abäba to complain about the exploitive *Ḳuna* that the landlords were using. A man called Hantute, according to Wändïmu and Gedion, went to Menilek's court to air his grievances about the unfair grain measuring material. On his part, after giving ears to Hantute's complains, Menilek asked the later to prepare *Ḳuna* which he believed to be fair. Following this, Hantute prepared the *Kuna* honestly and showed to Menilek. Then the Emperor was said to have accepted Hantute's *Ḳuna* as a measuring

[36] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Taräkägn Jifar.
[37] Gedion, p. 11.
[38] ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 283.
[39] A letter written from *Däjjazmach* Sabsibe Shibiru to Ministry of Finance dated Nehase 20, 1960 E.C, No. አ/18218/6903/40; አዲስ ዘመን፣ ማስታወቂያ፣ ታህሳስ 4 ቀን 1964 ዓ.ም.

instrument in Hadiya and Kämbata areas. Since that time, the Hadiya began to call such grain measuring instrument as 'Hantute's *Ḳuna*'.[40]

The government land was distributed to the *Beta Mangist* (the palace) and the *Beta Rist* (the personal properties of the king). Individuals who were sent from the center to Hadiya to work in the *Awraja, Wäräda* and *Mikitil Wäräda* offices were given land with *Gäbbar* labor from the *Balabat's* share. This is to mean that *Gïndäbäl, Semon* and *Madaria* lands were classified under the *Balabat*s division.[41]

Till 1907, Emperor Menilek outlawed the sale, exchange or transfer of the *Balabat* and the *Gäbbar* land. On October 30, 1907, the newly formed Ministerial council and the foreign legations forced Menilek to make land private property. They also obliged Menilek to allow them sell, exchange and transfer.[42] The foreign legations were said to have been behind the declaration that ultimately brought them to land market. Major European powers which opened their legations in Addis Abäba were highly interested to bring Ethiopia into world capitalist economy. They were seen working to create opportune conditions for capitalist exploitations indirectly after they lost their hope at Adäwa. With regard to this, Tasama says, "During the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, the whole continent of Africa began to be fully integrated into the world economic system of capitalism. After the defeats of

[40]ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 290-291.

[41]ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ የምርትና የባህል…ገጽ 35.

[42]Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo; ገብረስላሴ፣ ታሪክ ዘመን ዘ ዳግማዊ ሚኒሊክ ንጉሰ ነገስት ዘ ኢትዮጵያ፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ በአርቲስቲክ ማተሚያ ሊሚትድ ታተመ፣ ቁጥር 6060፣ ገጽ 334-336; ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 26-27; ማህተመስላሴ፣ ዝክረ ነገር፣ ገጽ 71.

the Italians at Adäwa, Menilek's empire came into closer and more meaningful contact with major European powers than it had earlier."[43]

The Ministerial office made frequent proclamations which allowed the landlords and the church to own the *Madaria, Gïndäbäl* and *Semon* lands as their private properties. They were allowed to sell, transfer and exchange the lands that they were given by the government. The Ministerial office also brought the *Gäbbar* land under the control of the landlords through the *Gult* system. The *Bala Gult* (the owner of *Gult)* had the right to appropriate tributes from *Gäbbars* of his areas of jurisdiction.[44] It was during the time of *Ras* Leulsagad Atnafsagad that the 1907 land proclamation was implemented in Hadiya. The Hadiya *Gäbbar* land was redistributed among the northern settlers, the *Näfṭägna*, the *Wäräda* and *Awraja* administrators and also the civil servants as *Gult*. Then on, the *Gäbbars* became accountable to the *Gult* holders, instead of making direct tributary contact with the government.[45] The sebsecutive proclamations which had been declared by the ministerial council, after Menilek suffered his first stroke, reduced the Hadiya *Gäbbars* to the level of servants of the landlords and they were made to perform whatever tasks the later ordered to do. Regarding privatization of land, one of the proclamations reads:

> **በወንጀል እየተያዘ መሬቱን የሚነቀል ሰዉ ሁሉ ወንጀልም ቢገኝበት በከብቱና በሰዉነቱ ይቀጣ እንጂ መሬቱን አይነቀል። ርስትም ማለት ያባት የናት መሬት ደግሞ በወርቁ የገዛዉ ነዉ እንጂ የመንግስት መትከያ የሆነ አይደለም። ደግሞ የመትከያም መሬት ቢሆን መንግስት ርስት ያደረገለት ይረጋል። መካንም የሞተ እንደሆነ አባቱ እናቱ ገንዘቡንም ርስቱንም ይዉሰዱ እንጂ ሹም አይዉረስ። እናትም አባትም የሌለዉ እንደሆነ ወንድሙ እህቱ ይዉረሱ። እናት፣ አባት፣ እህት፣ ወንድም የሌለዉ እንደሆነ ግን እስከ አራት ትዉልድ ላለ ለቅርብ ዘመድ ይሁን። ደግሞም ከዘመዶቹ ለይቶ ለእከሌ ይሁን**

[43] Tesema Ta'a, "The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia: from the mid 16th to the early 20th century." A Dissertation Submitted to Michigan State University, Department of History, 1986, p. 196

[44] Informants: G/Michael Wachämo and Alamitu Manedo.

[45] *Ibid.*

ብሎ የተናዘዘ እንደሆነ የተናዘዘለት ይዉሰድ። ከአራት ትዉልድ ወዲያ የሆነ ግን ዉርሱ ለሹም ይሁን ብለዉ ስራት ሰሩ።[46]

Its translation reads:

Even if the landlord found guilty, he should not be evacuated from his land. The crime that he did can be compensated by confiscation of his cattle and flogging. Rist is the land transferred from generation to generation, which was not given in lieu of salary as Matkaya-Mankaya (temporary land possession right given to the government officials). Those Matkaya-Mankaya lands which are made Rist by the government will be given permanent status (like the Rista-Gult). It was the rights of the father and mother to inherit in the time when the lord who is infertile (could not give birth) found dead. If the diseased person had no mother and father, his sisters and brothers would be given inheritance rights. In the time of the absence of parents and also sisters and brothers, relatives' up to 4 generation have the right to inherit the lands of the diseased lord. If the diseased make confession to a particular person, the process of transfer will be done accordingly. The new appointee will take the land, unless the person has no relatives up to 4 generations.

Through time, landlords were seen creating and adding various kinds of tributes and burdens on *Gäbbars*. To have clear understanding about such problem, it is important to deal with a document that was given to the Ministerial council for scrutiny. It was in 1931 that the document was sent from Hadiya and Kämbata *Balabats* to the Emperor.[47] As mentioned above, those rulers who were assigned to rule the Hadiya land were oppressing the Hadiya farmers to the extent that the later was forced to leave their land to the lands of other landlords, towns and small scale agricultural schemes. Due to these reasons, the *Balabats* were obliged to pay the tributes of the land that the oppressed *Gäbbars* left. In the document the *Balabats* stated:

እንደመራቱ መጠን ለመልከኛዉና ለሻለቃዉ የሚከፈለዉ የገባሩ ግብር ጥንት ትንሽ ነበር። በየግዜዉ የሚለዋወጠዉ የሻለቃ ሁሉ ግን አንዳንድ ነገር እየጨመረ ግብሩን

[46] ገብረስላሴ፣ <u>ታሪክ ዘመን ዘ ዳግማዊ ሚኒሊክ ንጉሰ ነገስት ዘ ኢትዮጵያ፣</u> አዲስ አበባ፣ በአርቲስቲክ ማተሚያ ሊሚትድ ታተመ፣ ቁጥር 6060፣ ገጽ 334-336; ላጲሶ፣ <u>የገባር ስርአትና</u> … ገጽ 26-27; ማህተመስላሴ፣ <u>ዝክረ ነገር</u>፣ ገጽ 71.

[47]እምሩ ሀይለስላሴ፣ <u>ካየሁት ከማስታዉሰዉ፣</u> 2ኛ እትም፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ፣ 2002፣ ገጽ 180-181.

ሁሉ አሳድጎብን አሁን ብዙዉ ገባር መገበር አቅቶት መሬቱን እየተዉ ተሰደደ፡፡ የዚያንም የተሰደደዉን ገባር ግብር፣ እኛን ባላባቶቹን የግድ ገብሩ ብለዉ ያዙን፡፡ የተሰደደዉ ገባር እየመኳንንቱ የወላስማና የጉልት መሬት የመንግስት ግብር ብዙ ስለሌለበት እየተስማማ እየሄደ እርቦ አራሽ ሆነ፡፡ ለሄደዉና ለሚሄደዉ ሁሉ የስንቱን ገባር ጠፍ መሬት ገብረን እንዘልቀዋለን፡፡ የሄደዉንም ገባር ከሄደበት ተከታትለን እያወጣን በግድ ለመመለስ አንችልም፤ ባለጉልቱም ይከለክለናል፡፡ ስለዚህ አጥብቀን ተቸግረናልና ጠፉን መሬት ቢፈልጉ ገባሩ ጥሎት የሄደዉን እናስረክባለን፡፡ በሄደዉ ገብሩ ተብለን እንዳንያዝ ደግሞም አሁን ያለዉም ጨርሶ እንዳይጠፋ በየጊዜዉ የሻለቃና መልከኛ ያሳደገዉና የጨመረዉ ግብር እንዲፋቅልን እናመለክታለን፡፡[48]

Its translation reads:

The tributes that had been paid to the Mälkägna and the Shalaka were very small in ancient period. Different Shalaka who have been flocking to Hadiya land are highly increased the tributes on Gäbbars and as a result, the latter, unabiling to pay such huge amount of tribute, are migrating from their land. Leaving aside their Gäbbar status, they are changing themselves to tenancy. This was largely because the former statuses have many tribute obligations than the latter. The Shalaka, nevertheless, are forcing us to pay the tributes that the Gäbbars left aside. To what extent and for how many Gäbbars that we will be able to pay?. It is hard for us to force the evicted Gäbbars return to their former status, as the Bala-Gult would not allow us to do so. If they are ready to receive the land that the Gäbbars left aside, we give it back to them. So as to stop the migration, the government should avoid the illegally increased tributes from the Gäbbars.

The *Awraja* governors (who were called *Shalläka* and *Mälkägna*), in addition to the enormous benefits they were endowed with, were illegally increasing tributes on tenants and *Gäbbars*, and as a result the later was forced to abandon from their land. Moreover, the Hadiya *Gäbbars* were made to pay the tributes of the landlords. *Ras* Emiru says there was a debate among the members of the Ministerial council with regard to the letter written by the Hadiya (within Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja*) *Balabats* to the Emperor. In the council, according to him, in an attempt to respond to the letters of the *Balabats*, there appeared three groups who took different stands. The first group said, "It is hard to respond to these questions. Because the landlord may rise against us if we made an attempt against their benefits." The idea of the second group was, "Using force the *Mälkägna* should go wherever the *Gäbbar* go and oblige him return home by

[48] *Ibid.*

chaining his hand." The third group, however, was in favor of the oppressed *Gäbbars*.[49] Particularly, *Ras* Emiru from the third group argued that the tribute that a *Gäbbar* should pay would be in return for what he collected from the land. Tribute should not exceed the income of the *Gäbbar,* he said. "Why the *Mälkägna* chase a *Gäbbar* who left his land because of his inability to afford to their extreme demands? Let us think about it. Can you find a *Gäbbar* who evacuate from his land willingly leaving aside his beloved wife, children and *Rist*? No one!"[50]

Emiru and his supporters in the committee continued to argue that the Hadiya *Gäbbars* were abandoning from their land loosing hope on the justice system which was obviously in favor of the landlords. They said that they saw the landlords increasing the kind and amount of tributes every time without the consent of the central government. It is true that the landlords were always afraid of dealing with the benefits of the exploited and oppressed *Gäbbars*, rather it was easy for them to chase the defenseless people and force them return to the land that they left.[51] "I think we are the obstacle for the economic advancement of both the *Gäbbar* and the country at large."[52] The landlords used to take salary from the government and were permitted to collect the *Gäbbars*' produce for themselves. In addition to these, they claimed very large tracts of land which were exempted from tribute payment illegally.[53] They appeared to buy 100 *Gashas* of land with 5 *Shamas*; and 50 *Gashas* of land with 3 *Gundo* honey. They were nullifying the government income and also the *Gäbbars,* and as a result the later was forced to evacuate from their land.[54]

[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid, pp. 181-182.*
[51] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Abäbä Anulo, Abatikun Lamboro and Wandimagagn Ayala.
[52] እምሩ፣ ገጽ 181-182.
[53] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Taräkägn Jifar and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[54] እምሩ፣ ገጽ 181.

Finally, according to *Ras* Emiru, the debate ended without reaching agreement. Since they were landlords, the majority of the members of the Ministerial council debated in favor of the oppressing classes.[55] The aforementioned *Ras* Emru's argument indicates the extent of oppression and exploitations that the landlords were doing against the *Gäbbars* and the country at large.

To make the *Gäbbars* life more miserable, the Haila Selassie government constitution (the 1931 constitution) gave many spaces for the rights of the landlords. It gave deaf ears to the cries of the *Gäbbars* and other sections of the society.[56] Article 36 of the 1931 constitution states, "**ባቅኝነትም በሌላም ለኢትዮጵያ የሚጠቅም ስራ አባቶቻቸዉ ያገለገሉ መሳፍንቶች ያቅኝ ያገልጋይ ባለዉለታና የባለዉለታ ልጆች መሆናቸዉን ንጉሰ ነገስቱ እያስመረመረ አባቶቻቸዉ እያቀኑ ከያዙት ላይ ለትዉልድ የሚያልፍ የመስፍንነት ርስተ ጉልት ሊተክላቸዉ ይችላል።**"[57] Its translation reads, "From their deceased father, the government should give *Rista-Gult* right, which is hereditary, to the sons of the loyal lords with critical scrutiny." Article 75 of the same constitution reads, "**እንደዚሁም መሳፍንቶችና ሀገረ ገዢዎች ሌላዉም የኢትዮጵያ ተወላጅ የሆነ ሁሉ ማናቸዉም አይነት ወንጀል ከሰራ በህግ እንደተጻፈዉ ይቀጣል እንጂ እስካሁን በእጁ የነበረዉን ወደፊትም በገንዘቡ የሚገዛዉን ርስቱን እንዳይነቀል በህግ ተወስኗል።**" [58] This can be translated as, "Nobilities, rulers and other *Rist* holders should not be dispossessed of their land even if they were found guilty. The punishment should be based on the law of the country."

[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.*, pp.182-187.
[57] ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ 37.
[58] *Ibid.,* p. 38.

As mentioned above, the 1945 legal document indicates the rigid nature of the Haila Selassie government on the areas of making reforms for Ethiopian people. Like the 1931 constitution, the legal document gave many spaces for the rights of 'feudal' lords and undermined the rights of the *Gäbbars* and tenants. As far as the *Gäbbars* were concerned, the document[59] states that a *Gäbbar* should not refuse to pay tribute for more than one lord. It also says that a *Gäbbar* who had *Rist* land was obliged to bring one packed wood to towns and give other necessary materials to the landlord.[60] "A person who refused to pay would be punished with *Dafan*. A *Ċhiḳashum* who was ordered to distribute government domestic animals to *Gabbars* should not be accountable if the animals were stolen by thiefs, rather the responsibility to pay back the missed cattle should go to the shoulders of the *Gäbbars*."[61] Eye witness accounts say the time when a *Gäbbar* and *Ċhiḳashum* debated on whether the animal was lost on the hands of the former or the later; justice appeared to have favored the *Ċhiḳashum,* because it assumed that the *Ċhiḳashum* could not bring any witness for the case.[62] For the court, the *Ċhiḳashum* himself was enough to witness on the case. A *Gäbbar* who had land and failed to pay it on the due date should pay dafen[63] as punishment.

The proclamations and laws of Menilek and his successors were implemented by the rulers who came to administer the Hadiya land. In the implementation process, the *Balabats* played major roles. They were behind the *Mälkägna* and the *Mislenes*. They gave them information about the features of the land, history and cultures of their respective people. It is possible to say that

[59] The 1945 legal document number 5435፣ 5363፣ 5370፣ 5320፣ 5680፣ 5477 and 5398 as mentioned by Lapiso on his book entitled, *Abiyotawi …* p. 37

[60] ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ 37.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Taräkägn Jifar and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[63] *Dafan* was a kind of payment which was made by a person who broke the law as compensation. In the time when a *Gäbbar* failed to pay the expected tribute on time, he would be forced to pay *Dafan* as punishment.

Menilek's viceroys could not implement the *Gäbbar* system without the strong support of the *Balabats*. Within the south itself, the land measurement process was different from one area to the other. The Hadiya land began to be measured by *Kalad* (a kind of rope) and divided into *Gashas*. As mentioned above that *Kalad* measurement was effectively implemented in Hadiya in the time of *Ras* Leulsagad Atinafsagad. The land was also divided into three based on the level of fertility: *Lam, Lam Taf and Taf*.[64]

Since the first decade of the 20th century, according to Braukamper, the amount of annual tribute payment for *Lam* land per *Gasha* was 12 Maria Theresa Thalers. In addition to this, the land owner had to pay fifteen *Ḳuna* of grain at the end of each month. For the land which was classified under *Lam Taf, Gäbbars* were required to pay 8 Maria Theresa Thalers annually and ten *Ḳuna* of grain each month; and for the third category *(Taf* land) 6 Thalers and seven and half *Ḳuna* were imposed on land owners to pay annually and monthly respectively.[65] The size of *Gasha* varied from one area to the other. It ranged from 40 to 80 hectares. But Perham estimates the size of *Gasha* as between 80 and 100 hectares.[66] It was after the implementation of *Kalad* that the measured land began to be named as *Gasha* or *Kalad* land. Peasants who were living on unmeasured land were named *Kutir Gäbbar*. In Hadiya, as indicated above, the later was called *Gïmït* land. *Gäbbars* were made to live on *Gïmït* land, whereas tenants were living on *Kalad* or *Gasha* land. The size of the land that tenants were given was very small which was one or half *Kalad*.[67]

[64] Braukamper, p. 305.
[65] Braukamper, p. 305.
[66] Perham, pp. 295-296.
[67] ብርሀንና ሰላም፣ ዛሬ እህል የተወደደበት ሁለት ምክንያት አለዉ፣ መንግስትና የህዝብ አስተዳደር፣ …ሀሙስ ጥር 16 ቀን 1919 ዓ.ም. ሶስተኛ አመት ቁጥር 5፣ ገጽ 34.

As indicated above, one third of the land in the newly incorporated areas belonged to the government. The sole right to collect tributes both from the peasant and *Balabat* land was given to the state. In Hadiya, the *Beta Mengist* had the upper hand to select the most fertile land from all kinds of shares. The lands which belonged to the *Beta-Mangist* were *Hudad, Waraganu,*[68] *Gana Gab* and *Baldaras*[69]. It was the mandate of the *Gäbbars* and tenants to cultivate the land that belonged to the *Beta-Mangist*. *Gäbbars* and tenants were obliged to keep and feed horses and other domestic animals of the *Beta Mangist*. The responsibilities to supervise the production process of the *Beta-Mangist* land were given to the *Mislenes* and supported by the locally recruited lords.

The officials who were assigned to administer the *Teklay Gizats* and *Awrajas* had the right to use their *Madaria* land and their *Gult* right. Such possession of land in the south was known by different names. These were *Matkaya-Mankaya*, *Shum-Shir*, *Madaria* and the like. Regarding *Gult* right, Perham says, "The conquered peoples were allotted as *Gäbbars* to the soldiers in numbers according to the later's rank. … For example, district commanders were allotted 30 to 80 *Gäbbars* each; ordinary soldiers were given 2 to 5 *Gäbbars* each."[70] The burden of the *Gäbbars* differs based on the ranks of their suzerain. Informants remember, "**የገባር የስራ ሽክም ሀለቆቹ በሚኖሯቸዉ የገባር ብዛት ይለያያል። ለምሳሌ ሀለቃዉ የሚኒሊክ ተራ ወታደር ከሆነ ሊኖረዉ የሚችለዉ ከ2 እስከ 5 ገባሮች ብቻ ነዉ። ስለዚህ የገባሮች ቁጥር በነፍጠኛ ቤት ትንሽ ስለሆነ የገባሮች የስራ ሽክም ከፍ ይላል። ለምሳሌ ሀለቃዉ ከፍ ያለ ስልጣን ያለዉ**

[68] According to Mahtama Selassie (*Zikra Nagar*, p. 23), there was no a single fraction of land left for *Waraganu* in Hadiya (the land protected for cattle breeding). Many of the *Waraganu* lands were located in Oromia region.

[69] *Baldaras* lands, like the *Waraganu*, located in today's Oromia region. These lands were controlled by an office called *Baldaras.* This office was further divided in to three: *Malafia,* deputy *Malafia* and *lamanagna kabt halafi* (representative for poverty stricken horses and mules), Mahtama Selassie, *Zikra Nagar*, p. 22.

[70] Perham, pp. 295-296.

እንደሆነ የገባሮቹ ብዛት ብዙ ስለሚሆን በገባሩ ላይ የሚኖረዉ የስራ ጫና ይቀንሳል።"[71] Its translation reads, "The burden of *Gäbbars* differed depending on their numbers in the home of the *Bala-Gult*. For example, if the lord was an ordinary Menilek's soldier, he would be allowed to possess 2 to 5 *Gäbbars*. Therefore, the *Gäbbars'* burdens in the *Näfṭägna* home were higher than the burdens in the homes of the *Shalläka* or other higher officials."

While the government appointed officials had their land as far as they were in office (except the case of *Rista Gult),* the *Näfṭägna* and the *Balabats* had the right to use the land and the tribute appropriation right as far as they were serving the government honestly and fulfilled the duties which were required from them. Perham argues, "The land in the south was regarded in the most parts as confiscated to the crown, a varying portion being allotted to the conquered chiefs and peoples, and the rest used to reward or maintain to Amhara, officially Shäwan soldiers, officials, and notables."[72]

In Hadiya, the rights of *Gäbbars* also differed depending on the land they settled. The Hadiya *Gäbbars* who settled on the *Rista Gult* had much burden than those *Gäbbars* who were living on *Gult* land. *Rista Gult* was permanent land holding system, whereas *Gult* was temporary. It is said that, since the first decade of the 20th century, some landlords were given *Rista Gult* right.[73] Those higher officials who were given *Gult* and *Rista Gult* right in Hadiya had representatives to control the *Gäbbars* produce. Many of the *Bale Gult* (*Gult* owners), as mentioned above, had their residence in Addis Abäba and other major towns; as a result, the tribute from their *Gult* land reached their home by the Hadiya *Gäbbars* with the strong

[71] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Shifäraw Bifebo and Maskalo Forsido.
[72] Perham, pp. 295-296.
[73] Braukamper, p. 305.

supervision of the *Mislenes* and the locally recruited lords. The *Misläne* had the right to use some of the tributes for themselves and send others to the *Bala Gult* in the towns and city.[74]

Rista-Gult owners in turn may offer tribute appropriation right from their shares to their relatives and servants. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, as mentioned above, was also allowed to have *Semon* land. Many of the clergy who were flocking from the north were given *Rista Gult* rights in Hadiya. Lapiso says, "… Of the 54 churches that existed in the Kämbata-Hadiya *Awraja* in the early 1970s, most were founded between 1890 and 1913 and provided with *Semon* rights of thousands of hectares. As an example, the property of Mariam church in Hossana amounted to 5000 hectares."[75]

As indicated above, the *Gïndäbäl* land owners in Hadiya (the *Näfṭägna*) could use their land as far as they continued to give military service to the government. The term *Gïndäbäl* was said to have started during Nagasi Kirstos (the founder of the Shäwan dynasty in 1696). Lapiso argues that since the times of Nagasi Kiristos, there were *Gïndäbäl* soldiers in Shäwa, and following the coming to power of Emperor Menilek, the *Gïndäbäl* soldiers were given a new name called *Näfṭägna* and they were sent to the newly incorporated areas so that they would serve the central government.[76] The *Näfṭägnas* were reported to have served the government as fighters, porters, messengers, prison guards and the like.

Since the early years of the 20th century, a *Gäbbar* was given the right to sell, change or transfer the land that belonged to him. Such system and other government measures exposed

[74] ማህተመ ስላሴ፣ ገጽ 27.
[75] Braukamper, p. 304.
[76] ላጲሶ፣ ገጽ 32.

the indigenous people to lose their land and became landless tenants. Concerning *Gult* right and the *Gäbbars* fate, my informants remember:

> **ቃልሻ ቀበሌ አቶ ጌታቸዉ ለሚባል ነፍጠኛ ነበር የተሰጠዉ። በዚህ መሬት ላይ የሚገኙ ገበሬዎች በሙሉ የእርሱ የግሉ ንብረቶች ነበሩ። ከፊለገ ሳር ያሳጭዳል፣ ቤት ያሰራል፣ ቤቱን ያስጠብቃል፣ አንድ ንብረት ቢጠፋ ገባሩ የመክፈል ግዴታ ነበረበት። ገበሬዉ አልሰራም ካለ ደግሞ ከመሬቱ (የቀድሞ የገበሬዉ መሬት ከሚኒሊክ በኋላ ግን ነፍጠኛዉ በሀይል የወሰደዉ መሬት) ይነቅለዉ ነበር። ነፍጠኛዉ አቶ ጌታቸዉ የመሬት ከበርቴ ሲሆን፣ የቀድሞ የመሬት ባለቤት የነበሩት መሬት አልባ ጭሰኛ ሆነዋል። ጭሰኛዉ ገብር የተባለዉን ሁሉ ይገብራል። ግብሩን በካሪኒ ከጭሰኛዉ ይቀበል እንጂ ግብሩን እራሱ ነበር የሚበላዉ። ነገር ግን ዋና፣ ጭቃሹም፣ ሰንጋቆሮና ባላባት የሆኑ ሀገር በቀል ሰዎች መሬት በስማቸዉ ስለነበር ግብር በራሳቸዉ ስም የመገበር መብት ነበራቸዉ።** [77]

Its translation is:

> *Kalisha Ḳäbäle was given to Ato Getachaw (one of the Näfṭägna in Hadiya). Those Gäbbars who were living in Kalisha were given to him as his personal properties. He had the power to do whatever he wanted on his Gäbbars. He was seen ordering the Gäbbars to cut grass, build and protect his houses. The Gäbbar was accountable to pay the property which might be stolen by thieves or burglers. If the Gäbbar refused to accept the orders of Getachaw, the latter had the right to evacuate him. The Kalisha land was under his name; the Gäbbars (formerly the real owners of the land) were reduced to the level of tenancy. They had no right to pay tributes by their names. Even if he received the tribute with receipt, it is said that he had not sent it to the central government, i.e. he used up all the tributes collected from Kalisha. Locally recruited lower level officials like Wana, Ċhiḳashum, Sängaḳoro and the Balabats had land by their names.*

Banquet was a system in which the northerners used to introduce themselves to the autochthonous population. The mediators who appeared to have organized banquet were the *Balabats* and other officials below them. Through the banquet the autochthonous population was made to know their masters. One of my key informants recounts, "**አነዚህ የአከባቢ ሀለቆች ከአማራ ነፍጠኞችና ከአከባቢ የበላይ አስተዳዳሪዎች ጋር የግብር ማስበላት ስርአትን በመጠቀም አስተዋወቁ። በዚህ የተነሳ ሀገሩ ሰላም ሆነ።**"[78] Its translation reads, "The

[77] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo.
[78] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo.

Mälkägna and *Näfṭägna* used to introduce themselves to their *Gäbbars* through the local *Balabats*. In the introduction process, they used banquet, and largely because of this, the peace of the area was safeguarded."

Initially, the *Näfṭägnas* in Hadiya were ordinary soldiers who came from the north, but with the elapse of time they became landlords and were given *Gult* rights. Depending on such rights, they expropriated the labor and produces of *Gäbbars*. Using their guns, they began to take harsh measures against the indigenous population. Before their coming to Hadiya, most of the *Näfṭägnas* were oppressed *Gäbbars* in the north, but now they became landlords and joined the oppressing class.[79] This is to mean that the previously oppressed *Gäbbars* became oppressors in the south under the name *Näfṭägna*.

The amount and kind of tribute that the southern *Gäbbars* were expected to pay to the government, the church and the different landlords were different from one area to the other. As mentioned above, the Hadiya *Gäbbars* had to pay one-fourth or one-third of their produce to the *Bala Gult*, and one-tenth (*Asrat*) to the government. The *Gäbbar* was also made to pay another one-tenth (*Asrat-Bäkurat*) of their produce to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He and his wife were forced to offer labor service to the *Bala Gult*. He had to serve the *Bala Gult* as guard for his home and also expected to give guard service for prisons. The *Gäbbar* had to till the personal land holdings of the *Bala-Gult* and collect the produce. The *Bala Gult* and his family expected the *Gäbbars* to bring them fire wood and other necessary things.[80] The burden of herding cattle, fencing the court yard, serving as porter, being messenger, accompanying the *Bala Gult* in the time when he was going to different areas were left to the *Gäbbars*. The wives

[79]Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Firde Takla Giorgis, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Daniel Ersumo.

[80] A letter written by Kontab *Wäräda* administrator to the ruler of Kämbata *Awraja* dated *Hamle* 13, 1964 E.C., No. 589/64.

of the *Gäbbars* were also expected to work for the wives of the landlords. She was obliged to grind grain, clean the house with animals dung, cook food, fetch water from river, and wash the clothes of the families of the landlords and the like. The *Gäbbars* were also expected to bring honey, meat, dried *Enjära* and so on to the families of the landlords. Sometimes, the landlords were seen confiscating oxen, sheep and goats from the *Gäbbars* with the strong support of the *Ċhiḳashums* and *Wanas*. The *Gäbbar* had to give varieties of gifts for the *Näfţägna*, *Mälkägna*, *Misländes* and other suzerains in the holidays, birth days, appointments, campaigns to war and return. The *Bala Gult* appeared to have received payment for *Awchachign* or *Afarsata* (a system of discovering the criminal). The *Gäbbars* and his wives did not have the right to refuse the orders of the landlords.[81] Sometimes, the government officials were seen surprising the Hadiya *Gäbbars* to pay accumulated tributes of two years or more. This was done because of the failure of the *Misläne* and the *Mälkägna* to collect tributes on time.[82] As far as the duties of *Gäbbars* were concerned, Perham writes, "The service owed by the *Gäbbar* in conquered territories was generally more onerous than in the north. The tenure known as *Siso Tamaj* described the practice by which a *Gäbbar* was obliged to work one day in three for the government or the person to whom this due had been transferred. It was common, also, for a soldier to be given the labor of their *Gäbbars* or of some proportion of it for life so that if ever he were transferred to another province he could still claim the value of their labor."[83]

Generally speaking, the *Gäbbars* had to give the landlords labor, money and other forms of tributes. The proclamation which was declared on Hadiya and Wolayta people in 1929 reads:

[81] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Gabramichael Wachämo.

[82] A letter written from *Däjjazmach* Sabisibe Shibiru of the deputy viceroy of Shäwa *Ţäḳlay Gïzat* to the 11 *Awrajas* dated *Sane*22, 1960 E.C. No. ጵ/13834/8073/40.

[83]Perham, p. 296-297.

> … በሲሶዉ ቀን ገባሩ ሳይሰራ የቀረ እንደሆነ፣ የዳፋኙን የሁለት ቀን ሲሶ ያስታጎለ በእጥፍ በእጥፍ ሲሶዉን ይስራ፣ … የሻለቃዉም፣ መልከኛዉም ሲሶ ከማሳረስ እህል መቀበል ይሻላል ብሎ ከገባሩ የተስማማ እንደሆነ ሶስት ሶስት ዳዉላ እህል በአመት በአመት ይቀበላል። የዚሁም የሶስት ዳዉላ እህል አሰጣጥ በአንድ አንድ ወር እያንዳንዱ ገባር አንድ አንድ ቁና ጤፍ፣ አንድ አንድ ቁና የሽሮ እህል፣ ሶስት ሶስት ቁና እደፍ እህል ይስጥ። ከዚሁ በወር ከሚሰጠዉ ከአምስቱ ቁና እህል ሁለቱን ቁና እህል እየፈጨና አንድ አንድ ሽክም እንጨት እየጨመረ ይስጥ። ለመልከኛ የሚታጨድ የሳር ክልክል እንዳለ በዚያዉ በጊዜያቱ ድርቆሽ ይጨድለት፣ የሳር ክልክል የሌለዉ እንደሆነ እያንዳንዱ ገባር ባመት ባመቱ አስራ ሁለት አስራ ሁለት ሽክም ሳር ይስጥ፣ … የሻለቃዉም ስለ አመት በአል የሚቀበለዉ ሰንጋ በመስቀልና በፋሲካ ነዉ።[84]

Its translation reads:

> *A Gäbbar who failed to work on his Siso (one-third) day should double on another day. If the Shalaka preferred tribute in grain rather than Siso labor, the Gäbbar should pay 3 dawula grains each year. The Gäbbar had to give the lord monthly like 1 Ḳuna Tef, 1 Ḳuna peas, 3 Ḳuna Edaf grains. From the 5 Ḳunas, the Gäbbar had to grind 3 Ḳunas of grain and should add one pack fire wood each month. If the Mälkägna has grass on his land, the Gäbbar should cut it per month regularly. But in the time when the Mälkägna had no land protected for grass, the Gäbbar had to give 12 pack of grass for Mälkägna per year. The Shalaka has the right to receive oxen on every Maskal and Easter celebrations only.*

On their part, the *Gultägna* were expected to Keep peace and security of their respective territories, collect tributes and give court service or solve disputes between individuals or groups.

It is said that, the northern settlers who had migrated to the Hadiya land were given the right to own *Rist* lands. Mostly, the settler population appeared to till the land they owned and were not in a position to force the indigenous people to work for them. They became independent *Rist* owners in Hadiya. Many of them came to Hadiya escaping from the draughts that had prevailed in their home land. They, however, tended to make their influences on the cultures of Hadiya people with the strong support of the *Awraja* administrators. Individuals who came to the Hadiya land as civil servants were also made their impact on the cultures of the indigenous

[84] ማህተመ ስላሴ፣ ገጽ፣ 123-125.

people. "Next to the socio-political structure, also the economic, technological, religious and psychological conditions were, to a greater or lesser extent, altered by the changeover of power."[85]

The Hadiya had no strong farming tradition before the coming of the northern administrators and settlers. Their economy was based primarily on pastoralism. They had no knowledge about the varieties of cereal crops which were habituated in the north and the neighboring ethnic groups. The major part of the Hadiya land was covered with forests. The Hadiya had no prior knowledge of using ox and yoke for farming purposes.[86] The usage of ox and yoke for farming practice started in Hadiya after the third decade of the 20th century. Before this period, the Hadiya used to sow seeds simply on the ground after the jungles were burned down to ashes. They used slash and burn methods for agriculture and sow seeds without digging the land with any farming instruments. Before the end of the 19th century, the Hadiya had no knowledge of *Ensat* plantation. It is believed that the practice to plant *Ensat* in Hadiya came from the neighboring Kämbata and Gurage areas. Eucalyptus tree was said to have been introduced into Hadiya land in the time of Abata Buayalew.[87]

As mentioned above, the Hadiya *Gäbbars* were required to give foods and drinks for the landlords and their families. They were forced to give cereal crops to the landlords though they had no information about them.[88] As indicated above, many of the cereal crops were not known in Hadiya in the first two decades of the 20th century. According to Alabachaw and Samuel, before the coming of Menilek's rule, the Hadiya people were more of pastoralists and the only crop that appeared to grow there was Barley. The rest, according to them, were imported from

[85]Braukamper, p. 310.
[86]*Ibid*, p. 311.
[87]*Ibid*, p. 313.
[88]Informants: Firde Takla Giorgis and Asäfa Bunte.

‘Amhara’ and the neighboring ethnic groups like the Kämbata and Gurage.[89] The advancement in transport facilities during the Italian occupation brought an end to the caravan trade that run from the north to the southern parts of Ethiopia and let the introduction of new crops to the Hadiya and the neighboring ethnic groups. It is said that banana and maize were introduced into the Hadiya region during the Italian period. Unlike these crops, tomato which was brought by the Italians was relegated by the Hadiya people.[90]

The beginning of farming with hoes gave relief for the Hadiya, because they were able to satisfy their family as well as pay their tributes for the state and the *Awraja* administrators. “**የሀዲያ ገባር እህል በብዛት መዝራት ከመጀመሩ በፊት ለመልከኛዉና ለነፍጠኛዉ እህል ከየትም አምጥቶ ማብላት ይጠበቅበታል። ገባሩ አብዛኛዉን ግዜ እህል ስለማይኖረዉ ገዝቶም ቢሆን እያመጣ ነፍጠኛዉንና ቤተሰቡን መቀለብ ነበረበት። እርሻ በስፋት ከተጀመረ በኋላ ነዉ የሀዲያ ሰዉ ነፍስ መዝራት የጀመረዉ። እህል ዘርቶ በጎተራ ማከማቸት ከጀመረ በኋላ ለነፍጠኛዉ በመስጠትና እራሱም በመብላት እፎይ ማለት ጀመረ።**”[91] Its translation reads: “Even before the beginning of farming with oxen and yoke, the pastoral Hadiya had to give food for the Näfṭägna and Mälkägna and their families to eat. Since the *Gäbbar* had no much grain, he was forced to buy from other areas so that he could feed the families of his lords. It was after the expansion of farming practices that the Hadiya got relief and began to feed both the families of his lords and his own.”

It was after the period of inter-tribal conflict (the 2nd decade of the 20th century) that the Hadiya began to use hoes for plowing purpose. “… in the *Daga* and *Woina Daga* areas the digging

[89]**አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ** 122.
[90]Braukamper, p. 313.
[91]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Dagalo Tale and Womiso Forsido.

stick retained its place of importance until the late 20th century."[92] Initially, it was at individual basis that farming with hoes started in Hadiya. Such trend, however, was developed to the extent that individual farming begun to be replaced by group farming (*Däbo* in Amharic). Farmers in the village started to form groups to dig their land. The process was in orderly manner. After, for example, completing the land of one member, they proceeded to the next farmer. They were even applying such social bondage in times of harvesting. In the middle of such collective work, the family in which the land was being tilled was expected to offer much drinks and food. There was too much drinking and eating, mostly during lunch times. This practice is still continued among the Hadiya peasants, despite the introduction of farming with oxen and yokes. The Hadiya people believe that tilling the land using *Däbo* increases the fertility of the soil, and as a result much yield will be gathered. While they were working, the Hadiya farmers had the trend of singing a song that would encourage the host family to bring them local alcoholic drinks (*Haräḳe* in Amharic) and foods. The statement of the song is, "Alimuye Waatamo, Sodima Waatamo" (in *Hadiyisa* language). The Amharic term *Almaz* is used here to indicate metaphorically the local alcolic drink (*Hareke*).[93] Informants remember: "**ሚኒሊክ አከባቢዉ ላይ ከመምጣቱ በፊት የእርሻ ስራ በሀዲያ በብዛት አይከወንም ነበር። አብዛኛዉ የሀዲያ መሬት በጫካ የተሞላ ነበር። መሬትን በበሬ ማረስ የተጀመረዉማ ቆየት ብሎ ነዉ። ከሚኒሊክ ወረራ ዘመን አስቀድሞ ግን ጫካዉን በእሳት ያቃጥላሉ። ዝናብ ሲመጣና መሬቱ በዝናብ ሲረሰርስ ዝም ብለዉ እህል ይዘሩበት ነበር። ቀስ በቀስ ጫካ አቃጥሎ መዝራት እየቀረ እንጨት በማሾል መሬት መቆፈር ተጀመረ።**"[94] This is translated as: "Before the coming of Menilek's rule, there were no strong farming traditions in Hadiya. The major

[92]Braukamper, p. 311.
[93]Informants: Warke Abäbä, Markos Sumoro and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[94]Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo.

part of the Hadiya land was covered with forests. Before the coming of Minelik's rule to the area, they burn the forest and sow seeds when the rain comes. Bit by bit, slash and burning method was fading out to be dully replaced by digging land with sharpened woods."

The Hadiya had their own cultural clothes for both male and females before the intrusion of western customs. Hodson made an attempt to show us the kind of cloths that the Hadiya herders wear. He took the images of the Hadiya boys while he was passing through the Hadiya land in 1916. Since the Hadiya were pastoralists dominantly, they were seen wearing skin clothes. They also used to lubricate their heir with much butter. They did not cut thier heir and so, their heir was very long which was lubricated with butter. They were warriors and did not fear to face any power that came to violate their rights. After the occupation of their land by northerners, they began to kill the later under darkness. Their basic meals were drinking milk and butter. Their bodies were said to have been huge and terrible some, especially for the northern settlers. For they were pastoralists dominantly and love their cattle, they hesitate to eat cattle meat.[95] The northern settlers and the government personnel used to wear *Abujadid* clothes and despise the autochthonous population in every occasions and events.[96]

The Hadiya wear clothes made up of skins from antelope, cattle, goats, ships and so on. There were tanners who appeared to scrap skins and made them suitable for the indigenous people. The tanners prepared skins for clothing after scraping and lapping with castor bean and butter. The scraped and lapped clothes were comfortable, because they give heat and comfort. Most of the time, they got skins for cloths during prey seasons. After collecting wild animals, they used to eat the meat and give skins for tanners for cloth preparation. The names of clothes made

[95]Informants: Wabala Wändïmu, Warke Abäbä, Markos Sumoro and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[96] *Ibid.*

from skins which were used by the Hadiya people were *Sar Qod, Hoch Ash, Gal Qod* and *Gil Qod*.[97]

Figure 9: A photo taken by Hodson in 1916.

Leather clothes began to be replaced by cotton following the occupation of the area by the Italians. According to Braukamper, "At the beginning of the 1950s, the traditional type of leather clothes worn by the women became obsolete in Libido, East Gurage and in the Hadiya territory west of the Bilate. It was from now on to be replaced by textiles made of cotton. State propaganda, occasionally accompanied by sanctions succeeded rapidly in discouraging and condemning the habit of wearing leather clothes as the expression of backward tradition, although they were durable and suitable for the regional conditions."[98] The Hadiya, before the

[97] Informants: Shifarw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Asäfa Bunte.
[98] Braukamper, p. 365.

coming of the northerners, were pastoralists dominantly and used to collect fruits from jungles and went there for hunting. As mentioned above, they also had the trend of producing crops depending on the primitive slash and burn methods.[99]

The *Abujadid* clothes began to enter the Hadiya land through the Wolayta and Gurage. It began to reach the indigenous people following the period of Italian occupation. Before that time it was only the *Näfṭägna* and the northern settlers who were allowed to wear *Abujadid*. Regarding the usage of *Abujadid* clothes by the autochthonous population during and after the Italian period, my informant says, "**አለባበስን በተመለከተ ከጣሊያን ጊዜ ጀምሮ አብዛኛዉ የሀዲያ ሰዉ ከአቡጀዲ የተሰራ ቁንጣና ከላይ ጣል የሚደረግ ጋቢ ነበር የሚለብሰዉ። ሴቶችም የአቡጀዲ ቀሚስና ከላይ ጣል የሚደረግ ነጠላ ቢጤ ነገር ይለብሳሉ። ትንሽ ለየት ያሉት ወይም በደረጃ ከፍ የሚሉት የሻማ ቀሚስ ይለብሳሉ።**"[100] The translation of this idea is, "After Italian period, the Hadiya people used to wear shorts and sheet like clothes made from *Abujadid.*[101] Women wore cotton dress and sheet like clothes on their shoulders. Those who were better economically tended to wear dress made from linen fibers." The Dorze people had the trend of preparing clothes with weaving technology both in Addis Abäba and their homeland. It was from there that the cotton clothes began to enter the Hadiya land via the Wolayta and Gamo on one hand and the Gurage on the other. Dorze clothes flooded the Hadiya market and reached every section of the society after the 1940s. Then, the Hadiya began to abandon skin clothes and adopted cotton materials.[102]

[99]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Tamam Hussien.
[100]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte and Abatkun Lamboro.
[101]Cultural clothes made from cotton.
[102]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte and Abatkun Lamboro

The earliest Dorze cloth that the Hadiya appeared to have adopted was called *Buluko* (in Amharic). It was very thick cloth used to wear like sheet. They used mostly to keep their body warm. Wearing *Buluko* became an honorable act or a fassion among the Hadiya in the post Italian period. People were proud of wearing it everywhere like markets, funerals, in the villages and the like. Gradually, it was replaced by *Sarewana* cloth.[103]

These days the Hadiya are seen using cultural clothes called *Sarewana*[104]mostly during fesivals. It is said that *Sarewana* started to enter the Hadiya land from Jimma after the time of Italian occupation. It was traders who appeared to have brought such clothes to Hadiya. Through time, the Hadiya began to reduce the usage of Dorze *Buluko* and habituated *Sarewana*. This was largely because *Sarewana* is easier to wear than *Buluko.* Today, the Hadiya people are preparing *Sarewana* in modern way. At the middle part, the original *Sarewana* trouser was very wide. This time, it is *Maharancho* who used to habituate *Sarewana* clothes in the time when they reached 100 or 1000 cattle. In addition to *Maharancho, Asmaches, Gäradas, Danas* and other cultural leaders appeared to wear *Sarewana*.[105]

Today, as mentioned above, it is difficult to find original *Sarewana* in Hadiya. After the coming to power of the EPRDF regime, the Hadiya, like other Ethiopian ethnic groups, were made to choose their cultural clothes. They prepared *Sarewana* in new form with mixed color. The colors are similar with the original cloth but put in different ways. It has coat and trouser (which are prepared in modern way). Informants say one can find the original *Sarewana* of the

[103]*Ibid.*

[104]It is a kind of cloth made from *Abujadid* and these days the Hadiya people are using during cultural festivals and special occasions. *Sarewana* was made up of cotton and had both trouser and *Buluko* like sheet that the Hadiya wear on their body.

[105]Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Hadiya among the Sidama ethnic group. The Sidama people, especially the cultural leaders, wear the original *Sarewana* during *Chambalala*[106] celebrations.

It is possible to say that the original *Sarewana* is no more in use by the Hadiya people. Those who were on the forefront in the process of abandoning the *Sarewana* and other original Hadiya cultures were the Hadiya people who lived near Hossana and other towns. As indicated in the previous chapters, the Lemo Hadiya made an oath with 'Amhara' for mutual respect and support in times of difficulty and the former made the 'Amhara' the seventh brother. Such mutual relationship brought the Lemo and the Amhara to respect each other and organize themselves in various social associations. Those Lemo people who dwelled near Hossana town started to adopt the 'Amhara way of life', including their wearing styles. They also began to change the way they eat, drink and speak. They were said to have mixed their Hadiya language with Amharic words. The Amhara began to make their impact on the Hadiya people through the cultural collaboration processes like *Abälïj*, friendship, eating together in ceremonies and so on.[107] In addition to the Lemo people, other Hadiya who were living in the vicinity of small towns like Gimbichu, Morsito and Mugo were exposed to such kinds of cultural influences.[108]

Like the *Abujadid* clothes, except the *Balabats* and other local dignitaries, the Hadiya were forbidden to sit on the back of mules before the period of Italians occupation. Riding mule was a special privilege reserved for the settler population. If a *Gäbbar* was found riding his own mule, the *Nach Labash*[109] could confiscate his possessions.[110] "Mules which had been reserved

[106]*Chambalala* is the day in which the new-year begins among the Sidama people.
[107]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Asäfa Bunte.
[108]*Ibid.*
[109]Local militia who were authorized to keep the peace of their respective areas.
[110]Informants: Ermolo Badulu, Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Maskalo Forsido.

as riding and pack animals as a privilege for the Habäsha and the *Balabat* in the pre-Italian period from now could also be used by indigenous commoners."[111]

Before the incorporation, the Hadiya were not accustomed eating chicken meat and egg. It was after the coming of the Shäwan settlers that the Hadiya began chicken and egg consumption. During feudal Ethiopia, the Hadiya used insulting terms like *Kunk Itich Kambatich* (Kämbata who eat egg) against the Kämbata people, merely because the later had long history of eating chicken and egg.[112] The Hadiya people tended to despise those people who eat egg and chicken. "I will never give an ox voluntarily to people who eat birds."[113]

Apart from such influences, the Hadiya were resistant to accept cultural changes that came from the northern rulers and settlers. Before the restoration of Ethiopian government in 1941, the northerners were reluctant to let the southern people embrace Orthodox Christianity. At this time, according to Haberland mentioned by Braukamper, particularly since the annexation, there were no organized missionary campaigns that had been undertaken by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.[114] Speaking comparatively, the medieval period was much stronger than the period after Menilek's incorporation in the area of Christian missionary campaign. Though there were violent attempts in the post-Italian occupation period to convert the Hadiya people to Orthodox Christianity, the people were resistant to accept the religion. This was mainly because the Hadiya people saw Orthodox Christian Churches as one of the exploiting institutions. It is true that the Orthodox Churches were reported to have changed many of the Hadiya *Gäbbars* to tenancy since the times of incorporation. As a result of this, the major part

[111]Braukamper, p. 365.

[112]Informants: Abäbäch Lätebo, Bereket Agano and Shifäraw Bifebo; Braukamper, p. 302.

[113]This was an idea said by one of Braukamper informants named Namana Dilliso. He said this in response to what the *Näfŧägna* did against his culture.

[114] Braukamper, p. 314.

of the Hadiya *Gäbbars* preferred to be converted to Protestantism or Catholicism rather than Orthodox Christianity.[115] The first Orthodox Church that exerted its influence on the Hadiya *Gäbbar* population was Mariam Church in which its altar tablet was brought from Manz to mount Ambaricho in Kämbata by Wodajo Gobana in 1891 and then relocated to Hossan by *Ras* Abata Buayalew in 1897.[116] Following the establishment of Mariam church, about 17 churches were established in the years between 1891 and 1909 and 16 others were established till 1941 in the *Awraja*. Most of their adherents were the northerners. The conversion of the autochthonous people in Hadiya to Orthodox Christianity was started from the *Balabats* rather than the ordinary *Gäbbars*. Religious dietary laws like abstainance from eating meat, drinking milk and the like were in contradiction with the practices of pastoral Hadiya and so, such religious laws could be considered as the other obstacle for the Hadiya to come to Orthodox Christianity.[117]

During the Italian period, mainly for the implementation of 'Divide and Rule' policy, Amharic language was undermined in favor of local languages like Hadiyisa. They, however, could not materialize their language plan in Ethiopia for their rule was very short. After the restoration, the Hadiya language was relegated in favor of Amharic. Those Hadiya who had no knowledge of Amharic would not be given any work in the government and other areas. The 1936 Ministry of Education and the Arts on *Nagarit Gazeta*, mentioned by Lapiso, says, "Since the official language of the overall Ethiopia is Amharic, it is forbidden to use other languages as written and work languages." This and other declarations were clear indications that, apart from

[115] ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ 98.
[116] Braukamper, p. 315.
[117] Informants: Abäbäch Lätebo, Bereket Agano and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Amharic, other languages were deprived of developing in the area of literatures.[118] Moreover, Amharic language became compulsory subject in the university entrance exam.[119] Failure to score 'C' or above 'C' in Amharic language, even though the student scored 'A' in all other subjects, would not be allowed to join university. The policy above all affected students who came from the south, south west and the south east. This was largely because almost all students of these areas were not acquainted with Amharic language, which was alien to them.

During 'feudo-military' period till the fall of the Haila Selassie government, the Hadiya people were deprived of calling their sons and daughters in Hadiya language. Those who had names in Hadiyisa (Hadiya language) were not given chances in government offices and other areas.[120] In the restoration period after 1941, the Hadiya students were forced to change their Hadiya names to Amharic[121] if they were in need of joining government schools. The families of the northern settler population despised and relegated those Hadiya boys who had names in Hadiya language. To escape from such marginalizing trend, the Hadiya began to call their sons and daughters in Amharic. Before the Protestant expansion, the Hadiya had developed the trend of using Amharic names like Gäbre, Tagassa, Abäba, Bäkälä, Ayala, Kabada, Shifaraw, Admasu and so on for boys and Tagassach, Abäbäch, Bäkäläch, Ayalach and the like for girls. After the expansion of the Protestant churches, Biblical names began to dominate the Amharic ones. Bibilical names like Mathewos, Dawit, Markos, Lukas, Iyob, Daniel, Petros, Iyoel and others became the names that every Hadiya individual were striving to call their children.[122]

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[118] ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 115-116 and also 125.
[119] *Ibid.,* p.202.
[120] Informants: Shifäraw Bufebo, Detebo Bäkälä and Erbalo Bafa.
[121] ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 292.
[122] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Anito Wanjalo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Asäfa Bunte.

In Hadiya, as elsewhere in other parts of Ethiopia, towns (particularly related to the garrison) were established based on the model of the Showan administrators. The northerners, who were suffering from frequent drought in their homeland, used to migrate to the southern parts of the country, which they called 'Jimma'. According to Ulrich Braukamper, Jimma was a name used by northern people to refer to the overall southern Ethiopian region.[123] After coming to the south, that also includes the Hadiya land; they were the one who were given priority over the autochthonous population in every aspect of life. Towns in Hadiya which were built by the Shäwans were located in both *Woyna Daga* and *Daga* regions. They used to prefer hilly land to plains which was aimed to see the surrounding areas from distance. But they were not interested to settle in *Ḳola* areas.[124]

In Hossana, administrators appeared to have built their houses in rectangular shape. It was different from the one that had been adopted by the autochthonous population which seemed to be round. The rectangular houses of the northerners were made up of mud, dung and wood, and at the top, they were covered with straw and were palisade constructions. In Hossana, the Arada market place was established about 1km far from the *Awraja* administrative center, in which the later was located at the top of Sech Duna hill. Till 1930s, the preferable wood for house construction in Hossana and its surrounding was cedar.[125] Apart from its shape, there were no big variations between the houses of the northerners and that of the autochthones. Both of them were built with mud, wood and straw.

It is said that, before the 1930s, it was forbidden for Hadiya people to build their houses in rectangular shape. Living in rectangular houses were expressions of social status and prestige.

[123] Braukamper, pp. 93-94.
[124] Informants: Abäbä Kajebo and Balata Manedo.
[125] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.

In Hossana town, there were shops and *Bunna Bet*s (groceries) before and after the Italian occupation. *Bunna Bets* were places where alcoholic drinks were purchased for northern settlers and the *Balabats*. The dominant alcoholic drinks of the time were *Arake, Tala* and *Taj*. The Hadiya had no tradition of preparing such alcoholic drinks.[126] Before the Italians arrival in Hossana, the Hadiya were forbidden to have alcoholic drinks since they were expressions of social status and prestige. The Hadiya had the tradition of preparing *Borde* (millet beer) and most of the time they used it for their children. In the market places in Hadiya, it was customary practices to sell *Borde* until recently. In the post-Italian period, however, the local people began to drink alcohol abundantly so that they would forget what the feudo-military administrators were doing against them. The number of drunkers increased with the development of towns in the *Awraja.* In the *Buna Bets* in Hossana, after the Italian occupation, the practice of prostitution was reported to have started.[127]

The aforementioned northern immigrants and rulers were made to settle in Hossana and other *Wäräda* towns. Their settlement style was similar with other northern settlements in other parts of the country. At the initial period of the establishment of Hossana town, the settlement of different sections of the society followed a pattern which seemed circle. At the top of the hill, usually called Sech Duna, *Ras* Abata's palace was built. At the foot of the mountain in the southern direction, market place was established. This market place was called Arada. Till now Arada is serving as one of the market places in Hossana. Around *Ras* Abata's palace, higher *Awraja* officials were made to settle. Surrounding them, the *Näfṭägna*, servants and slaves were allowed to construct their houses.[128] Nowadays, Sech Duna had lost such historical shape. The

[126] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Warke Landäbo, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[127] *Ibid.*
[128] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

down town has been changed to other sides of the town. During their occupation, the Italians made statistical work in Ethiopia in general and Hadiya in particular. “The number of inhabitants of the ‘Residenza del cambatta’ was specified as 400, 000, that of the capital city Hossana as 12000,” according to Braukamper.[129]

In Hossana, there is part of the town called *Dube Safar*. During feudo-military period, the *Näfṭägna* and other northern settlers had a place to drink *Haräḳe, Taj* and *Tala* (both are locally made alcoholic drinks) with debit. They used to drink on credit until the *Gïbïr* (tribute) had arrived from their *Gult* land. Largely because of this, today in Hossana, part of the town near Arada sub-city remained under the name *Dube Safar*. Its literal meaning is ‘Debit village’. This is a clear indication of the level of extravagance that the landlords experienced in their history. They were said to have received much tributes from their *Gäbbars,* but they had no the trend of saving for their futures. The Hadiya *Gäbbars* were forced to bring their tributes to Hossana town with horses and donkeys.[130]

As indicated above, after the incorporation, the formerly independent people became subservient to the lord who was totally alien to his culture. “… The former attitude of striving for individual freedom and status through personal achievement and meritorious deeds, which had been highly valued among the Hadiya, is said to have made way for an increasingly submissive bearing.”[131] In the times of the Italian occupation, some of the Hadiya cultures were made to revive. “… Civil rights matters and crimes right up to involuntary manslaughter through hunting accidents were preferably left in the hands of traditional jurisdiction,”

[129] Braukamper, p. 349.
[130] ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 284.
[131] Braukamper, p. 316.

according to Braukamper.[132] Most of the times, since the *Gäbbars* were furious and hesitant to respect the orders of the landlords, the later used to follow 'divide and rule' policy on their *Gäbbars*. Those rulers who came to Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja* were said to have been informed about the ferociousness of the Hadiya people. They were told to rule the people using 'Divide and Rule' policy. "Suppose, a *Näfṭägna* had 10 tenants, and from these numbers, 6 of them were rebellious and the remaining 4 were eager to do whatever the *Näfṭägna* ordered them to do. At this juncture, the *Näfṭägna* tended to approach the 4 tenants and gave them varities of benefits, but marginalizes the remaining ones. Using this way, he used to create great rift between the two autochthonous groups and ruled them easily."[133]

The government was able to create inter-ethnic rivalry about five times in the history of the 'feudo-military' rule in south central Ethiopia since the time of incorporation. The first one was undertaken while the incorporation process was going on in the last decades of the 19th century. In the time of dual rule and power rivalry at the center, the inter-ethnic conflict was sparked once again between the Hadiya and the neighboring peoples. The third inter-ethnic conflict was made in the time following the defeat of the Ethiopian army in the mid-1930s. The 4th one was done after the defeat of the Italians and their evacuation from Ethiopian soil till 1942 and 1943. The fifth one was made on the eve of the Ethiopian revolution. In all of the five inter-ethnic wars and conflicts, instead of bringing the conflict to its end, the Shäwan rule was seen exacerbating the animosity that had developed among the peoples in the region.[134] It is said that the administrators were using such conflict to weaken the unity of the surrounding ethnic

[132] *Ibid,* p. 348.
[133] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, Damise Mänsido and Taräkägn Jafar.
[134] *Ibid.*

groups in such difficult times. Braukamper says that 'divide and rule' policy was implemented to the autochthonous ethnic groups in the same way to the European colonial powers.[135]

The intensification of land confiscation resulted in moral and socio-economic decline on the formerly autonomous Hadiya people. With regard to this, Perham writes, "… especially in the Negro and Sidamo provinces, the position of the *Gäbbar* became hardly distinguishable from slavery. Meanwhile the slave trade itself… was a constant drain upon the subject people."[136] It is indicated above that land confiscations since 1907 reduced the Hadiya people to the status of tenancy.[137] Representatives of the state and the *Näfṭägna* had the right to take any coercive measures against the Hadiya *Gäbbars* who were living on their *Gult*. Asäfa writes, "The rural population (in colonial regions) was forced to produce for the state and its functionaries in addition to payments of tribute, tax and fines. In Oromia and other colonial regions, the colonial state established the *Näfṭägna-Gäbbar* institution to coerce colonized farmers to provide food and other commodities, and labor and to pay taxes to the settlers and the state. This oppressive and coercive system was not established in Ethiopian proper. The Ethiopian farmers paid fixed taxes and special fees to the ruling class."[138] But, as the researcher tried to indicate in chapter four, the northern Gäbbars had also a number of feudal duties to be fulfilled for different individuals and institutions in addition to fixed tributes and taxes imposed upon them.

For the landlords and the government, land without *Gäbbar* labor was useless, since they had no the potential and readiness to till such vast land by themselves. It is already mentioned that,

[135] Braukamper, p. 309.
[136] Perham, p. 296.
[137] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Tämäsgän Kintamo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[138] Asäfa Jalata, *Oromia and Ethiopia, State Formation and Ethno-National Conflict, 1868-2004*, Boulder and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1993, p. 75.

for they were totally dependent on *Gäbbar* labor, the northern rulers even went to the extent that they prepared a law that would forbid the movement of *Gäbbars* from one area to the other. Such a law could be considered as a violation against the basic rights of the *Gäbbars*. Largely because of the numerous oppressions and exploitations, the Hadiya were in constant flow from their land to the then emerging towns and mechanized agricultural areas.[139] It is said that the Hadiya *Gäbbars* on the *Madaria* land transferred from one lord to the other since the *Madaria* owners were not permanent.

The status of the Hadiya *Gäbbars* differed based on the type of land they settled. Those *Gäbbars* who settled on the *Gult* land had the right to pay tribute by their names to the *Gult* owners or in some cases to the government. But a peasant who dwelled on the *Rista Gult, Semon, Gïndäbäl, Balabat Mirt* (the land belonged to the *Balabats* who were recruited from among the autochthones) was deprived of the right to pay tribute by his name, and his status was reduced tremendously. The Hadiya who were living in such land had no right to live freely. It was the land owners who decided their fates. On the *Hudad* and *Madaria lands,* however, the rights of the *Gult* owners were temporal. In the times when the owners of such land transferred to other areas, the *Gäbbars* automatically became free and began to pay their tribute directly to the government.[140]

It is said that the value of land in Hadiya was measured also by the number of *Gäbbars* settled on the land. On the land where high number of *Gäbbars* were recorded, the value of the land appeared to have increased and also the amount of tribute. An ordinary *Näfṭägna*, depending on the service that he rendered would be given land in Hadiya between 1 and 2 *Gashas* of land. The

[139] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Tämäsgän Kintamo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[140] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar, Shifäraw Bifebo and Wondïmu Erbalo.

amount of land offered appeared to have increased with the rank of the person and the service he had given too. *Ya Hamsa Alaka* to 5 *Gasha, Yä Mäto Aläḳa* to 10, and *Yä Shambäl* was given up to 20 *Gashas* of land. From such gift, some of them were given permanently, while the rest were temporarily as *Madaria* and the like. The *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna* were also allocated *Gäbbar* families so that they would use their labor.[141] The number of families allotted depended on the status of the *Gult* holders too. Braukamper notes:

> *In the beginning phase, i.e. up to the 1920s approximately, where no land estimates or more specifically land surveying had taken place, officers and soldiers, who had taken part in the campaigns of conquest, were allocated a certain number of families from the subjugated peoples who had to contribute to their livelihood. The number of Gabbar depended at first on the rank of the respective Näfṭägna, but it also varied according to the settlement density and agrarian productivity of a territory as well as to the respective concentration of the troops of occupation. An ordinary soldier had as rule two to ten peasant households who were subject to his control as Gabbar, where as an officer with the rank of Balambaras, Grazmach or Ḳägnazmach had fifteen or twenty.*[142]

Peoples in those areas who were incorporated by the Emperor himself were said to have been treated in better way than areas which were incorporated by Menilek's generals. The former had no obligation to give labor services to the landlords, as this was true in *Maräḳo*. They had been paying tribute to the Emperor's court in Addis Abäba directly.[143] The amount of tribute and land possession varied from region to region. Those areas incorporated by Menilek's generals had much burdens to fulfill and many suzereins to submit.

It is said that the *Balabat* land in Hadiya was named *Balabat Mirt* or the *Balabat Siso*. Such gifts were made for the *Balabats* mainly to facilitate tribute collection from their respective localities and convince their people to accept the Showan rule. They spent most of their time

[141] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Tämäsgän Kintamo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo
[142] Braukamper, p. 297.
[143] *Ibid*., p. 298.

with *Näfţägna* and *Mälkägna* families and also the settler population drinking *Taj* and *Tala.* Some of them were seen despising their own kinsmen, language and race.[144]

Besides the *Balabats*, there were culturally elected leaders called *Danas*. The difference between the two classifications was that the first one was elected by the government and were seen serving the government interest and the second one indicates the cultural leaders who were elected by the Hadiya people. *Danas* were elected to serve people's interest, whereas *Balabats* were there to serve the government interest at the expense of their kinsmen. According to my informants, the term *Dana* should not be confused with Amharic word *Dagna*. The task of *Dana* was very large and wholesome, where as *Dagna'*s task was only limited to giving justice to the people under the areas of their jurisdiction. Braukamper states, "… Next to the government chiefs, there were also occasionally people with the title *Dagna* invested with landholding. In Hadiyisa, this Amharic title was transformed into *Dana*."[145] The institution of *Dana* is still in force in Hadiya and their role was broader than *Dagnas*.

My informants unanimously agree that the northern settlers had created good linkage with the neighboring Gurage than the Hadiya. In the court debates and others activities, the northerners were seen favoring the Gurage and sometimes the Kämbata than the Hadiya ethnic group. This was because the Hadiya were more of pastoralists and rebellious, and many times they appeared to kill their *Näfţägna* or *Mälkägna* masters. "… those ethnic groups with a predominantly livestock-breeding economic basis were in a worse position in every respect compared to the peasant farmers. As a rule, the conquerors tended to favor the less warlike and

[144] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Asäfa Bunte.
[145] Braukamper, p 308.

better controllable settled peoples."[146] Moreover, since the Hadiya were pastoralists dominantly, they could not offer the necessary tributes which were required in the *Näftägna* camp. The *Näftägna* expected the Hadiya to bring them food and other kinds of cereal crops that fits their cultures. The Hadiya, however, were more of pastoralists and could not produce the necessary things for the family of the northern settlers and the *Awraja* administrators. The Kämbata (especially Oyata clan) and the Gurage appeared to have created genealogical and cultural linkage with 'Amhara' and they were seen doing their best to satisfy the economic and others interests of the settler population and administrators.[147]

Following Menilek's sickness, different groups appeared to have competed for the throne in Addis Ababa. Instability and insecurity became the norm till the coming to power of the Haila-Selassie government. Such scenario created suitable condition for the eruption of frequent conflicts between the Hadiya and the neighboring peoples in the years particularly after 1910.[148] During these times, the Hadiya people revolted against their rulers (the *Näftägna* and *Mälkägna*) and returned forcibly their lands from the landlords. In 1919, however, following the appointment of *Ras* Getachaw Abata (the son of *Ras* Abata Buayalew), the Hadiya resistance and the ethnic wars came to an end.[149] It is said that *Ras* Getachaw took retaliating measures on the Hadiya's for rebelling against Shäwan rule in the area. He ordered his soldiers to plunder the properties of the Hadiya people and publicly hanged those Hadiya individuals who were at the forefront of the uprising.

[146] Braukamper, p. 309.

[147] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Balata Petros, Mussie Tamirat and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[148] **አለባቸዉ ኪሚሶና ሳሙኤል ሀንዳሞ፣ የሀዲያ ህዝብ ታሪክና ባህል፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ ሰፋሪ አሳታሚ፣ ገጽ** 87.

[149] **አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ** 87፣ Informants: Wändïmu Ayala, Shifäraw Bifebo, Taye Bäkälä and Abatkun Lamboro.

In their history till the coming to power of the Därg, the Hadiya were able to reclaim their land twice. One was in the time of power struggle following Menilek's illness and the second one was after the defeat of Ethiopian army in 1935/36 by Italians.[150] In the war against *Lij* Iyasu's father, the Hadiya participated under *Däjjazmach* Wolda Gabriel Basha. About 8000 troops from Hadiya and Kämbata areas appeared to have taken part in the war.[151] It is said that the Hadiya peasant troops were made to serve as prison guard where *Nigus* Michael was jailed. During such period, the Hadiya people were said to have revolted against their rulers and instigated conflict with the neighboring ethnic group.[152]

In the history of the Hadiya *Gäbbar* system, the rule of *Ras* Leulseged Atinafseged was considered very harsh. It was in his time that *Kalad* system was implemented in Hadiya.[153] As indicated above, after the implementation of the *Kalad* measurement, the major part of the Hadiya land was brought to the *Balabats*, *Näfṭägna*, *Mälkägna*, the Church, the northern settlers and the government. It was in his time that the intensity of change from *Gäbbar* to *Ċhisägna* was increased. Lapiso mentions that there were 16000 *Gäbbar* families in Hadiya during the last years of Abata Buayalew.[154] The level of subjugation was highly escalated and the local people were officially distributed among them as *Gäbbars* and many times as *Ċhisägna*. Hodson says, "At this time, (in Wolayta), *Afa Nigus* Tilahun had 1000 tenants there, while the rest of the district was divided among 44 officials."[155]

Mainly because of high level of exploitation and oppression during the time of *Ras* Leulseged Atnafseged and *Ras* Waldagabriel, the Hadiya *Gäbbars* preferred to stay out from productive

[150] ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ 97.
[151] Braukamper, p. 318.
[152] Informants: Shimalis Abara, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Firde T/Giorgis.
[153] Braukamper, p. 304.
[154] ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ 96.
[155] Arnold W. Hodson, p. 26.

works. Moreover, Epidemic diseases, starvation due to extreme level of exploitation, daily killing of the autochthonous population, and so on had reduced highly the number of Hadiya people during their times.[156] As a result of all these factors, large areas of the Hadiya fertile land remained uncultivated. This was the same to the other parts of the country and it had great impact on the development of the nation. This is clearly expressed in the words of Hodson:

> *The districts of Kämbata (in which the Hadiya were the dominant ones), Wolayta, and Borada are extremely fertile and productive, but enormous areas are left uncultivated on accounts of the extractions of the Abyssinians. A tax of one-tenth is levied on all produce and this inevitably tends to prevent the people from growing more than is essential for themselves. The later (Abyssinians) indeed, always avoid lowlands.*[157]

During the reign of Queen Zewditu, the son of the renowned Abata Buayalewu named *Ras* Getachaw was assigned as the ruler of Lemo and Kämbata *Awraja*. He ruled the *Awraja* from 1918 to 1927. According to informants, *Ras* Getachaw took about 9171 *Gashas* of land in Hadiya and Kämbata areas.[158] Out of such amount of land, about 600 *Gashas* of land which was located in Badäwacho was recorded as his *Rista-Gult*.[159] He was said to have kept the continuation of mistreatment of the Hadiya people. He established Shone town, where as his father was remembered as the founder of Hossana town.

Getachaw's time in Hadiya was the time when oppressions of the *Gäbbar* system were highly strengthened.[160] It was in his time that the Hadiya *Gäbbars* were forbidden to move to the places they wanted. At the national level, there were frequent proclamations that safeguarded the rights of the land lords on one hand and violated the basic rights of the *Gäbbars* and tenants on the other. Such proclamations deprived the *Gäbbars* of their rights to move or escape from

[156]Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatkun Lamboro.
[157]Hodson, p. 29.
[158] Braukamper, p. 324.
[159] *Ibid*, p. 359.
[160] Braukamper, p. 324.

their lords to other places. In addition to these, the amount and diversities of tributes that the *Gäbbars* obliged to pay were highly increased during his time. Like his predecessors, Getachaw made the Hadiya *Gäbbars* and their families to do every labor works in the homes and fields of the *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna*. The whole *Gäbbar* family was expected to give services to their suzereigns during the days and nights. During the day, wives of the *Gäbbars* went to the *Näfṭägna* home to grind grain with stones, clean the dung, and fetch water from the river. They spent the whole day there and returned to their house when the sun sets. On their turn their husbands were expected to keep the houses of the *Näfṭägna* during the night. The *Gäbbars* who were living on the *Gult* rights of the *Näfṭägna* were ordered to give guarding service one after the other in an orderly manner. In the early morning *Gäbbars* were expected to remove the urine from the home of the *Näfṭägna* using a kind of dish made from clay. The whole family was said to have urinate in the home, because they fear the outside. The *Näfṭägna* and their families were not bold enough to walk when the sun sets. The outside during the night in Hadiya was controlled by the bandits, whereas days were left to the *Näfṭägna*. There were Hadiya bandits who were regularly living by moving from one cave to the other. It is said that the *Gäbbars* who were assigned to keep the families of the *Näfṭägna* during the night tended to give information about the time when the *Näfṭägna* enter and leave his home. Depending on such information, the bandits used to kill the *Näfṭägna* at night.[161]

During the time of Zawditu, with the strong efforts of the heir, *Däjjazmach* Tafari Makonen, more than dozens of schools were established in different parts of Ethiopia. Depending on the government budget, primary schools were founded in Addis Abäba, Dase, Gondar, Jigjiga, Lakamte, Diredawa, Harar, Asaba Tafari, Ambo, Jimma, Dabra Markos, Adäwa, Makale and

[161] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo.

Salale. In addition to the government, some Swedish and the Catholic missionaries were able to set up schools in Addis Abäba and Oromia regions during their times. Catholics and Swedish missionaries established schools in Addis Abäba, Sire, Lafto, Doba, Bilalo, Midagdu, Laftogoba, Emdeber, Enamor, Wasara (Kämbata), Dubo (Wolayta), Mene and Dagadma in Arsi, Mecha and Asaba Tafari. But, both the missionaries and the government could not give due consideration for the Hadiya people in the areas of social services before the restoration times.[162]

After assuming the *Nigusä-Nägäst* position, Emperor Haila Selassie was able to liquidate his opponents one after the other with the help of the new constitution which was drafted and approved in 1931. The constitution protected the hereditary rule of the monarchy and the economic and social benefits of the nobilities, the royal families and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In this constitution, the right to appoint and dismiss officials in all corners of the country was given to the king. The king had the power to appoint advisors for the legislative and judiciary. The main criteria of recruitment were loyalty which was based on wealth and possession of large tracts of land.[163]

When the Haila-Selassie government took the *Nigusä-Nägäst* position, the administrator of the Lemo-Kämbata *Awraja* was *Däjjazmatch* Mäshäsha Wälde (the son of *Ras* Wälde Ashagre) who had ruled the area from 1927-1935/6. It was *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha who commanded the Hadiya-Kämbata army to Temben front against the Italians.[164] Under *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha, there were Hadiya individuals who were given different military titles and fought the Italians at both Tamben and Maichaw battles. The names of these individuals were *Fitawrari* Geja

[162] ተስፋዬ፣ ገጽ 339.
[163] *Ibid.*
[164] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Ermolo Badulo and Asäfa Bunte; አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 90-91.

Garibo, *Ḳägnazmach* Handiso and *Ḳägnazmach* Emam Ermolo (from Lemo Hadiya), *Fitawrari* Bargano Moliso (Kämbata), *Ḳägnazmach* Bayana Barena (Ṭämbaro), *Fitawrari* Garede Jabamo (Sorro Hadiya), *Ḳägnazmach* Kapeno Mishamo (Sorro), *Ḳägnazmach* Washe Alambo, *Ḳägnazmach* Hirboro, and *Ḳägnazmach* Tikamo (Badäwacho Hadiya).[165] The Hadiya-Kämbata army was one of the armies under *Ras* Kasa Hailu at Temben front.

In the time when the Hadiya and *Näfṭägna* armies marched to the north for war against the Italians in 1935, *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha left about 500 soldiers in Hossana to protect the town and the *Näfṭägna* family. Braukamper says, "… The government in Addis Abäba was well aware of this danger and attempted to offset the administrative and militaristic thinning out as far as possible … by fortifying the main towns of the provinces (Hossana, Soddo, Tacho, Yirgalem, Goba and etc... and by establishing for the purpose of internal security a kind of reserve force out of all the available *Näfṭägna*."[166] After the departure of the *Näfṭägna* army, the 'Amhara' people (most of them were women) who remained in Hossana started to pray at Gofar Meda.[167] They were praying for the safe return of their husbands and the victory of Ethiopia over the Italians. They were also praying to God so as to protect them from the *Gäbbars* revenge. They know well the feeling and anger of the indigenous society at them. At Gofar Meda, it is said that they appeared to form groups so that they could undertake their praying easily. It was at the early morning that they left their home to Gofar Meda and used to make their praying for the safety of their husbands and families. Their praying was, "**አድነን ከመአቱ ሰዉረን፣ በምህረቱ እንተ ማሪያም ወላዲቱ፣ ኦ አምላክ፣ ኦ አምላክ፣ ኦ ክርስቶስ**". Its rough translation is, "Save us from the catastrophe with Mary's mercy. O God, O God, O

[165] Informants: Tadala Wändïmu, Salamu Bifebo, Shifäraw Bäkälä and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo; Gedion, p. 11.
[166] Braukamper, p. 335.
[167] It is very wide plain area which has been used for grazing and recreational purposes.

Christ." Their singings were in an orderly manner and sing one after the other. When one group says, "**ኦ አምላክ**", 'O God' the other respond, "**ኦ ክርስቶስ**", 'O Christ'. The other song was "**ያሩሜ ያሩሜ፤ አሆ ያሩሜ**", 'Yarume Yarume, Oho Yarume."[168]

Däjjazmach Mäshäsha was believed to have led 30,000 troops from Hadiya and Kämbata area to northern front.[169] But we see Adolph Parlsak reducing the number of Hadiya and Kämbata fighters to half.[170] Braukamper's argument on the number of the Hadiya participation in the battle is not plausible to comprehend. He says, "The recruitment system determined that only a few thousand locals from the southern Ethiopian provinces served as regular soldiers in the Ethiopian army."[171] Since the first decade of the 20th century, there was a big move on the side of the northern administrators to make the autochthonous population part of the *Näfṭägna* army. After the 1920s, it is believed that the majority of the *Näfṭägna* soldiers were recruited from the indigenous people who were able to replace the old aged force that came to the south with Menilek's generals.[172]

In addition to the active force, there were indigenous people who were recruited to serve as porters in the battle fields. Since the 1916 civil war, each *Näfṭägna* developed the practice of having at least 5 individuals from among the autochthonous population who were selected to serve the former during war.[173] Before the departure of the *Näfṭägna* garrison from Hossana, every *Gäbbar* in Hadiya was forced to pay 1 Maria Theresa Thaler for the cause of the war. After the death of Mäshäsha at the battle, the responsibility to command the Hadiya-Kämbata

[168]Informants: Shafaraw Bifebo, Firde Takla Giorgis, Ermolo Badulo and Dagalo Shamebo; Braukamper, p. 335-336.

[169]Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Bäkälä Shamebo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Tumsido Manchulo.

[170]አዶልፍ ፓርልሳክ፣ የሀበሻ ጀብዱ (ተርጓሚ ተጫነ ጀብሬ መኮንን)፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ፣ 1989 ዓ.ም.፣ ገጽ 248.

[171]Braukamper, p. 336.

[172]Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Gabramichael Wachämo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[173]Braukamper, 336.

coalition force was left to the then Kafa administrator, *Ras* Getachaw Abata.[174] After the crushing defeat of the Ethiopian army, the Kämbata-Hadiya regiment under *Fitawrari* Tamirat Waldasama'it, the Gamo Gofa army under *Däjjazmach* Woldamariam, and the Wolayta under *Däjjazmach* Makonin Wasanu were able to retreat in organized way.[175] While they were retreating, many of the Hadiya- Kämbata soldiers were killed in Tigray, Wollo and Shäwa. The Raya-Azabo people who had grievances against the rule of Haila-Selassie were the ones who undertook the guerrilla attack against the Hadiya-Kämbata *Gäbbar* and *Näfṭägna* soldiers who were retreating desperately from the battles.[176]

Before the *Näfṭägna* commanders and their troops, Abegaz Gedicho[177] reached Hossana and told the Hadiya people about the final defeat of the Ethiopian army and the flight of their leaders to Europe. Gedicho was the son of the renowned *Balabat* of Hadiya called *Ḳägnazmach* Hemacho. Then the Hadiya oppressed *Gäbbars* and tenants gathered at a particular place called Ashäwala and decided to attack the *Näfṭägna* families in Hossana.

Having heard the final defeat of the Ethiopian army and the death of their leader (*Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha), the Hadiya *Gäbbars* who did not marched to the battles rose in revolt against the the 'feudo-military administration'.[178] The Hadiya people who were gathered at a particular place called Ashäwala in Hadiya moved to Hossana town. The 500 soldiers who were left to keep the security of the *Näfṭägna* family were outnumbered by the Hadiya rebels and were not in a position to stop the advancing mob. The Hadiya entered the town, massacred the *Näfṭägna*

[174] Informants: Bäkälä Malsabo and Firde T/Giorgis.
[175] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Tagasach Handamo and Tamirat Balata.
[176] *Ibid.*
[177] He participated at Temben front against the Italians in the 1935/36 wars.
[178] Braukamper, p. 337.

families indiscriminately and looted their properties.[179] Lapiso says that when the *Gult* owners and people associated with them left the Hadiya land to the war front in the north, the Hadiya people rose in revolt and burnt Hossana town and were able to return their land that was confiscated and held for forty years by the northerners.[180] One of the looted properties was petroleum. Since the Hadiya had no prior information about petroleum, many of the rebels were seen drinking by considering it as *Haräḳe* (localy made alchol) and suffering from its painful consequences at Gofar Meda.[181] At the time, the Hadiya people were not allowed to drink *Haräḳe* and this might be the reason for their failure to identify *Haräḳe* from petroleum. It was the drink of the northern settlers, the administrators, the *Balabats* and other local lords.[182] In such difficult times, there were Hadiya individuals who appeared to hide some of the *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna* families in their homes and saved their lives.

The news of such atrocities reached the ears of the warlords who were returning to their respective areas. The forces of the Wolayta, Sïlti, Gurage, Yachirat and Wulbarag united with the armies of *Fitawrari* Tamirat (leader of Hadiya-Kämbata army), *Däjjazmach* Waldamariam (Gamo Gofa army leader) and *Däjjazmach* Makonen Wosene (Wolayta army commander) against the Hadiya rebels.[183] In this war, the Gurage under the command of Golbe Debiso and Imam Sugato and the Wolayta under *Fitawrari* Bakalo Chinkato came to the side of the *Näfṭägna* army and strongly attacked the Hadiya fighters. At the battle of Batena, the Hadiya rebels who were armed with traditional war materials could not withstand the well-armed troops of the allied forces. The overall commander of the allied troops of the Wolayta, Gurage,

[179] Braukamper, p. 342.
[180] ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ 98.
[181] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Girma Abäbä and Tafara Tirkaso.
[182] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Aboche Takiso and Gabramichael Wachämo
[183] Informants: Langano Bushero, Wärkïnäsh Ijajo and Dämbälo Womiso; Braukamper, p. 342.

Gamo Gofa, Sïlti, and the *Näfṭägna* army was *Fitawrari* Tamirat Waldasema'it. The Hadiya were defeated by the coallition forces and as a result, retaliation followed. After they crushed the rebels, the *Näfṭägna* army began indiscriminate massacre against the Hadiya children, old people and women. They burned down the *Gäbbars* houses and confiscated their cattle.[184] The retaliation of the *Näfṭägna* was said to have exceeded many folds than that of the Hadiyas. Informants say:

> **ሆሳዕና ላይ ችግር መፈጠሩን የሰሙት የነፍጠኛና የመልከኛ ወታደሮች በፍጥነት ወደ ሆሳዕና ሌሎች ሀይሎችን በማቀናጀት መጡ። የነፍጠኞቹ አዛዥ ፊታውራሪ ታምራት ይባላል። ፊታውራሪ ታምራት ከአና ጀምሮ ነበር እያቃጠለ የመጣዉ። በፊታውራሪ ታምራት የሚመራዉ የተባበረዉ ጦር ባቴና ወንዝ ሲደርስ የሀዲያ ጦር ገጥሞታል። የነፍጠኛዉ ጦር ዘመናዊ መሳሪያ በብዛት የታጠቀ ስለነበር የሀዲያዉን ጦር አሸንፎ ወደ ሆሳዕና ከተማ በመግባት ከተማዉንና ቤተሰባቸዉን ከተጨማሪ እልቂት ሊያተርፉ ችለዋል። ይሄ ጦርነት የባቴና ጦር ሜዳ እየተባለ ይታወቃል። ከዛ የታምራት ጦር ሆሳዕና ዙሪያ ላይ ምሽግ በማስቆፈርና በመመሸግ ከተማዉን ጣሊያኖች እስኪመጡ ሊጠብቅ ችሏል።**[185]

Its translation reads:

> *The Näfṭägna and Mälkägna soldiers, who heard about the massacre of their families, returned to Hossana town in an organized form in collaboration with other forces. The overall commander of the returning soldiers was Fitawrari Tamirat. On his way, Fitawrari Tamirat burned down the Hadiya houses and killed their children and women starting from Ana. When the coordinated troops under Tamirat reached the Batena River, the Hadiya tried to stop them. Since the Neftagna armies were equipped with modern war materials, they defeated the Hadiya and entered to the town and saved their families from further destructions. This war came to be known as the battle of Batena. Then, Tamirat ordered his troops to dig garrisons around Hossana town and succeeded to protect the Näfṭägna families till the Italians' arrival.*

The Hadiya could not see the attack without taking any defensive measures against the indiscriminate massacre. In every locality, the Hadiya tried to organize themselves under their own local leaders and made some defensive wars against the attack. In such difficult situation, the Hadiya and Kämbata people were seen supporting each other.. One of the well-known

[184]*Ibid.*

[185]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Bäkälä Lamore, Gebremariam Wachämo, Firde T/Giorgis.

events was the *Hultuka* incident. The Badäwacho Hadiya *Gäbbars*, by collaborating with Kämbata, fought the Wolayta warriors who came to the Hadiya land in support of the *Näfṭägna*.[186] The Wolayta were headed by *Fitawrari* Zame and *Fitawrari* Bakalo Chinkato. The two forces met at the battle of *Hultuka* (in Kämbata). Finally, both of them lost many of their combatants. At this battle, the coordinators of the Hadiya *Gäbbar* forces were *Gatana* Olkamo Masebo, *Ḳägnazmach* Halambo Washe, Mirkano Ajajo and *Gatana* Bargode Hadeche. Because of the death of very large number of soldiers on both sides, according to informants, the color of Shapa River changed to red. Later on, with the effort of Kämbata and Hadiya *Balabats*, the animosity between the *Näfṭägna* soldiers and the autochthones came to an end. It was with the strong efforts of the Hadiya elders like *Ḳägnazmach* Chufamo Ambole that peace between the *Näfṭägna* group and the Hadiya was reached.[187]

The Gamo Gofa and Wolayta *Gäbbar* soldiers, in response for what they did against the Hadiya rebels, were given vast tracts of land in and around Hossana town. After the restoration, the Haila Selassie government confiscated the land of the Hadiya *Gäbbars* and gave it to the Gamo Gofa and Wolayta soldiers as reward. My informants say that their descendants are living in Hossana and its surroundings till now.[188]

After he lost the Batena battle to allied forces, *Abägaz* Gedicho was said to have retreated to the Gibe caves and stayed there till 1937. Italians arrived in Hossana on 11 February, 1937 and made Hossana their center of administration for Hadiya and the surrounding ethnic groups. *Fitawrari* Tamirat Walda Samayat was killed during the war against the Italians in Hossana.

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[186] *Ibid.*

[187] Informants: Temesgen Anebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro; **አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ** 97-98.

[188] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte and Aboche Takiso.

After controlling the area, Italian administrators made a declaration that aimed to invite any rebel groups to come to their home and lead peaceful life. Having heared such declaration, *Abägaz* Gedicho and his brother *Grazmach* Marsha came to Hossana and gave their hands to Italians. Though they expected rewards for what they did against the *Näfṭägna*, the Italians controvercially murdered them at the top of Sech Duna hill.[189] This was a betrayal on the side of the Italians which was commited against the Hadiya rebels.

Then, while many of the *Näfṭägna* army began guerrilla war against the Italians, the majority Hadiya people welcomed the later.[190] The Italians abolished the *Gäbbar* system and slavery from the Hadiya land in particular and Ethiopia in general. Now the Hadiya *Gäbbars*, who were suffering from varieties of tributes imposed up on them by the *Näfṭägna*, became free.[191] The land which was confiscated by the landlords was returned to the autochthonous population. They also became free from the debt of the landlords. Moreover, it is said that Italians imposed on the autochthonous population very low amount of tax to be paid per year.[192] The first two years of the occupation period seemed to have been a time of freedom and peace for Hadiya *Gäbbars*. The Italians were also seen strengthening the self-esteem and confidence of the Hadiya people over the northern settlers. This period, however, was the time of drought. This was largely because the majority of the Hadiya *Gäbbars* went to Tamben in the time of cultivation and as a result they could not till their land. The occurrence of inter-tribal wars and raids were the other reasons which ultimately brought the Hadiya to starvation.[193] They were

[189]*Ibid.*
[190]Gedion Addisie, p. 11; Braukamper, p. 345, ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 293.
[191]Braukamper, p. 346; ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 295.
[192]Braukamper, p. 347.
[193]Informants: Womiso Tone, Tiroro Makango and Tirulo Shanko.

able to pass such difficult times eating meat and drinking milk of their spared cattle and also slaughtering lesser animals like chickens[194].

Later on, however, the Hadiya began to see the Italians with suspicion. Conflict started when the Italians began forceful conscription of labor for road, bridge, and house constructions, and also for large industrial centers.[195] They built a road that run from Addis Abäba via Butajira and Hossana to Wolayta and also from Hossana via the Ţämbaro and the Sorro to Jimma. Such roads were not used since the Italians themselves blew up the bridges and important roads during the 1941 war against the Ethiopian patriots and the British. It was in the early 1970s that Addis Abäba-Wolayta road was built by the surrounding people. Italians made forceful conscription of soldiers from among the *Gäbbars* so that they would strengthen their Italian East African armies. The Italians had no interest to invest on educating the Hadiya and other peoples of the country.[196] Such an endeavor angered the *Gäbbars* and other sections of the Hadiya people and began to oppose them using various ways.[197]

In May 1941, Ethiopian patriots and the British colonial armies attacked the Italians positions in Ethiopia and the surrounding areas. They were forced to leave not only from Ethiopia, but also from the whole east African colonies. In the expulsion campaign, there were Hadiya individuals who joined the Ethiopian patriots against the Italians. Some of the names of such warriors were *Gärad* Woldagiorgis Kintamo and *Grazmach* Haile.[198] In such difficult times, there were fights between the Badäwacho Hadiya and the Wolayta which continued unabated till 1942 and 1943. There were also Hadiya warriors who were said to have fought on the side

[194]Using chickens for food was strictly forbidden in Hadiya, but the drought forced them to adopt it as one of their food items.

[195]Braukamper, p. 347.

[196] Braukamper, p. 352.

[197]አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 106.

[198]*Ibid.*, p. 106.

of the Italians. Here, we see the Hadiya fighting on the side of both the Italians and the Ethiopian patriots.[199]

After the restoration, particularly in 1942, the country was reorganized into sub-provinces (*Awraja),* Districts (*Wäräda), Misläne* and Sub-*Misläne*. All such divisions came under the supreme control of the Ministry of Interior (*Yahagar Gizat Ministar*). The Kämbata and Hadiya area was given *Wäräda* status with a name 'Kämbata *Wäräda'*.[200] The decision on the reorganization of the Hadiya area was based on top-down approach. This is to mean that Ethiopian peoples were not consulted as to how the organization would be. Historical, cultural, linguistic, religious and economic issues were bypassed by the government authorities and implemented the reorganization process based on the will of the ruling elites. The decision established 12 sub-provinces, 60 districts, 339 *Misläne* and 1176 deputy *Misläne* administrations.[201]

In 1944, however, the Haila Selassie government undertook another reorganization process. The new thing here was the addition of provinces (*Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*) above the rank of sub-provinces. The Hadiya and Kämbata areas were brought under the Arsi administration with its capital in Assala. In 1962, the center of provincial administration for the Hadiya and Kämbata people was changed from Arsi to Shäwa with its center in Addis Abäba.[202] According to my informants, it was with the strong efforts of the Shäwan rulers that the administrative center was changed. It is said that the Shäwans were not happy with the growing ethnic consciousness

[199]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Barkafat Anjulo and Abatikun Lamboro.

[200] Nagarit Gazeta, *Yamangist Mastawakiya*, Volume 1, No. 4, 1942-1951, p.23.

[201]ላጲሶ፣ <u>የገባር ስርአትና</u> … ገጽ 83.

[202] ልጅ ዳንኤል ጆቴ መስፍን ስለሺ (በአጥኚ ቡድን የተዘጋጀ)፣ መስፍን ስለሺ፤ አባ ተምትም፣ የድህረ ነጻነት የአስተዳደርና የፖለቲካ አመራር፣ ከራሳቸዉ አንደበት የተነገሩ ምዕራፎችን ያካተተ፣ ቅጽ 2፣ መጋቢት 2014 ዓ.ም.፣ ገፅ 173-174.

and the collaboration of the Hadiya and the Arsi, since they were suspected of reinstating their unity in terms of their genealogical descent.[203] Braukamper notes, "Allegedly at the instigation of the big land owners who preferred the imperial capital Addis Abäba to the provincial town of Assala for the arbitration of land disputes, another farreaching change in the administrative structure of central-southern Ethiopia occurred in 1962."[204] Nevertheless, there were some informants who say that it was with strong efforts of the Hadiya elders like *Aba* Gole Nunamo that the center of administration was changed.[205]

In 1944, the *Misläne* and the Deputy *Mislänes* were replaced by District (*Wäräda)* and Deputy District offices (*Mïkïtïl Wäräda*). In 1947, *Ḳäbäle* administrations were established by Ministry of Interior in which its leaders were selected from among the local *Mälkägna*, the *Balabats* and other *Gult* holders. Then on, below the rank of *Mïkïtïl Wäräda*, there came *Ḳäbäle* administration. In 1960, the formation of Bale province was declared to be separated from Harar *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*. Following the union of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1960, the numbers of *Ṭäḳlay Gïzats* rose to 14, which also included Addis Abäba. Addis Abäba was rendered *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* status in 1948. Generally speaking, in 1960 Ethiopian administration was reorganized in to 14 *Takaly Gizats,* 100 *Awrajas*, 398 *Wärädas*, 1176 *Mïkïtïl Wärädas*.[206]

In 1948, in the declaration number 94, the Haila Selassie government proclaimed Educational Tax on the overall Ethiopian people.[207] It was followed by the 1951 land tribute proclamation. And in 1960, Health Tax (in the declaration number 37) was also proclaimed to be

[203] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Makango Dilamo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo, Bäkälä Tiroro and Abatikun Lamboro.

[204]Braukamper, p. 357.

[205]Informants: Gabramariam Wachämo, Addise Abacho, Aboche Takiso and Barkafat Doyore.

[206] ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 83-84.

[207]Nagarit Gazeta, Sila Timihirt Tax Yawata Awaj, 7th year, No. 3, Addis Ababa Hidar 20 Kan1940 E.C, pp. 15-16.

implemented at the national level.[208] The amazing thing here is that the collected money from the Hadiya people in the name of Educational and Health Tax was used to invest in towns and cities. The rural people who contributed for such developmental activities were ignored and everything collected were sent to towns and cities.[209] It is clear that, many of the students who were able to join the schools in Hossana were the sons and daughters of the *Mälkägna*, *Näfṭägna,* the *Balabats* and other lower and higher level officials.

It is mentioned that, following the withdrawal of Italians from Ethiopian soil and the restoration of the Haila Selassie government, the Hadiya people were accused of treason and as revenge, the major part of their land was confiscated by the government in the name of *Yabetamengist Marja Meret*, *Taf Meret* and *Gibra Tal*.[210] The confiscated land was redistributed among the settlers and soldiers who were loyal to the government in the times of occupation. As a result, almost all of the Hadiya *Gäbbars* became tenants. The Haila Selassie government also ordered his vassals to confiscate cattle and other domestic animals from the Hadiya people.[211] Now the Hadiya people were deprived of the rights of land ownership and their cattle too. In addition to cattle and land confiscations, the landlords plundered the properties of the *Gäbbars* and their produces as well.

Following the Italians withdrawal, the Haila Selassie government promulgated tenancy law. The government made provincial officials and government workers salaried and gave them the Hadiya land as reward and other mechanisms. In 1945, for example, monthly budget for the

[208] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[209] Informants: Gabramariam Wachämo, Addise Abacho, Aboche Takiso and Barkafat Doyore.
[210] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 108; ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 296-297.
[211] Braukamper, p. 356.

military that were stationed in Hadiya was 16510 Birr.[212] As indicated above, the officials were allowed to use labor of the *Gäbbars* from their respective administrative jurisdiction. In the last years of the Haile Selassie's regime, forced labor was declared to be abolished, but it could not be materialized, since the landlords were against it. The *Awraja* officials were seen forcing the Hadiya to give money that aimed to construct government offices.[213]

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church also took large tracts of *Gashas* of land in Hadiya. It is said that the amount of land that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church possessed was much smaller in the north than the south. Basing himself on the information enshrined in Vtitz book entitled "Foundation of Churches", Lapiso was able to compare the amount of land the Orthodox Church had in the north with that of the south. He says, in the post occupation period, the numbers of Churches in Begemidir were 2260 and the amount of land they possessed was only 33kms square. In the same period, in Bale the numbers of of Orthodox Churches were 58, but their land possession was amounted 2148km square.[214]

In the post occupation period, the intensity of land privatization was strengthened and the majorities *Gäbbars* were dislodged from their possession forcefully and through purchase. Though Emperor Haila Selassie made an attempt to abolish the *Gäbbar* system and its associated duties since the late 1950s, the landlords were not ready to implement it.[215] After 1960s, *Asrat* payment for the government was cancelled.[216] Based on such declarations, the

[212]A letter written from Lieutenant General Asfaw Walda Taklu to Arsi *Awraja Ƭäḳlay Gïzat* Office dated *Yakatit* 11, 1937, No. 598.

[213]A letter written from the Shäwa *Ƭäḳlay Gïzat* to the 11 *Awrajas*, dated *Hamle* 2, 1964 E.C. No. ኦ/14/39.

[214] ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 102.

[215] Nagarit Gazeta, *Sila Maret Gibir Yawata Awaj,* 4th year, No. 2, 1937, p. 4.

[216] A letter written to *Ras* Masfin Silashi, Shäwa *Ƭäḳlay Gïzat* governor general from Solomon Abraham, Vice Minister of Interior dated *Ginbot* 30, 1961 E.C.; Petition letter written from Kontab *Wäräda* people and *Balabats* to Ministry of Interior dated *Ginbot* 27, 1961 E.C.; Tax receipt of the month of *June* 1961 E.C. which includes *Asrat*

Hadiya *Gäbbars* began to refuse the payment of *Asrat* to the government representatives in the *Awraja*. Contradicting with the government declaration, the *Awraja* and *Wäräda* rulers were seen confiscating the cattle and other properties of the *Gäbbars* for the reason related to *Asrat*. The landlords were also engaged in imprisoning the Hadiya who were not willing to pay *Asrat*.[217] Many of the Hadiya people decided to leave their land to towns and large scale plantation agricultural areas for labor work. Lapiso states that since the rural land (both farming and grazing) was given to the absentee landlords, the Hadiya were forced to live as tenants or leave their ancestral land to 'Amhara' people and migrated to towns to work as maid servants, factory workers, soldiers, merchants, prostitute girls, thief, and burglars. Those who fled the oppression of the landlords in their homeland were exposed to other kinds of exploitations in the large scale plantation agricultural areas.[218]

In towns, the Hadiya migrants were deprived of having good working conditions. This was largely because the Haila Selassie government made a number of proclamations that forbade the migrants to work freely. The Ethiopian government tried to prevent rural-urban migration through the system of identity card preparation. The government gave identity card to all rural and urban dwellers. In Addis Abäba and other towns, the Hadiya migrants were forbidden to have urban identity card; rather they were forced to go back to the rural area and have it. This was a system in which the government used to stop the ever growing *Gäbbar* migration to towns. Those Hadiya labor workers in towns were considered as illegal migrants; and for the government, the migrant youths who were living in towns and cities were called 'vagabonds'

tax, Education tax and health tax. Here, *Asrat* tax was outlawed by the government, but the *Awraja* rulers were insisted on forcing the Hadiya people to pay it illegally.

[217] Petition letter written from the Hadiya *Gäbbars* to the Ministry of Interior dated *Yakatit* 12, 1961 E.C.

[218] ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ 43-45.

(**ወስላታ**).[219] On the identity card, the following points had to be filled by the Hadiya and other oppressed tenants:[220]

የባላገር መታመኛ ወረቀት	
አገሩ፡ (The name of the sub-province)	
ያገር ገዢዉ ስም፡ (The name of the sub-provincial administrator)	
ወረዳዉ፡ (The name of the *Wäräda)*	
የምስለኔዉ ስም፡ (The name of the *Misläne)*	
የጭቃሹም ስም፡ (The name of the *Ċhiḳashum)*	
መሬቱ፡ (The exact location of the land).	
ጭሰኛነቱ፡ (The owner	

[219]**ብርሀንና ሰላም ጋዜጣ፣ <u>በከተማና ባገርቤት ስራፈት እየሆነ ሀገር ለሚያወክና እከተማ ለሚቀመጥ ወስላታ፤ አዋጅ።።</u> ሀሙስ ታህሳስ 28 ቀን 1919 አ. ም. ገጽ** 4-5.

[220]*Ibid.,* p. 5.

of the land)	
ያባቱ ስም፡ (Father name)	
የራሱ ስም፡ (His name)	
መልኩና ልዩ ምልክቱ፡ (His special physical identification).	

Table 3: Identity card form during the Haila Selassie regime.

On the table above, points like the names of the sub-province, the sub-provincial administrator, the *Wäräda*, the *Misläne* and *Ċhiḳashum* were clear indications of the intentions of the government authorities to prevent the movement of the oppressed Hadiya workers (including others) within Ethiopia. These criteria were prepared in the hope that they would easily identify a *Gäbbar* or a tenant who left his land to towns and force him back. The 1942 and 1947 declarations tagged insulting names like **ወሮበላ** (*Warobala*, vagabond), **ዘዋሪ** (*Zawari*, vagrancy) and **ቦዘኔ** (*Bozane*, those who hate work) on the migrant people who were forced to evacuate from their land by the landlords.[221] Here, the Hadiya *Gäbbars* were deprived of living in both rural and urban areas.[222] The reality, however, was that the Hadiya *Gäbbars* were running away from their land because of the extreme oppression and confiscation of their land in the name of *Taf Maret*, *Yabetamangist Marja Maret* and *Gibra Tal.*

[221] Nagarit Gazeta, "Sila Zawariwochina Warobaloch Yawata Awaj," 6th year, No. 9, Addis Ababa Ginbot 21 Kan 1934 E.C, pp. 41-43.

[222] ላጲሶ፣ <u>የገባር ስርአትና</u> … ገጽ 81.

The land which was confiscated in the name *Taf Maret* was the land possessed by the local people for different public purposes like grave yard, public meeting places, markets, grazing and others.[223] Even those land which was not occupied by the nobilities or other government officials, albeit it was possessed by the local people, was considered as free land or *Taf Land*.[224] The declaration which made the Hadiya land *Yebeta Mangist Marja Maret* or *Taf Maret* opened the door for landlords to undermine the basic rights of the autochthonous population. They also confiscated the lands of the *Gäbbars* illegally using varieties of reasons like *Gibra Tal*. Lapiso writes, "**በዚህ ንጉሳዊ ህግና ትዕዛዝ መሰረት ከ**1937 **እስከ** 1942 **ድረስ በ**5 **አመታት ዉስጥ ከአዉራጃዉ ጭቁን ህዝብ** 5289 **ቁርጥራጭ መሬቶች ማለትም ማሳዎች በአንድ የቤተመንግስት መርጃ መሬት በሚል አዲስ ስምና ስሪት ተዘርፎ ተያዘ።**"[225] Its translation reads, "In the name of 'palace', 5289 fractions of lands were confiscated from the Hadiya *Gäbbars* in the years between 1945 and 1950. This was done with direct order and laws of the Emperor." The confiscated fractions of lands were redistributed to the soldiers who participated during Italo-Ethiopian war.[226] In Kämbata and Hadiya *Rist* office, according to Lapiso, there is a file that entitled '**ቁርጥራጭ መሬቶች**' (fractions of land) which indicates the offering of such lands for 538 soldiers. In other file which was written in 1943, there was a report that indicates the redistribution of the Hadiya *Gäbbar* land for 60 soldiers which were confiscated in the name of '**የቤተመንግስት መርጃ መሬት**' (land for palace support). In the absence of the soldiers, the Hadiya lands were redistributed to their legal wives and children.[227]

[223]**ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ… ገጽ** 99.

[224]Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Malasa Jinebo and Asäfa Bunte.

[225]**ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ** 100፣ A letter written from the palace administration to the ministry of interior dated Sane 29, 1962, No. 1174/13/42.

[226]Addis Zaman, "Talak Yahona Yacharinat Sira," *Hamle* (July) 18, 1934, p. 46; Wagaw Bogala, p. 331.

[227]Addis Zaman, p. 46.

As part of the punishment for what the Hadiya did during the Italian occupation period against the *Näftägna* families and the settler population, the former (except the families of the local appointees) were made to buy their own lands after the restoration of the Haila Selassie government. Regarding this, Lapiso states, in addition to the 5289 fractions of land, the *Fitawrari* … who was assigned to rule the Kämbata *Awraja* forced the autochthonous population to register their land in a new way and buy it. As a result, many *Gäbbars* were obliged to migrate to other areas.[228]

From this, it is possible to say that the office which was opened by the government in the post occupation period named '**የቤተመንግስት መርጃ የርስት ክፍል ጽህፈት ቤት**' *(Yabeta Mangist Marja Yarst Kifil Tsihifat Bet)* was fully engaged in exploitation of the Hadiya *Gäbbar* population. The Hadiya who were forced to buy their own land[229] had no alternatives, except going to the merchants to take money with debit on high interest and sometimes they were forced to sell their cattle so that their land would not been confiscated by the aforementioned office. The worst scenario in this case was that there were reports that indicated the refusal of the Hadiya administrators to give receipts for those who bought their own lands. Such refusal exposed the Hadiya *Gäbbars* for the second stage of dispossession. Since they were not given receipts for the land they purchased, they would be illegal in the face of the central government. The *Awraja* rulers would not send the money to the government. As indicated above, such inhuman activities of the Haila-Selassie government forced the Hadiya people to migrate from their land to cities, towns, large scale plantation agricultural areas for survival.[230] Those people

[228] **ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ …** ገጽ 101.
[229] **ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣** ገጽ 298.
[230] Bahru Zawde, p. 99.

who had no knowledge and capabilities for migration decided to stay home as tenants under extreme subjugation.

Since the 1950s, the *Wäräda* and *Awraja* rulers were collecting money in the name of developmental activities, but they were seen using the gathered money for themselves.[231] The Italians, though for their own advantages, gave freedom for the southern Ethiopian peoples in general and the Hadiya in particular in many respects. The Haila Selassie government, however, took measures that would violate their basic rights, and as a result many of them were forced to leave their land in favor of the northern settlers who had been flocking there since the period of incorporation. For the Hadiya, the period of Italian occupation was much better than the rule of their Ethiopian counterparts. The restoration of the Haila Selassie government was considered by the Hadiya people as the restoration of the oppressions of the pre-Italians period.[232] The government preferred to follow 'feudo-capitalist' system and ultimately brought the Hadiya people to extreme subjugation. In relation to this, Assafa writes, "…With the further integration of the Ethiopian empire into the capitalist world economy, slavery and the *Näfṭägna-Gäbbar* system became outmoded. In their places, tenancy gradually emerged. Agro-capitalism began to extend its roots mainly through tenancy and sharecropping."[233]

With the exception of a single occasion, the Hadiya could not make an independent revolt against the feudal administration in the post-Italian period. This was because the later was able to paralyze the moral of the people with killings, floggings, torture and jail. So, the oppressed

[231]Petition letter written from Kämbata *Awraja* farmers (particularly the Halaba) to the Ministry of Interior dated *Ginbot* 13, 1937 E.C.

[232]*Ibid.*

[233] Asäfa Jalata, pp. 10-11.

Gäbbars were waiting for opportune time to undo such oppressions. The only revolt that had been made by the Hadiya since the restoration was the Jarso uprising.[234]

The Kämbata *Awraja* rulers during the Haila Selassie regime in the post-Italian period were: *Ras* Adafris Nadaw (1941), *Däjjazmach* Damtaw Mäshäsha (1942-1946), *Fitawrari* Gabrahiwot Mäshäsha (1946), *Fitawrari* Kifle Dadi (1946-1948), *Fitawrari* Tasfaye Enqusilassie (1949-1955), *Däjjazmach* Shifäraw Wandimagegnew (1955), *Däjjazmach* Zalaka Dasta (1956-1959), *Däjjazmach* Shifarwu Wandimagegnew (1959 -1960, 2nd time), *Fitawrari* Kassa Kidanemariam (1960), *Bajirond* Zawde Mulat (1960-1962), *Däjjazmach* Yohannes Girmay (1962-1963), *Däjjazmach* Zawde Tilahun (1963-1968), *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame (1968-1973) and *Fitawrari* Tadla Tamirat (1973-1974).[235]

All the aforementioned rulers were able to rule the Hadiya and Kämbata area for about 33 years. They had been working to safeguard the interests of the *Näfṭägna*, the *Mälkägna*, the northern settlers and the *Nigusä-Nägäst.* During their times, the Hadiya people lost their land and many of them migrated to different towns and plantation agricultural areas. Such harsh treatment of the autochthones continued unabated even after the revised 1955 constitution. The constitution strengthened the rights of the landlords to oppress the Hadiya and other societies of the south, the south east and the south west.[236] Except in some occasions, the rulers could not allow the Hadiya to rule the *Mïkïtïl Wärädas* and *Wärädas,* let alone the *Awraja*. *Ḳägnazmach* Siyum Anore of Otoro (the son of *Adil* Adaye Agago) was allowed to rule one of the *Wärädas* in Hadiya and Kämbata *Awraja.* The place given to him was Timbaro *Wäräda* (it also included the today's Sorro).

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[234] ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 175-176.
[235] *Ibid.*
[236] ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 88-89.

In the last years of the Haila Selassie era, there were reports of the Hadiya *Gäbbars'* resistances against the *Awraja* administrators. The letter written by the Angacha *Wäräda Gäbbars* (which also includes the Hadiya) to *Ato* Getahun Tasama, the then Ministry of Interior, dated April 20, 1969, indicates that the Hadiya were bold enough to accuse the *Awraja* administrator, *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame.[237] He was accused of divisive works that he had done between the Hadiya and Kämbata ethnic groups. The Hadiya also accused Ruga for illegal increment of tributes on *Gäbbars* and collecting taxes and tributes without receipt. But, as usual justice at the time was in favor of the landlords, not the oppressed workers. The *Balabats*, the *Sängaḳoros*, the *Ċhiḳashums* and *Wanas'* were seen siding with Ruga Ashame than their oppressed kinsmen. They even went to the extent that they wrote petition letter to the Ministry of Interior appreciating the achievements of Ruga Ashame and denouncing his accusers.[238]

In 1974, the 'feudo-military' rule came to an end in Hadiya in particular and the country in general. The Hadiya students and teachers connected the ethnic issues with class oppression and helped the eruption of the 1974 revolution. It is said that the 1974 revolution was enthusiastically welcomed by the Hadiya people. But the welcoming situation and public joy could not stay long. This was largely because the Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* administrators who were assigned from the center like Colonel Damaka Tasama (1975), *Yä Mäto Aläḳa* Gabra Yasus Bäkälä (1975-1976), *Shalaka* Assafa Barhe (1976-1977), *Shalaka* Dasalagn Shirka (1977-1978), Alamayahu

[237] The letter written by the Hadiya *Gäbbars* to *Ato* Getahun Täsäma, the then Ministry of Interior, dated April 20, 1964.

[238] A letter written to from the Hadiya *Balabats* and *Sängaḳoros* to Getahun Täsäma, Ministry of Interior, dated 16/12/1969, No. 382/64.

Tabor (1978), *Shambäl* Solomon Bogala (1978) and *Mïkïtïl Mäto Aläḳa* Petros Gäbre (1978-1988) brought the dictatorial rule of the Därg to the Hadiya and Kämbata people.[239]

[239] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Abatikun Lamboro and Malasa Jinebo.

CHAPTER SIX

6. Struggle for Identity Recovery in Hadiya

For the rise of identity question among the Hadiya people, education played significant role. *Ras* Abata School (renamed as Yakatit 25/67 since the coming to power of the Därg regime) was the first government school to be established in Hadiya land. It was established in the mid-1940s. In such early times, however, Protestant missionaries had contributed a lot for the literacy of the autochthonous population than the one established by the government. As indicated in chapter 5, since the restoration of Emperor Haila Selassie's power, the government had been forcing the Hadiya people to pay educational and health tax.[1] Despite that they were paying large amount of taxes, the government had given very small amount of share. Braukamper states, "From the calculated tax revenue in 1962 for a sub-province (Kämbata[2]) of 832,000 Birr (with a population of 705,000), 118,981 were allotted to school tax and the same sum was for health tax".[3] Largely because of this, the number of schools and health centers which had been built by the government in Hadiya were very small and their services were said to have been restricted to Hossana town giving due consideration for the *Näfṭägna*, locally recruited rulers and settler population.

Probably in the early 1940s, Protestant missionaries were able to setup primary schools first at Dubancho, and later at Bobicho.[4] The Dubancho School was a kind of kindergarten which was established to acquaint students with preliminary activities like identifying letters, numbers and

[1] A letter written from Kontab *Wäräda* tenants to the Kämbata *Awraja* administrator dated *Hamle* (July) 11, 1964 E.C, No. 589/64; A letter written from Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* to the 11 *Awraja* administrators dated *Hamle* (July) 22, 1964, No. ሸ/14/39.

[2] Within the Kämbata province, the Hadiya were the dominant ones. 4 of the 6 districts at the time were occupied by the Hadiya, and the remaining 2 were inhabited by the Kämbata ethnic group.

[3] Ulrich Braukamper, *A History of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012, P. 369.

[4] Informants: Hailu Sulebo, Habib Adiso and Handino Erdolo.

reading some Biblical concepts. At first the missionaries recruited students from among the surrounding people and let them join Dubancho School, and then they were made to continue their education at Bobicho. Only small numbers of students were allowed to join at the later school. It was up to grade 2 that Bobicho School was serving the community. It is said that after completing grade 2, very limited number of students were allowed to join grade 3 at *Ras* Abata School. The later had served the people (most of whom were town dwellers) from grade 3 to 4. Gradually, according to informants, Dubancho School had restricted itself to religious service, leaving aside the academic ones to Bobicho and *Ras* Abata. Hadiya students who were allowed to join *Ras* Abata School were those who scored good results in their stay at Bobicho. In Dubancho and Bobicho, at its earliest stage, it was the foreign missionaries who had been serving as teachers for all subjects. Alongside with academic work, they used to teach Bible and appeared to have converted a large number of students from *Fändänano,* Islam and Orthodox Christianity to Protestantism.[5]

Why did the missionaries go to Bobicho and Dubancho rather than settling in Hossana? After their first arrival in Hossana from Addis Ababa, according to eye witness accounts, the missionaries headed to Kalisha and then to Dubancho.[6] They were not interested to stay in Hossana where the Orthodox settler population was the dominant one. This was due to the fact that it was the then missionary principles of camping in the rural areas rather than concentrating in the urban centers.[7] The renowned Hadiya *Balabat* named *Dana* Fitebo was the one that have brought the missionaries from Hossana to Kalisha. It is said that the missionaries were interested highly to camp at Kalisha because the area is suitable plain for encampment. But the people there

[5] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Aboche Takiso, Sulebo Handino and Asäfa Bunte.
[6] Kalisha is one of the smallest administrative units in Lemo Hadiya.
[7] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo and Sulebo Handino.

did not welcome them. They came out of their homes with spears and arrows to prevent the missionaries from settling on their land. They said that how come foreigners that had evil eyes came and settle on the land where their cattle and children spent the days. The Kalisha people assumed that the *Faranji* (white people) had evil eyes by which they would kill their animals and kids.[8] The people considered the white missionaries who used to wear eyeglasses as people who have four eyes and were evil.

Then, *Dana* Fitebo who brought the missionaries to Kalishsa said to his people, 'My kinsmen, where can I take these guests?'. In the middle of the controversy between *Dana* Fitebo and the Kalisha people, *Aba* Dogiso who was the member of Dagagmana clan intervened and said '**ለኛ ስጡን፣ እኛ እንወስዳቸዋለን**', 'give us, we will take them to our land'. Based on their promises, *Aba* Dogiso and his family took the missionaries to Bobicho and gave them places to settle. This was done because *Aba* Dogiso was converted to Protestantism at the time of the missionaries' arrival in Hossana. It is said that before coming to Kalisha, the missionaries spent some times in Hossana dealing with the then Kämbata *Awraja* administrator, *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha Wälde. They were sent to Kalisha with *Dana* Fitebo with the direct order of *Däjjazmach* Mäshäsha, the son of the renowned *Ras* Wälde Ashagre. But the Kalisha people, as mentioned above, refused to let the missionaries settle on their land.[9]

After their arrival at Bobicho, the missionaries began their preaching at a particular place called Lambuda and established the first church there. It was *Aba* Dogiso who gave them land to settle and build churches. The three Hadiya boys: *Aba* Dogiso, *Ato* Shigute Dada and *Aba* Tulore were

[8] Informants: Damise Mänsido, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[9] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Husen Musama and Aboche Takiso.

the first converts to Protestant religion. It is said that they were determined to serve the missionaries by dividing the work among themselves. For example, *Aba* Tulore took the mandate of guiding missionaries to places where the later would preach. *Aba* Dogiso was assigned to coordinate women so that they would be able to prepare food and serve the missionaries, and *Ato* Shigute was given the task of preparing rest places for the whites during the nights and weekends. This had been done in the last years of the 1920s and the early 1930s.[10]

The missionaries and the three Hadiya boys were terrified when the news of the Italians arrival reached Hadiya land. The Hadiya boys had information about the hatred that the Italians had developed towards the Protestant missionaries. Terror circulated in Hossana town and its surroundings immediately before the Italians arrival in Hadiya.[11] All the Protestant missionaries were forced to leave the Hadiya land by giving their possessions to the three Hadiya boys. They also blessed and ordained the later as the first Hadiya church elders and advised them to continue the process of evangelization in the midst of terror and persecution.

After the Italian evacuation from Ethiopia, the missionaries were allowed to come back to the country and resumed their work. They returned to Hadiya in 1944 and started their missionary activities. When they arrived in Hossana, it was Shigute Dada who took them to Dubancho, not Lambuda or Bobicho. Then, the people who are living in Dubancho constructed dwelling houses, offices and churches for the missionaries with their own resources and on their own land. They built schools at Dubancho and also at Bobicho. Though the missionaries arrived in Hadiya in the

[10] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido and Hailamariam Jinebo.
[11] Informants: Abäbä Watiro, Anshebo Tirore and Gudiso Ersamo.

pre-Italian period, they succeeded to construct schools after the restoration.[12] After the restoration of the 'feudo-military' rule in 1941, the Orthodox churches and the local administrators were not happy to see the expansion of Protestant religion in the country. It is said that they were engaged in persecuting the missionaries and closed their churches in Hadiya in particular and the south in general.[13]

There were reports during the restoration time about large number of converts to Protestant religion in Hadiya land. Many of the early converts in Dubancho and Bobicho were reported to have been the relatives of the three boys. In 1937, the renowned *Fändänano* leader in Hadiya named *Aba* Gole Nunamo was converted to Protestant religion. His conversion has increased the pace of Protestant expansion in Hadiya. He was the one from Dubancho and became an instrument in the process of dismantling the *Fändänano* religion and the conversion of large number of Hadiya people to Protestant Christianity. He was said to have preached Protestant Christianity in Hadiya and the surrounding ethnic groups in the presence of strong Italian oppositions against them.[14]

It was after the construction of missionary camp at Dubancho in the post occupation period that the missionaries asked the surrounding people, mostly the early converts to give them their children so that they would be able to teach them. The people were very happy of hearing such demand and gave them their sons and daughters. The early missionary school was built at Dubancho. Initially, it aimed to give both secular and religious education to the surrounding

[12] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Damise Mänsido.
[13] Petition letter written from Gimbo Sagamo, Goda Gona and Tilahun Maicha (Gamo Gofa local evangelists) to Emperor Hailaselassie dated *Yakatit* (February) 13, 1947 E.C.
[14] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Ermolo Badulo.

people. Then they extended the chance to other sections of the society and to the outcaste groups. The 'Amhara' who were living in Hossana and its surroundings had been suspicious of sending their children to the missionary schools, but they were seen using the medical services that the later were offering at both Dubancho and Lambuda (in Bobicho).[15]

It was after the formation of Protestant missionary schools at Dubancho and Bobicho that *Ras* Abata School (owned by government) was established in Hossana. Prior to the establishment of both missionaries and government schools, there were educational centers (dominantly religious) in Hadiya which were built by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Unlike the pre-Italian period, Orthodox Christian missionary activities were extended to the Hadiya *Gäbbar* and tenant population following the restoration of the Haila Selassie government.[16] Teachers of the Orthodox schools in the region were priests and deacons. Before the Italian occupation, they had given both academic and religious education to the students of the 'settler population'.[17] The Hadiya, except the sons and daughters of the rulers from the autochthonous population, were not allowed to come to the school. But the Hadiya individuals who were able to create socio-cultural bondage with the settler population through the *Abälïj* and *Christina* were allowed to join such schools. From this, one can say that the establishment of Protestant missionary educational centers was important for Hadiya *Gäbbars* and tenants and also the marginalized societies like tanners, clay workers, smiths and slaves.[18]

[15] Informants: Abatikun Lambore, Asäfa Bunte, Anshiso Awilo and Abraham Abune.
[16] Braukamper, p. 367.
[17] The settler population at the time were the 'Amhara' who came from the north with Menilek's invading armies.
[18] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Wärkïnäh Anito and Bäkälä Wändïmu.

While the Orthodox schools were established for the children of the settlers and some autochthonous population, the missionary ones were built for all people who were living in Hadiya and the surrounding areas.[19] At the time when Protestant missionary educational centers were opened at Dubancho and Lambuda, some students mostly from the autochthonous population left the Orthodox school to the missionary ones. One of my key informants remembers a person named Wandafrash who first joined priests' school and left for Lambuda when the missionaries launched the same service there. Wandafrash left his former school, mainly because of the pressure that he faced from both teachers and students of the so called 'Amhara' origin.[20]

It is said that the first students to join the Protestant missionary school at Lambuda and Dubancho were children of the first converts (*Aba* Dogiso, *Ato* Shigute and *Aba* Tulore) and their families. It was after the elapse of some years that children from Kalisha upto Ana began to join the school. Some children were said to have come to Lambuda just to see what the school looked like and what they were doing inside it. They had no prior knowledge about the schools and what it meant.[21]

Bobicho (Lambuda) School was established shortly after the oppening of school at Dubancho. It was with the strong efforts of the Bobicho elders that the School was built there. Following the establishment of Dubancho School, elders from Bobicho asked the missionaries to do the same on their land. Since their aim was to expand the Gospel in Ethiopia, missionaries responded to their demand positively. They ordered natives to construct schools from wood and mud and to

[19] Braukamper, p. 369.
[20] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Amarach Manedo and Taklu Tisore.
[21] Informants: Damise Mänsido and Shifäraw Bifebo.

cover it with straw. A person named Balay was transferred as director from Dubancho to Bobicho School. After some years, the missionaries gave the later advanced status than the former. They began to recruit active students from Dubancho and let them join Bobicho. Shifäraw Bifebo[22], Wandafrash, Waldasilassie, Birhanu were reported to have been the first students to join Bobicho school. But the two schools could not extend their service beyond grade two. The main recruiting criteria were reading and writing in Amharic language. Most of the time reading and writing capacity of students was measured by Bible reading in Amharic.[23] It was only those students who had connections with relatives in Hossana town or the sons and daughters of the *Näfṭägna* that had the knowledge of Amharic language. Many of the Hadiya children did not have the skill of reading and writing in Amharic.[24] This was one of the many restrictions of the literary development of Hadiya and other southern languages.[25]

Gradually, Dubancho became more of theological than secular. Bobicho School started to engage in academic affairs dominantly. Mr. Duff, Mr. Causer and their companions were the first missionaries and the one who established churches at Bobicho prior to the coming of Italians to Ethiopia.

Then, the trend of Church construction extended to other areas like Balesa (about 10kms away from Hossana on the way to Addis Ababa). A person named Abäbä Bushero was the one who helped the construction of Balesa church. Following the high increment of Protestant members at Balesa, Abäbä Bushero with the help of the missionaries succeeded to establish school near to

[22] My key informant.
[23] Braukamper, p. 368.
[24] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Wändïmu Shamebo and Solomon Abäbä.
[25] አዲስ ዘመን፣ ትምህርት በራዲዮ፣ መጋቢት 22 ቀን 1965 ዓ.ም. ገጽ 2.

the Church. He was attorney worker; but his service did not emanate from modern education. At first, Ababa joined missionary school at Dubancho as student. Having completed primary education, he began to teach others at Balesa. He was also the one who coordinated the missionaries and people in the process of establishing a hospital at Balesa. The hospital became the main medical center in Hadiya in particular and the *Awraja* in general and it had been rendering medical services for more than 17000 patients annually until the establishment of Hossana hospital during the Darg.[26] Abäbä appeared to have become the one who created doctrinal controversy within the Hadiya Protestant churches in the 1950s.[27]

As mentioned above, after the completion of grade 2 at Bobicho, students were recruited to attend the next two grades (3-4) at *Ras* Abata School.[28] During their stay at this School, according to the eye witness accounts, the Hadiya were deprived of their rights and considered inferior to the sons and daughters of the northern settlers, the *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna* population. Both teachers and school administrators tended to favor the so called 'Amhara' students. One of my informants says, "**ራስ አባተ ትምህርት ቤት እያለን አስተማሪዉ ድንገት ወደኔ ዞሮ እያስተማረ ከሆነ ባክህ ወደኛ ዞረህ አስተምር እሱ ጉዴላ ነዉ ይሉ ነበር።**"[29] Its translation reads, "While our teacher was teaching putting his eyes on me at *Ras* Abata School, the sons and daughters of the settler population may say 'hey teacher, please turn your face to us, he is *Gudel*a.'" This was an indication of the level of despise that the *Näfṭägna* and the settler population developed towards the autochthonous population. It is said that teachers were not happy to treat the Hadiya students positively while delivering their courses. There were no places

[26] **አዲስ ዘመን፣ የከምባታዉ የሱዳን ኢንቴሪዩር ሚሲዮን ሆስፒታል፣ ሚያዚያ 3 ቀን 1965 ዓም. ገጽ 3.**
[27] Informants: Anshebo Dutiso, Firde Takla Giorgis and Gabramichael Wachämo.
[28] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Tamirat Kalbore, Wändïmu Shamebo and Firde Takla Giorgis.
[29] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Damise Mänsido.

for the Hadiya students to air their grievances. In the 1940s, except for the sons and daughters of the *Balabats* and sometimes the *Ċhiḳashums* and the *Sängaḳoros,* the Hadiya people were not allowed to continue their education beyond grade four. Most of them were even deprived of attending their education beyond the kindergarten level. This was made in the belief that the sons and daughters of *Ċhisägna* would refuse to work for the families of the landlords if they were allowed to learn beyond the kindergarten level.[30]

A decade after the Italian withdrawal from Ethiopian soil, however, the government began to allow the children of Hadiya tenants to continue their education beyond primary level. This was mainly because of the government's intention to fill the state bureaucracy with qualified personnel. The second reason was that the government was under pressure from different commissions of the United Nations Organization. Emperor Haila Selassie had memories of the reasons set by the fascist Italy in their endeavor to conquer Ethiopia. In the existence of such apartheid policy in Ethiopia, it was hard for the Emperor to continue foreign relationship, particularly with the west.[31]

It is mentioned above that, since the early 1940s, Protestant missionaries were permitted to return to Ethiopia and resume their work.[32] From then on, they used to give scholarship abroad for many of the Hadiya boys to further their education up to the university level. The Haila Selassie government offered the missionaries much freedom to do whatever tasks in Hadiya. It was based on such permission that the missionaries appeared to have engaged in educational and health work and let the oppressed tenants to advance their academic carreer beyond the primary level.

[30] Informants: Masfin Tumebo, Dutiso Gidesa, Tagasa Tasfaye and Waldamaskal Shomoro.
[31] Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Tamirat Sumoro, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Gabramichael Wachämo.
[32] Braukamper, p. 368.

Because of such permission, there were complaints from the landlords and the *Awraja* administrators in Hadiya against the Haila Selassie government. Their intention was to keep the children of Hadiya tenants illiterate forever, while encouraging their kids to advance their education to the university level both in the country and abroad. Some Hadiya *Balabats* were said to have supported the intentions of the 'Amhara' oppressors and wanted to allow both primary and secondary education for their children only and create huge social cleavage between them and the tenants. Among them, *Dagna* Ersumo of the Sorro was the notorious one. The *Balabats* were suspicious of the growing power of the oppressed tenants because of education and levelled it as a threat against their 'eternal' power. One of my informants says, "**ዳኛ ኤርሱሞ የራሱን ልጆች እያስተማረ የጭሰኛ ልጆችን ግን እንዳይማሩ ይከለክል ነበር። ለናንተ ትምህርት ምን ያደርግላችኋል ይል ነበር።**"[33] Its translation reads, "While letting his kids to continue their education, *Dagna* Ersumo was seen preventing the children of tenants to do the same. He says 'what is the advantage of education for you?". But there were Hadiya *Balabats* like Seyum Anore, who did their best to help the children of tenants to continue their education.[34]

According to informants, even after the 1950s, there were insults and despises from the children of the landlords against the Hadiya students in *Ras* Abata School. All teachers and directors of the school were from 'Amhara' and they were engaged in demoralizing the Hadiya students so that the later would cease to continue their education. In the time when the central government sent pencils, pens and exercise books to students in Hossana, it was only the 'Amhara' children who were allowed to receive such aid. The school directors and teachers were not in a position to

[33] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Asäfa Bunte.
[34] Minutes of recording written on the meeting of the *Awraja* and *Wäräda* administrators, Dated *Nahas*e 24/1960.

share the aids to the children of Hadiya tenants. They gave such support to 'Amhara' students using the famous saying '**ከዘመድ የተላከ**' 'sent from relatives'. For them, the central government was relative of the children of 'Amhara' rulers and *Näftägna* settlers, but 'alien' for the Hadiya ones. This was a clear apartheid policy that the then administrators had undertaken in Hadiya. The time when useful information or advises came from the central government, they appeared to tell it to the 'Amhara' kids only. They did not care whether the Hadiya students were listening to the information or not.[35]

Since the time of restoration, the Hadiya people lost their original name in favor of Kämbata. It was, according to Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo, deliberate act on the side of the government administrators to dismantle the Hadiya identity.[36] There are controversies among my informants with regard to the time when the Hadiya name was abandoned. Some of my informants say it was during the time of *Ras* Abata that the name Kämbata was given to both Kämbata and Hadiya peoples. Contrary to this, however, there are informants and authors who argue that the Kämbata name was given to the Hadiya people during the Italian period. The proponents of the second idea say that both Kämbata and Hadiya people were divided into two *Awrajas*: Lemo and Shashogo, and Kämbata. They continue to say that it was after the coming to power of Abata Buayalew to the Ethiopian administration that the name was changed to Lemo and Kämbata, and then to Kämbata during the Italian occupation period.[37]

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[35] Informants: Alamayahu Argaw, Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Aboche Takiso and Damise Mänsido.

[36] **አለባቸዉ ኪሚሶና ሳሙኤል ሀንዳሞ፣ የሀዲያ ህዝብ ባህልና ታሪክ፣ ሀምሌ** 2002 **ዓ.ም.፣ ገጽ** 88; **ወንድሙ ፍላቴና ጌዲዮን አዲሴ፣ ገራድ፤ የሀዲያ ታሪክ እስከ** 1983 **ዓ.ም.፤ አዲስ አበባ፣ኢክሊፕስ ማተሚያ ቤት፣ መስከረም፣** 2013 **ዓ.ም.፣ ገጽ** 317.

[37] Informants: Damise Mänsido, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Aboche Takiso and Tumdado Erdolo; In the middle of the 1960s, there was a hospital with a name Lemo- Kämbata which was 10kms far from the capital Hossana (Addis Zaman, Yakämbatawu Yasudan Interior Misiyon Hospital, *Miyaziya* 3 *Kan* 1965 E. C., p. 3.).

Based on eye witness accounts and some reliable sources, it is possible to say that the area was renamed as Kämbata during the time of Italian occupation. Before that, it was said to have been named 'Lemo and Kämbata' sub-province. Supported by the Italians, according to the eye witness accounts, it was *Woma* Bargano (the son of the renowned Moliso) who was able to re-name the areas inhabited by both Kämbata and Hadiya peoples as 'Kämbata'. The Italians gave him a title called 'Kabarel'. This is to mean that his traditional title, 'Woma' was rejected in favor of *Kabarel*, which means 'Colonel'. Since he was collaborating with the Italians, Bargano had been considered by some people as 'Banda' or 'traitor'.[38] There are, however, individuals who name Bargano as 'Yawust Arbagna' 'internal patriot'.[39]

With regard to the ways in which *Kabarel* Bargano was appointed over the Kämbata sub-province (including the Hadiya people), there are two contending ideas among my informants. Some say it was through election that Bargano assumed power on both Hadiya and Kämbata areas during the times of Italian rule. According to them, at that time there were six districts in both Kämbata and Hadiya areas. From the six districts, four of them were inhabited by the Hadiya, and the rest two were settled by the Kämbata people.[40] In order to undertake election for the *Awraja* administration, the Italian rulers called representatives from all districts to come to Hossana and gather at today's police station. In the meeting, individuals who were competing for elections were given time to talk about themselves to the people. All the representatives, except

[38] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Abäbä Suloro, Aboche Takiso and Firde Takla Giorgis.
[39] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Aboche Takiso.
[40] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Tämäsgän Abako.

Bargano, praised their own clans by saying '**እኔ የዚህ ምርጥ ጎሳ ዘር ነኝ፤ እኔን ምረጡኝ**', 'Elect me, I belong to this special race'.[41]

Bargano, however, connected his genealogical line with all the Hadiya and Kämbata clans, and was able to transcend the ethnic differences that have existed in the region. Following this, with the exception of Bargano, all individuals who participated in the election campaign were criticised as racists. One of the participants whose ethnic origin was from Hadiya said, "**ሁሉም የራሳቸዉን ጎሳ ነዉ የጠሩት፤ በርገኖ ግን የሁሉንም አከባቢ ዘር ስለጠራ እሱ ነዉ የአዉራጃዉ ገገር መሆን ያለበት።።**"[42] Its translation reads, "All representatives, except Bargano, praised their own clans. Bargano deserves the *Awraja* administrative position." Depending on such support, the Italians were said to have hurried to let the participants clap their hands in favor of Bargano Moliso. From that time on, Bargano became the sole ruler of both Kämbata and Hadiya people. Using his power, he succeeded to replace the former *Awraja* name, 'Lemo and Kämbata', with a single name 'Kämbata'.[43] It is said that the Italians were eager to see the superiority of the Kämbata over the Hadiya people. This was largely because, the Hadiya were more rebellious and dominantly pastoralist in their economic activities.

The second idea argues that Bargano came to the *Awraja* leadership not through election but using gifts and some kinds of bribes. They said that Bargano gave much honey and butter to the Italians. It was through such gifts and submission that he was able to become a favorite man for

[41] Informants: Damise Mänsido, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Aboche Takiso and Tumdado Erdolo.
[42] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Asäfa Bunte.
[43] **አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ** 98-99.

the Italians administrators.[44] Depending on his position, he not only degraded the Hadiya name, but also pushed the Hadiya-Kämbata frontier to Hossana. Though the Hadiya had undertaken strong attempt to return ther lost land and identity, the joint defensive forces of Kämbata and Italians prevented them to materialize their interest.

After the failure of the military solution and the frequent declarations of the Haila Selassie government, the Hadiya once again resorted to the diplomatic means so that they would be able to reinstate their name and return the land they lost to Kämbata. My informants say the identity question became stronger than the land issue, particularly after the 1950s. The Hadiya asked the Haila Selassie government repeatedly to restore their 'Hadiya' name to its former status. They also asked the government to return the land that they lost to the Kämbata, but their demand fell on deaf ears. After the Italians' withdrawal, Bargano submitted to the Haila Selassie government. He was said to have forced both the Kämbata and Hadiya people to name him as 'Yewust Arbagna' or 'internal patriot'.[45] But in reality, he was not supporting the Ethiopian patriots who had fought the Italians in the occupation period. Rather he served the later full heartedly.[46]

As mentioned above, though the Hadiya gave initial support for the Italian rule, they began to refuse their demands like forceful conscription of labor and recruitment for their colonial army. From the outset, the Italians had much information about the Hadiya resisting behavior and so, they were seen elevating the Kämbata to the highest post in the *Awraja*. They killed the son of the renowned Hemacho called *Abägaz* Gedicho and other Hadiyas who were undertaking

[44] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Wändïmu Tulore.
[45] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte, Erduno Tumdado.
[46] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte, Damise Mänsido, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Aboche Takiso.

guerrilla war against the *Näfţägna* though they gave them their hands willingly. It should be taken into account that Gedicho and his colleagues were freedom fighters for the Hadiya people. So as to rule the area without resistance, the Italians also eliminated other strong Hadiya opponents.[47]

Following the withdrawal of Italians from Ethiopian soil, the Hadiya resumed their offensive attacks against the *Awraja* rulers. As indicated above, at the initial period of the Italian occupation, the Hadiya *Gäbbar* and tenant population were favored at the expense of the *Näfţägna* and other northern settlers.[48] The 'feudal' lords and their related groups, however, resumed their former status following the restoration of the Haila Selassie government. Once again this brought the Hadiya to quarrel with the northern settlers and the *Näfţägna* population. The later succeeded to bring back the land that they lost to the Hadiya during the time of Italian occupation and reduced the former to the level of tenancy. The restored government took the side of the *Näfţägna* and the northern settlers against the Hadiya. The Hadiya lost their land and freedom until the coming to power of the Därg government. After resuming power, the 'feudo-military' rule ordered the *Näfţägna* administrators in Hossana to confiscate the cattle and other properties of the oppressed Hadiya people. The later started to oppose such oppression. They were affected by the policies of both feudo-military rule and the Italians administration than the neighboring Kämbata and Gurage. This was largely because the former was in constant conflict against the two regimes.[49]

[47] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte, Damise Mänsido, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Aboche Takiso and Tumdado Erdolo.

[48] Informants: Damise Mänsido, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Aboche Takiso and Tumdado Erdolo.

[49] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Abäbä Suloro, Aboche Takiso and Firde Takla Giorgis.

In Hadiya, components of the *Näfṭägna* population were the Amhara, Gamo, Gofa, Hadiya and so on. As mentioned above, the Gamo and Gofa people came to the Hadiya land during the time of the 'Great Terror' in Hossana. It happened in the year 1936/37. They came to Hossana in support of the 'Amhara' so that they would save the families of the *Näfṭägna, Mälkägna* and the settler population from the Hadiya indiscriminate attack. Even after the Italians' withdrawal, many of them did not leave the Hadiya land. The restored Haila Selassie government gave them land in Hossana, at a particular place called Bobicho. It is said that some of them became rich and built hotels and bars at the down town. The former Manafasha hotel which was located at Hossana square was previously owned by Gamo individual who came to Hossana being part of the army.[50]

The Hadiya started their identity question in an organized way since the early 1970s.[51] It was directly related to the student movement which was undertaken at the national level. There were prior attempts by some Hadiya *Balabats* and cultural *Danas*[52] to return the original name (Hadiya) back to its former status in the *Awraja.* The struggle of Hadiya students and teachers both in Addis Abäba and Hossana was very strong. It was mainly because of their efforts that the Hadiya people returned their name to its former position after the demise of the Haila Selassie regime. At the time, the numbers of Addis Abäba University students from Hadiya ethnic group were very small. The struggle was not only limited to the teachers and students of both Addis Abäba and Hassana, but it also included all people who had the capacity to read and write.[53]

[50] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte, Shifäraw Bifebo and Wändïmu Tulore.

[51] A letter written from Shawngizaw Bahiru, Kämbata Awraja Developmental appointee to the Ministry of Social and Peoples Development, Dated *Hidar* 17, 1966, No. 3/12/29/7.

[52] Hadiya traditional title which has been given to clan leaders.

[53] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Abäbä Suloro, Aboche Takiso and Firde Takla Giorgis.

The Hadiya and Kämbata students established self-help association in 1969. The first name of the association was '**የከምባታ ወጣቶች ተምሮ ማስተማር ድርጅት**', 'Kämbata youth educated educator organization'.[54] Almost all the Hadiya and Kämbata students who were learning both in Hossana and Addis Abäba were members of this organization. The Hadiya teachers and other sector workers reported to have given their first salary to the cause of the organization. Many of them, according to my informants, gave part of their income to the association on a regular basis. In Hossana, both the Kämbata and Hadiya students had undertaken their annual meetings usually in Orthodox Churches. Most of the time students appeared to gather during the summer season. It is said that finding hall for meeting both in Addis Abäba and Hossana was very difficult for students. It was in such conferences that the Hadiya identity question began to rise in 1972.[55]

Arguments began to circulate between the Kämbata and Hadiya students in which the later had an intention to modify the name of the association from 'Kämbata' to 'Hadiya and Kämbata' *Awraja*.[56] The Kämbata succeeded to extend the *Awraja* name (Kämbata) to the association in 1969. It was after some years that the Hadiya began to oppose the Kämbata's attempt of undermining the Hadiya identity. The Hadiya even went to the extent that they extended their struggle to rename not only the name of the association, but also the *Awraja* name. Dr. Haile Waldamichael, the first leader of the self-help association, was a man from Hadiya and the one who initiated other Hadiyas to raise the question of equality. It is said that the Kämbata students had strong support from the parliament members and renowned political figures. The Hadiya, on the other hand, had support from rich merchants like Gizaw Gabragiorgis and some cultural

[54] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido, Bäkälä Moliso and Abäbä Tumiso.
[55] Informants: Ayala Lombebo, Beyoro Erduno and Asäfa Bunte.
[56] **ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ** 318.

Danas and *Balabats* like Seyum Anore. Since he was the member of the parliament, Seyum was said to have supported the Hadiya secretly.[57]

The Hadiya question at that time, according to informants, was, "**እኛ ብዙሀን ሆነን ሳለን እንዴት በናንተ እንጠራለን በሚል ነበር ግጭቱ የጀመረዉ፤ በተጨማሪም እኛ** 750,000 **ነን እናንተ ግን** 250000 **ናችሁ የሚል ጥያቄም ነበር።**"[58] Its translation reads, "Since we are numerically superior, it is not fair to use the Kämbata name as a name of the *Awraja*. Moreover, the Hadiya were saying their number was 750000 while the number of their counterparts was 250,000." Dr. Haile Waldamichael also served the Ethiopian teachers association as chairman in the 1960s and was lecturer in Addis Abäba University. Moreover, he was program coordinator of the developmental campaign and served as minister for the Ministry of Culture during the times of Därg. In addition to him, there were Hadiya individuals who struggled to protect the rights of their ethnic group. These were Alamu Waldahana, Girma Bäkälä, Haile Bubamo, Ersa Adada, *Ḳägnazmach* Seyum Anore, *Ato* Gizaw Gabragiorgis, and Asäfa.[59] Alamu was reported to have attended his high school education in Asala.[60]

In the early 1970s, the Hadiya wrote petition letters frequently to the administrators of Shawa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat, Ras* Masfin Silashi. In the petition letters, they expressed developmental issues and identity question (the question of Hadiya name).[61] For Hadiya students, the developmental issue was an auxiliary to the identity question or in other words, they were using the former as a mask

[57]Informants: Damise Mänsido, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Aboche Takiso and Tumdado Erdolo.
[58] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte and Aboche Takiso; **አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፤ ገጽ** 105.
[59] **ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፤ ገጽ** 318-319.
[60] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.
[61] **ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፤ ገጽ** 317.

to cover their real intentions. But *Ras* Masfin Silashi rejected the later and responded to the auxiliary ones. He said that the developmental question will be responded through time. Following such response, conflict broke out between the Hadiya and Kämbata students both in Addis Abäba and Hossana. After the conflict, the Kämbata association was divided into two. While the Kämbata students formed their own group retaining the name Kämbata, the Hadiya established their association independent of the Kämbata students. The name of the newly established self-help association of the Hadiya was '**የሀዲያ ተምሮ ማስተማር ማህበር**', 'Hadiya educated educator association'.[62]

The identity question which was created in the process of the formation of the self-help associations was extended to the names of the *Awraja* and other religious and social organizations. At that time, as indicated above, the name of the *Awraja* since the time of Italian occupation was Kämbata. Moreover, the name of the Makana Yasus Synod in the *Awraja* was named as Kämbata. The Hadiya struggled to modify both names and add their own. Their struggle was not only adding the Hadiya name, but also bringing their name to the front line as *Hadiyana Kämbata Awraja* (Hadiya and Kämbata *Awraja*), not *Kämbatana Hadiya Awraja.*[63]

The Kämbata students were determined to retain the name of the *Awraja* and other names as Kämbata. They were not ready to add the Hadiya one. According to my informants, the Kämbata were saying, "**በርገኖ የቸከለዉን ማን ይነቅለዋል፣ እኛ ልጆቹ እያለን**." Its translation reads, "Who can uproot the one planted by Bargano in the face of our existence."[64] Direct conflict

[62] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Anshiso Awilo.
[63] Informants: *Hajji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido, Bäkälä Moliso and Abäbä Tumiso.
[64] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Abäbä Suloro, Aboche Takiso and Firde Takla Giorgis.

started between the Hadiya and Kämbata students since 1972 both in Addis Abäba and Hossana. The Kämbata criticized the Hadiya for 'diverting' the developmental projects for political causes.

A man from Hadiya, named Gizaw Gabragiorgis was a rich man in Addis Abäba and the one who sponsored the Hadiya students' and teachers' movements there. He was born in Hadiya particularly at Ambicho Gode. But he was brought up with his family in Gamo Gofa. It was from Gamo Gofa that he went to Addis Abäba and became a wealthy man. He had supported the Hadiya identity struggle materially, morally and financially. He had shops, big hotel (named 'Kana Zagalila') and fiber factory in Addis Abäba. His hotel was located at a particular place called Markato. Usually, the Hadiya used to gather at his hotel and discuss different issues related to identity and developmental projects. It is said that, after the death of Gizaw, his son named Limu Wark established flour factory at Gombora in Hossana. The name of the factory was coined after his name, Limu Wark. This factory was sold to another person after the coming to power of the EPRDF government.[65]

It was hardly possible for the Hadiya students to extend the self-help association which was established in Addis Abäba to Hossana retaining the Hadiya name. This is to say that rulers in Hossana prevented the Hadiya students to establish self-help association with a name the later preferred. But they were given the right to form organizations with other names. Hadiya students both in Addis Abäba and Hossana created common front against their 'oppressors'. Their 'oppressors' at that time were both the Kämbata elites and the *Awraja* administrators. Hadiya

[65]Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Getahun Watumo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Damise Mänsido, Bäkälä Moliso and Abäbä Tumiso.

students who were learning at Wachämo high school were active in the struggle for Hadiya identity.[66]

The Hadiya, as indicated above, used developmental projects and sport clubs as a mask to cover their real intentions, i.e. identity question. At that time, in Hossana, different sport-based associations were existent. They were named as *Nagade* (merchant), Taklahaimanot, Michael associations and so on. In Hossana, the Hadiya established an association called 'Ya Gäbarewoch Sport Mahibar or Budin', 'peasants' sport association'. It was established in 1972. At first, attempt was made to add the Hadiya name as 'Ya Hadiya Gäbarewoch Sport Mahibar', but they were forbidden to do that. The first chairman of the association was Getahun Watumo and his deputy was Dasalagn Wo'imago. It is said that, though the founders of the association were students, they used peasant name to masquerade their real plan. Some of their members were teachers and traders. Sometimes, so as to hide their real intentions, the Hadiya students were seen appointing a person from other ethnic groups as couches of peasant sport club like the case of Fakadu. This person was Amharic teacher at Wachämo secondary school and the one that liked sport most. He was given the mandate to train the sport club.[67]

It is said that the Hadiya students were eager to tell their real intention to the Hadiya cultural elders, not to the *Balabats*[68]. The cultural elders (*Danas)* were highly trusted individuals than the *Balabats*. This was largely because the later were loyal to the government and close to the

[66]Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte, Damise Mänsido, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Aboche Takiso and Tumdado Erdolo.

[67] Informants: Getahun Watumo, Birhanu Yakob, Tamire Danano, Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[68] Individuals who were selected from the autochthonous population and had given the mandate of administration over their own ethnic groups. This title was existent in the north, particularly in Shäwa, but its usage was different from the one in the south, the south-east and the south-west.

Awraja administrators. Students and cultural leaders created common front that aimed to aware the Hadiya peasants to struggle for their rights and identity. The Hadiya peasants were also able to establish other underground organizations and associations using *Edir* (funeral activities) as a banner. The association was named '**የገበሬዎች እድር**', 'peasants' funeral association'.[69] At the time, as indicated above, it was forbidden to use the name Hadiya for organizations and other forms of associations. Even the 'oppressors' were not happy to use Hadiya name in their daily conversations; rather they used to employ the word 'Gudela'[70] to refer to the Hadiya people.[71]

Since the early 1970s, Hadiya students, teachers and peasants were engaged in road construction within Hossana town. At the time, the major parts of the gravel roads in Hossana were built by Wachämo highschool students. Mostly, they were engaged in such works during the summer season. The *Balabats* and the 'Amhara' landlords were against any developmental projects that had been undertaken by students in Hossana.[72] Sometimes, the *Balabats* were opposing such works simply because students were doing without their knowledge.[73] But the eye witness account says that some of the sons and daughters of the *Balabats* were on the side of the students. Since the Hadiya peasants were strongly supporting the later, the landlords and *Balabats* could not stop them from doing what they wanted. Students sometimes say to the sons of the *Balabats,* "**አባትህን አሳርፍ**", "Let your father stop virulent works against the Hadiya".[74]

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[69] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[70] Today, this name is derogatory and forbidden to use it to the Hadiya people.

[71] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Uliso Tirore.

[72] A letter written from *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame, Kämbata *Awraja* administrator to Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat, Ras* Masfin Silashi, Dated 01/03/1965 E.C., Number 1012/11; A letter written from Kämbata *Awraja Balabats* and *Sängaḳoro* to the Ministry of Interior, Dated *Magabit* 13, 1965 E.C.

[73] ላጲሶ ጌ. ድሌቦ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ገባር ስርአትና ጅምር ካፒታሊዝም፣ 1900-1966፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ 1983፣ ገጽ 292.

[74] Informants: Damise Mänsido, Shifäraw Bifebo and Masqalo Forsido.

Since 1973, it is said that students became bold enough to disclose their real intention to the government and other concerned bodies. This was made following the successful completion of the organizations of peasants and other sections of the Hadiya society.[75] In 1973, the high school students in Hossana wrote petition letter to *Fitawrari* Tadla Tamirat, the administrator of Kämbata *Awraja* seeking response for their identity question. Regarding this, my informant says:

> **ለፊታዉራሪ ተድላ ታምራት ጥያቄያችንን በማመልከቻ አቀረብን። ተድላ ከሻሸመኔ ነበር በዝዉዉር ወደ ከምባታ አዉራጃ የመጡት። ወረቀቱን ሁሉም ማቅረብ ሲፈራ እኔ ነበር ያቀረብኩት።**[76]

Its translation reads:

> *We wrote petition letter to Fitawrari Tadla Tamrat expressing our grand demands. At the time, it was from Shashamane that Tadla transferred to Kämbata Awraja. I was the one who gave the letter to the administrator.*

After he received the letter, Tadla asked students to tell their questions orally. Then, Getahun Watumo, the chairman of peasant sport association, told the administrator about their basic demands orally. The Hadiya students were acting as if they represented peasants' question. Students went to the administrator's office excluding the Kämbata and other sects of the Hadiya society. *Fitawrari* Tadla Tamrat responded that he would send their question to Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* for solution. He said that the *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* was the responsible organ to solve such identity questions. Then, students argued that the Hadiya individuals who were living in Addis Abäba tried it, but their attempt was not fruitful. Their demand was to get immediate solution to their problems from the *Awraja* administrator.[77]

[75] Announcement note for Kämbata *Awraja* administrator Dated *Yakatit* 14, 1965 E.C., but there is no the name of the writer and the official who was addressed to.

[76] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro.

[77] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte, Damise Mänsido, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Aboche Takiso.

Tadla asked them that how could he know whether they brought peasants' questions or not. Students responded that it was the question of peasants and said, "Shall we bring all the Hadiya peasants here? We are here in the belief that it is good to talk to us than to the peasants. We are their children." Then, the administrator appeared to have agreed to their ideas, but he insisted that he would send their question to Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*. As per the request of the administrator, students returned to school to continue their education.[78]

According to informants, in the middle of their struggle, the Hadiya students were able to find the pre-1937 letter which has the name of the *Awraja* as 'Lemona Kämbata', 'Lemo and Kämbata'.[79] Having this letter, students went to Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*, so that they would replace the name Lemo with Hadiya. They asked the administrator that 'Lemo was one of the Hadiya clans and they could replace it with the all-embracing name, Hadiya'. After critical investigation of the evidences that the Hadiya students brought, *Ras* Masfin, the administrator of Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* [80], asked them to bring 75 Lemo elders who prove their agreement with their own signatures. *Ras* Masfin did this to reduce further controversies. But there are informants who argue that *Ras* Masfin was convinced that students could not bring 75 elders from Lemo, since the way to Addis Abäba was challenging for the elderly people. He also had a belief that the Lemo elders would not agree to replace their clan name with all embracing Hadiya name. But

[78] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[79] Here, there is petition letter written from Kämbata *Awraja* workers to the Emperor Haila Selassie which uses the *Awraja* name as 'Lemo and Kämbata '. It has no date and time. It is just petition which was written prior to the Italians arrival to the Ethiopian soil. Apart from this and the oral information, it is hard to get written sources that indicate the name 'Lemona Kämbata'.

[80] An equivalent name for Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* is province.

students were successful in convincing the Lemo elders and offering transport facilities for the weak ones.[81]

It is said that Addis Abäba University and high school students in Hossana were struggling in an organized way. They used to communicate with each other through public telephone line. At the time, the telephone center in Hossana was located in the place where today's commercial bank is built. When the Addis Abäba students made a call to representatives of Hadiya students in Hossana, telephone workers reported to have sent messengers with bicycle and said to the wanted one 'somebody is calling you. Come and talk to him/her.' Following this, the person used to go to the telephone center in a hurry. Having checked his/her arrival, the telephone worker used to facilitate their communication. It was through this system that students in Addis Abäba and Hossana were communicating for the sake of reinstating their identity. It was the students in Hossana who were able to coordinate the 60 Lemo elders to go to Addis Abäba and put their signature as per the request of the *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* Administrator. The remaining 15 elders were recruited in Addis Abäba who made their dwellings there permanently or went for different cases. It is said that Gizaw Gabragiorgis was the one who prepared the 15 elders from Addis Abäba.[82]

At the time, there was no road that was constructed from Hossana to Addis Abäba. But roads were under construction with the money collected from the Hadiya and the neighboring peoples that stretch from Alamgana to Wolayta. The main way from Hossana to Addis Abäba the then time was through Halaba. The Hadiya people had used mostly their foot and mules to go to

[81] Informants: Bäkälä Takiso, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[82] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.

Halaba. But it is said that, at the time, there were two land rover cars in Hossana. The owners of these cars were Haile Gobe and Asalifaw[83]. *Ato* Asalifaw was also the one who provided light for Hossana town with generator in 1965. He also had hotel in Hossana. Before the arrival of the landrover cars, there was Volkswagen in Hossana which was brought by Ambole Falaka. It was the first car to land on Hadiya territory. On the day Ambole brought the first car, my informants remember that there were feasts and great joy in the town.[84]

So as to materialize their intentions, the Hadiya students used to transport Lemo elders with land rover cars to Halaba in a difficult condition. This was largely because the way was not well built and moreover, the presence of Boyo Lake on their way made their journey hazardous. Strong elders were made to travel with mules and foot. At the time, it was normal for individuals of the Hadiya and other ethnic group to travel with foot and mules very long ways. After arrival at Halaba, someone had to wait long time for a bus since it was only 2 buses that had come there per day.[85]

At that time, there were coffee traders who were said to have brought coffee from Halaba to Hossana with mules or carrying it with their heads and backs. There were also merchants who used to bring materials like soap from Halaba. A person named Bidiko was the well-known coffee and soap trader in Hossana. My informants remember him carrying Sanduk soap on his head from Halaba to Hossana. Later on, through hard work, he was able to increase his wealth

[83] My informants failed to remember his father name.
[84] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[85] Informants: Birhanu Yakob, Tamire Danano, Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

and became rich man. At the same time, a person named *Ato* Malas had grocery at the present 'Time Café' near to Hossana square. *Ato* Malas was said to have changed his home to grocery.[86]

During their stay in Addis Abäba, Gizaw was the one who sponsored all the expenses of the Lemo elders and students. The 75 Lemo elders were allowed to stay in his hotel which was located at Markato. My informants say, "**አቶ ግዛዉ ሆቴላቸዉን ዘግተዉ ነበር ይዜን ያህል ህዝብ በነጻ ሲያስተናግዱ የቆዩት። በሆቴላቸዉም እንግዶቻቸዉን ያሳድሩ ነበር። እሳቸዉም እዛዉ ነበር ያድሩ የነበሩት።**".[87] This can be translated as, "So as to serve his guests, Gizaw closed his hotel and let his Hadiya guests stay during day and night at his hotel. He also spent most of his times with them."

According to informants, while the signature ceremony was being undertaken by the Lemo elders at provincial office, the Kämbata students reported to have sent a woman to spy the former. Being outside of *Ras* Masfin Silashi's office, this woman said, '**ከበራል በርገኖ የቸከለዉን ችካል እኛ ልጆቹ እያለን ማን ሊነቅል ይችላል**?,' 'Who can displace the one planted by *Kabarel* Bargano in the face of our existence.'[88] Her voice was so loud that a person named *Dana* Gidebo listened and run to her and spoke loudly saying, 'you guys what you are talking about?' The Kämbata students who were waiting for the girl in a hide run to her for help and a kind of disturbance was created in front of the office of the *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*. The Kämbata told *Ras* Masfin Silashi about the attempt that *Dana* Gidebo made to kill the girl. Then, *Ras* Masfin ordered the later to come to his office and asked him why he did that. *Dana* Gidebo responded:

[86]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.
[87] Informants: Bäkälä Takiso, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[88]Informants: Birhanu Yakob, Tamire Danano, Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

ጌታዬ ሰዉን አይቶ የሚበረግግ ሰዉ አየሁ። አንቺ ቆይ ብዬ ላናግራት ስሄድ በርግጋ ሄደች። እኛ ምን አደረግን መልካችን እንጂ የሚያስፈራዉ ዉስጣችን ሰላማዊ ነዉ።[89]

Its translation reads:

> *My lord I saw a person who was terrified by watching another person. When I went to her to ask about what happened to her, she run away from me. Except our terrifying physical appearances, we had done nothing against people.*

Ras Masfin saw him with his deflected eye[90] and laughed at his response, according to eye witness account. *Dana* Gidebo had served the Lemo people as cultural leader for long. He was very tall, huge and terrible some for some one who saw him for the first time.[91]

After the completion of the signature ceremony, *Ras* Masfin told the Lemo elders and students to go to their home. But the students and elders responded to *Ras* Masfin that they would not go to their home without having solution. The later said that he could not give them clear response to their question without letting the ministry of interior intervenes in the matter. *Ras* Masfin warned the Hadiya not to speak about the situation after their arrival in Hossana. *Ato* Sabiro Wasoro, one of the Hadiya elders who went to Addis Abäba responded that he would speak about the issue in Hossana. Informants say, "**አቶ ሰብሮ ከሌሞ ከሄዱት ዉስጥ አንዱ ነበሩ። እጅ አንስተዉ እኔ ሆሳዕና ሄጄ መናገሬ አይቀርም። ሆሳዕና እንደሄድኩ ሀዲያና ከምባታ አዉራጃ ብዬ እናገራለዉ። እንደዛ ብዬ ሆሳዕና ላይ ተናግሬ በሻገተና በዛገ ጠበንጃ ከሚገሉኝ፣ እዚሁ በአዲስ ጠበንጃ ይግደሉኝ፤ እኔ መናገሬ አይቀርም። ሌሎቹም አጨበጨቡና የሁሉም አቋም እንደሆነ ገለጹ።**".[92] Its translation reads, '*Ato* Sabro was one of the Lemo elders who went to Addis Abäba to participate in signature ceremony. Raising his hand, Sabro said that the time he reached

[89] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[90] **ዳንኤል ጆቴ (በአጥኚ ቡድን የተዘጋጀ)፣ ራስ መስፍን ስለሺ፣ አባ ተምትም፣ የድህረ ነጻነት የአስተዳደርና የፖ`ለቲካ አመራር፣ ከራሳቸዉ አንደበት የተነገሩ ምዕራፎችን የያዘ፣ ቅጽ 2፣ ገጽ** 175.

[91] Informants: Damise Mänsido, Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[92] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Hossana he would speak about the decision that they made on the *Awraja* name. Instead of dying with old guns in Hossana, Sabro added, he preferred to die with new guns here in Addis Abäba.' In the meeting, since many of the Hadiya elders could not speak Amharic, they used to communicate with the Shäwan administrator in *Hadiyisa* (Hadiya language) through an interpreter named *Ato* Dai'mo, from Badäwacho.

Then Addis Abäba students sent the copy of the decision made by Showa *Taklay Gizat* to the students in Hossana. Representatives of high school students in Hossana went to the *Awraja* administrative office to give the copy so that the later would put it in the archives. Now, selecting the person who could give the copy to the *Awraja* administrator was the problem which was created among the students. At the door of the *Awraja* office, students were arguing while selecting a person who could give the copy. The students' fear was emanated from the suspicion that the *Awraja* administrator would imprison them for the simple reason that they bypassed him. It is true that students went to the *Ţäḳlay Gïzat* office without the consent of the *Awraja* administrator. While they were arguing at the door, *Fitawrari* Tadla came out of his office suddenly and asked them why they were debating. Students responded that they were in disagreement on the person who could give the letter to him. Then, he told them to give the copy to the archival worker. They did it as per the order of the *Awraja* administrator and returned to their respective homes.[93]

As mentioned above, their struggle was not only limited to add the Hadiya name, but also bringing their name to the front line like 'Ya Hadiyana Kämbata *Awraja*', not 'Ya Kämbatana

[93] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Hadiya *Awraja*'. They based their argument on the work written by 'Vender' about the relationship between the majority and the minority people in a country. The Hadiya students were using it as guideline to justify their claim. They were arguing that the Hadiya people were the majority and their name should come first like the one done in other areas like Chabona Gurage, Jibatina Mecha and so on.[94]

Following the delay of the response of the administrators at various levels and the approaching of Ethiopian revolution, the Hadiya students came out to Hossana streets and the *Awraja* office in a mob and anger in the year 1973.[95] They added the issue of 'Land to the Tiller' to their basic question and as a result different social classes joined them. The children of the *Näfṭägna* and Kämbata also came to their side to magnify the land issue. It is said that some of the sons and daughters of *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna* were against the oppressive and exploitive behaviors of their fathers.[96]

However, the Hadiya students began to fear that the land issue would undermine their grand question and decided to undergone their demands separately from others. On the coming days, being separated from other demonstrators, the Hadiya moved to the *Awraja* office to let the ruler remember about the question related to their identity. The *Awraja* administrator said, 'What do you want from us? Your question is beyond our capacity. You know the Hadiya elders went to Addis Abäba to solve the question that you are raising. Go to your school, you are good boys.' Refusing to return to their homes, students stayed for some times in front of the *Awraja* office.

[94] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo and Shamebo Warku.

[95] A letter written from *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame, the Kämbata *Awraja* administrator, to the Shäwan *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* governor general, *Ras* Masfin Silashi, Dated 30/02/1964, Number 3659/283.

[96] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Shamebo Warku and Wändïmu Mänsido.

Then, the ruler told them to give their petition letter to *Ato* Lakaw, top administrative expert in the *Awraja*. One of the students named Abatikun Lamboro gave the letter to *Ato* Lakaw and the later put office seal on the letter and returned the copy to him. While the Hadiya students were undertaking such actions, both the Kämbata students and teachers were wisely following them.[97] They were watching from a distance while Abatikun was putting the copy of the letter into his pocket. The time when Abatikun was leaving the *Awraja* administrative compound, the Kämbata students captured him to take the letter out of his pocket forcefully. While they were doing this, conflict broke out between the Kämbata and Hadiya students particularly at the present day Hossana square. At the time, in front of Hossana square, there was *Taj bet* or local wine house. According to my informants, the owner of the local wine house, a woman, came out and begged students to stop fighting by saying, "**ልጆቼ አትጣሉ፣ ፊታችሁ ይበላሻል፣ ነገ ትታረቃላችሁ።።**"[98] "My sons, stop fighting, please. You will lose the beauty of your face. You can solve your problem tomorrow." But no one was listening to her advises. The Hadiya began to throw stones and attacked one of the Kämbata students who captured Abatikun. Following the attack, the Kämbata students left Abatikun and retreated from the area. The names of the Hadiya students who were there at the time were Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bäkälä, Tashoma Ratabo, Tasfaye Shifäraw, Tasfaye Abara and Birkinah Awgicho.[99]

[97] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Womiso Tone, Shamebo Dagalo and Petros Alango.

[98] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[99] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Anamo Dune and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

In the early morning, the *Fätno Därash* force (one of the regiments of the Ethiopian defense force) came to Hossana with helicopter and made an attempt to control the situation.[100] They imprisoned many of the Hadiya students. They were jailed in the prison where donkeys used to stay during the night. It is said that the smell in the prison was very bad that students began to shout at the police who kept them there. As a result, they were transferred to the Salon where the police took their rest. At night, the Hadiya people in Hossana brought them night clothes and food. They even brought alcoholic drinks under cover to students.[101]

The next day, so as to take revenge for their friend's blood, the Kämbata students prepared to attack the Hadiya with sticks which were attached with nail. They were waiting inside of the forest at Gofar Meda. The forest was located between Wachämo high school and Hossana town. They were there to undertake surprise attack against the Hadiya while the later were going to the school. The two groups fought and the causality was higher on the Hadiya side. A week after this event, the one who was attacked with stone during the turmoil at Hossana square was said to have returned to Hossana being cured from his pain. Elders of both sides brought the Hadiya students in agreement with Kämbata at Makana Yesus Synod and the former were ordered to pay 800 birr compensation to the victim.[102]

At the time, it is said that the Hadiya students had enough money collected from peasants that aimed to materialize their projects. Students were collecting money from the overall Hadiya society in the name of *Ya Gäbarewoch Sport Budin*. They put the money in the home of *Dana*

[100]A letter written from Kifle Hagos to internal administrator for Kämbata *Awraja* to *Ato* Getahun Täsäma, Ministry of Interior, no date and number.; Petition letter written from Kämbata *Balabats* and *Sängaḳoros* to the Ministry of Interior, Dated *Megabit* 13, 1965 E. C.

[101] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Anamo Dune and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[102]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Tamirat Worako, Anshiso Awilo, Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.

Bayana Fitebo. A person named Asras was the one who was given the mandate to control the money.[103]

After the Därg came to power, the Hadiya students brought their identity question to the government. But the government replied that it would respond to their question with other demands of the various ethnic groups of the country. Before the coming to power of the Därg government, some Hadiya intellectuals who were active at the time were transferred to other areas. Individuals who were transferred from Hossana to other areas were Alamu Waldahana, Mogas Gabramariam and Dasalagn Wo'imago. The government transferred them suspecting that they were instigating the Hadiya students and peasants to revolt against its rule. The struggle, however, could not be paralyzed because of the transfer of such individuals to other areas.[104]

As mentioned above, in addition to the high school students, there were teachers, traders, *Danas* and *Balabats* who had supported students to struggle for their identity question. These were *Ḳägnazmach* Seyum Anore, Haile Bubamo, Abiyo Ersamo, *Dana* Makoro Tone, *Dana* Gidebo Sinkamo, Ersa Adada, Bälilo Wänchiso, Girma Bäkälä, Amarach Yilma, Gabramichael Choramo, *Ḳägnazmach* Hilboro Amado, *Ḳägnazmach* Alambo, *Ḳägnazmach* Haile Tafeso, *Ato* Efrem Okashe, Endrias Dayamo Tumebo, Gibore Anito, and *Dana* Nukuro Megiso.[105] To have more pictures about the Hadiya struggle, it is good to narrate their contributions briefly.

[103]Informants: Birhanu Yakob, Tamire Danano, Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[104]Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Anamo Dune and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[105] Informants: Malasa Jinebo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Wändïmu Mänsido, Ayala Tumsido, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Ḳägnazmach Seyum was born in 1925 in Otoro *Ḳäbäle* (in Sorro) from his father Anore Adaye and his mother Koliche Abiso. Agebo was said to have been the original name of Seyum.[106] When he was 9, he started religious education at Otoro Priest School. In 1944, he became Deacon and began to serve St. Michael church in Sorro with his colleagues, *Mamihir* Awaka Getahun and Bayana Zamade. It was during his stay at Otoro School that he lost his original name. It was his first teacher, *Mamihir* Waldamadihin that forced him to change his name. This was one of the many instances of the attempt at cultural extermination which had been committed by the 'feudo-military' rule. When Italy invaded Ethiopia, according to informants, Seyum told a brief history of the Hadiya to Italian administration.[107]

Since 1951, in collaboration with Gizaw Gabragiorgis and Waldamichael Choramo, Seyum had worked to return the lost Hadiya name to its former position. He also succeeded to create Hadiya self-help association (*Idïr)* which was believed to have facilitated strong cooperation among the Hadiya people who were living in Addis Abäba. Administratively, he worked as vice administrator for Kachabira and Ṭämbaro *Wärädas,* administrator for Sorro *Wäräda*, administrator for Akaki Basaka and Säbat Bet Gurage and parliament member for the house of deputies. In addition to these, in the 1950s, he opened a school at Otoro and tried to give primary education to the children of Hadiya people. He employed a teacher named, *Alaka* Mankir for his school. My informants say, he freed many of the Hadiya individuals from illegal imprisonment and participated in the Alamgana-Wolayta road construction as coordinator. Seyum also struggled to free Hadiya tenants from arbitrary eviction, imprisonment and offense. He was said

[106] ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 318.
[107] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 101.

to have forced the *Näfṭägna* to give compensation for the evicted tenants in the area of his administration.[108]

The *Näfṭägna*, however, made great attempt to undermine the rule of *Ḳägnazmach* Seyum and reduce his acceptance in the central government. They even went to the extent that they accused him in the *Awraja* court. They used the attorney, Ayala Tasama for debates in the court. During the debates, the attorney listed a number of accusations against him.[109] Some of the accusations read:

1. "He said Amhara had no *Rist*."
2. "He talked to the Hadiya people that a king would raise in the south and that king was him; he said this in the time when Emperor Haila Selassie had left the country following its occupation by Italy."
3. "He was working to return the great Hadiya Muslim state and doing hard to secede from Ethiopia."

The *Awraja* administrators decided to kill *Ḳägnazmach* Seyum whenever the situation became conducive. Once upon a time, according to informants, when killers were in search of him, a Protestant missionary named Mister Hojis helped him to escape to Shashamane. Seyum accused the *Awraja* administrators at the Ministry of Interior and it was from Shashamane that he started to follow his case. Finally, decision was passed in favor of him. According to informants, Seyum had faced very difficult problems for the cause of Hadiya identity at different occasions.[110]

[108] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, and Firde T/Giorgis.
[109] Informants: Birhanu Yakob, Tamire Danano, Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[110] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Wärkïnäsh Abame.

As mentioned above, *Ato* Gizaw Gabragiorgis was the other influential figure in the history of the struggle for the recovery of the Hadiya identity. Near to his shop, as mentioned above, he had a hotel named Kana Zagalila. It is said that any Hadiya individual who went to Addis Abäba did not return to Hossana without visiting his hotel. He was remembered for sending the Hadiya cultural food with *Taj* (local wine) for those Ethiopian troops who went to Congo as peacekeeping force under the UN.[111]

Ersa Adada was the other person who gave his labor and time for the cause of Hadiya identity. He was born in Hadiya, particularly at Wasara *Ḳäbäle* in 1933 from his father Adada Ushuto and his mother Zenaba Ahmad. After completing his education, he made great effort to restore the Hadiya name in the region. He did his best instigating the Hadiya *Balabats* and cultural elders to participate in the struggle against the feudal rule in Kämbata *Awraja*. From the outset, he opposed the Italian occupation and joined the Ethiopian patriots. After 2 years stay in the caves and jungles, he exiled to Kenya. Being there, he continued to attend his education and completed it after coming to his country following the Italians withdrawal. The Haila Selassie government gave him rewards for what he had done during the occupation period.[112]

In the post-liberation times, he was said to have encouraged the Hadiya people to join schools. In the later times of the Haila Selassie government, he had served *Ras* Abata School as director. He strongly opposed the subjugation of his kinsmen, and worked hard to dismantle the feudal rule. He was reported to have expelled from Hadiya with conspiracies made against him. Ersa had

[111] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Shifäraw Bifebo, Anamo Dune and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[112]Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Zawde Shomoro, Lätebo Handebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

done a lot in the process of letting Ethiopian people know the history of the Great Hadiya medieval state through *Addis Zaman* newspaper. The Ministry of Interior reported to have ordered *Addis Zaman* newspaper administrators to stop publicizing the great Hadiya identity to Ethiopian people. After he retired from his work, Ersa went to America. By coordinating the Hadiya and other Ethiopian societies there, Ersa brought educational materials as a support to *Ras* Abata or the later Yakatit 25/67 and other schools in Hadiya.[113]

Ḳägnazmach Hilboro Amado was the other individual in the struggle to recover the great Hadiya name and language in the south-central Ethiopian region. He was administrator of the area that extended from Badäwacho to Sidama territory including the Halaba region. He coordinated the Hadiya people living in Hadiya, Siraro, Halaba and Sidama in the struggle to return the medieval Hadiya identity to its former position. He was said to have succeeded to bring the quarrelsome Halaba and Badäwacho Hadiya to agreement.[114]

According to informants, Hilboro was known in letting his people eat banquet every year. While people are eating one after the other, he was remembered using Hadiya language to his *Agafaris* (banquet coordinators) like *Fise Agise* (let him enter; let him leave). While he was using such Hadiya words repeatedly, an Amhara man made a poem which reads: '**ፊሴ አጊሴ ባልነበረ፤ የአዲሎ ጠጅና ጮማ ደግ ነበረ.**'[115] This can be translated into English as, "Adilo's wine and fatty foods are good, if he avoids the word, *Fise Agise*." *Adilo* means king in Hadiya language.

[113]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Taräkägn Jifar.

[114] Informants: G/Michael Wachämo, Alamitu Manedo, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[115] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Wärkïnäsh Abame.

This was an indication of the *Näfṭägna's* attempt to undermine the usage of Hadiya language in the daily conversations.

Grazmach Haile Tafeso was the other figure who made his own contribution in the struggle to return the great Hadiya name in the region. He was known in the struggle against the oppressions of the *Awraja* administrators. He succeeded to protect many of the Hadiya tenants from arbitrary eviction and intimidation of the feudal rule. He was known with his famous saying, '**መሬት የሀዲያ ነዉ**!, 'land belongs to the Hadiya.' Because of such struggle, according to my informants, the *Näfṭägna* killed him. He was also remembered for his relentless effort in the process of establishing schools for Hadiya children with his own budget.[116]

Dagna Gidebo Sinkamo was the cultural leader of Lemo people. He is reported to have played great role in safeguarding the interests of Hadiya people and reinstating the great Hadiya name in the region. In collaboration with the students and teachers of Hadiya boys in Addis Abäba and Hossana, he had done his best to stop the cultural influences that had been undertaken by the northern administration. As indicated above, so as to participate in signature ceremony, he went to Addis Abäba and personally talked to *Ras* Masfin Silashi about the challenges that the Hadiya people had confronted.[117]

The other important personal figure in Hadiya at that time was *Dana* Makoro Tone. He had served the Lemo Hadiya people being cultural leader for long time. In the areas of his

[116] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis, Shifäraw Bifebo and Maskalo Forsido.

[117] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo, Wärkïnäsh Abame,.Aster Ertiro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

jurisdiction, he was reported to have treated all humanity irrespective of their race, language, culture and so on. He had kept the trend of making Amhara people who were living in Hadiya the 'seven brother of Lemo'. After the restoration of the Ethiopian government, *Dana* Makoro recommended *Ras* Masfin Silashi to undertake referendum in Kämbata *Awraja* so that the area would be given a new name. As per the order from the Shäwan administrator, referendum was undertaken and the majority of the people voted for Hadiya name. But with the strong efforts of the *Näfṭägna, Mälkägna,* some of the Hadiya *Balabats* and Kämbata intellectuals, the results of the referendum could not be materialized.[118]

Instead of calming down the tension that was created between the Hadiya and Kämbata students mentioned above, the *Awraja* rulers were seen exacerbating the problem. The emergence of such ethnic tension between the two groups was considered as an opportunity for *Awraja* and *Wäräda* administrators in which the later had exploited the situation to rule the province with less challenge. The notorious individual in the divide and rule policy of the Hadiya and Kämbata *Awraja* was *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame.[119] He was administrator of the sub-province in the last years of the Haila Selassie regime. One of the petition letters written against him by Hadiya emerging intellectuals reads, "**የተከበሩ ፊታውራሪ ሩጋ አሻሜ የከምባታን አውራጃ እንዲያስተዳድሩ ከተሾሙበት ጊዜ አንስቶ እስከዛሬ ድረስ የጎሳና የዘር ልዩነትን ስሜት በመፍጠር ከምባታ፣ ሀዲያ፣ ጉራጌ፣ ጥምባሮ፣ ሶሮ፣ ዱራሜ፣ ሾኔ በማለት በይፋ በሬዲዮን፣ በጋዜጣና በቴሌቪዥን በመለፋፍ ህዝቡን እርስበርስ በማጋጨት እየከፋፈሉት ይገኛሉ።**"[120] Its translation reads, "From the outset of his administration, Ruga Ashame had engaged in creating

[118]Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Firde Takla Giorgis, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Daniel Ersumo.

[119] Petition letter written from *Kämbata Awraja*, Angacha *Wäräda*, to the Ministry of interior dated *Miyaziya* 25, 1964 E.C.; A letter written from Ministry of Interior to Showa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*, Takola Gabramadihin, dated *Ginbot* 17, 1964, Number 12974/45.

[120]*Ibid.*

ethnic and clan differences among the Kämbata, Hadiya, Gurage, Ţämbaro, Sorro, Durame, Shone and so on. He was talking about such things on radio and television and was seen exacerbating racist activities in the area." To materialize his infamous project, Ruga Ashame established developmental association in Hossana with a name 'Kämbata' that excluded the Hadiya name.[121]

Meanwhile, as noted above, through mass revolution the Därg abolished the old aged 'feudal' regime that was established during the restoration of the so called "Solomonic" Dynasty by Yakuno Amlak in 1270 and continued up to the end of the rule of Emperor Haile Selassie I. As a revolutionary, through its land tenure policy the Därg eradicated the tenant-landlord system of relationship and the indigenous people got the right to live freely without the oppressions and exploitation of the ruling classes. The time when the Därg came to power, most of the *Näfţägna* and *Mälkägna* people were forced to leave the Hadiya area. Many of them were persecuted by the indigenous people. The Därg believed to have brought some reliefs for the two ethnic groups (Hadiya and Kämbata). This was because it was able to rename the province as *Kämbatana-Hadiya Awraja* in March 1976. A similar step was taken at the Kämbata Synod Assembly in April /May 1977. The name, "Kämbata Synod" was changed to the South Central Ethiopian Synod (SCES).[87] The major reason for the Kämbata Synod to change its name was the ethnic tensions that was created between the two peoples.[122]

It was in 1976 that the Därg government declared the change of the name of the *Awraja* from Kämbata to *Kämbatana-Hadiya*. The Hadiya students tried to oppose such naming. This was

[121]A letter written from Kämbata *Awraja* to Ministry of Announcement dated *Tir* 5, 1963, No. 1784/242.
[122]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Dagalo Tale and Womiso Forsido.

largely because the new name did not fully satisfy their plan, i.e. bringing the Hadiya name to the front line. But they feared the harsh response of the Därg and stopped sruggling for it. The Hadiya students considered the change as half victory, and ceased to oppose against the new name. The struggle to retain their original name which was started in 1972 came to an end in 1976. The names of the *Wärädas* under the Kämbata *Awraja* in the time of the Haila Selassie government were Kadida Gamela, Angacha, Lemo, Kontab, Ţämbaro (Sorro people were under it) and Sike. Totally, there were six *Wärädas* within the *Awraja*.[123]

[123] Informants: Akinaw Ayala, Ayalach Hamdo, Abiyo Admasu, Shifäraw Bifebo and Asäfa Bunte.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. The Impacts of 'Feudal' Rule on Religion, Equality and Migration.

7.1. The Hadiya Religion, *Fändänano*

Today, the *Fändänano* religion is extincted. Due to a number of reasons, the Badäwacho section of Hadiya has special attachment to it. There are still *Anjanchos* among the Badäwacho, but their activities are somewhat confused as they are at the same time practicing some of the Christian and Islamic customs.

The medieval Hadiya people (at least the tribe in which the ruling figure seemed to have been originated) were believed to have protected the *Fandanano* religion from the possible extinction.[1] The Christian kingdom undertook expeditions frequently to the Muslim state of Hadiya so that it would make the later its regular tributary state. But they could not make any major missionary activities in the area. This was due to the fact that the major objective of the Christian kingdom at the time was not to expand their religious views to the south, south east and south west which also includes the Hadiya, but to control the main lucrative trade route and to make the Muslim states their vassal kingdoms.[2] This does not mean that the Hadiya people were completely spared from the medieval Christian influence. There were some religious figures that came to the Hadiya land side by side with the Christian army. Though they failed to convert the Hadiya people to Christianity in a mass level, they were able to leave their characteristic imprint on them.

[1]Informants: Bäkälä Takiso, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[2]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.

In the last decades of the 19th century, the Hadiya people were incorporated to Menelik's empire. Side by side with Menelik's troops, the Orthodox Christian priests came to the area and baptized the majority of Hadiya people forcefully. They simply converted the people without deep rooting the Christian teachings in their minds. The local people continued to practice their indigenous religion side by side with the Orthodox Christian customs. Theoretically, they were Orthodox Christians but in practice they mix their indigenous religious activities with the Christian ideology. Some of the *Fändänano* customs were affected by the expansion of Orthodox Christianity to the area.[3]

The Hadiya used to mention the names of saint Marry, Holy Ghost and Christ, while practicing their indigenous religion. In their daily practices, for example, they mention names like *Kitosa, Giorgisa* and *Marame*. When they were trying to sacrifice something to their gods, they used to call the names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Before slaughtering animal to their idols, they appeared to say "basime abb wald manfas kidus". This was a clear indication of religious syncretism which was the result of the coming of some priests on the footsteps of the Showan army. The indigenous people were seen mixing the traditional practices with Christianity and Islam.[4]

However, the influence that Orthodox Christianity inflicted on *Fändänano* and the negative consequences that Protestantism brought on Hadiya religion were different. In the former case,

[3]Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Anshiso Awilo and Malasa Jinebo.

[4] Informants: Damise Mänsido, Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

the Hadiya people were not totally prohibited to practice their own religion but in the later case, those who were converted were totally alienated from the *Fändänano* religion.[5]

The way Protestant religion expanded in Hadiya was different from Orthodox Christianity. While Protestantism and Islamic religions expanded in peaceful way, Orthodox religion tried to take roots in the area forcefully, particularly after the incorporation. The two declarations of the Haila Selassie government which were made in 1946 and 1950 forced the Hadiya people to be converted into Orthodox Christianity. They were obliged to buy Christian thread and confession father with their own money. The Kämbata *Awraja* administrators ordered all the *Fändänano* believers and Protestant Christians to be converted into Orthodox Christianity within short period of time.[6]

Since the medieval period, many of the *Fändänano* believers were said to have preferred Islamic religion than Orthodox Christianity. The similarities that existed between the two religions helped Islam to convert a large number of *Fändänano* believers to its denominations. Protestants in Hadiya succeeded to convert *Fändänano* believers by showing them the weak sides of Orthodox Christianity and also using educational and medical services. Protestant missionaries were able to teach the people how to plant vegetables, keep their sanity, and construct their homes in modern way and succeeded to modernize the minds of the Hadiya people. It was through these tactics that Protestants converted a very large number of *Fändänano* believers to their religion.[7]

[5] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[6] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Shamebo Warku and Aboche Takiso.
[7] Informants: Wändïmu Mänsido and Shifäraw Bifebo.

There are a number of similarities between Islam and *Fändänano* religions. The *Fändänano* religious followers believed to have taken the practice of respecting 'Friday' as special day from Islam. Their fasting practices like abstinence from food during day times made the two religions similar. The *Fändänano*, nevertheless, had the trend of having rest when the person who was fasting got tired. Such practice came to be known as *Ushetato.* The time when a *Fandancho* hungered or his/her health was disturbed, he or she would be allowed to have water or food. This practice is called *Tasbela.* The person who broke fasting rules expected to compensate when he recovered from his tiredness or sickness. During the medieval period, *Fändänano* religious followers had engaged dominantly in slave trade. They had the skill of treating wounded and sick slaves. They had the knowledge of surgery called *Ċhiresano*. For surgery purpose they used skins of oxen, sheep, goat and hens.[8]

Before a *Fandancho* began fasting, he/she was expected to go to the river for purification. The process was called *Haybanagima.* After arrival at the river, a *Fandancho* had to wash his body and clothes, and took a flower so that he would put it on his ears. The flowering plants are usually grown on the sides of rivers during the fasting seasons. It was in the months between April and May that fasting had been practiced in Hadiya. When the person returned to his home from the river, he was given food called *Bullo*. Much butter was added on *Bullo* and those who were going to practice fasting were expected to eat. Such eating was called *Käläfa*. It was after the *Käläfa* ceremony that fasting started. These were some of the events that differentiate *Fändänano* from Islam. There were people who appeared to confuse the *Fändänano* with Islam. In many respects, however, Islam was near to *Fändänano* than Christianity. Many *Fändänano*

[8] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo; Taddese Tamirat, Islam and Trade in Ethiopa,c.900-1332, history miscellanea 1, p. 85.

were reported to have converted to Islam in the medieval period particularly before the 16th century.[9]

Even today, we see some continuity of the *Fändänano* practices in Hadiya. Among the Hadiya, there is the practice of shading animals' blood on the forehead of an individual during the *Maskal* holiday. Christians in Hadiya, particularly in the countryside, are seen shading the blood of the slaughtered animal during *Maskal* that aimed to wish good New Year. The blood is believed to have the power to protect the *Fandancho* from evil spirit attack or an indication that the debt of the *Fandancho* was paid.[10]

There were good and evil spirits in *Fändänano*. For them, *Jara* and *Warika'a* are good spirits whereas *Habusa, Shetana, Jacho* and *Ibilisa* are evil ones. It is believed that every household had its own *Jara.* Even today, we see some Hadiya individuals in the rural areas who say 'my Jara', or 'my fathers' Jara'. While *Jara* belongs to male, *Idota* or sometimes *Heficho* is for female. Someone can see people in Hadiya who say 'my mothers' Idota'. *Warika'a* is the spirit which is superior to *Jara*. *Jara* and *Idota* are family spirits, whereas *Warika'a* is restricted to an individual. The *Fändänano* believers pray for the appearance of *Warika'a* like Protestant Christians pray for the coming of the Holy Spirit. They also pray for the shout of *Jara* and *Warika'a from* the person it dwelled. The process of praying for the shout of the spirit was called *Ţibäsima*. The process of *Ţibäsima* had been undertaken after *Bullo* was prepared and served. Unless they did this, the Hadiya believed that the person who was possessed with *Warika'a* may not make a loud shout. *Warika'a* and *Jara* are 'good spirits' that were said to have chased the evil ones from the person possessed. It was after the expansion of Protestant religion that all

[9] Informants: Womiso Tone, Shamebo Dagalo and Petros Alango.
[10] Informants: Anamo Dune and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

spirits of the *Fändänano* were considered evil. Not only were the spirits, the religion by itself considered as evil.[11]

Fändänano fulfils all the criteria that the so-called modern religions have. So, it is not belief or practice, rather it is religion. It has religious leaders like *Hiragano* and *Anjancho*. *Hiragano* have the power to forecast what will happen in the future. They have no spirits, but 'they know' what the Hadiya society would face in their future. *Anjancho* has also the power to forecast the future, but they have spirits which are believed to be good and use them for prediction. In Shashogo, according to informants, there was *Anjancho* named Bukulo who had the power of forecasting events that would happen 80 years ahead of him.[12]

As indicated above, Protestants are harsher than other religions in their approaches towards the *Fändänano* practices. When they came to the Hadiya land for the 1st time in 1927, Protestants preferred to settle in the countryside than towns.[13] This was because of their belief that they were not interested to concentrate on the area where Orthodox Christianity was deep-rooted. At the time, Hossana town was dominated by Christian settlers who came mainly from the north where Orthodox Christianity was the dominant one. The people in the countryside of Hadiya after the incorporation were theoretically Orthodox but in practice they were mixed (both *Fändänano* and Orthodox Christianity).[14]

This was great opportunity for Protestant missionaries to expand easily their religion in Hadiya land. The gaps which were created by the Orthodox Christians were effectively exploited by the foreign missionaries. In addition to this, Protestants used local language as a way to preach the

[11] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Tamirat Worako and Anshiso Awilo.

[12] Informants: Malasa Jinebo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Wändïmu Mänsido and Ayala Tumsido.

[13] Lambie, A. Thomas, "Pioneering in Abyssinia," From Missionary Review of the World, New York, Vol.4, No.10, 1922

[14]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lambor and Aboche Takiso.

Hadiya people. The foreign missionaries learned the Hadiya language from Hadiya boys like Shigute Dada and Sabiro Wasoro. The Orthodox priests tended to communicate with the local people in Amharic language which was the then time strange for the later. They were not ready to learn the Hadiya language and preach the autochthonous population using it. This was considered as great chance for foreign missionaries to expand their religion in the heart land of Hadiya. The other means that Protestants used to convert the indigenous religious followers in Hadiya were employing medical and educational services. As per the demands of *Ras* Teferi Mekonen and other progressive minded individuals, the foreign missionaries brought huge fund from the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) and opened a number of medical and educational centers in Hadiya and others parts of the country. Depending on such basic social services, they preached their religion and converted the majority of the *Fändänano* followers to Protestantism.[15]

The Protestant missionaries converted indigenous religious followers in a mass level. They translated some chapters of the Bible to Hadiya language and thought it to the local people. They strengthened them to stand by themselves. They duplicated the Bible and disseminated to every members of the new religion. By doing so, they produced indigenous preachers and even during the Italian occupation, such local evangelists were effective in converting large number of people from *Fändänano* to Protestantism. One of the early converts to Protestantism was *Aba* Gole Nunamo. He was famous *Fändänano* leader but Protestants brought this ferocious person to their fold. They used every possible means to take him out of traditional religion. Then *Aba* Gole

[15] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, and Firde T/Giorgis.

began to preach the Gospel for the other *Fändänano* followers and became effective in converting many of them to Protestantism.[16]

Foreign missionaries were against every practices of *Fändänano* religion. Even the custom of drinking *Borde* was undermined by the missionaries.[17] They cursed *Jara* and *Idota* (the grand protective spirits of the *Fändänano* religion) as evil. They tended to associate them with the diviner wizard *(kirancho*). Both Protestants and *Fändänano* consider *Habusa* and *Setana* as evil spirits which are believed to have damaged an individual by temporary attack or semi-permanent possession. The *Fändänano* followers believed that, *Anjancho* had the power to chase *Setana* and *Habusa* from an individual who was possessed by such spirits. Among Protestants, the mandate of chasing such evil spirits is given to evangelists and strong adherents of the religion. The *Anjancho* (the priest of *Fändänano* religion) had the power of chasing the *Habusa* using special sacrifices to the spirit that possessed the individual. The methods that the *Anjancho* used to chase the evil spirit are totally neglected by the Protestant Christians.[18]

The adherents of *Fändänano* pray in the morning and evening whereas Protestant believers pray at any time but mostly in the morning, mid-day and evening and before every meal. The *Fändänano* followers pray by spitting their saliva to their left and right side of their house, especially in the morning. This custom was highly damaged by the Protestants whom they pray by clothing their eyes in a loud voice or anti-phonal way.[19]

Brown and red snakes are venerated by the adherents of *Fändänano* religion. These snakes are considered as the horse of the good spirits whereas the black one is considered as the one that

[16] Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Makebo Lagore and Tamam Hassan.
[17] Grenstedt, Steffan, p. 16
[18] Informants: Abatkun Lamboro, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Ermolo Badulo and Wärkïnäsh Abame.
[19]Informant: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.

carries evil ones. However, Protestants do not accept snakes as good. They consider snakes of any kind as evil. Therefore, they highly discouraged the practice of snake veneration and such practices have disappeared since recent times.[20]

A worthwhile mentioning issue here is that both *Fändänano* religious followers and Protestants called their God as *Wa'a.* The relationship between *Wa'a* and *Fändänano,* and *Wa'a* and Protestantism are personal. This is to say that *Wa'a* is generally known to be one. The Hadiya indigenous religious followers used to call their god as *e-wa'a (*my god*), eyan Wa'a* (my father's god) and *ni wa'a* (our god). Hadiya Protestants also say the same when they bless or curse an individual. It is my argument that such ideas are originally belongs to the *Fändänano* but at a later times it was adopted by the Hadiya Protestants. Even the term *Wa'a* was initially used by the Hadiya *Fändänano,* but imitated by Protestants at a later time.[21]

Nowadays, the major part of the population of Sorro, Misha, Badäwacho and Lemo *Wärädas* of Hadiya zone are followers of Protestant religion. Islam dominates the Shashogo people. Considerable numbers of Islamic religious followers are found in Lemo and Badäwacho areas. It is mentioned above that Orthodox Christianity was introduced to the Hadiya land side by side with the territorial expansion of Menelik II, but their followers today are in minority in all *Wärädas* of the Hadiya Zone.[22]

As a result of the activities of Orthodox and Protestant Christianity and also Islam, today it is difficult to find the *Fändänano* religious followers in Hadiya. But we find *Fändänano* practices

[20]Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Zawde Shomoro, Lätebo Handebo and Haji Umar Abasimbo.
[21] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Taräkägn Jifar.
[22] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.

in a mixed form mainly among the Orthodox Christian followers and the adherents of other religions.[23]

7.2. **The Quest for Equality and Justice.**

As indicated in the previous chapters, Menilek's rule was said to have laid a foundation for modern administration in Ethiopia. He established different ministerial councils in 1907. To minimize peoples' problem especially in the areas of resolving disputes, Menilek organized the country into 6 regions. For each region he established two supreme courts and three secretariats. The basic document of the court was the *Fitha Nägäst*. Many times, the *Fitha Negast* was said to have brought to the court for serious cases, not for every simple violation of the customary laws. Ray writes, "… For more serious offenses there is a sort of system of law courts presided over by judges, at the head of whom is the *Afa Nigus* and governed by elaborate code of law known as the *Fitha Nägäst.* In the provinces cases of crimes are judged according to their importance by the local chief, by judges or by *Ras* of the province. They have no power to impose the death penalty, this being the prerogatives of the sovereign and men accused of murder are sent up to Addis to be tried."[24]

Following the withdrawal of Italians from Ethiopian soil, the *Mislänes* and Deputy *Mislänes* were given the power to lead the court cases in every locality in Hadiya. They became judges in the areas where they were assigned to rule.[25] In most cases, during feudal Ethiopia, the *Awraja* or *Wäräda* judges or the *Mislänes* were seen disordering the verdict by taking bribes from defendants or accusers. They tend to violate the court procedures and had done virulent works against the Hadiya and other ethnic groups. Many times the court could not work in formal

[23]Informants: G/Michael Wachämo and Alamitu Manedo.
[24] Ray, *The Real Abyssinia*, Charles Fernand, p. 130.
[25] A letter written from the palace to the Ministry of Pen dated *Miyaziya* 20, 1935 E.C. No. 2267/12.

ways and said to have 'served' the people primitively. "… Administratively, justice in the western sense of a judicial system does not exist."[26]

Sometimes, in places where a murder was undertaken or theft was committed, the *Nach Labash* were said to have gathered forcibly the whole village on empty plain and forced them to stay day and night until the murderer or the thief was discovered.[27] Concerning this, Arnold W. Hodson, an eye witness traveler who made a journey from Addis Abäba to Kenya in 1916, states:

> *Passing through Kämbata, I noticed one day hundreds of people enclosed in a high stockade with Abyssinians soldiers on guard all round it. Naturally, I was interested and made enquiries. A murder, it appeared, had been committed in the district, and the Abyssinian officials could not discover the criminal. In such cases they round up the whole population of the district and shut them inside a stockade. They give them plenty of food and water, but keep them imprisoned day and night. Under these conditions it is not long before the murderer is discovered. Indeed the method is said to be almost infallible. Kämbata was then under Däjjazmach Waldagabriel. The inhabitants speak a language of their own, one of the non-semiticised dialects of Cushitic origin.* [28]

Prior to or even after the period of Italian occupation, justice had gone usually to those groups who held power. With regard to this, the government figures and the northern settlers had the upper hand over the autochthonous population. This is to mean that the court system was usually in favor of the *Mälkägna*, the *Näfṭägna* and the settlers in Hadiya. The time when a *Gäbbar* refused to accomplish the orders of his suzerain, the later appeared to take whatever measures he could against the *Gäbbars*. Given the fact that the numbers of judges were small and their minds were filled with injustices, the Hadiya people who were imprisoned without justice were very high.[29] Death penalty, as indicated above, was the exclusive responsibility of the Emperor. But, because of the long distance from Addis Abäba, the *Awraja* administrators

[26] Ray, p. 127.
[27] Braukamper, p. 301.
[28] Arnold W. Hodson, *Seven Years in Abysinia*, p. 26.
[29] A letter written from *Däjjazmach* Mamo Seyoum to Ministry of justice dated 30/3/67 E.C. No. 0/1694/15137.

were seen taking death penalty on individuals who committed serious crimes. "… The emperor reserved the right to impose the death penalty, but particularly as the capital city was far away and the infrastructure and the means of communication were poorly developed, the provincial governors had a certain degree of latitude."[30] Regarding injustices during feudal Hadiya, informants recount:

> **ነፍጠኛዉ ወይም መልከኛዉ ስራ ወይም ገብር ያለዉን አልገብርም ካለ መጀመሪያ ወስዶ ያስረዋል። አሁንም እምቢ ካለ ለሁለተኛ ጊዜ ወስዶ ያስረዋል። ለሶስተኛ ጊዜ እምቢ ካለ ከመሬቱ ያፈናቅለዋል። ይግባኝ የሚልበት የለም። ፍርድ ቤት ለመልከኛዉ የሚወግን ነበር። ገባሩ ወይም ጭሰኛዉ ከመልከኛዉ ጋር ካልተግባባ ፍርድ ቤቱ በቀጥታ ለመልከኛዉ ነበር የሚፈርደዉ።**[31]

Its translation reads:

> *When a Gäbbar refused to pay whatever tributes that the Näfṭägna or Mälkägna required, the first measure that would be taken against the former was imprisonment. If the Gäbbar refused to pay the required tribute for the second time, another imprisonment would be followed against him. During the third time refusal, he would be evicted from his land. There were no places to air his complains. The court was usually in favor of the ruling class. In the time of disagreement between the two social classes, justice usually directed to the side of the rulers than the ruled.*

Since the incorporation, the *Leba Shay* system had been employed by traditional court officials in Hadiya. It was used there not to give justice for the people, but to violate the basic rights of the *Gäbbars*. Its implementation was different in Hadiya than the north. For long period of times in the north, *Leba Shay* had served as traditional justice system to find the criminal from the society. It was a system in which a young boy, mostly slave, was selected and given a kind of grain flour (known as *Atafares* in Amharic) mixed with water. The grain is black in color

[30] Braukamper, p. 301.
[31] Informant: Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

and very small in size. The *Atafaris* has the power of intoxicating a person selected for this purpose.[32]

Leba Shay was the process of finding a 'thief' using drinks made from *Atafaris* flour. They did this in Hadiya by forcing a young slave to drink the mixed water. The drink was believed to have intoxicated the boy's mind and let him go wherever the driver wanted to go. Chaining his two hands with rope like a horse that pulls a cart, they look for a person who was believed to have 'stolen' the properties from an individual in the surrounding community. Mostly, it is said that the intoxicated boy was forced to go to the house where the driver (agents of landlords or the landlords themselves) who was driving the young boy wanted. The landlords tried to betray the people as if the boy is being driven by the drug, not by the ropes. Using the ropes, they used to give direction for the boy to go to a *Gäbbar* house who was better economically in comparison with the surrounding societies. This was done in the hope that they would confiscate grains or cattle that the Hadiya *Gäbbar* had.[33]

Following such cruel some deeds, the *Gäbbars* were able to organize themselves under *Dana* Fitebo (Lemo cultural leader). The later ordered all the bandits of Hadiya origin to gather at a place called 'Leba Shay' in Hossana.[34] The bandits made an oath not to go to the Hadiya house, but to return the confiscated properties of the *Gäbbars* from the houses of the landlords. They were said to have succeeded to return the confiscated properties. On their way, they took the private properties of the landlords and started to inflict damages on their families. Disabling to stop, the landlords approached *Dana* Fitebo so that the later would convince the Hadiya bandits

[32]Informants: Shimalis Abara, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Firde T/Giorgis.

[33] Informants: Firde T/Giorgis, Shifäraw Bifebo, Maskalo Forsido, Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

[34] Nowadays, *Leba Shay* is one of the quarters in Hossana town. It was named after the Hadiya bandits were gathered to revenge the landlords' virulent actions against the autochthonous *Gäbbars*.

to stop the plunder. On his side, *Dana* Fitebo asked them to stop confiscating the Hadiya *Gäbbars* using the *Leba Shay* system. Agreement reached between the two and as a result, confiscation and counter confiscation came to the stand still. The name of the place in Hossana town where the consecutive meetings had undertaken regarding the *Leba Shay* was remained 'Leba Shay' till now. This was an event in which the Hadiya were able to stop plundering with counter plundering.[35]

After the 1950s, there appeared lawyers from among the Hadiya people who started to stand on behalf of their oppressed kinsmen. At that time, most of the lawyers were traditional *Danas* and other dignitaries who had not attended modern education. The Hadiya traditional lawyers started to won the *Näfţägna* and *Mälkägna* whose words were invincible in the pre-Italian period. *Dagna* Mänsido was one of the successful traditional lawyers who were able to safeguard the interests of the Hadiya *Gäbbars* and tenants. *Dagna* Mänsido's effort could be taken as a good instance in the process of the Hadiya struggle against the oppressions of the 'feudo-military' rule. Depending on his experiences and wise approaches, *Dagna* Mänsido used to score frequent victories over the landlords. One of his strength was seen in Sorro Hadiya, particularly at Shano and Zogolo. In these areas, while the *Mälkägnas* and *Näfţägnas* made an attempt to convert the local people from *Gïmït* to *Gasha* land, the representatives of the later came to *Dagna* Mänsido to ask him stand on their side. As per their request, Mänsido accused the *Mälkägnas* and *Näfţägnas* and brought them to the court. After the elapse of 6 months, the former won the later and as a result, the Hadiya who were forced to convert to *Gasha* land were able to resume their former status. In return, the Hadiya gave him land in Sorro as reward. He also did the same in Badäwacho in which the oppressed people's rights were respected with his

[35] Informant: Shimalis Abara, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Firde T/Giorgis and Asäfa Bunte.

strong efforts.[36] From this, one can understand that, the government in the newly incorporated areas began to make some sort of modifications in the areas of justice since the 1950s.

Dagna Gogo was the other traditional lawyer who had worked to safeguard the interests of the oppressed Hadiya *Gäbbar* and tenant population. In the 1960s, however, the government passed declaration for those who had no modern education to stop their attorney work. In accordance with the declaration, the Kämbata *Awraja* administration began practical work to stop those who had no the skill of writing their names from giving the attorney service. The declaration could not stop *Dagna* Gogo from serving the Hadiya people. One day, according to the eye witness accounts, his friend talked to him, "**ጎጎ ስምህን መጻፍ ስለማትችል ከዚህ በኋላ ጠበቃ መሆን አትችልም።**" This is translated as, "Gogo, since you don't have the skill to write your name, you have to stop your attorney works." Then Gogo responded, "**የኔ ስም እኮ ሲጻፍ ከዘራ ላይ ሚስማር እንደመምታት ማለት ነዉ። ስለዚህ በጣም ቀላል ነዉ። ከዘራ ላይ ሚስማር መምታት አቅቶኝ እንዴት ጥብቅናዬን አቆማለዉ።**"[37] This is translated as, "Writing my name is like attaching nail on bended wood. So, it is easy to write my name. How can I stop my work as a result of my failure to do such easy tasks?"

Gogo could not stop his attorney service because of his incapability to read and write. Sometimes, in the court debates, his counter parts were seen reading articles and as a result, he would lose the court debate. His opposites were using such strategy largely because they knew that Gogo had no reading and writing skills. But the wise Gogo would not give up and continued his debates by saying, "**በአንቀጽ ብዛት የአባት ሀገር አይወሰድም። እኔ የምናገረዉ**

[36] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Gabramichael Wachämo.
[37] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Aster Ertiro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

እውነት ነው።"[38] Its translation reads, "No one can confiscate our fathers' land because of the existence of numerous articles. I am talking the truth." He was said to have been wise and bold enough to do whatever he believed to be true. In many of his appearances in the court, Gogo was seen standing on behalf of Hadiya tenants against the landlords.

In addition to *Dagna* Mansido and Gogo, there were other Hadiya individuals who had served the Hadiya oppressed tenants and other sects of the society with their traditional attorney skill. Abäba Bushero, Ratabo Amale, Wandafrash and Asäfa Gabramariam were such Hadiya traditional lawyers who had worked to safeguard the rights of their oppressed people. It is said that the Hadiya traditional lawyers did not eat and drink in Hossana hotels. This was because of the fear of poisoning against them. The *Näfţägna* and *Mälkägna* had the tradition of poisoning the Hadiya attorney workers in the hotels in Hossana. They did this on those traditional lawyers who were working against their interests. Most of the time, they used hotel servants for such evil act. They gave money for hotel servants as a bribe to kill their counter parts.[39]

Slavery was the other socio-cultural problem that had been practiced in Ethiopia in general and Hadiya in particular. They were the highly oppressed groups in Hadiya. In Hadiya as else where in the country, the issue of slavery was associated with honor and indicates the status of a person. A person who had 100 slaves would be given high respect than an individual who owned 10 slaves. The social and economic etiquette was expressed by the number of slaves that a person had.[40]

[38]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte and Aboche Takiso.
[39] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Firde Takla Giorgis, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Daniel Ersumo.
[40] Informants: Firde Takla Giorgis and Asäfa Bunte.

The issue of slavery and the slave trade continued unabated until the fourth decade of the 20th century. There were attempts by Emperor Menilek to restrict slave trade in the country. But he could not take strong measures against it.[41] Though the slave trade had widely been practiced in the south, the northerners could not make an attempt to sell the Hadiya people as slaves. Similarity in facial appearances and conversion to Christianity were said to have been major reasons for the Hadiya to escape from such evil oppressions.[42] During the medieval period till the 17th century, the Hadiya had strong tradition of slave trade and slavery, but in the era of disintegration, they began to lose such old aged tradition. After the incorporation, the Hadiya resumed their traditional practice of slave trade. Since the 1920s, the Hadiya, particularly the Badäwacho, were said to have started slave raid from the neighboring Wolayta. During the Italians rule, the issue of slavery and the slave trade was given due consideration by the colonial government. Braukamper says, "The colonial rulers emphatically fought against slavery and the slave trade with the drastic punishment of death by hanging."[43] Mainly because of strong stand against slavery and the slave trade, kidnapping and trade in humans brought to an end during their rule. Slaves were given land by the Italians, but this could not be stayed for long. After the withdrawals of the Italians, the Hadiya resumed their trade in human, and kidnapping became the norm of the time. This was true particularly in the times of the short lived inter-ethnic conflict among the south-central Ethiopian peoples (1941-1943).[44]

In Hadiya, sexual relationship between the *Walaba* (*Chäwa* in Amharic or free born man or woman) and slaves was forbidden. But such intercourse occurred frequently between male who

[41] Braukamper, p. 303; Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Dagalo Tale and Womiso Forsido.

[42] Braukamper, p. 303; Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Lämädo Dutiso, Tämäsgän Tagasa and Bäkälä Chakiso.

[43] Braukamper, p. 348; ብርሀንና ሰላም፣ ሶስተኛ አመት፣ ቁጥር 7፣ ስለ ባሪ ነግር በኢትዮጵያ፣ ሀሙስ የካቲት 10 ቀን 1919 ዓ.ም.፣ ገጽ 55.

[44] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Dagalo Tale and Womiso Forsido.

was ‘born free’ and female slaves. In Hadiya, sexual intercourse between male slave and free born female would lead to death penalty. Regarding this, Braukamper says, “when the mother was a free person and the father not, the offspring had a slave status, whereas with a relationship the other way around, he or she was formally considered free, but in a society mindful of an inferior origin, he or she was treated with a certain amount of disrespect.”[45]

As mentioned above, Emperor Menilek tried to end slavery from his newly emerged empire.[46] The Emperor also made an attempt to bring equality among the different jobs and to end occupational marginalization. He made proclamations that aimed to protect the families of different working peoples in the country. One of Menilek’s proclamations reads, “**እስካሁን ማንም የእጅ ስራ አዋቂ የነበረ ሰዉ በዉርደት ስም ይጠራ ነበር። ስለዚህም ማንም ሰዉ ለመማርና ለመሰልጠን የሚደክም አልነበረም**…”[47] This is translated as, “Till now, the society was calling the hand craft workers with derogatory names, and so there was no single person to learn and train such profession. …”

Moreover, he says:

> **ሰራተኛን በስራዉ የምትሰድብ ተወኝ። ከዚህ ቀድሞ ብረት ቢሰራ ጠይብ ሸማ ቢሰራ ሸማኔ ቢጽፍ ጠንቋይ ቤተክርስቲያን ቢያገለግል ደብተራ አርሶ ነጩን ከጥቁር አምርቶ የሚያገባዉን አራሽ ከዘዉድ ይበልጣል የሚባለዉን ገበሬ እያላችሁ ነጋዴን ነግዶ ወርቁን ግምጃዉን ይዞ ቢገባ አንተ ነጋዴ ገጣባ አጣቢ እያላችሁ በየስራዉ ሁሉ ትሰድባላችሁ። ልጁ ምናምን ስራ የማያዉቀዉ ሰነፉ ብልሁን እየተሳደበ አስቸገረ። ቀድሞም ይህ ሁሉ ፍጥረት የተገኘዉ ከአዳምና ከሄዋን ነዉ እንጂ ሌላ ሁለተኛ ፍጥረት የለም። ይህ ሁሉ ካለመማር የተነሳ ነዉ። … በወዲያ ሀገር ግን በዉሮፓ ሁሉ አዲስ ስራ አዉጥቶ መድፍ ነፍጥ ባቡር ቢሰራ ሌላዉንም እግዚአብሄር የገለጠለትን ስራ ሁሉ ቢሰራ መሀንዲስ እየተባለ እየተመሰገነ ሰራተኛዉም ብዙ ይጨመርበታል፣ እንጂ በስራዉ አይሰደብበትም። እናንተ ግን እንዲህ እየተሳደባችሁ ማረሻ የሚያሾል አሳጥታችሁ ሀገሬን ባዶ ልታደርጉትና ልታጠፉት ነዉ። እንግዲህ**

[45] Braukamper, p. 327.
[46] Mahtama Selassie, p. 70.
[47] ብላቴን ጌታ ማህተመ ስላሴ፣ ዝክረ ነገር፣ ገጽ 19.

ግን እንዲህ ብሎ የተሳደበ እኔን የሰደበ ነዉ እንጂ ሌላዉን መስደብ አይደለም። ዳግመኛ ግን ሲሳደብ የተገኘ ሰዉ መቀጫዉን አንድ አንድ አመት ይታሰራል፣ ሹማምነትም አስረህ አመት ለማስቀመጥ የሚቸግርህ የሆነ እንደሆነ አስረህ ወዲህ ስደድልኝ።[48]

Its rough translation reads:

I order to stop those people who insult workers because of their work. My people are giving pejorative names like Tayib for smiths, Shamane for linen cloth designers, Tankuay for those who writes, Dabtara for those who serve the church, Gäbare for those who till land, and Gataba Atabi for those who engaged in trade activities. Ignorants whose sons and daughters know nothing were insulting the wise. The source of humanity was Adam and Eve, and therefore, there was no second creation. These all messes were the results of lack of education. In Europe, however, individuals who engaged in preparing mortar, gun, train and the like have given honorable name, Mahandis, and more people joined the field. No one insult them. But you, my people, are doing virulent works against those wise people who were engaged in such engineering works. Starting from this time onwards, individuals who insult smiths are insulting me. One year imprisonment is decided to be implemented for those individuals who insult wise people. Those rulers who were unable to imprison the criminal for a year could send them to me in Addis Abäba.

The issue of slavery was raised internationally when Ethiopia asked to join the League of Nations.[49] The League posed question to Ethiopia asking the issue of slavery. Ethiopia's response indicated her readiness to eliminate both slavery and the slave trade from the country.[50] But the issue of territorial integrity and Ethiopia's capability to eliminate it from all parts of the country was raised. Regarding this, Elizabeth MacCALLUM says:

Drawing his own conclusions (Haila Selassie speech at Geneva) he therefore took the initiative himself, asking for Ethiopia's admission to the League as a free and independent state on terms of equality with other nations. France supported the application warmly … When the assembly vote was taken it was found to be unanimously in favor of Ethiopia's admission. Ethiopia was required, however, to make a special declaration guarantying fulfillment of international agreements with respect to the suppression of slavery and control of traffic in arms. … Ethiopia was prepared, however, to carry out all obligations incumbent on League members. Thus, there were four issues with respect to which some uncertainty was expressed at the time of Ethiopia's admission

[48] **ማህተመ ስላሴ፣ ዝክረ ነገር፣ ገጽ** 421-422.

[49] Bahru Zawde, *Ya Ethiopia …,* p. 101.

[50] Nagarit Gazeta, *Bahig Fit Barinatina Lelochim Andand Nagaroch Bafitsum Indikaru Yatadaragubat,* Vol. 1, No. 6, 1942, p. 41.

to the League. Was the central government actually in control of the whole country? Could slaves be suppressed? Would the arms traffic be properly controlled?[51]

According to Elizabeth MacCALLUM, slavery issue in Ethiopia involves three distinct problems: slave raiding, private slave holding and the whole sale subjugation of conquered populations. The author tends to consider the whole southern populations (except the *Balabats* and other *Näfṭägna* collaborators) as slaves of the landlords who were mostly came from the north. "… In various literary works the *Näfṭägna-Gäbbar* System is compared to serfdom and slavery."[52]

The Haila Selassie government made a declaration to outlaw slavery and the slave trade in Ethiopia in 1942.[53] The declaration made decisions to punish those who participated in slave trade. The punishment ranged from 40 times flogging to death penalty.[54] Though the government was determined to eliminate slave trade, it was seen demanding time to eliminate the second problem, which was slavery. The Haila Selassie administration could not also give due consideration for the third case (i.e., considering the whole southern population as slaves). Let alone slavery, the emperor could not eliminate slave raid and slave trade, albeit the government declared the practice to be punishable by death. While the central government showed strong commitment to eliminate slave raids and trade, the provincial and *Awraja* rulers were reluctant to cooperate and they themselves were immersed in such virulent activities. MacCALLUM rightly

[51] Elizabeth P. MacCALLUM, *Rivalries in Ethiopia*, pp. 43-44.
[52] Gedion, p. 11.
[53] Nagarit Gazeta, "Bahig Fit Barinatina Lelochim Andand Nagaroch Bafitsum Indikaru Yatadaragubat," Vol. 1, No. 6, 1942, p. 41; ላጲሶ፣ የገባር ስርአትና … ገጽ 132.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

states, "… Slave holding is an accepted feature of Ethiopia's social system. To outlaw the practice immediately would be to invite revolution."[55]

In Hadiya, slaves were made to live with the owners. They were allowed to marry woman slaves from the same or other houses of the landlords. The owner let his slaves to construct their own houses on his land and live in marriage. My key informant says:

> **በሀይለስላሴ ዘመነ መንግስት የሶሮ ባላባት ከሆኑት ዉስጥ አንዱ እንድርያስ ኤርሱሞ ነበሩ። እሳቸዉ ቤት ዙሪያዉን ባሮቻቸዉ ቤት ሰርተዉ፣ አግብተዉ፣ ልጆች ወልደዉ ሲኖሩ እናይ ነበር። ከዛ እየተነሱ ነዉ ባሮቻቸዉ ጌቶቻቸዉን የሚያገለግሉት። የባሮች ልጆች ለአቅመ አዳም ወይም ሄዋን ሲደርሱ እሳቸዉ ነበሩ የሚድሩት። የሚድሩት ግን ባሪያን ከባሪያ ጋር ብቻ ነበር።**[56]

This is roughly translated as:

> *During the time of Haila Selassie I, one of the Sorro Balabats was named Endiriyas Ersumo. We had been watching his slaves constructing their respective houses around him. They were also allowed to live in marriage and have children. Slaves were serving him coming from their houses. The responsibility of giving one slave to the other in marriage was given to the Balabat. Slaves were allowed to marry only slaves, not the so called Wallaba ('pure race').*

In this case, the houses, the land and the slaves and their children were the personal properties of the landlord. The landlords had the right to give the daughters of their slaves to others in marriage. This is to mean that the landlord owned everything that his slaves had. Slaves could not marry from outside of their social groups. The owners in Hadiya had the rights to sell their

[55] Elizabeth P. MacCALLUM, pp. 46-48.
[56] Informant: Firde T/Giorgis.

slaves to others in the society or outside of their areas as far as Jimma. While they were taking to markets, the owners used to cut the hamstring of their slaves so that the later could not escape.[57]

During the banquets in Hadiya, slaves were expected to carry the overall meat of oxen on their shoulders and stand in front of the participants of the festival. Other slaves were made to carry umbrella over the heads of their masters. In the time when eating and drinking started, everybody went to the slaves to take their meals. Slaves had to carry the meat until the whole banquet was served. The time the banquet came to an end, slaves were allowed to take the remains of the meat to their homes. Mostly they took the leftovers, because the important ones were eaten up by the crowed. Before taking the leftovers, they were made to eat the banquet. Regarding the offering and preparation of meal, my informants say:

> **ጌቶች ምግብ የሚበሉት በመሶብ ነዉ። በመሶቡ ላይ እንጀራ ተደራርቦ ይቀርብላቸዋል። ከስሩ የሚነጠፈዉ እንጀራ ጋሪ ይባላል። የሚሰራዉም በቆላ አከባቢ ከማሽላ ሲሆን በደጋዉ አከባቢ ደግሞ ከገብስ ነዉ። ከስር የሚነጠፈዉ ጋሪ የሚባለዉ እንጀራ እስከ ሶስት ይሆናል። በጋሪዉ ላይ ግን ከጤፍ የተሰራ እንጀራ እስከ አስር ድረስ ተደራርቦ ይጨመርበታል። ከዛ በርካታ ወጥ በእንጀራዉ ላይ ይደረጋል። የወጡ እርጥበት እስከ ስር እስኪደርስ ድረስ ወጥ በብዛት ይደረጋል። ጌቶች ብዙዉን ግዜ እስከ ጋሪዉ ድረስ አይበሉም። ከስር በቀረዉ ጋሪዉ ላይ ወይም ከጌቶች በተረፈዉ ምግብ ላይ እንጀራ በመጨመርና በጥራት አነስ ያለ ወጥ በማድረግ ለባሮች በመጨረሻዋ ሰአት እንዲበሉ ይሰጣቸዋል። ብዙ ጊዜ ባሮች ከላይ የተጨመረዉን ወጥና እንጀራ በመተዉ የስረኛዉን ጋሪ እየተሻሙ ይበላሉ። ምክንያቱም ከስር በቀረዉ ጋሪ እንጀራ ላይ ለጌቶች የተጨመረዉ ወጥ ስለሚቀርና ስለሚጣፍጥ ነዉ።**[58]

Its translation reads:

> *Lords had the trend of having food on the culturally made dishes. They put many Enjära (flat bread made from ţeff) on the dish. At the bottom of the dish, especial kinds of Enjäras (made from sorghum in Ḳola area and barley in Däga areas) were put. It was locally named as Gari. It was on the top of Gari that Enjäras made from ţeff were added. Their numbers were ten and above. Then, servants used to add much wat (stew)*

[57]Informants: Warke Abäbä, Markos Sumoro and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[58] Informant: Firde T/Giorgis

on Enjäras. The stew was so much that it could reach to Gari. Most of the time, lords used to have the upper Enjäras (ṭeff ones) and did not reach the Gari. After the lords finished eating and drinking, servants added stew and Enjära on the leftover or Gari and gave it to the slaves. The stew which was added to the slaves was lower in quality and not delicious and as a result, slaves rushed to eat the Gari, not the added ones. This was because of the fact that they could find the leftover of the stew which was added to the lord.

During banquet in Hadiya there were ceremonial orders by which people were served. The first to be served were priests and lords in the upper echelons of power and followed by the lower ones. The next would be *Gäbbars* and tenants. The last to be served were slaves. In the time when the landlord gave his daughter in marriage, he used to give her one of his slaves as gift in addition to other materials.[59]

There were layers of despise among the marginalized societies in Hadiya. The overall Hadiya people were despised by the northerners. In their turn, those individuals from the autochthonous population who took some position in the administration tended to despise the *Gäbbars* and Tenants. The *Gäbbars* and tenants on their part appeared to marginalize slaves, tanners, clay workers and smiths. From among these outcaste groups, smiths took the upper status over the rest three and followed by slaves who consider themselves superior than clay workers and tanners. In Hadiya, clay workers, unlike the other parts of the country, put at the bottom of the social pyramid. This was largely because clay workers were believed to have eaten fleshes of dead animals in Hadiya. Marriage between the *Gabbars* (or tenants) and the outcaste groups was forbidden. Most of the time, the marginalized people were not allowed to live in Hossana. They used to transport their products to Hossana using donkeys on the days of the market. Depending on Goody Model, Donald Donham says that low caste artisans, with whom Abyssinians neither ate nor intermarried, were prohibited from owning land at all. He also says neither did slaves

[59]Informants: Wabala Wändïmu, Warke Abäbä, Markos Sumoro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

own land, but a number of generations they were often able to integrate themselves in to the common peasantry.[60]

After the Italians withdrawal, there were declarations that indicated the underminig trend of the artisans work by the government. The declarations on artisans were made in 1949. It exempted them from tax payment and was made to undermine the works of the artisans as useless for the nation. The government had no plan to advance and encourage the artisan works.[61]

In Hadiya, clay workers were not allowed to enter the houses of the *Gäbbars* or people above them. In the time of feasts, they were made to sit outside the house and were not allowed to create any social contact with the mainstreaming societies. Even they could not eat food with dishes and drink with cups as the other people did in the festivals. The dominating societies gave them food with the leaves of *Ensat* plant and made them drink *Borde* with the same plant leaves.[62] Informants say:

> **በድግስ ጊዜ የሸክላ ሰራተኞች ሲመጡ ምግብ የሚሰጣቸዉ በቅጠል ነዉ። ምግብ ሰጪዎች ባሮች ናቸዉ። በቅጠል የሚሰጥበት ምክንያት በምግብ እቃዎች እንዲበሉ ከተደረጉ እቃዉ ይጣላል እንጂ ማንም በዛ እቃ ዳግም አይመገብም የሚል ሀሳብ ስላለ ነዉ። አስገራሚዉ ነገር እራሳቸዉን ጨዋ ነን የሚሉ ሰዋች በድግስም ሆነ በሌላ ግዜ ምግብ የሚበሉት አብዛኛዉን ግዜ የሸክላ ሰራተኞች በሰሩት ሸክላዎች ነዉ። የሸክላ ሰራተኞች በሰሩት ሸክላ ምግብ እየበሉ በሌላ በኩል ደግም እነሱ የበሉበትን እቃ ይጥላሉ። ዉሀ ወይም ቦርዴ እንዲጠጡ የሚደረጉትም በቅጠል ነዉ። ቅጠል አሹሎ አንዱ ባሪያ አፋቸዉ ላይ ሲያደርግ ሌላኛዉ ደግሞ ዉሀዉን ወይም ቦርዴዉን ቅጠሉ ላይ ሲጨምር የተጨመረዉ ዉሀ እየተንሸራተተ ወደ አፋቸዉ ይገባል።**[63]

Its rough translation reads:

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[60]Donald Donham, p. 5.

[61]ላጲሶ፣ <u>የገባር ስርአትና</u> … ገጽ 230-231.

[62] Informants: Shifarw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Asäfa Bunte.

[63] Informant: Firde T/Giorgis.

During the festivals, clay workers were served with leaves of plants. The mainstreaming societies never give them food with materials made from clay or other kinds of dishes. They give them food with leaves of plants because no one eat with the materials that the clay workers are served. They appeared to throw the dishes which are touched by them to the garbage. Paradoxically, however, it was with clay dishes, which was made by clay workers, that the so called 'pure races' eat foods. They cook and eat foods with materials prepared by the so called 'uncleaned races', but they prohibit the latter to eat on such materials. They let the clay workers drink Borde (locally prepared drink) or water with leaves of plants too. Those who give food for the clay workers were slaves. One of the slaves pointed out the leaves to the mouth of the clay workers and the other slave managed to add the Borde or water on it. In this way, the Borde or the water flow easily to the mouths of the clay worker. Such outcasts are named locally as 'Fuga' and they were not allowed to enter the houses of the mainstreaming societies.

At that time, in the homes of the landlords, there were very limited kinds of household utensils. There were materials made from tumbler, animal horns, and plastics. Apart from these, many of the land lords and other sections of the so called 'pure race' appeared to have used clay materials made by clay workers whom they despised.[64]

7.3. The Hadiya Migration.

Migration or movement of people or individuals from one place to another due to different factors is not a recent phenomenon; rather it is part and parcel of human history since time immemorial. Such movement could take place in temporary or permanent base. Russell King summarizes the major characteristics of migration as follows. Movement of migrants principally is to short distance areas, unlike they go to major industry and commercial capitals; the direction of most migrants also rural-urban migration; many towns grow intensively through the power of migration than by their own natural growth; and the increasing of urban, commercial, industry

[64]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Tamam Hussien, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Asäfa Bunte.

and road communication has a direct relation with migration. Each stream produces a counter stream; and the economic factor is the major causes of migration."[65]

As cited by Belay Zalaka, Lee classifies factors of migration into three. These are: push factor (related to the areas of origin), pull factors (related to the areas of destination), and personal factors. For him more than pull factors, the push factors are significant. "Migration is also the product of combined powers coming from both pull and push factors."[66] This is true for the labor migration from the Hadiya area to Wänji and Mätähara.

During the times of Emperor Haileselassie, the availability of cheap labor, fertile land and suitable rivers attracted the attention of European companies to Ethiopia. They came to Ethiopia expecting great profit from their investment.

During the Italian occupation period, an Italian enterprise named 'Societa Agricultura Indesterale di Ethiopia' (SAIDE) discovered Wänji plain and thought it for development. It left Wänji in 1940 following the defeat of Italians at the hands of the joint Anglo-Ethiopian forces. Following their withdrawal, the irrigation channels that they constructed became centers of malaria reproduction which affected the nearby Oromo pastoralists.

The Netherland based company named H.V.A arrived in Ethiopia in 1951 and conducted agricultural investigations in Wänji. They found that Wänji area was conducive for agricultural production since the place is rich in fertile soil, riverine water and plain land.

[65] Russell King, "Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and a Primer," Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Malmo University, 2012, p. 11.

[66] Belay Zeleke, "Push and Pull Factors of Rural-Urban Migration and its Implication on the Place of Origin:the Case of Ankesha Wereda Migrant Street Vendors and Daily Labourers in Addis Abäba," MA Thesis,Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Addis Abäba University, June 2011, p. 13.

My key informants say that H.V.A. Ethiopia confiscated the land previously held by Lazardis Company (my informants call it Saris) with the strong support of the Haile Selassie government. Prior to the arrival of H.V.A., Lazardis Company had been producing low amount of sugar that was reported to be red in color. The company stayed in Ethiopia from 1946 to 1951. It had used the sugar for the production of alcohol. It was established by Nicolas Lazardis. It was at the present place of Wänji hospital that the Lazardis Company established its factory and planted sugar cane around it.

Before the advent of the Lazardis Company to the area, the place was named as Caldaye. It is an Italian word which means 'fire room' or 'steam provider'. H.V.A., after expelling Lazardis Company from Wänji area, widened its land holding to 160 hectares. At the time, the major part of Wänji area was covered with thorny bushes and jungles which made the beginning of agriculture very hazardous.[67]

The inauguration of Mätähara sugar estate dates back to 1965, the period when the Dutch Company called H.V.A. had surveyed the area for sisal development. It was intended to produce raw material for fiber-based products. The fiber was used to produce sacks which were served as sugar storage material. However, the combined factors of both suitable soil and climatic condition for sugar cane cultivation which was fostered by high demand for sugar led the sugar cultivation primary over the sisal one. Thus, in July 1965 an agreement was signed between the

[67] Wänji Shäwa Plantation Sugar Estate Trade Union, "Wänjina Tigilu…," (Addis Abäba Graphic Printers, Tir 5, 1970 E.C.), p. 3.; Asäfa Mihiratu, "The Changing Landscape of the Wänji Plain," B.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, Haila Selassie I University, May 1964, pp. 32-33; Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Yohanes Chinkiso and Solomon Warku.

Ethiopian government and the Dutch company (H.V.A.) by which the later acquired an allowance of 11,000 hectares of land. Subsequently, sugar cane plantation was begun in 1966.[68]

The establishment of Mätähara and Wänji Sugar Factories led the Hadiya young people to leave their land and move there. The major factor that led the Hadiya to abandon their area was the then mal-administration of the 'feudal' Ethiopian government which was based on tenant-landlord relationships. As mentioned above, the post 1941 retro for the Hadiya people was very severe in the sense that the majority of them were reduced from *Gäbbar* to tenancy. The right of land ownership to the Hadiya was neglected and the local people were forced to search for new working conditions. The way tenants got land from the landlords in Hadiya was through lease system. It is already indicated that the lease was verbal, so peasants had no protection from the arbitrary eviction of the landlords. Such evictions and the absence of fair justice were the push factor for many Hadiya young people to seek for new jobs outside their home land. The then decision of the Hadiya youth was to leave their land and go to towns and plantation agricultural areas for work. In such critical times, the H.V.A. labor recruiters came to Hadiya and took many young boys to their newly established agricultural scheme in Wänji. The 1950s were the time in which the Hadiya people began to change the direction of migration to Wänji area.[69]

Those individuals, according to informants, who returned from Wänji to their home land were said to have inspired others. This was because the former returned home wearing new clothes and having some money which was rare to see in Hadiya area. It is known that the Hadiya tenants had no surplus production to take to the market and earn money so that they could buy clothes for themselves and their children. As mentioned in chapter five, they were also forbidden

[68] Mätähara Sugar Factory, "The Largest Sugar Industry in Ethiopia," Addis Abäba: the Head office of the Factory, September 2005, pp. 4-5.

[69] Informants: Täsäma Wordofa, Ambako Anito, Tamirat Sulamo and Abatikun Manedo.

to sell their produces until the *Mälkägna* or the *Misläne* checked it. Sometimes, 6 months would be elapsed until the representatives of the landlord came and see it. Those individuals who went to Wänji returned to Hadiya wearing new clothes. This can be considered as pull factor that led the Hadiya people to flee from their homeland and suffered from the labor exploitations and hostile environment in Wänji.[70]

The 1960s and 1970s disastrous situation in the capital, Addis Abäba, could not prevent the Hadiya from migrating to the large scale agricultural areas.[71] These were the times in which peasants' and students' uprisings exploded here and there in Ethiopia which brought the military wing to the top of the country's political power. The Hadiya people did not stop to go to Wänji and Mätähara because of the then difficult politico-economic situation in their home land. Speaking comparatively, the problematic situation that the Hadiya were facing in their home was greater than the dangerous situation in the plantation agricultural areas. The cruel some deeds of the landlords made the home condition in Hadiya sever than the bad situation that prevailed in the large scale plantation agricultural areas. Those individuals who migrated to such areas were able to buy the basic things for their family compared to those who remained in their homes. Till the early 1970s, there had not been permanent work in Wänji and Mätähara and so, the Hadiya youths appeared to have returned to their homeland having some money to buy basic things for their family.[72]

The 1970s were the years in which sever draught in the northern parts of the country had occurred. This had a spillover effect in the southern parts of the country. Following this, large

[70] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo and Francis Madoro.

[71] Tesfaye Aklilu and Asrat Ermolo, "An Investigation on the Historical Dynamics of Labor Migration from the Hadiya Area to Wanji and Matahara Sugar Estates, 1951-2012, A Research submitted to Social Sciences and Humanities Research Coordinating Office, Arbaminch University, 2017.

[72] Informants: Lopiso Haile, Kumilachawu Amanu, Abara Awano, and Guta Mulata

number of people from the north migrated to Hadiya and permanently settled in government owned 'vacant' areas. This increased population pressure on the already densely populated region. The scarcity of resources in Hadiya was highly exacerbated and as a result the Hadiya people's migration to Wänji and Mätähara was intensified. The new environment, as mentioned above, was hostile to the Hadiya who came mostly from the *Däga (*temperate) and *Wäinä Däga* (semi-tropical) areas.[73]

The 1974 political change did not make any alterations on the intensity of the migration of the Hadiya people. This was due to the fact that the socio-political and economic changes that were made in Hadiya land by the Därg were simultaneously undertaken in the large scale plantation agricultural areas. Some of the precarious situations that the Hadiya had faced in Wänji and Mätähara in the previous times were solved. This was largely because the company owners (the Netherlands) were forced to leave Ethiopia. The white labor exploiters were replaced by the formerly oppressed workers who were given the managerial position both in Mätähara and Wänji. Those oppressed workers who have better education compared to their colleagues were given positions which ranged from the *Soto Capo* (occasional junior supervisor) to the company manager. At that time, it is difficult to find from among the workers who had beyond 8th grade certificate, but they had the necessary skills to run the factory work properly. After the expulsion of the whites from both Mätähara and Wänji, the responsibility to carry out the factory work and the management activities were put on the shoulder of the formerly oppressed workers who were believed to have developed their skills in various areas of the plantation agriculture and the factory.[74] It is said that the new appointees from among the workers were able to increase the factory production, because the workers became happy in the new development in administration

[73]Informants: Lämädo Ajula, Ermolo Badulo, Wälde Bälachäwu and Abune Fayisa.
[74]Informants: Hailu Bäkälä, Ambago Gaktiro and Girma Kassa

and managerial change. Indeed, it had highly increased the satisfaction of the workers and their dedication to work.[75]

The administrative change in Mätähara and Wänji which was achieved as a result of the political change in the capital appeared to have attracted more Hadiya youths to migrate to the large scale plantation agricultural centers. In Hadiya, the land reform program of the Därg highly disappointed the land lords in which some of them took up arms to halt its implementations. These created some sort of insecurity and fear among the Hadiya people in their homeland which ultimately increased the migration rate.[76]

The Därg after controlling the state power launched a new reform on the wage of the workers both in Mätähara and Wänji. Even after the coming to power of the EPRDF government, the Hadiya continued to migrate to Wänji and Mätähara without interruption mainly because of the rise of wage. This is to mean that the intensity of Hadiya migration was not decreased immediately after the EPRDF control of Addis Abäba. But, a decade after the EPRDF control of the capital, the Hadiya began to change their direction from Mätähara and Wänji to South Africa.[77]

The migration of Hadiya people to Addis Abäba was started before the large scale agricultural areas. It is said that the Hadiya followed the footsteps of the Gurage in their move to Addis Abäba. The migration of the neighboring Gurage people to Addis Abäba was said to have started immediately after the establishment of Addis Abäba as Ethiopian capital.[78] "The labor movement towards the capital started immediately after the establishment of Addis Abäba in the 1880s, and

[75] Tesfaye and Asrat, p.56
[76] Informants: Tämäsgän W/Maskal and Warku Masebo.
[77] Informants: Wälde Belachew, Ermolo Badulo and Tasama Abo.
[78] Informants: Hailu Bäkälä, Ambago Gaktiro and Girma Kassa

subsequently increased the volume of immigrant labor."[79] Gradually, other ethnic groups like the Hadiya began to follow the foot steps of the Gurage and leave their homeland to towns.

Before the beginning of concession farms along the Awash valley, the Hadiya also habituated the tendency to move to other small scale agricultural areas which were owned by individuals or collectives. To mention some instances, the Hadiya used to move to Sidama and Maräḳo/Libido areas. The result of their Sidama move for long period of time was the emergence of pocket of Hadiya settlement at Wando Ganat around Sidama area. Their move to Libido is still unfolding but they go on seasonal basis. In Libido, the Hadiya people were said to have been working on pepper production. They also developed the trend of migration to Dire Dawa and Asab for labor work. In Dire Dawa today, we can find a large number of Hadiya settlers who were the result of the long aged migration.[80]

As indicated above, the coming of the Dutch recruiters to Hadiya and their preaching about the availability of good job and working condition in Wänji, led the Hadiya to flock to the Awash valley since the early 1950s. They began to habituate such trend and continued to exercise for long period till the onset of the third Millinium when the intensity of migration to Mätähara and Wänji highly decreased.[81]

During the times of Haile Selassie government and the Därg, the Hadiya people had insisted on moving to Addis Abäba to work as tree cutters which grow between houses. They were mostly identified with carrying rope and axe on their shoulders and restlessly moving in the city. There are still remnants of these workers in Addis but they were not in large numbers.

[79] Aleme Eshete, *The Cultural Situation in Socialist Ethiopia*, UNESCO, Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies, 1992; Informants: Lämädo Ajula, Girma Kassa, Wälde Bälachäwu and Ambago Gaktiro.

[80] Informants: Wälde Belachew, Ermolo Badulo and Tasama Abo

[81] Informants: Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame and Ermolo Badulo.

The numbers of tree cutters were dwindling from time to time and began to give way for the rise of shoe shine workers. Shoe shine work in the previous times was monopolized by the Gurage but as time passed on the Hadiya, the Wolayta and Gamo began to replace them. The Gurage started to engage fully on trade activities leaving aside the shoe shine and other labor intensive works for their neighboring ethnic groups.[82]

As indicated above, during the last two decades of the Haila Selassie government, employers had oppressed the Hadiya workers in Wänji and Mätähara. At the time, the Hadiya were doing their best to make the company productive but the H.V.A. leaders could not pay the appropriate wage for the workers. Moreover, the Dutch investors were seen out casting the Hadiya laborers and their families in the entertainment as well as other social services. In Wänji, the employers appeared to have created social stratification between the whites and Ethiopian workers on one hand, and within the Ethiopians themselves on the other. The whites were brought to the privilege classe. They were made to enjoy with their children in the entertainments like the swimming pool. They had well-built places for physical exercise and beautiful living compound known as *Shibo Gibi*.[83] Such centers were found in both Wänji and Shäwa for the whites only. In addition to these, well-equipped schools were built with highly trained teachers for the children of the whites and staff members (professional Ethiopians) in both Shäwa and Wänji areas. The company constructed luxurious cafeteria for the whites in which the blacks (Ethiopians) were

[82] Informants: Girma Ayala and Aboche Takiso

[83]Informants: Aboche Takiso and Daniel Tatiye.

forbidden to enter. According to my informants, there was direction board in front of the club (cafeteria) which reads, 'Black dogs cannot enter'.[84]

Our informants tend to associate such racist actions with South African 'Aparthied rule'. Marginalization was not only limited to the cafeteria or the club but also seen in other social service centers. As mentioned above, schools were separately built for the children of the whites with high facilities and qualified teachers. When we see the schools built for the children of Hadiya and other oppressed workers, they were poorly constructed, had very low facilities and unqualified teachers. In the health sector, the whites built high quality hospital for their family. The hospital was equipped with enough health materials and had qualified professionals. When they felt that their patients were at risk they used to send them abroad for further treatment. The health centers built in the areas of the Hadiya workers (that also includes other employees), however, were highly suffered from lack of health materials, drugs and professionals. They were mostly filled with chloroquine and drugs related to cholera and anti-bacteria.[85]

For the whites, the facilities mentioned above were found within the *Shibo Gibi* (a compound fenced with wire). Before the coming to power of the Därg regime, blacks were not allowed to enter into the *Shibo Gibi*. It was only the garden workers and maid servants who had the right to enter into it. Others, let alone entering the compound, were not permitted even to stand near to it.[86]

[84] Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Wälde Bälachäwu and Abune Fayisa.
[85] Informants: Tämäsgän W/Maskal and Lämädo Ajula.
[86] Informants: Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame , Ermolo Badulo, Aboche Takiso, Gabramichael Wachämo and Girma Kassa.

The whites had high level of hatred towards the Ethiopian workers. They despised the Hadiya and other employees. It is said that the whites tended to equalize the Ethiopian laborers with 'dogs' as clearly written on the entrance of the cafeteria which was built for them. Informants say, "Once up on a time two Hadiya servants were found dead in the swimming pool." It was believed that the servants did not enter into the swimming pool for recreational purpose but they were pushed by one of the members of the whites who had strong hatred towards the blacks. The servants were pushed into the swimming pool while they were doing their work near to it. This was an apparent indication of the intention of the Dutch employers to treat Ethiopian workers as if they were doing in their colonies in other parts of Africa.[87]

Flouride water was the other problem of the children of the Hadiya and other employee who were born and brought up with their families in Wänji and Mätähara. It makes the color of their children's teeth red and said to have damaged its strength so that their teeth will not stay healthy for long. It is also said that the flouride water would damage in the long run the bones of the affected children. The employee recruiting committee who went to the Hadiya area for recruitment never told the people about the dangers of the flouride water.[88] They told them depicting Wänji and Mätähara areas as paradise which was devoid of problems. They tended to hide the predicaments and told many good things which were not available on the ground. The committee betrayed the Hadiya people to the extent that the later lost the health of their children.[89]

[87] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Abäbä Ergudo, Tamirat Jikamo and Sulore Bayana.
[88] Tesfaye and Asrat, p. 43.
[89] Informants: Girma Kassa, Kabada Gizawu and Eshatu Tumiso.

Living houses that were constructed for Hadiya workers (who were below the group known as 'staff') had highly suffered from shortage of facilities. The houses given to the regular workers (*Ḳuami)* had no active bath rooms, toilets and most of their floors were not cemented and their walls were not well built. The houses that were constructed for semi regular (*pipel*) workers had more problems than the regular ones. There were houses which were constructed for seasonal workers in which six or more workers had been accommodated in a single room. Seasonal workers had no right to marry and establish families unless they were elevated to the level of *Pipel* or regular or more positions.[90]

In Wänji, the above three levels of workers were forced to work in different environments under difficult conditions. The regular workers had to work for eight hours a day. Sometimes, they were forced to work in the evening under difficult circumstances. In the evening session in Mätähara, they might have encountered the Karrayu pastoralists who were armed with guns and big knives called *Gille*. The Karrayu considered the migrant workers as agents of the government and as the ones who dispossessed their pastoral land. As a result, the Karrayu developed the trend of attacking the migrant workers and the later were left without protection by the company or the government.[91]

Seasonal workers mostly work during day times and the probability of threat by the Karrayu was minimal. It was mostly the regular workers who spent most of their times during the nights in their working environment had the chance to face accidental death. If the person who was killed by the Karrayu had families, the company was said to have forced the families of the diseased

[90] Informants: Täsäma Shishoro, Damaka Lamancho, Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame , Ermolo Badulo, Aboche Takiso and Gabramichael Wachämo.

[91] Informants: Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame , Ermolo Badulo, Aboche Takiso, Gabramichael Wachämo and Girma Kassa.

person to leave their homes without compensations. Their fate would be either going back to their homeland in Hadiya or to live as beggars in the towns and cities. This was due to the fact that, in those early times, the wives both in Mätähara and Wänji were not hired and were totally dependent on their husbands for everything. There were no life insurances for the families of the employee.[92]

In Wänji and Matahara, there were five social classes: the whites were put at the top of the social pyramid (employers mostly came from Netherland), the staff members took the second one (educated Ethiopians who work in the offices and supervisions) and the ordinary workers could be categorized from the third to the fifth classes (the regular, *Pipel* and Seasonal workers respectivelly).

[92]Informants: Girma Kassa, Kabada Gizawu and Eshatu Tumiso.

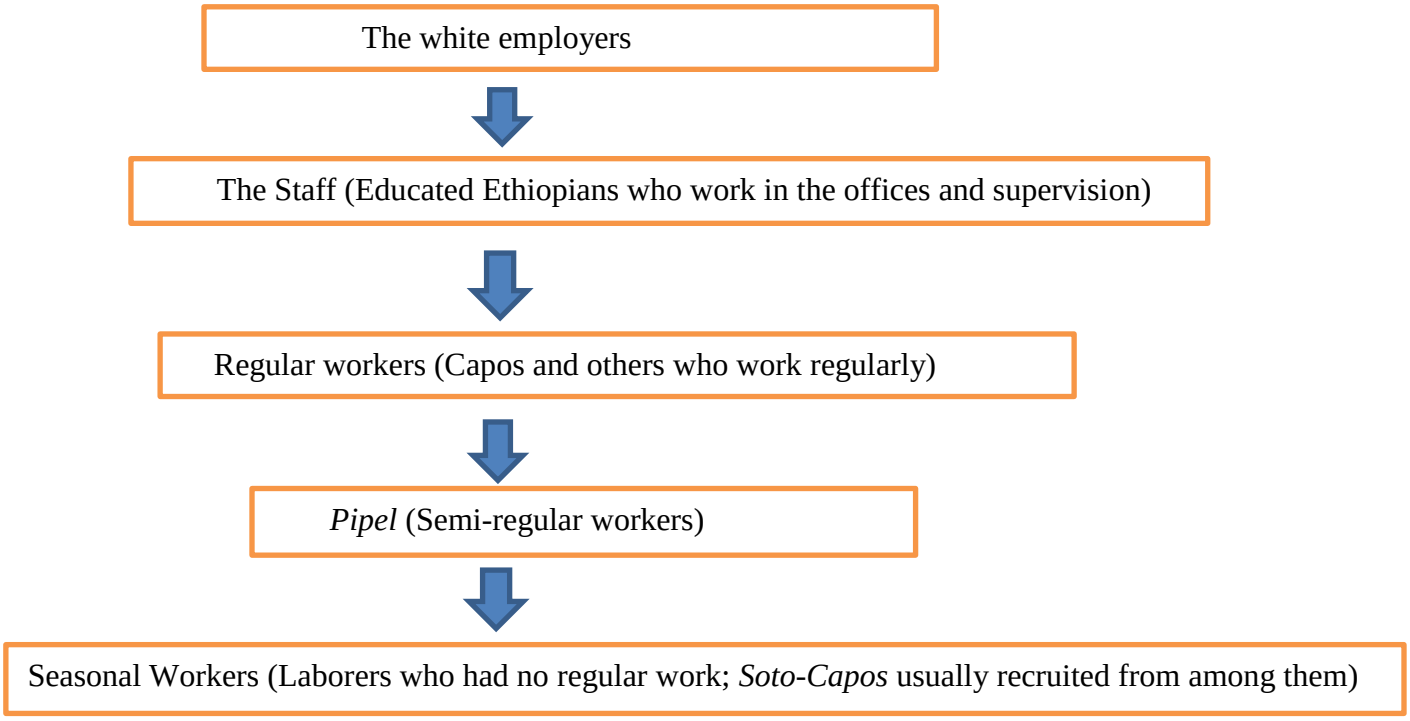

Figure 10: A figure that shows the status of workers in Wanji and Matahara

Before the early 1960s in Wanji, according to my informants, there were no divisions within the lower classes (below the 'Staff' level). All of them were seasonal workers who had been paid 90 cents per a day. Nevertheless, in the late 1960s, the wage reported to have risen to 1 birr and 10 cents which were mainly the result of the efforts of the workers association. This was not even compatible with the labor they were giving for the company. They had to work the whole day under difficult circumstances for such low amount of payment. There were no insurances for the damages that they might be encountered in their work places. As mentioned above, while they were doing their jobs, the Hadiya employees would face the discontented Karrayu who were

armed with modern guns. They had also encountered with dangerous dragons, snakes, or they might cut their bodies unconsciously with their tools and so on.[93]

Moreover, the Hadiya workers had faced administrative problems in both Wänji and Mätähara which had emanated from their immediate supervisors named *Capos*. The *Capos* had developed the trend of taking bribes from the workers below them. They named such bribes *And alägn* (an Amharic term which means 'I have one more').[94] They were the ones who were responsible to distribute contract works for the seasonal and sometimes *Pipel* workers. But they had no power over the regular ones (*Ḳuami)*. While they were distributing works for the laborers, they tended to record additional work sites (the site which were no found on the ground but on paper) for the 'loyals' who were expected to share the added money to them at the end of every fifteen days (which was their salary day). There was consensus between the so called the 'loyal' person and the *Capos,* and the former appeared to bring the illegally added money to the homes of the *Capos* without the later's' followup. This is to mean that the *Capos* usually favored some section of the workers while oppressed others. Most of the time, there were mediators between the *Capos* and the 'loyal' individuals through which the former gave additional work sites to the later. These mediators were called *Soto Capos*.[95]

The existence of various kinds of epidemic diseases was the other challenges that the Hadiya workers had faced in Mätähara and Wänji. From the very beginning, Wänji area was full of epidemic diseases like malaria and cholera. In the 1950s, it is said that there was no single health center for workers in Wänji. The Hadiya laborers were forced to go to Adama for treatment. Our

[93]Informants: Bäkäläch Lamango, Tanagne Salamu, Wärkïnäsh Aba, Amarach Shishore, Bäkäläch Lamango, Tämäsgän Beyamo, Tagasach Warku and Tanagne Salamu.

[94] Tesfaye and Asrat, p. 45.

[95]Informants: Tämäsgän Haile, Asnakach Makango and Wandimagagn Beyoro.

informants say, because of the farness of Adama and the absence of Ambulance service, many of the Hadiya workers reported to have died on the way before reaching the medical center. The company was not ready to give Ambulance service to take sick individuals to health center in Adama. The workers had to carry their patients to Adama with a kind of bed prepared from woods and ropes.[96]

In the 1950s, according to informants, in Wänji more than ten death figures might have been recorded per day. As the number of death toll increased, people had to bury their dead individuals without performing funeral ceremony. The people were not sure whether they could see their tomorrow or not. The company, after bringing the people from their homeland telling only the good opportunities, left them without protection. The disease killed many of the Hadiya migrants in Wänji. Lapiso notes:

> **… ዛሬ ከአሰብ ጀምሮ እስከ ጋሞጎፋ ድረስ በአዋሽና በስምጥ ሸለቆዎች ዘመናዊ የእርሻ፣ የንግድና የኢንዱስትሪ ድርጅቶት ባሉበት ቦታዎች ሁሉ አብዛኛዉ ሰራተኞች በመሬት ችግር ምክንያት ከከምባታና ሀዲያ አዉራጃ በፍለሳ የሄዱ ሰዎች ሲሆኑ በወንጂ በሸዋና በመተሀራ ሸንኮራ አገዳ ማሳዎች ከሚሰሩ ወዛደሮች ምናልባትም 90 በመቶዉ የከምባታና ሀዲያ ተወላጆች መሆናቸዉ ሀቅ ነዉ። በዚህ አኳያ በአከባቢዉ በ1950ዎቹ አመታት የወባ ትንኝ እስኪጠፋ ድረስ ከ1946 ጀምሮ በአዋሽ ሸለቆ በወባ በሽታ ያለቀዉ የከምባታና የሀዲያ ህዝብ ብዛት ምን ያህል እንደሆነ በትክክል የሚታወቅበት መንገድ እስከ ዛሬ ባይኖርም በወንጂና ሸዋ ፋብሪካዎች ዙሪያ በሚገኙ በአምስት የመቃብር ቦታዎች የሚታዩ የመቃብር ድንጋዮችና ምልክቶች ብዛትና በናዝሬት ከተማ በሀይለማሪያም ማሞ ሆስፒታል ከ1940ዎቹ አመታት ጀምሮ ከሚገኙ ከበሽተኞችና ከሙታን መዝገቦች በብዙ ሺ ህዝብ እንዳለቀ በከፊል መገመት ይቻላል።**[97]

Its translation reads:

> *Many of the laborers in the areas from Asab to Gamo Gofa originated from Kämbata and Hadiya Awraja. They moved to such areas because of the problems associated*

[96] Informants: Girma Kassa and Wälde Bälachäwu.

[97] **ላጲሶ፣ አብዮታዊ … ገጽ** 103.

> *with land in their home. In Wänji and Mätähara, more than 90% of the laborers came from Kämbata and Hadiya Awraja. It is said that from 1954 to the 1960s, there had been large number of deaths of migrant workers in Wänji. The existence of numerous burial centers in Wänji, Shäwa and Adama today are witness for such deaths. In Adama, specifically in Hailamariam hospital, there are archival documents that approve the death of a large number of laborers in Wänji.*

In Wänji the other challenge for the Hadiya was the absence of uniform that protects the workers body from being cut by the nutshell of the sugar cane. Burning the cover of the sugar cane was not started before the early 1960s. What was expected at that time from the cane cutters was to avoid the cover of the sugar cane with their bare hands. While they were trying to avoid the shell from the sugar cane, their hands might have been cut by the cover. The pain was so severe that the person had to go to the health center. But the health centers, as mentioned above, were not in the nearby areas. Sometimes the wound would be contaminated with bacteria and develop to other chronic problems because of the absence of aids.[98]

Before the 1960s, the Mätähara area was partitioned into three agricultural estates. These were National Wealth Development Private Limited Company, Israel government owned company and Marti sugar estate. The first was mainly produced fruits like orange, banana, satsuma and others. The second one was established to produce cotton. And the third one was sugar producing company. The H.V.A. sugar Plantation Company in Mätähara was officially inaugurated its work in 1966. It was after this time that the H.V.A. sugar estate expanded its land holdings and forced to leave the other companies from Ethiopia.[99]

Many of the challenges mentioned above in Wänji area were also available in Mätähara. The Hadiya workers, who fled from Wänji largely because of the oppressions and labor exploitations,

[98] Informants: Täsäma Shishoro, Damaka Lamancho, Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame , Ermolo Badulo, Aboche Takiso and Gabramichael Wachämo.

[99] Informants: Girma Kassa and Wälde Bälachäwu.

became the base for the establishment of Mätähara plantation agricultures. It is said that grievances in Wänji led for the frequent revolt of the Hadiya and others and the undertaking of retaliatory measures by the employers. Many Hadiya workers were dismissed from their jobs and disbanded to different areas. Among these, the majority went to Mätähara. The Mätähara Sugar Company was eager to hire those Hadiya experienced workers who came from Wänji.[100]

The same to Wänji, the Mätähara workers had dominantly originated from southern Ethiopia, particularly from Hadiya and Kämbata areas. During the establishment of Mätähara Sugar Estate, the Hadiya workers were engaged in clearing the ground for sugar cane plantation under difficult circumstances. After they came to Mätähara, as mentioned above, they began to face their first challenge from the local pastoral society (the Karrayu Oromo). The Karrayu pastoralists were the original inhabitants of Mätähara areas before the coming of different plantation agricultural schemes. They were also using the Awash River to water their camels, sheep, goats and cattle without restrictions. What followed especially after the coming of H.V.A. Company to Mätähara was the confiscation of pastoral land from the Karrayu. No compensation was given for them since the government considered the pastoral land as vacant land. "These areas (the pastoral land) largely became declared state land over which the government could dispose of as desired."[101] During feudo-military rule, not only the Karrayu, but also other pastoralists were made landless and exempted from land tax. Rather they were made to pay tax for their cattle and

[100]Informants: Täsäma Shishoro, Damaka Lamancho, Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame , Ermolo Badulo, Aboche Takiso and Gabramichael Wachämo.

[101] Braukamper, p. 304.

other domestic animals. The road to Awash River for them was blocked after the establishment of sugar cane plantation agriculture.[102]

Since the late 1960s, the Karrayu began to react to the company's wrong deeds violently. The frequent occurrence of draught in Mätähara forced the Karrayu pastoralists to bring their cattle and camels to the plantation field. It is obvious that the Karrayu were armed with modern guns and a kind of knife called *Gille*. The company gave responsibility for the migrant workers (mostly the Hadiya and the Wolayta) to protect the sugar cane plantation from any possible destruction by the draught driven Karrayu pastoralists. Especial responsibility was given for those workers who were hired as watchman for the sugar cane plantation. The draught driven Karrayu pastoralists, reinforced by modern guns, were said to have inflicted a number of deaths on the migrant workers.[103] This is better illustrated in a letter written by the chairman of the Mätähara workers association to different concerned bodies dated January 13/1981. This letter talks about the frequent occurrence of draught in Mätähara and the repeated attack of the Karrayu against the employee. The letter begins with:

> **"…የመተሀራ ስኳር ማምረቻ ድርጅት ዙሪያዉ በዘላኖች የተከበበ ከመሆኑ የተነሳ ዘላኖቹ ድርቅ ባጋጠማቸዉ ወቅት ሁሉ የሚደርስባቸዉን የብሶት መወጣጫ አድርገዉ የወሰዱት ከብቶቻቸዉን በአገዳ ተክል ዉስጥ በዘፈቀደ ማሰማራትና ምርትን ማዉደም ሲሆን፣ ይህንኑ ለመከላከል በዘበኝነት ተቀጥረዉ የሚሰሩትን ወዛደሮች በተለይዩ ጊዜያት ህይወታቸዉን እንዲያጡ አድርገዋል። … ሰርቶ አደሮቹ በየጊዜዉ ዘላኖቹ የሚደርስባቸዉን የድርቅ ሁኔታ እንዲቋቋሙ ለማድረግ ከሚያገኙት የወር ደመወዛቸዉ እየቀነሱ በመስጠት ሰብአዊ የሆነ እርዳታ ከማድረግ ወደኋላ ብለዉ እንደማያዉቁ… በገዳዮች ላይም እርምጃ ባለመወሰዱ የተነሳ የግድያዉ ጉዳይ አሰቃቂ እየሆነ በመምጣቱ …ሰርቶ አደሩ ከፍተኛ በሆነ የስጋት ሰቀቀን ላይ ወድቆ ይገኛል። ዘላኖቹም ወደ አገዳ ተክል አከባቢ ከብቶቻቸዉን አምጥተዉ በማስፈራቸዉ በድርጅቱ ክልል የሚገኙት አብዮት ጥበቃም …ዘላኖቹን ለመከላከል ሙከራ ለማድረግ በቦታዉ ሲገኝ 'መሳሪያችንን**

[102] Informants: Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame , Ermolo Badulo, Aboche Takiso, Gabramichael Wachämo and Girma Kassa.

[103] Informants: Ermolo Badulo and Täsäma Abo.

ይዘናል፣ ካለንበት የከብትና የሰዉ ድርቅ እልቂት ኑና ጨርሱን፣ ያለበለዚያ ተዉን በማለት ለተኩስ ልዉዉጥ ዝግጁ መሆናቸዉን በመግልጻቸዉ ለጊዜዉ መወሰድ ያለበት እርምጃ ምን መሆን እንደሚገባ የሚመለከተዉን አካል ለመጠየቅ እንዳለ ትተዉ ሊመለሱ በቅተዋል፡፡ …የድርጅቱ አብዮት ጥበቃ ጓዶች ቀደም ሲል የተሰጣቸዉ መመሪያ ከዘላኖች ጋር መታኮስ እንደማይችሉ፣ ለመከላከል በመደገናቸዉ እንኳን የተከሰሱበትና የተጠየቁበት ሁኔታ ስለነበረ የተለየ መመሪያ እንዲሰጠን እንጠይቃለን…"[104]

Its translation reads:

As the Mätähara sugar plantation agricultural scheme is surrounded by the Karrayu pastoral society, it is exposed for destruction by the draught driven Karrayu pastoralists. While they are trying to use the sugar cane for them and their cattle, they encounter with the workers who were responsible to protect it. The nomads were killing the migrant workers who are hired to protect the sugar cane from any possible destruction. The latter, however, are regularly cutting their salary for the cause of the draught that highly damaged the lives of the Karrayu pastoral communities. In spite of such humanitarian attempt by the migrant workers, the Karrayu never hesitated to inflict damages and deaths upon the former. As the government is reluctant to take retaliatory measures against the killers, insecurity and suspicions are growing from time to time among the workers and their families. A considerable number of the armed Karrayu and their animals made their settlements in the nearby plantation areas. When they make an attempt to protect the plantation from the Karrayu destructions, the revolutionary security force is facing the angered Karrayu who are armed with modern guns. The Karrayu told the security forces that 'instead of dying by starvation come and kill us all. But we also hold weapon like you.' The security forces got confused to take measures against the starved Karrayu and the latter preferred to withdraw from the area and ask the higher authorities what to do. The security forces were not given power to fire guns against the pastoralists..."

From the above quotation, one can understand that the migrant workers (most of them were the Hadiya) were showing sympathy to the Karrayu people. The Karrayu, nevertheless, considered the migrant workers as agents of the company as well as the government.[105]

[104]A letter written from Mätähara Sugar Factory workers association to the province of Showa administrator and others, tir 4, 1973, No. 17.118.49.02

.

[105]Informants: Girma Kassa and Wälde Bälachäwu.

Like Wänji areas, the existences of epidemic diseases in Mätähara like malaria and cholera were challenges that the Hadiya migrants had faced since the establishment of the factory. At the beginning, there were no clinics and hospitals in Mätähara that would help patients. The existence of large number of snakes in the working and living areas were the other problems that the Hadiya had faced. The absence of medicine for individuals who were bitten by snakes had increased the death toll. One of our informants says, at least two and more powerful snakes entered to their homes per a day. The increment of the death of workers bitten by snakes in the early times led the Haile Selassie government to deploy an airplane to sprinkle poison gas against the snakes. Following this, the majority snakes were killed and the migrants got some reliefs.[106]

In spite of the above problems, the oppressed workers in Wänji and Mätähara did not hesitate to work for the company to their maximum capacity. However, the company owners, as mentioned above, were not in a position to solve their predicaments. At that critical time, there was no single workers' association which could stand on their side. Nevertheless, the migrant workers could not stay silent. They started to struggle for their rights independently or in group. Instead of solving their problems, the company owners began to punish those laborers who were believed to have engaged in the uprising. Since 1954, the workers (in Wänji) began to face the company directly. Mostly they were said to have undertaken their meetings in Wänji football field. In the middle of the football field, there was a big tree which was used to protect themselves from the sunshine.[107]

[106] Informants: Bäkäläch Lamango, Tanagne Salamu, Wärkïnäsh Aba, Amarach Shishore, Bäkäläch Lamango Tämäsgän Beyamo, Tagasach Warku and Tanagne Salamu.

[107] Informants: Abata Wapito, Daniel Däboch and Eshatu Tumiso.

Figure 11: Wänji football field.

The harsh measures which had been undertaken against the workers could not stop their struggle. In 1957, migrant workers in Wänji strengthened their unity and made job strike. But the company, joined by the government forces, succeeded to halt their uprisings. Once again they failed to listen to the workers' demands which were related to good working conditions and wage. In the same year, those workers who were at the front line were screened out and dismissed from their work. But the struggles of the workers continued unabated, despite the harsh measures that the company had undertaken against the former.[108]

In 1960, workers demanded the Haile Selassie government to protect their rights from being violated by the company. The 1960 was also the time in which the two brothers tried to over through the Haile Selassie government through coup d'état. The company agents tended to

[108]Informants: Täsäma Shishoro, Damaka Lamancho, Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame , Ermolo Badulo, Aboche Takiso and Gabramichael Wachämo.

connect the coup with the aggressive demands of the workers. This was false accusation which was made against their own workers that aimed to bring the government to their side. They tried to persuade the government by saying that some elements of the coup were entered into the workers and instigated them against the government. The campaign was aimed at diverting the workers socio-economic grievances to politics.[109]

The Haile Selassie government began to investigate the workers questions. In the early 1960s, the government sent three individuals to Wänji for investigation.[110] Investigating authorities returned to Addis Abäba by giving promise to the workers that they would solve their problems. Following their little victory, the boldness and unity of the workers in Wänji was strengthened. They began to collect money from the workers for the cause of the struggle. The more the workers' unity strengthened, the more the company and the government worried about it. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, it is said that the workers had stopped their work more than three times. The delliance of the response of the aforementioned investigating authorities highly increased the tension between the company owners and the employee.[111]

Individuals who were sent to Wänji for investigation were not in a position to solve the workers' problems, rather they suspected about the presence of elements of the coup within the employees. They recruited 3 people from among the workers, trained them and put them within the workers for underground activities. This is to mean that they began to spy the oppressed employees to check whether they were pushed by elements of the coup or not. However, their

[109] Informants: Abata Wapito, Daniel Däboch and Eshatu Tumiso

[110]Informants: Ermolo Badulo and Täsäma Abo.

[111]Informants: Abune Makango, Täsäma Abo, Tasfaye Lame , Ermolo Badulo, Aboche Takiso, Gabramichael Wachämo and Girma Kassa.

plan became futile because the workers discovered the underground elements who were spying them. The spies, instead of taking information or spying the workers, they themselves were spied by the clever workers. The laborers were able to take information from the spies using the following systems:[112]

1. Some of the workers created friendship with the spies. Using suitable times the former were seen inviting alcoholic drinks for the later and made them to speak the secret things they had.
2. By creating contact with their maid servants, they succeeded to steal important documents from their living rooms.

Using such wise measures, the workers forced the spies to flee from Wänji by themselves. Why did the government chose to spy the workers, instead of solving their problems, was puzzling. Even the government was not willing to establish rules and regulations for both employers and the employees. The government tried to suppress the workers' demand using force. However, the workers were furious and were not in a position to stop their demand. Angered by the delliance of the response from the government, in 1962 the workers stopped their work for three consecutive days. In the same year, they were able to delegate 13 individuals from every work section and formed a strong workers' committee. The committee was established without the consent of both the company and the government. The workers made promise for their delegators to stand together in any possible future threat against them.[113]

[112]Informants: Girma Kassa and Wälde Bälachäwu.

[113] Informants: Bäkäläch Lamango, Tanagne Salamu, Wärkïnäsh Aba, Amarach Shishore, Bäkäläch Lamango Tämäsgän Beyamo, Tagasach Warku and Tanagne Salamu.

As usual, when the workers stopped their work, the government used to encircle them with soldiers and made an attempt to divide their unity. They talked to those who were eager to continue their work separately from those who refused to do. The workers, however, were not agreed to come to the side of both the government and the company. Rather they told them to accept their delegators and respond to their basic questions and if they did this, they were ready to start their work. Then the company and the government agreed to the demands of the laborers and the later resumed their work. This was the first time in which workers in Wanji negotiated with their authorities. Because of such actions, the punishment that was planned to take against the workers seemed to have ineffective.[114]

Prior to 1962, there were no compulsory laws to push the company to solve the workers problems. Due to the pressure of the workers, however, the government established Peoples' Lives Development Ministry in 1962. Next to this, in October 1963 the government allowed the establishments of employer-employee understanding and workers association. Following this declaration, Ethiopian Workers Association was established and opened its office in Addis Abäba and started its work officially. This association became member of World Workers Association in 1971. The establishment of workers association encouraged workers' delegators in Wänji to do further works. During working days, the elected representatives were seen organizing the workers in the areas where they were working.[115] One of the Wänji workers representatives was elected as the president of the whole Ethiopian workers association. This was because of the great role that the Wänji delegators played for its formation. In Wänji, workers elected their own president and two vice presidents in a democratic way. Then the Wänji workers

[114]Informants: Ermolo Badulo, Täsäma Abo and Abune Fayisa.
[115] Informants: Hayilu Bäkälä and Ambago Gaktiro.

began to give a number of assignments for their representatives which were not solved by the company and the government.[116]

However, the formation of both Wänji and Ethiopian Workers Association could not solve the workers' problems. The association became puppet to the government and could not deal with the employee demands in Wänji and other places. The Ethiopian Workers Association was not given the power to materialize its plan.[117] What was followed after the formation of the workers association was rather an opposite phenomenon. The company started to work its best to degrade the workers confidence on the newly formed workers association. They attempted to divide the workers unity by giving benefits to some group and ignoring others. Here, it is possible to say that the company succeeded to create divisions within the workers. The workers began to quarrel each other mainly for benefit. The employers had done whatever they could to dismiss the association. Following this, the numbers of petition letters sent to People's Lives Development Office increased highly. But the office deliberately abjures what the company did against the workers. The office tended to listen more the petition of the company than the cries of the workers. In the meantime many workers were persecuted from their work. Some of them had wives and children and so, they were left for starvation. Others went to Mätähara seeking similar work.[118]

[116] Informants: Abune Makango, Ermolo Badulo and Täsäma Abo.
[117] Informants: Däboch Tirago, Ermolo Badulo and Abune Makango.
[118] Informants: Abata Wapito, Daniel Däboch and Eshatu Tumiso.

The Wänji Workers Association for the first time in its history, however, reached common understanding and signed an agreement with its employers in 1966. The second agrrement was reached in 1968; the third in 1970 and the fourth in 1974.[119]

Figure 12: The former office of Wanji Workers Association.[120]

In the late 1960s, the Wänji Workers' Association was given offices with good facilities. Before this time, the office had been used as health center (hospital). But now the company gave the former hospital center for the services of the association where the poor and oppressed workers came and air their grievances and spill their tears.[121]

[119] Informants: Ermolo Badulo and Täsäma Abo.

[120] Tasfaye and Asrat, p. 56.

[121] Informants: Guta Mulata and Zakarias Buke.

Figure 13: The office of the Wänji Workers Association.[122]

Before the grant of this office, the association was given unsuitable house which had small number of rooms. The house was not comfortable to the extent that their documents sometimes exposed for difficult conditions. It had no wide rooms to accommodate people who were called for meeting.[123]

After the fall of the Haile Selassie government, the Därg nationalized Wänji and Shäwa as well as Mätähara sugar factories. Following this, H.V.A. Ethiopia was expelled from the country. Now the factory began to be managed by Ethiopian personnel for the first time in its history. Ethiopian Workers in the factory had rich experiences on the maintenances of the factory machines and other areas of the plantation work. They were able to fill the gap left by the white managers.

[122] Tasfaye and Asrat, p. 67.
[123] Informants: Haylu Bäkälä and Ambago Gaktiro.

Those Ethiopian workers who were able to replace had no higher education degree but they took their experiences from the white professionals.[124]

[124]Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Warku Dolaso and Walda Michael Wachämo.

CHAPTER EIGHT
8. The Revolution and Its Consequences in Hadiya

Emperor Haila Selassie's rule could not bring into effect significant economic and political reforms in the country.[1] The government's failure accompanied by rising inflation, corruption and famine affected several provinces. The conciliation of draught from the outside world, and the growing discontent of urban interest groups became the backbone for the Ethiopian revolution which was started in the early 1974.[2] Though different civilian sectors staged demonstrations to defy the old regime since the 1960s, the final showdown of the 1974 revolution was the work of the military.[3]

Before the coming to power of the Därg government, as elsewhere in other parts of the country, there were students', teachers', and peasants' revolutionary activities that had been undertaken in Hadiya.[4] Since the times of incorporation, the Hadiya people had expressed their oppositions in different ways against the 'feudo-military' rule. In the 1950s and 60s, the opposition was serious particularly in Badäwacho[5] district. Since the early 1970s, students and other active individuals had engaged in instigating the Badäwacho people against the *Näfṭägna* and their related groups.

[1] Michael Chege, "The Revolution Betrayed: Ethiopia, 1974-79," *the Journal of Modern African studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1979, p. 359.

[2] Kiflu Tadesse, "Thoughts about the Ethiopian Left," *Northeast African Studies*, Vol.16, No.1, 2016, p. 199; Stephano Bellucci, "The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution at 40: Social, Economic and Political Legacies," *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2016, p. 2.

[3] Bahru Zawde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991,* Addis Abäba: Addis Abäba University Press, 1991, pp. 229-230.

[4] A letter written from the vice-ministry of Interior to Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*, dated *Ginbot* 6, 1966 E.C., No. 45/38/43.; Note written from Kämbata *Awraja* to Getahun Täsäma, Ministry of Interior, dated *Magabit* 13, 1965; Tämäsgän Gabayahu, "The Genesis and Evolution of the Ethiopian Revolution and the Därg: A Note on Publications by Participant in Events," *History in Horn*, Vol. 37, 2010, p.1.

[5] It is one of the districts in Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* and inhabited dominantly by the Hadiya Ethnic group.

Many times the former were seen confiscating the properties of the later and advised the Badäwacho peasants to refuse tribute payment to the landlords and the government.[6]

Campaigners advised the Hadiya peasants not to give back the cattle of the government and individual landlords which had been given to them using the system of *Mïrit* '**ምሪት**'. *Mïrit* system was a system in which cattle, horses and other kinds domestic animals were distributed to peasants so that the later would raise them and return to the owners without receiving any benefits.[7] In Lemo Hadiya, the *Näfṭägna* and settler population as well as the local *Balabats* had not faced the kind of persecution that they encountered in Badäwacho and Sorro. The *Näfṭägna, Mälkägna*, and the settler population in Badäwacho were attacked, flogged and some of them were killed.[8] During the eve of the revolution, persecution of the *Näfṭägna* population became the norm of the time in the southern parts of the country.[9] For further understanding, it is important to quote some of the ideas of the letter written from Badäwacho *Näfṭägna* and settler population to the Kämbata *Awraja* ruler, *Fitawrari* Tadla Tamirat. The letter reads:

> **በዚህ በአሁኑ ሰአት በተፈጠረዉ ሁከት የዚህ ክፍለሀገር ተወላጅ ሆነዉ በየስራ ተሰማርተዉ የሚገኙት 1ኛ፡ መምህር ማንገሻ ጎቤቦ፣ 2ኛ፡ መምህር ዳምጤ አለምቦ፣ 3ኛ፡ አቶ ኤፍሬም አኮሼ የተባሉት ከያሉበት ተሰባስበዉ የወረዳዉን ህዝብ መሬት ልንሰጥህ ነዉ በማለት አታለዉ ከሰበሰቡ በኋላ ከህግ ዉጭ በሆነ አሰራር እንዲጠቀሙ በማድረግ ልዩ ልዩ ፖለቲካ ከመናገራቸዉም በላይ ባለርስትና ጪሰኛን አለያይተዋል፡፡ ማንም ሰዉ መሬት ለአራሹ ስለሆነ በየቦታህ እንድትመለስና ምናልባት ከባለርስቱ ባለመስማማት በፍርድ የለቀቅህም ካለህ ቀጥታ በቀድሞ ቦታህ እየተመለስክ ቤት እንድትሰራበት ብለዋል፡፡ በተጨማሪም በለቀክበት ቦታ ባለርስቱ አትክልት ወይም አዝርዕት ዘርቶበት እንደሆነ አንተዉ እንድትጠቀምበት ሲሉ**

[6] Petition letter written from Kämbata *Awraja Näfṭägna* and settler population to the Kämbata *Awraja* administrator, Ruga Ashame, dated *Miyaziya* 15, 1964 E.C; **ዴሞክራሲያ፣ የዘመቻ ክብረ በአል፣ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች አብዮታዊ ፓርቲ ልሳን፣ ልዩ እትም 4፣ 1966፣ ገጽ** 1-2; Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Tariku Ayano and Taräkägn Jifar.

[7] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar, Abatkun Lamboro and Anshiso Awilo.

[8] Petition letter written from Sike (Badawach) *Näfṭägna* and settler population to *Fitawrari* Tadla Tamirat, the Kämbata *Awraja* ruler, dated *Ginbot* 4, 1964 E.C.

[9] Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux, p.6.

> በአዋጅ ለህዝቡ ያስረዱ በመሆናቸዉ ይኟዉ በወረዳዉ ፖ/ሊስ ተጣርቷል። በዚህ ምክንያት በወረዳዉ ዉስጥ የምንገኝ ሰዎች የሚሰነዘረዉ ስሜት ለህይወታችን አስጊ በመሆኑ በህገ መንግስቱ በህግ እንድንጠበቅ ያቀረብነዉ አቤቱታ ነዉ።[10]

This can be translated as,

> At this difficult time, individuals who came from different areas, but born and grownup in this *Wäräda* named Managasha Gobebo, Damte Alambo and Ephrem Okashe are disturbing the area by instigating the Hadiya tenants against the *Rist* holders. They even went to the extent that they advised tenants to use the land they were tilling illegally. They told the Hadiya tenants about the declaration of 'land to the tiller' and advised them not to leave their land or return to their former land forcefully. They also officially declared that if tenants found vegetables on the land in the time when they returned, they had to use it. Because of this, our life is at risk and so the government based on the constitution should protect our life.

As mentioned above, such kinds of humiliation which were launched against the *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna* population in Badäwacho and Sorro had not been seen in Lemo. This was largely because of the fact that the Lemo people had an oath that they made with the Amhara during the time of *Dana* Fitebo of Witto clan. This oath was kept successfully by his distant successor, *Dana* Makoro. The later was the cultural leader of Lemo people at the time when the *Därg* was on the verge of assuming power. Albeit there were reports of property confiscations in Lemo, they had not taken any other hard measures against the *Näfṭägna* and the settler population.[11] By then, mainly to control the problematic situations, the *Fätno Därash*[12] forces came to Hossana.[13] The government was seen obliging the *Awraja* people to return all the expenses that were spent for *Fätno Därash* forces during their stay in the area.[14]

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde T/Giorgis and Ermolo Badulo.

[12] The government force which was ready to go to anywhere in the country when need comes from the provincial administrators or other lower authorities.

[13] A letter written from *Fitawrari* Tafara Estefanos, vice viceroy for the Ministry of Interior to Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* police force director, to Birgader General Abata Baza, dated *Ginbot* 29, 1966 E.C., No. ɵ/8626/8484,; A letter written from *Fitawrari* Tafara Estifanos to Birgader General Abata Baza, dated *Sane* 1, 1966 E.C., No. ɵ/8669/8584; Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Asäfa Bunte.

[14] *Ibid.*

In 1973 and 74, the Hadiya students established a number of committees that aimed to construct roads and other social service centers. However, the committees they established were not legal. They even were not willing to ask the higher government authorities for permission. They did this because they know that the government would not give them legal certificate for their newly establishing organizations. The *Awraja* rulers were said to have accused students for such 'illegal' activities. The reality was that the Hadiya students were attacking the landlords and their kinsmen for the benefits of the oppressed Hadiya people.[15] Students were using developmental projects as a mask to hide their real intentions.

In such critical time, the local *Balabats*, *Sängaḳoros*, *Ċhiḳashums* and *Wanas* were in support of the *Awraja* rulers, the *Näfṭägna* and the settler population. This was mainly because of the fact that their economic advantages were totally dependent on the later.[16] Throughout the feudo-military times, it is said that these local groups were able to record their names in the list of privileged classes. In Hadiya, there had been a number of social classes which were said to have influenced each other. The researcher tried to put the people and the *Awraja* administrative wing as follows:

[15] A letter written from *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame, Kämbata *Awraja* administrator to *Ras* Masfin Silashi, Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* governor general, dated 30/9/64 E.C., No. 3659/283; Informants: Tafara Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte and Tariku Ayano.

[16] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Täsäma Abo and Asäfa Bunte.

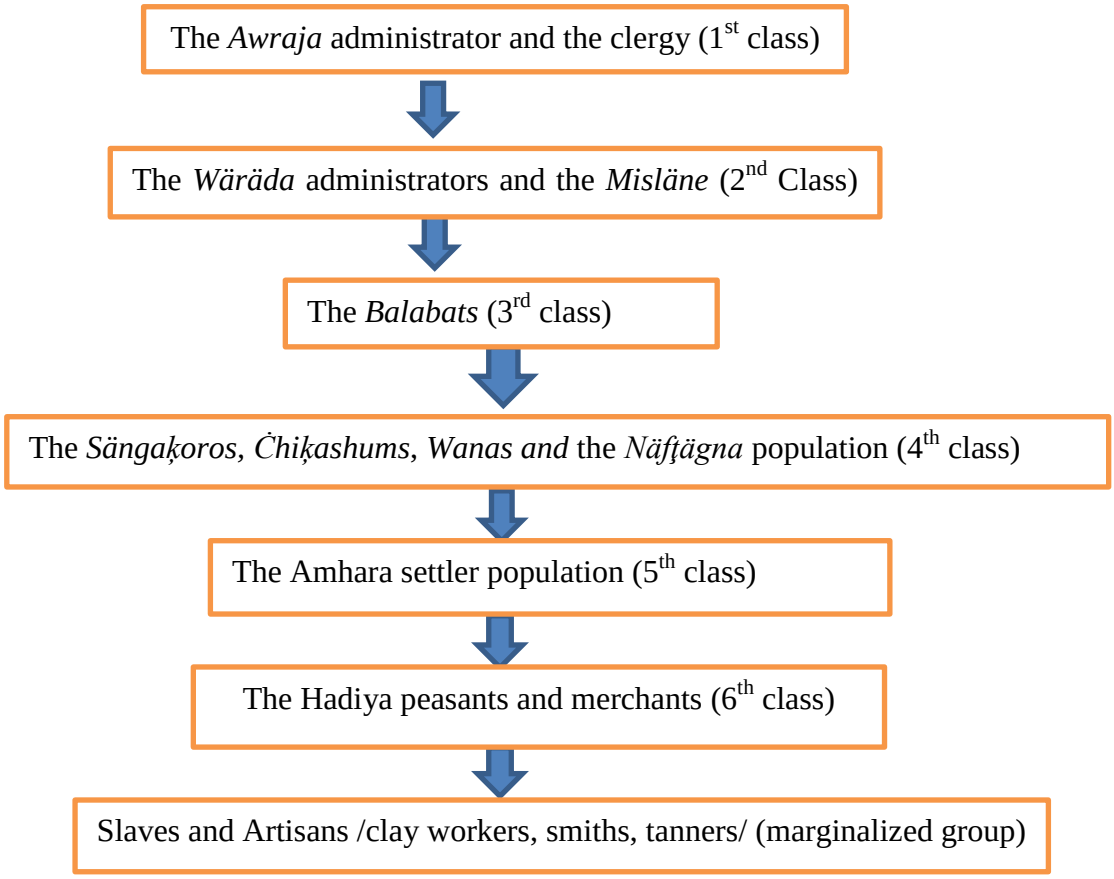

Figure 14: The Hadiya people and the *Awraja* administrative wing.

From the first to the fifth classes, the researcher made an attempt to put them under privileged, whereas the six (the majority population) and the seventh classes came to the unprivileged category. Among the unprivileged category, slaves and artisan groups in Hadiya were the most oppressed and highly out casted by the mainstream societies.

As indicated above, during the controversy which was created between the Hadiya students and the *Awraja* rulers, the privileged classes, the local appointees in particular, came to the side of the later. They even went to the extent that they wrote petition letter to Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* against the unprivileged ones. In their letter, they denounced the Hadiya students for opposing and agitating against the feudal rulers. One of the feudal rulers they had given protection was

Ruga Ashame. They underlined that *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame[17] had done a number of developmental projects like roads, water, health centers and the like. This indicated that as far as they were using the benefits of the 'feudal' system, the locally recruited officials would not worry about their inhumanly threated kinsmen.[18] By then, in 1973 in particular, students in Hadiya had been accusing boldly the *Awraja* administrators (Ruga Ashame in particular), for the prevalence of mal-administration and serious corruptions.[19] From the court case note, one can understand that students were trying to expose the corruptions and mal-administrations of the *Awraja* rulers. In their letter, they accused Ruga for using the money collected forcibly from the Hadiya peasants in the name of developmental activities for himself.[20]

It is puzzling that Ruga and other *Awraja* rulers were seen giving priority for infrastructural developments and ordered the Hadiya people to refrain from establishing other social service centers like health, education and so on. This indicates that the *Awraja* rulers were not in a position to solve serious societal problems which were related particularly with health and education. They rather gave priority for infrastructures which had secondary importance for Hadiya people, but primary importance for the *Awraja* rulers. Roads and other infrastructural developments would help the later in particular to travel to and from Addis Abäba so that they would rule the people easily.[21]

The long time mal-administrations and the rampant corruptions led students and peasants of the Hadiya to stand together against the 'feudo-military' rule. For long times, the Hadiya peasants

[17] The then *Awraja* ruler who had ruled the area on the eve of the Ethiopian revolution.

[18] Petition letter written from Kämbata *Awraja Balabats, Sängaḳoros, Ċhiḳashums* to the Ministry of Interior, dated *August* 10, 1960 E.C.

[19] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Takala Beyamo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[20] Court case note between Abara Dasta and *Ato* Birhana Mariam Danano on one hand (accusers) and *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame, the *Awraja* administrator (accused), dated 7/11/64 E.C., No. 11723/20889.

[21] Informants: Anshiso Awilo, Bäkälä Kajebo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Asäfa Bunte.

were expressing their oppositions against the oppressions which had been prevailed in the area since the times of incorporation. Similar strong peasant rebellions were undertaken in different parts of the country like Bali, Gedeo, Gojjam, Tigray and so on. The basic demands of peasants at the national level were more or less similar. Their questions were related with land, equality and liberty. Their struggle became strong during the reign of Emperor Haila Salassie I. This was largely because, as indicated in the aforementioned chapters, many *Gäbbars* of the pre-Italian occupation period were changed to tenancy (particularly in the south).[22] The expansion of modern education, the highly growing corruption and mal-administrations, and also the exposure of Ethiopian students to foreign political thinking were the other reasons that could be added as the background factor for peasant uprisings in the national level.

Similarly, in Hadiya, peasants' situation became precarious, since many of them were reduced to the level of tenancy in the post-Italian occupation period. Using different mechanisms, the government confiscated the Hadiya land and distributed to the landlords and other governing bodies. Peasants' produces believed to have highly decreased following the implementation of such oppression system. Each year, it is said that the Hadiya peasants were given fertilizers with loan. Many times, however, they would not be able to return their debit, since many of their produces were taken forcibly by the government and the landlords with different reasons. When peasants failed to return their debit, the government representatives appeared to have taken stern measures against the former. Confiscation of land and other properties were some of the punishments which had been done against the oppressed peasants in Hadiya. As times went on, the situation was getting worse and as a result the Hadiya peasants were left with two alternatives only; resisting the exploitive system or leaving their home to different plantation agricultural

[22] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Anshiso Awilo.

areas or big towns. Though the majority Hadiya people preferred the second one, there were people who were said to have raised arms against the 'feudo-military' rule.[23]

From among the many rebellions that had been undertaken against the feudo-military subjugations in Hadiya, the Jarso uprising was the prominent one. It was started in the areas between Shara and Korga in Badäwacho. The struggle stayed in force for long from 1946 to 1966. The first coordinator of Jarso rebellion was Sägaro Bänte. Sägaro opposed the tribute payment of the Badäwacho Hadiya peasants to *Ras* Getachaw Abata. He believed that the land belonged to the Hadiya and so, it was not fair to pay tribute to the person who was alien to their land. It is said that the Haila Selassie government gave Sägaro a title called *Grazmach*. Though he belonged to the privileged class, he was seen struggling to secure the interests of his oppressed people. Following such strong stand, the government imprisoned him in Addis Abäba. Probably because of heavy physical attacks, he was found dead in prison. In addition to the struggle that he made for the rights of his people, he was known for the establishment of market places in Badäwacho. He was the one who established the renowned Shone market.[24] Till now, this market is named as *Sagar Harpa* (Sägaro Friday). It is on the day of Friday that the market has been undertaken in Shone.[25]

After the death of Sägaro Bänte, the leadership went to Bälilo Wänchiso. The main question raised by Bälilo was the issue of tribute reduction. Sometimes, the government administrators in Badäwacho appeared to have prohibited the Hadiya people from burying their dead kinsmen on the land that belong previously to them. The *Näfṭägna, Mälkägna* and the settler populations considered the Hadiya land in its entirety as the land belonged to them.

[23] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Abatikun Lamboro and Asäfa Bunte.
[24]It is the renowned market center in Badäwacho since the times of Sägaro.
[25] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Taddäsa Wäshebo.

Once up on a time, disagreement was created when one of the rebellious Hadiya individuals was killed with the gun shot by the *Näfṭägna*. The time when the Hadiya tried to bury their dead hero, the later prohibited them. After bitter conflict, they entombed their dead kinsmen. It was after 5 days, according to informants, that the dead body got its place.[26] Following this event, Bälilo and other Hadiya individuals in Badäwacho intensified their struggle and refused to pay tributes of any kind to the government and other concerned bodies. They said rightly that they would not pay tributes to the government that forbade burial place for the dead. They also argued that the Hadiya land was transferred from their fathers and forefathers and so, it belonged to them. According to informants, the Badäwacho Hadiya had not paid tributes to the government and other organs for more than 12 years.

At first the government made an attempt to solve the problem in Badäwacho through negotiation. After long talks, rebels agreed to pay 35 birr per year to the government as tribute, but this could not be implemented. It was Bälilo who, according to informants, refused to collaborate with the decision. Following such boldness on the part of Bälilo, the government began to use its coercive measures.[27] It is said that Bälilo did not shy to speak with whoever he found important. Regarding this, Wändïmu Filate and Gedeon Addise state:

> **በሊሎ ክስ መስርቶ ራስ መስፍን ስለሺ ፊት ቀርቦ ተከራክሯል። በዚህ ወቅት በሊሎ በአስተርጓሚ እንዲናገር ሲጠራ እየሰማ ዝም አለ። ይህም የሆነበት ምክንያት ስሙ ቢሊላ ብለው አጣመው ስለጠሩት ነበር። አስተርጓሚውም አቤት በል እንጂ ሲለው እኔን ማን ጠራኝ አለ። ራስ መስፍን በሁኔታው ተበሳጭቶ እንዴት አቤት አትልም ብሎ ቢጠይቀው 'ራስ ጌታቸው አባተ አስቀድሞ በገዛ መሬታችን ላይ አስገበረን፣ ከዚያም መሬታችንን ለጣሊያን ሸጠ፤ በኋላ ደግሞ ላስገብራችሁ ይለናል።' በዚህ ወቅት ራስ መስፍን 'መሬት ይገልበጥብህ' ቢሉት**

[26] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Ermolo Badulo, Taräkägn Jifar.
[27] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Tumebo Anebo, Jamal Awol and Amarach Warku.

> በሊሎም ‘እንግዲያዉስ የተቀመጥክበት ወንበር አንተ ላይ ይገልበጥብህ’ አለዉ::[28]

Its translation reads:

> Bälilo was said to have brought the Hadiya land case to *Ras* Masfin Silashi, Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* governor general and made strong debate with him regarding the illegality of the landlords in Hadiya. In the *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* office, Bälilo was communicating with *Ras* Masfin through interpreter. The time the interpreter called his name in a wrong way like Bilila, rather than Bälilo, he gave deaf ears to the call. Angered at his action, the interpreter asked him why he got silent to the call. Bälilo said calmly, ‘who called me? No one was calling my name.’ *Ras* Masfin also asked him why he refused to respond to his name. Contrary to his question, Bälilo said, ‘first *Ras* Getachaw Abata forced us to pay tribute for the land that we inherited from our fathers and forefathers and when the Italians came, he sold our land to them. Now, once again he is obliging us to pay tribute.’ *Ras* Masfin, angered at his response, cursed him by saying ‘let the land turn aside on you.’ Bälilo also boldly responded, ‘let the chair you sit turn aside on you.’

Following such boldness, Bälilo and his friends were imprisoned in Addis Abäba. He was jailed for 5 years, but his friends were made to stay in prison for 3 years only. It was in 1974 that Bälilo was released from prison. During their struggle, Bälilo and his friends were reported to have gone to Addis Abäba on their foots carrying their food on their shoulders. They had paid such sacrifice for the sake of liberating the Hadiya people. Today, in Hossana, a school which was previously called ‘Number Four’ or ‘**ቁጥር አራት**’ was renamed in his memory. Despite his imprisonment, the Jarso peasant rebellion continued to stay in force till the coming of the military junta to Ethiopian politics. This rebellion was one of the strongest peasant rebellions that had been seen in Hadiya.[29]

Since the 1960s, the Hadiya students who were learning at Wachämo and Haila Selassie I University had undertaken frequent oppositions against the Haila Selassie government. As

[28]**ወንድሙ ፍላቴና ጌዲዮን አዲሴ፣ ገራድ፣ የሀዲያ ታሪክ እስከ 1983 ዓ.ም. አዲስ አበባ፣ ኢክሊፕስ ማተሚያ ቤት፣ 2013፣ ገጽ** 313.

[29] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Gabramichael Wachämo, Esayas Womiso and Tasfaye Anebo.

mentioned in the previous chapters, side by side with their identity questions, the Hadiya students made demonstrations that would denounce the land policy of the Haila Selassie government and its exploitative systems. They brought the issue of 'Land to the Tiller' from the national capital to Hossana and aired it there. It is said that the Hadiya students were joined by the Kämbata and some of the sons of the *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna* populations and made bitter struggle against the 'feudal' rule. Some Hadiya students who were learning at Haila Selassie I university were seen in Hossana instigating and encouraging the high school students and the Hadiya peasants to stand firm in their oppositions against the government. In this respect, Abiyo Ersamo was the prominent one. He was one of the leading figures of EPRP party at the national level.[30] The Hadiya people remembered the revolutionary period as *college os dolle*. In English, it means "times of college students".[31] The Jarso peasant rebellion and student movement were said to have undertaken in Hadiya in the same period for the same purpose. Students were reported to have worked closely with the Hadiya peasants and encouraged them to stand strong for their rights. In their objectives, there were some differences between the two freedom fighters: peasants and students. While students were struggling to achieve radical socio-economic and political change at the national level, peasants were limited to the economic ones.[32] This is to say that peasants' struggle was limited to the land question.

Following the intensification of the struggle of the Hadiya peasants and students, according to informants, the landlords escalated their subjugations. Terrified by such resistances, the landlords reported to have evicted many of the Hadiya tenants from their land. Many of the evicted peasants were people who had sons and daughters in the high schools. Through eviction and

[30] Hiwot Teffera, *Tower in the Sky*, Addis Abäba: Addis Abäba University Press, 2012, p. 276.
[31] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.
[32] Informants: Tsädäkä Abara, Zärihun Bäkälä and Shifäraw Bifebo.

other forms of oppressions, the landlords determined to force the Hadiya students and peasants stop their struggle against their interests. They even went to the extent that the landlords, in collaboration with the *Awraja* rulers, imprisoned the Hadiya students who were attending in the school mentioned above.[33] Like students at the national level, the Hadiya students' demonstrations in Hossana were accompanied by revolutionary poems. One of the poems which was prepared by students in Hadiya language reads:

Hadiya	**Gloss**
ገሉም ቡቺቺም ጋሽ መልከነኬ	The land that we are living on belongs to the *Mälkägna*
ገሲኑም ሜንቲም ጋሽ መልከነኬ	The wives that we married belong to the *Mälkägna*
ጊቤኢንስ ኪዶም ጋሽ መልከነኬ	Our living compounds belong to the *Mälkägna*
ጊምቡም ተዕኬም ጦሎምቤአኬ።።[34]	We can't escape if we run away from them.

Finally, on September 12, 1974, the Haila Selassie rule was collapsed and replaced by the Därg which claimed to be socialist. Following this, the later began to arrest officials of the old regime. As a result, the monarchical rule was brought to an end once and for all. This was the consequence of an open struggle of the oppressed masses of Ethiopia which had erupted in all corners of the country. Initially, the Hadiya people accepted enthusiastically the new regime. Through the high school and university students, the new government began to politicize the Hadiya peasants and worked to create attitudinal change. To materialize this need, the Development through Cooperation, Education and Hard work Campaign was declared at the

[33] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Anshiso Awilo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[34] **ወንድሙ ፍላቴና ጌዲዮን አዲሴ፣ ገጽ** 315-316.

national level.[35] "The regime dispatched up to 60,000 students to the countryside in a *Zämächa* (campaign) to mobilize the peasantry."[36] In addition to the secondary and university students, the Därg appeared to have used teachers and soldiers.[37] It is said that the Därg began to consider the land issue which had been raised by the student movement since the early 1960s. Such an endeavor believed to have helped the Därg to secure legitimacy from the Ethiopian people in general and the students in particular. Balsvik says, "In order to obtain legitimacy, the military regime had to take into consideration the political demands that had been raised, particularly in the student movement, over the last ten to fifteen years."[38] Since the Hadiya people expected the campaigners to bring peace and justice, they undertook preparations for their residential areas in their locality. Moreover, on December 20, 1974 the Därg proclaimed socialism as the guiding principle of the country.

The first batch of the campaigners was sent to Hadiya on January 10, 1975. After that, there had been continuous drift of the campaigners to the rural areas of Hadiya.[11] The people, excluding the *Balabats,* the *Sängaḳoros, Ċhiḳashums* and *Wanas,* accepted them with great joy, dancing and chanting, because they knew that the campaigners were against the monopolization of rural land by the few. Students, teachers and soldiers dispatched in batches to the rural areas of Hadiya for mass agitation and increased political awareness. As far as this issue is concerned, one of my key informants says:

> **መጀመሪያ ዘማቾች መጥተዉ ኢትዮጵያ ትቅደምን አስተማሩን፤ እኛም እንዴት ማስተማር እንዳለብን አሰለጠኑን። በመቀጠል የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ሰራተኞች መጥተዉ ገበሬዉን ማደራጀት ጀመርን። ዘማቾች ያልሰሩት ስራ የለም። እኔ ለ3 ቀበሌዎች የእድገት በህብረት አስተባባሪ ነበርኩ። ዘማቾች ጨርሰዉ ሲሄዱ እኛ ከደርግ ጋር መስራት ቀጠልን። ከዛ አገልግሎት ህብረት ስራ ማህበር የሚባል**

[35] *መንግስቱ ሀይለማሪያም፣ ትግላችን፣ ቅጽ 1፣ ገጽ* 281; Balsvik, *The Quest for …*p. 47.
[36] Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux, p. 6.
[37] Stephano Bellucci, "The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution at 40 …," p. 7.
[38] Balsvik, *The Quest for…* p. 47.

አደረጃጀት መጣ። ለዚህ ማህበር ተመራጭ ሆንኩ። ለጽ/ቤትና ለመጋዘን የሚሆን መሬት ለመስጠት ገበሬዉ ተጠራጠረን። ከብዙ የማሳመን ስራ በኋላ መጋዘንና ሌሎች ቢሮዎችን የምንሰራባቸዉን መሬት አገኘንና ገነባን። አምቢቾ ላይ ነበር መጋዘን፣ የማህበራችንን ጽ/ቤትና ህብረት ሱቅ የገነባነዉ። ህብረት ሱቅ ከተከፈተ በኋላ ነጋዴዎች ከሀዲያ እንዲጠፍ ተደረጉ። የአገልግሎት ህብረት ስራ ማህበር በ1 ማስተባበሪያ ዉስጥ 36 ጠቅላላ ጉባኤ ሲኖረዉ፣ 7 ስራ አስኪያጆችም ነበሩበት። ለ7ቱም ስራ አስኪያጆች ሀላፊ ነበርኩ። በኋላ ሙሰኛ በዛ። ከአዲስ አበባ እቃ የሚያመጣዉም ይሰርቃል፤ ከሆሳዕና የሚያመጣዉም ይሰርቃል፤ ሻጩ ከነጋዴዎች ጋር ይሻረካል። በርካታ ችግሮች ነበሩ።[39]

Its translation reads:

> First the campaigners came to Hadiya land and taught us about 'Ethiopia First'. They also taught us how to teach the issue of 'Ethiopia First' to others. Then, the workers from the Ministry of Agriculture came to our land, and we were able to organize the peasantry. The campaigners had done a lot of things for the benefit of the Hadiya people. I was elected as the coordinator for the Development through Cooperation Campaign for three *Ḳäbäles*. Following the complete withdrawal of the campaigners, we continued to work with the Därg government. Then, Service for Cooperative Work Association was established in Hadiya. I also became the coordinator for the newly established association for the three *Ḳäbäles* mentioned above. So as to build hall for the purpose of storing commodities and grain, we faced some challenges from our society. We were also in need of land to construct the association office and cooperative shop. The farmers in the *Ḳäbäles* were uncertain about the implementation of the program and refused to give us land. It was after tiresome negotiation that they gave us land and we were able to construct the hall, the office and cooperative shop. It was at Ambicho *Ḳäbäle* that we succeeded to build such houses. Following the establishment of cooperative shops, private traders were disappeared from the area. In a single cooperative work association, there were 36 members of general assembly and 7 supervisors. I was the coordinator for the 7 supervisors. Then, cheatings and corruptions began to be widely practiced in the area. The one who brought commodities from Addis Abäba appeared to have stolen the government properties. The same was true for those who brought the commodities from Hossana. The one who were distributing the commodities in the cooperative shops were also engaged in stealing the public properties.

In general, the country for the purpose of the campaign was divided into 6 regions, 56 provincial units and 505 districts. Each provincial unit had under it 8-12 district stations with 100-120 campaigners allotted to each station. Within the Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja*, the Hadiya had 4

[39] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Damise Mänsido.

Wärädas. So, it is possible to say that the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia allotted some 400 to 460 campaigners to the Hadiya people. Some of the campaign participants were assigned to work in governmental institutions particularly under the Ministry of Education, Relief and Rehabilitation Commission. In Hadiya, the campaigners stayed for eighteen months and did great job by paving the way for the introduction of the most radical land reform. The time when the nationalization of rural land was decreed, it was gracefully accepted by the Hadiya people, particularly by the peasants.[40]

As noted above, the government sent large number of campaigners to Hadiya so as to teach and politicize the masses. In a country level, Socialism was used as the only means to solve the economic, social and political problem of Ethiopia. To implement the nationalization of rural land, on March 4, 1975 rural land was proclaimed as public property and the land that was confiscated from the indigenous people by the successive monarchs were returned to the legitimate owners. This was great news especially for the Hadiya people who had suffered from lack of land.[41]

Individual farmers and commercial organizations were given enough provisions of land to use without owning it as private property. It also prevented the right to sell or transfer land and limited maximum possession to 10 hectares that a farmer can utilize. To form Peasant Associations, the government issued the necessary directives on March 20, 1975 and the burden of implementing this relied on the student campaign participants, the Ministry of Agriculture and Settlement, and the Ministry of Interior. In Hadiya, the campaigners explained the aims and

[40] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar, Asäfa Bunte, Anshiso Awilo and Abatikun Lamboro.
[41] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Asäfa Bunte, Firde T/Giorgis and Taräkägn Jifar.

objectives of land proclamation to the rural and urban people.[42] They confidently assured peasants that the relations between the landlords and tenants would be discontinued for once and for all.

There were some Hadiya tenants who were afraid of cooperating with the new political developments. Firstly, they suspected that it would not be implemented. Secondly, they thought that they could not economically survive unless they took some kinds of support from the landlords. Moreover, in Hadiya, some landlords and the *Balabats* were able to cheat certain peasant farmers with money, and the later became obstacle in the formation of Peasant Associations in Hadiya. To change the miss-understanding of the tenants, the campaigners had used their maximum effort. After strong agitations and teachings, the political consciousness of the Hadiya peasants was raised and they were able to form Peasant Associations at both *Ḳäbäle* and *Wäräda* levels. In collaboration with the campaigners, the Hadiya peasants said to have built a number of schools, bridges and constructed many feeder gravel roads in different parts of the *Awraja*.[43]

As mentioned above, the privileged classes appeared to have opposed the formation of Peasant Associations. The Hadiya peasants and campaigners, however, disarmed all the landlords and their supporters. In addition to this, they forced the formerly privileged classes to give oxen and other farming materials to peasants. The time when the later refused to give peasants important agricultural materials, they would be brought to the police stations. The campaigners searched for the stored grain of the landlords and distributed it among the poverty stricken peasant

[42] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Tasfahun Jinebo and Asäfa Bunte.
[43] Informants: Fikre Abäbä, Wändïmu Lambebo, Asäfa Bunte, Tasfahun Jinebo.

farmers. This action was a death blow to the formerly privileged classes who had exploited the Ethiopian peasantry for many years.[44]

At that time, the same as to the other parts of the country, landlords circulated unrealistic information in Hadiya so that they would disrupt the government's *Zämächa* program and reverse the ongoing revolution. The landlords were saying that the Hadiya peasants were to loot the urban dwellers in Hossana. On the other hand, they also disseminated similar false propaganda among the peasantry that the government was sending armed forces to devastate the rural Hadiya. The reason that led the landlords to disseminate false propaganda was to create rift between the Hadiya peasants and the campaigners on one hand and between the campaigners and the government on the other. The Hadiya peasants finally forced the landlords to run away from their areas and as a result, the later were reported to have flooded Hossana town or migrated to Addis Ababa and the northern parts of the country.[45]

During the summer of 1976, landlords gathered in Hossana from different parts of the *Awraja*. One day, according to informants, they spent the whole night firing guns in the town. They did this to terrorize the Hadiya people and student campaigners and above all to disturb the implementation of land reform in the area. The landlords did whatever thing they could to cease the materialization of the government program. It is said that they fired their guns to the sky and were acting as if they were surrounded by the Hadiya people.[46]

[44] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.
[45] Informants: Abäbäch Lätebo, Tadala Bidiko and Anshiso Awilo.
[46] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Taräkägn Jifar and Abatikun Lamboro.

The next day, the representatives of the landlords went to Addis Abäba and told the event to the central government authorities. They informed the central government about the danger they faced from the Hadiya people and the student campaigners. Following such accusations, the government sent two individuals to Hossana for scrutiny. The landlords tried to pretend that they were firing their guns the whole night in defense of their family from the Hadiya attack. After long conversation with the landlords, the two individuals who were sent from the central government went to the Saturday market in Hossana to ask the people about the situation. They also made detail interview with the student campaigners about the condition which was prevailing in Hassana. The campaigners asked the government representatives, "**ወይ የመሬት ከበርቴውን አስፈቱ፤ ወይም ህዝብን አስታጥቁ.**" "Either disarm the landlords or arm the people." Finally, the representatives of the central government approved that the campaigners had strong support from the people. Though one of the representatives made an attempt to incline to the landlords' side, the final victory went to the side of the campaigners and the people.[47]

The reality on the ground, however, was that the Hadiya peasants did not loot the urban dwellers and the government did not send armed forces to devastate the rural Hadiya people. Hence, the propaganda of the landlords did not achieve its desired goal. According to informants, some campaigners in Hadiya were misled by the unrealistic information of 'anti-revolutionary' elements and withdrew from their *Zämächa* but the majority continued agitating and teaching the peasantry until the end of the program and Peasant Associations were formed.[48]

[47] Informants: Solomon Ayala, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Aboche Takiso and Asäfa Bunte.
[48] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Firde Taklagiorgis and Abatikun Lamboro.

Having made unsuccessful attempt, some of the landlords in Hadiya and elsewhere in the south entered the forest so that they would fight against the government. It is said that some of the confused and frightened individuals of the Hadiya joined the rebellious landlords. The Hadiya peasants in collaboration with the government security forces were able to annihilate the landlords and their supporters.[49] Following tiresome efforts of the campaigners, the hitherto despised people began to think about their superiority on their areas.[50]

The campaigners established a number of market centers in the areas where such centers had not been previously founded. They taught the people about the importance of establishing markets in their locality. They also taught the people how to write and read, and were the one who paved the way for the upcoming literacy campaign in Hadiya. They were able to reduce theft from the Hadiya areas. Before the campaigners, it is said that theft was a serious problem in Hadiya. Some of the Hadiya oppressed tenants were using theft as a mechanism for survival. Since their produces and domestic animals were illegally taken by the landlords, the former had no alternatives except going to the houses of the landlords mostly during the night to steal their properties. So as to take out the produces and other materials, the thieves dig the ground near the house and create big hole. It was through this hole that they could take the properties of the landlords. Moreover, the campaigners humiliated witches who had been cheating the Hadiya people for long. They cleared the heir of the witches so that they would be able to convince the Hadiya people about the absence of spiritual power on their heir. This was mainly because the Hadiya people tended to associate the heir of witches with spiritual power.[51]

[49] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Womiso Dutiso, Maskalo Mege and Abatikun Lamboro.
[50] Informants: Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.
[51] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Askalach Tirkaso, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.

Their contributions, however, were not accomplished without problems. There were negative things that the campaigners had done unwittingly against the cultures and traditions of the Hadiya people. The campaigners said to have buried a thief at a place called Boshoana with his life. They were seen humiliating all elders of the Hadiya people by considering them as collaborators for the monarchical rule. They highly disgraced them and let others to do the same. The campaigners excluded elders from the societal meetings that had been undertaken in Hadiya. If they were in the meetings, they were not allowed to speak. The campaigners made hastly generalizations about elders in Hadiya. For them, all old people were instruments of the old regime and did this without having convincing evidences.[52]

The Hadiya students' contribution in the registration, distribution of lands and formation of Peasant Associations was immense. Significant number of students, however, used the *Zämächa* period as a good opportunity to incite opposition against the Därg. In particular, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP), a leftist organization, was said to have influenced highly the minds of the Hadiya campaigners and used such advantages to accomplish its programs. The Provisional Military Administrative Commission (PMAC) gave warning frequently to the Hadiya campaigners to refrain from spreading 'anti-revolutionary' ideas among the people.[53]

The Därg made the campaigners responsible for the presence of opposition forces in the rural areas of Hadiya.[40] PMAC wound up the first round of the campaign in August 1976. It refused to launch the second round, because most students were working against the interest of the Därg

[52] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.
[53] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Aboche Takiso.

and they used the occasion to incite the rural people of Hadiya (the same to the other parts) against it.[54]

On the other hand, as mentioned above, the Hadiya students played a very constructive role to bring the peasantry within the ambit of the revolution. Whatever the good or evil things the students had done, the *Zämächa* was wound up and the campaign participants were sent back either to their universities or schools or to work places so that they would resume their regular activities. The Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* administrators could not solve the problems that had been undertaken in their areas by underground forces. The *Awraja* rulers like Damaka Tasama, Gabrayasus Bäkälä, Assafa Barhe, Dasalagna Sharka, Alamayahu Tabor and Solomon Bogala did nothing to solve the problem. All of them were said to have ruled the *Awraja* from 1975 to 1978, which was very short period.[55]

8.1. *Käy Shïbïr* (Red Terror) in Hadiya

From the outset, as indicated above, the Därg was challenged by the civilian left. The later wanted to establish a civilian based peoples' government in the country.[56] At the beginning, the Därg worked hard to win their support and the population at large.[57] The military was willing to give its ears to their demands and even to accept some of their advices but not to handover or share power with them. Because of the second reason, the leftist groups intensified their oppositions and became dangers to military rule. From among the elements of the civilian left,

[54] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte and Anshiso Awilo.

[55] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Shifäraw Bifebo, Abatikun Lamboro and Aboche Takiso.

[56] Jacob Wiebel, '"Let the Red Terror Intensify': Political Violence, Governance and Society in Urban Ethiopia, 1976-1978," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.48, No.1, 2015, pp. 1-2; መንግስቱ ኃ/ማሪያም፣ ትግላችን፣ ገጽ 282.

[57] Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux, "Ethiopia's Revolution from Above," *Middle East Research and Information Project*, No.106, 1982, p.5.

the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP) was the main opposition group against the Därg, particularly in the period between 1976 and 1977. The EPRP tried to undermine the government by employing different mechanisms. It had used political leaflets and other Medias as a channel to reach the Ethiopian mass. The party even went to the extent that it took up arms against the Därg and began to kill the officials of the military rule both in the capital and the countryside.[58] It is true that their idea was accepted by considerable number of the *Zämächa* (campaigners) members.[59]

Eventually, an ideological arm of the Därg, the Provisional Office of Mass Organizational Affairs (POMOA) was introduced in 1976. The ideological debate that occurred between the EPRP and *Meison* (AESM, The All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement) first took place on the pages of the pamphlets, newspapers and other documents.[60] The debate did a lot to shape the thinking of the general population about the nature of the new Ethiopia. The All Ethiopian Socialist Movement (*Meison*) was willing to accept the ideas of military rule, at least for the moment.[61] "This they (*Meison*) did on the spurious grounds that the oppressed classes in Ethiopia lacked organizational and political sophistication to carry on the revolution, which only the military had."[62] On the other hand, the EPRP strongly demanded the immediate stepdown of the military

[58] Michael Chege, p. 372.
[59] Informants: Anshiso Awilo, Taräkägn Jifar and Abatikun Lamboro.
[60] Kiflu Tadese, "Some Thoughts …," pp. 206-207; Marina Ottaway, "Democracy and New Democracy: The Ideological Debate in the Ethiopian Revolution," *Ethiopianist Notes*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1978, p.1.
[61] አማረ ተግባሩ በየነ፣ ሀይሌ ፊዳና የግሌ ትዝታ፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ ነባዳን አሳታሚ ድርጅት፣ 2010 ዓ.ም.፣ ገጽ 104; Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux, p. 11; Wudu Tafata, "*Meison*: From Opposition to Critical Support, 1974-1977," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 44, 2011, p.47.
[62] Michael Chege, p.371.

junta from power.[63] Bahru says, "*Meison* saw the revolution as a long process and urged a gradualist approach emphasizing political education. Conversely, EPRP perceived the matter with considerable urgency, particularly in view of the multiple armed uprisings that were dotting the Ethiopian political landscape; hence the need to set up the revolutionary vanguard organization that will lead the masses to armed struggle under a common multi-national political program."[64] The debates which were undertaken between the EPRP and *Meison* inspired and taught the Därg to take the radical line.

By mid-1976, it was clear that, so as to maintain its possession over the state, the Därg should alter its ideological program and destroy the civilian left.[65] This was largely because the newly formed Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) and EPRP accepted EPLF's demand for an independent Eritrea, thereby forging an alliance to fight against the Därg. Democracia bulletin[66] contributors writes, "**ገደብ ያልተበጀለትን የብሄሮች የራስን ዕድል በራስ የመወሰን መብት ማወጅና ማክበር፣ የኤርትራንም ጥያቄ በኤርትራ ህዝቦች ፍላጎት ላይ በተመሰረተ ሰላማዊና ዴሞክራሲያዊ መንገድ መፍታት።**"[67] Its translation reads, "The unrestricted self-determination of the Ethiopian ethnic groups should be declared and respected. The Eritrean questions have to be solved by Eritrean peoples' decision through democratic ways."

[63] **ዴሞክራሲያ፣ <u>የዘመቻ ክብረ በአል</u>፣ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች አብዮታዊ ፓርቲ ልሳን፣ ልዩ እትም** 4፣ 1966፣ **ገጽ** 2-3.

[64] Bahru Zawde, *The Quest for Socialist Utopia, the Ethiopian Student Movement, c. 1960-1974,* Addis Abäba: Addis Abäba University Press, 2014, p. 254.

[65] Jacob Wiebel, p. 2.

[66] The main media of the EPRP during the Ethiopian revolution.

[67] **ዴሞክራሲያ፣ <u>የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች አብዮታዊ ፓርቲ በህብረት ግንባር ላይ ያለዉ አቋም</u>፣ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች አብዮታዊ ፓርቲ ልሳን፣ ልዩ እትም፣** 1969፣ **ገጽ** 3.

Division occurred within the Därg while its members were on the way to solve the problem that they had with opposition elements. This is to say that the members of the Därg were divided into two groups. One group which was headed by the chairman of the PMAC, Brigadier General Tafari Bante, wanted to follow a conciliatory approach to the minor differences that the Därg had with the opposition elements. Tafari and his associates in the PMAC believed that the minor differences among the progressive forces, including secessionist elements (EPLF) could be resolved through dialogue. The other group which was led by Colonel Mangistu Hailamariam held the view that their difference with EPRP, EDU and EPLF were irreconcilable and it had to be resolved with force. The only point of agreement between Tafari and Mangistu was the condemnation of EDU.

Finally, such disagreement within the PMAC was resolved through the ruthless execution of Tafari and his associates.[68] This was a victory for Colonel Mangistu and his compatriots in the Därg. Later on, because of his support to the ideas of Tafari Bante and his friends as well as the condemnation of the execution of such moderate personals, Colonel Atnafu Abate shared the same fate. Then, the government established revolutionary committees, at the national, regional, provincial, local and at work places to safeguard 'the victory of the revolution' against 'anti-revolutionaries'.[69] Accordingly, the Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* revolutionary committee was established.

[68]**አዲስ ዘመን፣ በአድሀሪ የደርግ አባሎች ላይ ስለተወሰደዉ እርምጃ የመለዮ ለባሹ ድጋፍ ቀጥሏል፣ ማክሰኞ የካቲት 1 ቀን 1969 ዓ.ም. ገጽ 1**; Jacob Wieben, p. 6.

[69]**ዴሞክራሲያ፣ የማን መንግስት? የማን ጦርነት?፣ ቅጽ 4፣ ቁጥር 9፣ ገጽ 4**; Rondi Ronning Balsvik, *The Quest for Expression, State and the University in Ethiopia Under Three Regimes, 1952-2005,* Addis Abäba: Addis Abäba University Press, 2007, p. 76; **አዲስ ዘመን፣ ህዝባዊ ሰራዊት፣ የሸፈቱ አድሀሪያንን ደመሰሰ፣ ረቡዕ ህዳር 24 ቀን 1969 ዓ.ም. ገጽ 1.**

But it was not before the coming of Petros Gäbre to Hossana that the Red Terror started in the *Awraja*. Petros Gäbre was a man from Kämbata and appointed as the main administrator of Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* in 1979. He came to the *Awraja* from Sidamo *Kifla Hagar* after the formation of *Abyotawi Sadad* party at the national level.[70]

As indicated above, when the Red Terror was in force at the national level in 1977 and 78, it was not active in Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja*. Killings and persecutions had not been undertaken in those years, despite the existence of minor disturbances in the high schools in Hossana. It is said that some elements of EPRP in Wachämo high school were said to have undertaken underground[71] activities within the students. They were using problems related to educational fees as a means to instigate students against the Därg.[72] They were engaged in writing the EPRP slogans on the walls of the school. Those students in Hossana who came from different parts of the country being part of Development through Cooperatives Campaign did their best to increase the revolutionary consciousness of the Hadiya people and also engaged in recruiting peasants to their political parties. Apart from such attempt, the Red Terror did not take the lives of Hadiya people before the coming of Petros Gäbre to the *Awraja* politics in 1979.[73]

In the summer of 1976, it is said that the EPRP members evacuated from their campaign sites in Hadiya and the surrounding areas.[74] They evacuated from the *Zämächa* (campaign) while others

[70]Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Taräkägn Jifar, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Abatikun Lamboro.

[71]ዴሞክራሲያ፣ <u>የዘመቻ ክብረ በአል</u>፣ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች አብዮታዊ ፓርቲ ልሳን፣ ልዩ እትም 4፣ 1966፣ ገጽ 2.

[72]Randi Ronning Balsvik, *Haila Selassie's Students: The Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1952-1974*, Addis Abäba: Addis Abäba University Press, 2005, p. 239.

[73] Informants: Firde Taklagiorgis, Gabramichael Wachämo and Abatikun Lamboro.

[74] *Ibid.*

continued to engage in it.[75] After their evacuation, according to the eye witness account, the EPRP members were making an attempt to stop educational activities in Hadiya land. They were saying '**ትምህርት ከድል በኋላ**' 'education after victory' and moved practically to force students stop their education. Though they were successful in some areas, many schools in Hadiya refused to cooperate with them. Asäfa Bunţe, my key informant says, "**እኔ በዚያን ጊዜ መራቢቾ በሚባል ቦታ ላይ ርዕሰ መምህር ነበርኩ። አሁን መራቢቾ ት/ቤት በጉራጌ ዞን ተጠቃሏል። 'ሀይስኩልና ዩኒቨርሲቲ ከተዘጉ ይዘጉ የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ት/ቤቶች ለምንድነዉ የሚዘጉት' ብዬ መራብቾ ት/ቤትን አልዘጋም አልኩ። በዚህ ምክንያት ብዙ የግድያ ማስፈራሪያ ከኢህአፓ አባላት ደርሶብኛል.**"[76] Its translation reads, "At that time, I was director for a school called Marabicho. Today, this school is being administered by Gurage zone. I refused to let the EPRP members close Marabicho School. I said to them, 'you can close the high schools and universities but it is not fair to close primary schools like Marabicho.' Because of such stand, the EPRP members gave me warnings frequently."

As mentioned above, Petros Gäbre appeared to have brought the Red Terror to Hadiya land after its completion in other parts of the country. He was known notoriously in killings and persecution in Sidamo[77] *Kifla Hagar* and was the leader of *Abiyotawi Sadad* party (the Därg affiliated one) there.[78]

[75] **መንግስቱ ሀይለማሪያም፣ ትግላችን፣ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ አብዮታዊ የትግል ታሪክ፣ ቅጽ 1፣ ጸሀይ አሳታሚና አከፋፋይ ድርጅት፣ ታህሳስ** 2004፣ **ገጽ** 284.

[76] Informant: Asäfa Bunte.

[77] Nowadays this name is changed to Sidama, not Sidamo.

[78] Informants: Aboche Lamboro, Damise Manside, Tilahun Alaro and Asäfa Bunte.

The Därg appeared to have given names like ‘reactionary’, ‘anarchy’, ‘anti-revolutionary’ and so on to the *Meison*, the EPRP and *Wazlig* parties in different times. In Hadiya, as it was in other parts of the country, the word ‘reactionary’ and ‘anarchy’ refer to anyone who opposed the policies of the military rule. The POMOA members in the *Awraja*, including Petros Gäbre were given full right to have arms and take stern measures against the opposition elements. Irresponsibly, arms were distributed to the Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* executive committees and revolutionary squads of urban dweller association. The *Awraja* PMAC members also armed the peasant militia and gave full power to kill anyone who was and suspected to be a member of the opposition groups.[79]

According to the eye witness account, Petros Gäbre started his killings and torture following the events that happened in the *Awraja* hall in 1979. The problem was created when the Ethiopian Marxist Leninist Democratic Front was on the way to prepare slogans for peaceful demonstration which was planned to be undertaken in Hossana town. The front was abbreviated in Amharic as **ኢማሌዲህ** (**ኢትዮጵያ ማርክሲስት· ሌኒኒስት· ዴሞክራቲክ ህብረት·**). Its members were *Ichat, Wazlig, Sadad* and others. At the night, a day before the peaceful demonstration was planned to be undertaken, disagreement created among its organizers.

Informants say that there were EPRP intruders in such inter-parties coalition. They penetrated into the front pretending that they were either the members of *Ichat* or *Wazlig*. While some of the pro-Därg elements were doing their best to prepare slogans that would support the parties’ coalition and denounce the ‘anti-revolutionary’ and ‘secessionist’ elements, the EPRP intruders

[79] Jacob Wiebel, pp. 7-8.

created problems. The later wrote a slogan that reads '**ኢማሌዲህ የገማ ጣቱን ይዞ አያሸንፍም**' 'EMLDU could not win with its decayed finger', to be displayed for the public in Hossana the next day.[80] The decayed finger for the EPRP intruders was *Abiyotawi Sadad* (Darg affiliated) party. Their intention was to isolate *Abiyotawi Sadad* from the coalition.

Such attempt on the part of the EPRP intruders created strong debate within the members of the organizing committee. The Därg affiliated individuals say that the slogan written by the underground elements should not be displayed, while others, especially those who prepared it, argued in favor of it. After long debate, the intruders gave up their stand and submitted to the ideas of individuals who opposed the display of the quarrelsome slogan. They gave up their stand suspecting the existence of members of *Sadad* party within them. They said that they were mistakenly doing that and asked pardon from members. As punishment, the coordinating committee ordered them to purchase the 45 volumes of Lenin books. This punishment, nevertheless, could not be applied on them, since the issue took the other directions.[81]

As the EPRP intruders rightly suspected, there were members of *Sadad* party who were there to spy the coordinators of the peaceful demonstration. They were reported to have sent from Petros Gäbre. They told everything to the later about the situation. The next day morning, Petros summoned all the coordinators of peaceful demonstration in his office. Then, he began to interrogate them with loud shouts and anger. He asked them to uncover individuals who were in favor of the 'destructive' slogan. Fearing persecutions, all the EPRP intruders raised their hands.

[80] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Abatikun Lamboro, Taräkägn Jifar and Gabramichael Wachämo.

[81] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.

Then, he also asked the coordinators to know individuals who stood against it. Asäfa Bunţe, Shigute Kenore, Gabramichael Abamo and others raised their hand. Then, members who participated or favored the 'anti-revolutionary' slogan were taken to prison.[82]

Following such event, search teams were organized in the *Awraja* and began the work of exposing the members of the EPRP. The house to house searches and night raids were planned to be implemented by Revolutionary Development Committees in collaboration with the security squadrons.[83] The committee was established with members from mass organizations, POMOA. So as to expose the EPRP members, searches had been intensified in the meetings mostly conducted in villages and work places. The *Awraja* cadres or its agents usually chaired such meetings. In such places, before stressing the need to expose individuals who were either members or sympathizers of the "enemies" of the revolution, the *Awraja* chairperson would make a lengthy speech by enumerating the achievements of the revolution and the designs of the enemies of the revolution to reverse it.

After the speech, the process of exposing EPRP suspects would begin. The members of the 'anti-revolutionary' or 'anarchists' (this was tagged mainly on the EPRP members) who were presented at the meeting would be given the opportunity to expose themselves voluntarily. Failure to make voluntary confession would lead the chairperson to invite others in the meeting to expose them. Mostly, it was individuals who were put in the meetings by the Därg took the

[82] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Taräkägn Jifar and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[83] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Taräkägn Jifar.

initiative to expose others. Those who were exposed either voluntarily or by other means were taken to detention centers in Hossana.[84]

It is said that many of the EPRP members were said to have been exposed especially after the imprisonment of a person named Fantahun Mazamir. As a result of the hard work that the house-to-house search teams and the night raids conducted, Fantahun was suspected of being the member of EPRP and taken to the *Awraja* detention room. In the prison, (at the present day Hossana Police station) while some members of the *Awraja* POMOA members were interrogating him, the later asked them to give some minutes and report the event on paper. They gave him permission to write his report using one of the offices in the police station. Having entered the office, he closed the door and took blade from his pocket and cut his neck. Using his blood as ink, he wrote on the office wall, '**ድል ለኢህአፓ**', or 'victory to *Ihapa* (EPRP)'. Then, Petros took personally the initiative to save the life of this person, at least for the moment. He was taken to Balesa clinic and his life was saved.[85]

Then, the *Awraja* POMOA members asked Fantahun Mazamir to give them the document which had lists of individuals who were members of the EPRP. Unfortunately, Fantahun gave them the document. He did this because of the promise he was given that he would not be killed if he disclosed the 'anti-revolutionary' elements. Then, the security forces collected the disclosed individuals in the *Awraja* Police station. The following day, mass rally was forcibly held at Hossana square. It was intended to show the people about the achievements of the POMOA in discovering the members of "anti- revolutionary" forces in the *Awraja*. In front of the mass rally,

[84] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Gabramichael Wachämo and Abatikun Lamboro.
[85] Informants: Firde Taklagiorgis, Asäfa Bunte, and Abatikun Lamboro.

these suspected personalities were obliged by Petros to admit their deeds as members of the EPRP. They admitted that they were members of the EPRP.[86]

In the middle of the ongoing challange, division was created within the EPRP members in Hadiya. Such division was extended from the split which was already occurred at the national level. They were divided as *Gang* and *Anja*. It was the Därg government which was believed to have created divisions within the EPRP party. The EPRP members in Hossana began to disclose each other to the government.[87] The split helped the Därg to gather much information about the 'anti-revolutionary' elements in the *Awraja*.[88]

As indicated above, the Därg gave blank sheet for all authorities up to the *Ḳäbäle* level to take stern measures against the EPRP members.[89] In the *Awraja,* the killers were given a name called 'Mäntïr Committee'. In 1979, the *Awraja* 'Mäntïr committee' (eliminating committee), with the help of the house to house searches and night raids, executed who were members or suspected of being members of the 'anti-revolutionaries', especially the EPRP in two rounds.[90] The first round claimed the lives of 15 people at a mountainous place called Chacha, which was located in Kämbata on the road side between Shinshicho and Durame towns. The second and the most atrocious execution were conducted to eliminate 26 people in the Adjora valley, in the present Omo Shalako *Wäräda,* in Kämbata. Moreover, some people say the committee killed unknown

[86] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Firde Taklagiorgis, Aboche Takiso and Taräkägn Jifar.

[87] **አዲስ ዘመን፣ ተማሪዎች አናርኪስቶችን ከትምህርት ቤት ማጋለጥ ጀመሩ፣ ረቡዕ የካቲት 2 ቀን 1969 ዓ.ም.፣ ገጽ 1.**

[88] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Täsäma Abo.

[89] **ዴሞክራሲያ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ፓርቲ፣ ቅጽ 4፣ ቁጥር 10፣ ገጽ 3;** Balsvik, The Quest …, p. 77.

[90] **ዴሞክራሲያ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ፓርቲ፣ ቅጽ 4፣ ቁጥር 10፣ ገጽ 2.**

number of individuals at Lamo, in Sorro Hadiya, on the way between the present days Duna *Wäräda* of Hadiya to Mudula, the capital of Omo Shalako district. But my informants could not remember the exact number of victims who were executed at Lamo. The execution was mostly carried out at night or in the early morning. Those who possessed innocently the leaflets and other written records of the EPRP were not spared from the wanton killings of the search teams.[91]

Aboche Takiso and other informants remember the names and occupations of some of the assassinated individuals in the sites mentioned above. According to Aboche, most of the EPRP victims were executed in the Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* were promising intellectuals who could contribute to the development of the country in general and the *Awraja* in particular. Among the victims he remembers: Fantahun Mazamir, Aschanaki Abitaw, Sintayehu Makonin, Yosef Gabayahu, Barakat Yosef, Asrate Alamu, Mogas Lama, Tashoma Nagash, Minda Gabramichael, Admasu Zawde, Abäbaw Batsaha, Aklilu Falaka, Astatke Falaka and so on.[92]

Anshiso Awilo, my key informant, who was saved from the third round Red Terror attack recalls:

> I was in Gojjam during the campaign. After discovering uncompromising activities there, the government disbanded us to different parts of the country. Following such decision, *Shalläka* Wubishat Dase ordered me to return to Addis Abäba and go to Hossana. He was the coordinator for the northern parts of Ethiopia, region 2 Development Through Cooperation Campaign. I came to my birth place in 1976 hiding important EPRP documents in the car. At this time, there were no strong EPRP movements in Hossana. While I was wandering to find EPRP friends, I got my nephew (Aklilu Däboch) through the system of 'Abstract reading'. 'Abstract reading' is a kind of reading that only the EPRP members were capable to read and write. I discovered my

[91] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Taräkägn Jifar and Anshiso Awilo.
[92] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.

> nephew being member of EPRP while we were walking on the streets of Hossana. Then we began to work for EPRP together. I got EPRP printing machine. It helped us to duplicate leaflets and other important documents. My nephew had EPRP seal to put it on the printed papers and distribute in Hossana. In 1977, through the leaflets and other underground activities, we were able to control Hossana youths. Aklilu was a double agent. This is to mean that he was working for both the Därg and EPRP. But his heart was with EPRP. After the elapse of some months, division was created in the EPRP. It was divided into 2 as *Gang* and *Anja*. I became the member of *Gang*. After this, the two contending groups began to expose one another before the Därg. Due to such actions, Aklilu was exposed and taken to prison in Hossana. Following the extreme torture inflicted upon his body, he exposed me. Then the Därg security forces took me to the prison. Through hard torch and *Wafelala* flogging method, Aklilo lost all his finger nails. They also torched me in a similar way. While we were waiting for execution, Aklilu said to me, 'it is not good to lose two individuals from the same family. Tell the security force that the duplicating machine belongs to me, and not yours.' I did what he told me to do. Then, they categorized him under the group who were planned to be murdered at first stage and put my name in the third group. 15 individuals including Aklilu Däboch who were classified under the first group were killed at Chacha valley. 26 individuals out of 31 were murdered atrociously at Ajora valley in the second stage. The third stage massacre was cancelled with the mercy came from the central government. Following such cancellation, my life was saved miraculously.[93]

It is said that killings, in most cases, were used for settling personal conflicts or other reasons unrelated to the revolution. The cadres tended to accept information without crosscheck and took actions. There was competition among the *Awraja* POMOA members to score the highest number of execution. Such an endeavor appeared to have increased the number of victims of the red terror. The assassinations created a sense of insecurity and uncertainty in the *Awraja.* It seemed that both the government and 'anti-revolutionaries' welcomed the effect that was created by their acts. In different occasions, according to informants, the Därg members in Hossana tended to associate their assassinations as a response to the malicious deeds which were done by the 'anti-revolutionary' elements.[94] In 1979, the Red Terror in Hadiya districts, as claimed by the

[93] Informant: Anshiso Awilo.
[94] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Taräkägn Jifar.

Därg broke the backbone of the major enemy of the PMAC and POMOA, which was the EPRP. The surviving members of the EPRP retreated to different areas in and outside the country.[95]

Some argue that many of the victims of Red Terror in the *Awraja* were Hadiya in their ethnic origin and so, Petros, a man from Kämbata, was taking racist actions against them. For such individuals, Kämbata elites were engaged in disclosing the underground activities of the Hadiya EPRP members to Petros Gäbre and let the later to launch his deadly attacks against them. Sometimes, the Kämbata were seen accusing the Hadiya elites who had no relationship with the opposition groups in the area. This is to say that the Kämbata were in a state of revenge against the Hadiya who participated in the struggle for Hadiya identity in the late 1960s and early 1970s. On the other hand, there were informants who argue that the majority individuals who were killed during the Red Terror were not Hadiya in their race.[96] Depending on the names of the victims of the red terror and other sources, it is possible to conclude that the majority were not Hadiya in their ethnic lines. Many of the heritages of Petros's hard work (both tangible and intangible) in Hossana indicated that he was a revolutionary, not a racist. Once upon a time, according to the eye witness account, Petros gathered forcibly the Hadiya and Kämbata adult population in Hossana stadium. Then, he ordered the two contending ethnicities to hag and greets each other. All people were said to have done what Petros told to do. The later did this to let the two ethnic groups work together for the success of revolution and stop their quarrel which have been started since the time of identity struggle in the late 1960s.

[95] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Anshiso Awilo.
[96] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.

Informants say Petros was a person led by emotion and wanted to solve every problem in his administrative jurisdiction with force. When he got workers in the town during working hours, he was said to have used his force as a means to punish them. He had also employed his strong muscle against those individuals who were believed to have conspired against the Därg. Nothing illustrates this better than my informant, Firde Takla Giorgis, a man who had worked in the same compound with Petros Gäbre. Firde says:

> *Petros was one of the few devoted peoples for change during the Därg regime. It is not shame to say that Petros was the apostle of change in Hadiya and Kämbata Awraja. He tended to supervise each and every work progress of the Awraja by moving personally from place to place using horses, car and in some cases on his foot. When he found mistakes done by anybody during his move, he used to beat the person who committed the mistake. In most cases, he would not want to take the matter to the police and Awraja court or to the higher governmental offices in the province. Since he was physically huge, he was feared by anybody in the Awraja. Sometimes, he used to visit market places in Hossana alone. During his visit, had he encountered any person who was making mistakes like cheating clients or asking extra cost for some items etc…, he took action automatically and punished the individual on the spot. Among others, one day while he was in his journey to Gimbichu, one of the Hadiya towns in Sorro, he saw a farmer tilling his hilly land up down style. Then, he stopped his car and run to the farmer. After he bitted the farmer, he showed him the way how to till the land which is hilly.*[97]

From this, one can say that Petros was a revolutionary and eager to see changes in his administration within short period of time. This means that the driven force behind Petros to execute his programs was his eagerness to see changes in the *Awraja.* Whatever means he used, he had done a lot of good things in Hossana and its surroundings.[98]

But all his achievements lost credit because of his emotional behavior that resulted in the death of many innocent and promising educated individuals, although it was the then policy of the

[97]Informant: Firde Taklagiorgis.

[98] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Firde Taklagiorgis, Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.

Därg government. It is said that, as a chairman of the revolutionary committee for the Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja,* Petros liquidated many people who were suspected of being members of 'anti-revolutionary' groups. Initially, such stand was supported by the members of the *Meison (*All Ethiopian Socialist Movement). However, *Meison* became the victim of its own convictions in Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja*.[99]

From among the many political parties, according to the eye witness account, the first to arrive in Hossana was *Meison*. In 1976, it opened its office in the capital of the *Awraja.* It came to Hossana in collaboration with the Därg. This is to say that they decided to work with the Därg, despite their political differences.[100] The EPRP members in Hossana levelled the *Meison* members as collaborators (*Banda* in Amharic) to the Därg. The renowned *Meison* members in Hossana were Alamu Waldahana, Taräkägn Jifar, Adbacho Wachiso, Asäfa Gibore, Ayala Seyum, Zalaka Seyum, Damise Seyum, Asras Lambebo, Fikre Däbo, Daniel Makiso, Tsädäkä Erose, Eshatu Erancho, and Tasfaye Waldamaskal. From among them, Alamu was the regional leader of *Meison* party. The region Alamu was assigned to lead included Hadiya, Kämbata, Gurage and Wolayta. Tasfaye Waldamaskal and Asäfa Gibore were at the forefront and the main organizing elements of the *Meison* party in Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja*. Informants say the 1976 and 1977 was the time when *Meison* reached its peak in Hadiya.[101] In the late 1977, however, the Därg began to persecute the *Meison* members at the national level in general and the Hadiya in particular.

[99] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar and Asäfa Bunte.
[100] Jacob Wiebel, p. 4.
[101] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte, Firde Taklagiorgis and Aboche Takiso.

There are informants who used to accuse the *Meison* members for arrogant behavior they had showed in Hossana and other parts of the *Awraja* during their heydays. One of my key informants says, "**ሜኤሶኖች እራሳቸዉን የመንግስት አካል አድርገዉ በማየት በጥጋብ ሰማይ ጥግ ደርሰዉ ነበር። ሆሳዕና ከተማ ዉስጥ ሆቴል ገብተዉ ምግብ በልተዉ፣ መጠጥ ጠጥተዉ ሳይከፍሉ ይወጡ ነበር። ሜኤሶን ባለመሆናችን እኛም ችግር ዉስጥ ገብተን ነበር። አይሆንም ባልን ቁጥር ችግር ይፈጥሩብን ነበር።**"[102] This is translated as, "*Meison* members tended to consider themselves part of the government and they were doing virulent works against others in Hossana. In this town, they were seen refusing to pay the price after they eat and drink in Hotels and grocery. We all were under problem, simply because we were not the members of *Meison.* I even personally faced problem because of my oppositions to their malicious deeds." But one of the *Meison* members in Hossana tried to defend his former party and argued that such accusations emanated allegedly from the former EPRP members. Many of the members of the later in Hossana, according to him, were the sons and daughters of *Näfṭägna* and *Mälkägna*. In their heydays, the *Meison* were reported to have controlled the Hadiya peasants. This is to say that the majority Hadiya peasants became the ardent supporters of the *Meison* party, though their support could not stay long.[103]

As elsewhere in Ethiopia, the EPRP members wanted to abolish the Därg and establish Provisional Peoples' Government. They were in need of forcing the Därg to handover its power to the provisional government that they planned to form.[104] *Meison*, however, supported the military to rule the country until the Ethiopian peoples were capable of taking power. For them,

[102] Informant: Asäfa Bunte.

[103] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar and Abatikun Lamboro.

[104] ደሞክራሲያ፣ <u>የዘመቻ ክብረ በአል</u>፣ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች አብዮታዊ ፓርቲ ልሳን፣ ልዩ እትም 4፣ 1966፣ ገጽ 2.

the Ethiopian people were not capable of taking power from the military group. They argued that creating public awareness and widening the political horizons of the minds of the Ethiopian people should precede controlling political power.[105] Depending on their sophisticated underground activity, the EPRP were seen attacking the *Meison* in different ways. Abiyo Ersamo, one of the influential EPRP leaders at the national level, was the one who became the main organizer of the EPRP members in Hossana.[106]

In 1976, the Därg opened an office called '**ጊዜያዊ ህዝባዊ ድርጅት ጽ/ቤት**' 'Provisional Peoples' Organization Office' in Hossana. A *Meison* member named Ayala Seyum was the first chairman of this office. He recruited successfully a large number of youths to *Meison*. He worked hard to make *Meison* mightier than others which also included the Därg. Discovering his denigrating activities in the *Awraja*, the Därg transferred him to Waliso. He was replaced by Daniel Katiso, a man from Kämbata ethnic group, to administer the office. He was acting as if he was the member of the *Wazlig* party, but his heart was in love with EPRP. Following his appointment, the EPRP members in Hossana were able to get spaces to intrude into the *Wazlig* party. After successfully penetrating into the *Wazlig* party, the confidence of the EPRP members was raised to the extent that they began to terrify the *Meison* and other contending groups in the *Awraja*. Students at Wachämo high school who were members of the EPRP and *Meison* started to quarrel and, unlike the previous times, the former got the upper hand over the later.[107]

[105] **ክፍሉ ታደሰ፣ <u>ያ ትዉልድ፣</u> ቅጽ 1፣ 2006፣ ገጽ 125;** Marina Ottaway, pp. 1-2.
[106] Informants: Anshiso Awilo and Taräkägn Jifar.
[107] Informants: Anshiso Awilo, Asäfa Bunte, Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

As indicated above, the Därg persecuted *Meison* members in Hossana before the EPRP. The major issue that brought *Meison* party to clash with the Därg was the idea of '**ዴሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች ለጭቁኖች አሁኑኑ**', 'Democratic rights for the oppressed immediately'.[108] This stand was held mainly by the *Meison* leaders at the national level and was extended to the *Meison* group in Hadiya. It is said that such view began to be held by the *Meison* members both at the national and *Awraja* levels since the late 1977.

It is worthwhile to mention that it was the *Meison* party which was the first to arrive and the first to disappear from Hossana in particular and the *Awraja* in general. The *Meison* members started to exterminate following the disagreement which was created in Addis Abäba between Haile Fida (the country wide *Meison* leader), and the Därg. In Hossana, the Därg dispatched individuals from *Abiyotawi Sadad* to uncover the members of *Meison* party who had been working against the interest of the government. In the *Awraja*, it is said that the members of *Meison* were doing their best to hijack the government power from the Därg officials. After the exposure of the *Meison* members, persecution followed. Many people who were and suspected of being the members of *Meison* party were tortured and some of them were killed.[109]

The chairman of *Meison* peasant association in Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* named Mege Embelo was killed by the Därg in 1978. With him, a person named Gobana Makoro was attacked with a gun, but his life was survived. The night before the death of Mege, the Därg undertook public meeting at today's Hossana bus station and let the people to criticize the *Meison* leaders, particularly Mege and Gobana. It was Daniel Katiso and *Shalaka* Kassaye Aragaw who prepared

[108] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar, Asäfa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.
[109] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar and Aboche Takiso.

public meeting in Hossana. In the meeting, the EPRP intruders and the *Wazlig* members were at the forefront in denouncing the works of the *Meison* party in the *Awraja*. On that day in the afternoon, they were said to have repeated the same kinds of meeting in the Mekana Yasus Synod hall and let the people to criticize the *Meison* members. Then, *Shalläka* Kassaye left the hall ordering Daniel to kill Mege and his friend, Gobana.[110]

When the night came, Daniel, accompanied by revolutionary security forces went to the house of Asras Lambebo where the aforementioned *Meison* leaders took their rest. They knocked the door when they arrived at the get of the house. Unfortunately, it was Mege who opened the door. The time when they see Mege at the door they shot at him and entered to the house and repeated their offense on his friend Gobana. Their friend, Ayala Ashamo, who was with them during the night, was able to escape from death. Ayala Ashamo was the one who was assigned to keep the money collected from the *Awraja* peasants who were the *Meison* members. With them, there was also a member of *Meison* named Daniel Makiso who was also escaped from death.[111]

The next day, one of the strongest coordinator of *Meison* party in the *Awraja* named Taräkägn Jifar left Hossana to Boshoana (one of the rural ḳäbäles' in Hadiya). He stayed in Boshoana for 8 months while the *Awraja* security forces were looking for him day and night. His enemies, particularly the EPRP members, disseminated unrealistic information about him. They told to the *Awraja* administration about his escape from Hossana and collaboration with the Dalocha[112] EDU bandit, Azazaw Wube, who had been fighting the Därg.[113]

[110] Informants: Abatikun Lambor, Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.
[111] Informants: Aboche Takiso and Taräkägn Jifar.
[112] It is a town in Silte Zone, southern Ethiopia.
[113] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar, Firde Taklagiorgis, Asäfa Bunte and Gabramichael Wachämo.

In 1978, the government made a call for individuals who took arms and entered the forest to fight against the Därg. Having heard the news, Taräkägn returned to Hossana so that he would surrender and lead peaceful life. After his arrival in Hossana, he gave his hand to Tilahun Farada, the then vice administrator of the *Awraja*. Tilahun asked him why he entered into the forest to fight the Därg. Taräkägn responded that he did not enter into the forest; rather he stayed for 8 months in his family home in Boshoana. Moreover, he told him that he went to Boshoana to escape death that might be inflicted upon him by the EPRP members who intruded into the *Wazlig* and *Abiyotawi Sadad* parties. While he was talking to the vice administrator, those who intruded into *Wazlig* and *Sadad* came to the office so that they would take Taräkägn outside. Their plan was to kill him before disclosing their presence in the *Sadad* and *Wazlig* parties.[114] Being against their interest, the vice-administrator send him to police station and then to prison. At the time when Taräkägn came back to Hossana to give his hand to the government, Petros Gäbre (the main administrator of the *Awraja*) was in Addis Abäba. Petros returned to Hossana and interrogated Taräkägn so that the later would disclose the *Meison* members in Hossana. Taräkägn, however, told Petros about the background of Daniel Katiso. He told him about his linkage with the EPRP party. Nevertheless, Petros did not take any measure against Daniel. After a month, discovering his hidden agenda, Daniel was taken to Addis Abäba for imprisonment.[115]

The rulers who administered the Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* during the Därg starting from 1974 to 1989 are listed below:

[114] Informant: Taräkägn Jifar.

[115] Informants: Taräkägn Jifar, Aboche Takiso, Asäfa Bunte, Anshiso Awilo, Abatikun Lamboro and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Administrators	Period
Dajane Tasama (Colonel)	1975
Gabrayasus Bäkälä (*Mäto Aläḳa*)	1975 – 1976
Assafa Barhe (*Shalläka*)	1976 – 1977
Dassalagn Sharka (*Shalläka*)	1977 – 1978
Alamayahu Tabor (*Ato*)	1978
Solomon Bogala (*Shambäl)*	1978
Petros Gäbre *(Mäto Aläḳa*)	1979 -1988

Table 4: A table that shows the names of Kämbata and Hadiya Awraja administrators during the Darg regime.

After 1989, each *Wäräda* got the *Awraja* status and began to be administered from *Dabub* Shäwa Administrative Area, Zway. This is to say that the former *Wärädas* of the *Awraja* like Lemo, Sorro, Misha, Badäwacho and others were given *Awraja* status for a short period from 1989 to 1991.

8.2. Developmental Activities, Literacy Campaign and Villagization in Hadiya.

Since the 1960s, there were intense developmental activities which had been undertaken by the Hadiya people in their areas. They had done great contributions in the areas of infrastructure, health, education and so on. In the 1960s and 70s, there were educational and medical supports from Western European countries to Hadiya and other parts of the country. The Haila Selassie government was seen encouraging the Hadiya people to contribute money and labor for development. The government, however, was not in a position to let the Western support to

infiltrate into the Hadiya without the contributions of the local people.[116] Particularly, the involvement of the Swedish government humanitarian agencies in Hadiya prior to the coming of the Därg regime to Ethiopian politics was great.[117] The letter written from Shäwa province to its 11 sub-provinces reads, "**ከስዊድን መንግስት ጋር የተደረገዉ ስምምነት ህዝቡ ራሱን በመርዳት ለምሳሌ አንድ ብር ሲያዋጣ እንዲሁም የስዊድን መንግስት አንድ ብር የሚያክልበት ሆኖ ትምህርት ቤት የሚሰራዉ ድርጅት ወይም ህዝብ በባንክ በኩል ገቢ ሲያደርግ አጋማሹን መዋጮ በስዊድን መንግስት እርዳታ እየተከፈለ** …"[118] This is translated as, "We made agreement with the Swedish government that the later would help developmental activities in any area in Ethiopia when the people dwelled there contributed half of the cost of the project. This is to mean that when the people contributed voluntarily 1 birr and saved it in the bank, the Swedish government would add 1 more birr." The Hadiya people had contributed enthusiastically their wealth and labor whereby they could get the promised support from the Swedish government. Through the method of receipt grants, attempt was made by the government to control the money which was collected from the people.[119] Contrary to this, however, there were government officials in the *Awraja* and *Wärädas* who had been forcing the Hadiya people to contribute money without receipt or sometimes fake receipts. Many times, individuals in Hadiya reported to have gone to Addis Abäba to expose the illegality of their

[116] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Shifäraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[117] Bahru Zawde, *A History of …,* p. 221.
[118] A letter written from Shäwa province to its 11 sub-provinces, dated March 13, 1963 E.C., No. አ/11632/50/39.
[119] A letter written from the Ministry of Interior to Marha Tibab Matamia Bet, dated July 29, 19 63 E.C., No. 17680/40.

rulers and stop their corruptive deeds.[120] This is to mean that the *Wäräda* and *Awraja* rulers tended to use the government policy for their own personal advantages.

The gravel road which was constructed from Alamgana to Wolayta was one of the greatest contributions of the Hadiya, Sïlti, Kämbata, Gurage, Wolayta and so on. This project, however, was implemented entirely by the labor and budget of the people of the surrounding area.[121] This road is still working and serving as the main road from Addis Abäba to the southern direction. The construction of Alamgana-Wolayta gravel road was started on May 27, 1970 and completed on November 29, 1975. "**ሻለቃ ይልማ ሺበሺ ሆሳዕና ላይ የአባቱን መድከምና መዛል ትኩር ብሎ ተመለከተና እንዲህ ብሎ ጠየቀዉ። አባቱ ከየት ነዉ የምትመጣዉ? አለዉ። አባቱም ከአዲስ አበባ ብሎ መለሰለት። በምን መጣህ? ሲለዉ በእግሬ ብሎ መለሰለት። አይዞህ አባቱ እኔ መንገዱን አሰራለሁ ሲለዉ በቦታዉ የነበሩ ሰዎች ሳቁበት።።**"[122] Its translation is, "After seriously observing his father's exhaustion, *Shalläka* Yilma asked 'my father, where are you coming from?' 'I am coming from Addis Abäba,' his father responded. Then, the son asked, 'What means you used to come to here?' The father said, 'On my foot.' People who were there laughed at the son when the later said to his father 'no problem, one day I will construct the road." It was *Shalaka* Yilma who said this in the early 1940s. This quote is an indication of the hilarious situations that the Hadiya people had faced on their way to Addis Abäba. At the time, the Hadiya people had to go to Addis Abäba on their foot for about three days facing many challenges that ranged from starvation to dangerous animal attack. So as to bring his vision to reality, *Shalaka*

[120] A letter written from Bitwadad Zawde Gabrahiwat, Ministry of Interior, to the 11 provinces, dated December 22, 1962 E.C., No. 2139/45; Petition letter written from Angacha *Wäräda* people to Getahun Täsäma, Ministry of Interior, dated April 25, 1964 E.C.

[121] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Aboche Takiso.

[122] Informant: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

Yilma in collaboration with *Ḳägnazmach* Seyum Anore and other prominent individuals began to coordinate the Hadiya and other neighboring peoples.[123]

From the outset, the process of establishing legal committee that would undertake developmental works was the challenge that the aforementioned individuals faced. But *Shalaka* Yilma, *Ḳägnazmach* Seyum and other active personalities of the area began to work hard so that they would be able to convince Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* ruler and the Emperor to establish legal committee. They went to Addis Abäba and told to the Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* ruler about the consequences of the absence of road on their people. They talked to him that the Hadiya, Sïlti, Gurage, Kämbata, Ṭämbaro and Wolayta were going to Walkite on their foot before having bus that could take them to Addis Abäba. They continued to tell the *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* ruler that, on their way, their people were exposed for starvation, and being killed by dangerous animals.[124]

Gradually, it is said that the number of coordinators and responsible individuals for the purpose of the project were increased. They began to meet near Addis Abäba municipality at a specific grocery called King George. The names of the coordinators who used to meet at this grocery were *Ḳägnazmach* Seyum Anore, *Ḳägnazmach* Mola Maru, *Ato* Habtayas Mogasa, *Ato* Gabrayas Oda, *Ato* Gulilat Walda Yohaness, *Ato* Shäwal Dama, *Ḳägnazmach* Wälde Ayano and *Ato* Biratu Dagaga. These individuals were said to have determined to bring their plan to its end. They decided to get the budget for the cause of the construction of the road in two ways: one was from the surrounding people and the second one was that depending on the collected money, they planned to go to the government for support.[125]

[123] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Aboche Takiso and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[124] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[125] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Gabramichael Wachämo.

The collection of money was undertaken by the *Balabats*, cultural *Danas*, and volunteer individuals. They were gathering the money starting from 1 Birr and were able to collect large sum of money from the people of Hadiya, Wolayta, Kämbata, Gurage, Sïlti, Ṭämbaro and so on. The Hadiya people who were living in Wänji, Mätähara, Nuraera, Asab, Dire Dawa and Sidama were able to contribute great deal of money for the project. *Haji* Mohamad Rahmato, Sïlti man, was said to have collected a good amount of money from his people who made their abode in Addis Abäba. The cultural and political leaders of Wolayta, Kämbata and others were also coordinated their people for the cause of the project.[126]

According to the eye witness account, the coordinators sent Gabrayas Oda to *Ras* Masfin Silashi so that the later would give recognition to the committee which was already established in Addis Abäba. As mentioned above, the Hadiya already told the problematic situation that they had been facing while they were going to Addis Abäba. From this, one can understand that Gabrayas's move was the second time trial which was aimed to convince the *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* ruler for recognition. Gabrayas went to the office of the *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*, but *Ras* Masfin told him that he would give him response after communicating with the Emperor. In 1970, the emperor gave them recognition. Following this, the coordinators undertook their meeting in the compound of St. Raguel, in Addis Abäba, to re-elect the central committee members that could bring the project to its end. Then, they were able to elect members of the central committee from all sects of the people mentioned above. Then, they began to work publicly for the materialization of the project. They also created the organizations' emblem which had the image of two shaking hands. They also listed out the names of the towns that would be connected with the planned road. They

[126] Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo, Shifäraw Bifebo and Damise Mänsido.

came to the decision that the road would be started from Alamgana and go through Geja, Bacho, Sodo, *Maräḳo*, Maskan, Sïlti, Hadiya, Kämbata and Wolayta.[127]

For the realization of the project, Emperor Haila Selassie circulated letters to *Balambaras* Mahtama Selassie Waldamaskal (ministry of work), *Ras* Masfin Selashi (Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* governor general and the overall superintendent of the project), General Yilma Shibashi (commander of Ethiopian police force), Shäwal Waldamariam (manager for Ethiopian road authority) and General Shifäraw Tasama (Minister for Ethiopian defense force). The Emperor wrote to these important personalities to flatten the ups and downs that the committee would face during the implementation process. For the purpose of the overall administration and budget control, the government appointed three individuals. These were General Yilma Shibashi (the main chairman of the project), *Haji* Mohammad Rahmato (the vise chairman and administrator of the project), *Ato* Gabrayas Oda (vice chairman and plan leader for the project), *Ato* Kalkile Endashaw (secretary for the project) and *Ato* Garasu Huluka (finance administrator for the project).[128]

The committee announced to the public who were living in surrounding areas about the cultural punishment mechanisms which was intended to be implemented on those individuals who refused to collaborate to the project. Such punishment mechanism was called *Dambusa*. It was appeared to be applied to all people who were crossed by the road. Every individual in Hadiya was expected to help the project with money and labor. If they failed to do this, they would be exposed for *Dambusa* punishment. It was so harsh that some 40 and more individuals had to go to the person's home that refused to contribute to the developmental project. After arrival at

[127] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Firde Taklagiorgis and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[128] Informants: Firde Taklagiorgis, Taräkägn Jifar, Damise Mänsido and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.

home, they were said to have confiscated all the properties that the person possessed. This was done with official permission of the Ethiopian police force commander, General Yilma Shibashi. When a person became resistant to cooperate to the project, the committee would inform Yilma Shibashi about the situation and the later reported to have ordered the aforementioned number of people to go to the home of the resistant person for plunder. Because of the existence of such harsh punishment system, it is said that no one would refuse to cooperate to the project. Once the *Dambusa* was decided by the police force commander, it was hard to stop its implementation. It is said that some of the participants of *Dambusa* were police members who, with the help of their weapons, tended to take whatever the personal properties of the resistant person. But there were reports of illegal activities on the side of the committee members. They asked the Hadiya people for contributions which were sometimes beyond their capacity. Wearing legal masks, such individuals were seen doing illegal activities against the Hadiya and the surrounding ethnic groups. This is to mean that the materialization of such developmental projects believed to have opened the way for the exploitations of the local people.[129]

With the exception of the Alamgana Wolayta road project, according to my informants, the *Awraja* and *Wäräda* rulers in Hadiya tended to forbid the people from other developmental activities. There were attempts on the part of the people of the *Awraja* to build health centers and schools, but the rulers were not in a position to allow them to engage in such activities. The

[129] A letter written from vice-minister for the Ministry of Interior dated December 3, 1961 E.C.; Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Shifäraw Bifebo.

Hadiya and other surrounding peoples were also trying to construct Durame-Hossana and Walkite-Hossana roads.[130]

In 1971, with direct involvement of the administrators, another committee was established in Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja.* They planned to undertake different developmental projects. Ruga Ashame, Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* administrator became the main superintendent of such developmental committee.[131] Underneath him were Mulugeta Bayana, secretary of the committee, Kabada Altaye, the main chairman of developmental activities, Alamiraw Waldamariam, vice chairman of the developmental activities, Farada Wändïmu, Damise Filate, Lule Malore, Tasfa Gabir W/Ab and Dasalagn Kassa. Each *Wäräda* administrators in Hadiya were given the power to control the developmental activities of their respective areas, whereas *Mïkïtïl Wäräda* rulers were assigned to be the co-supervisors of the project. The committee planned to collect money from Hadiya people and receive Swedish government aid in which the later would be given to them through the channel of the Ethiopian government. Following this, the *Awraja* administrators began to force the Hadiya peasants to pay such money together other land tributes. However, the forceful collection of money for developmental project from the *Awraja* peasants was in contradiction with the orders of the ruler of Shäwa *Ʈäḳlay Gïzat*. The *Ʈäḳlay Gïzat* administration wrote circular letters to the 11 *Awraja* rulers that aimed to stop the collection of money from their people forcefully.[132]

[130] Petition letter from Kämbata people's representatives to Shäwa *Ʈäḳlay Gïzat,* dated *Maskaram* 10, 1961 E.C.; Petition letter written from *Ato* Araga Ersido to the Ministry of interior, dated *Hamle* 9, 1961 E.C.

[131] Minutes of recordings for the meeting held in Hossana, dated December 13/1963 E.C.; Informants: *Haji* Umar Abasimbo and Damise Mänsido.

[132] A letter written from Shäwa *Ʈäḳlay Gïzat* to the 11 *Awraja* rulers dated *Hamle* 12, 1964 E.C., No. ሕ/14/39.

The *Awraja* committee prepared five years developmental plan. The developmental committee planned to collect 200,000 birr per year and 1,000,000 birr until the end of the five years' plan. Specific body which was assigned to collect such money was the *Wäräda* appointee for finance management and they were ordered to collect it with model 16 receipt and put the money on the account which was created for such purpose.[133] So as to withdraw the money from the bank, it was only three individuals who were assigned to put their signature on the bank check. The three individuals were part of the exploitive ruling class of the Ethiopian regime and they were seen using the money for their own advantages.[134] It was with 5000,000 Birr that the committee planned to construct roads that could connect the *Awraja* capital with the *Wärädas* and reorganize the small towns of the *Awraja* with new plan. They also planned to expand the service of pipe water and electricity and construct meeting halls in different parts of the *Awraja.*[135] To help the developmental activities that had been undertaken in different parts of the country, the Ministry of Finance allowed the importation of materials from abroad without tax.[136] Some of the money collected from the people was said to have used for Orthodox Church building. For this purpose, Protestants, Muslims and other religious followers were forced to contribute for the construction of Orthodox churches and monasteries unwillingly.

In Hossana, it was during the time of Petros Gäbre that Hossana hospital was built. The construction of the hospital was completed in 1985. After its completion, the *Awraja*

[133] A letter written from the developmental committee of Kämbata *Awraja* to Ministry of Press, dated January 23, 1963 E.C., No. 1784/242.

[134] Court case note between Abara Dasta and *Ato* Birhana Mariam Danano on one hand (accusers) and *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame, the *Awraja* administrator (accused), dated 7/11/64 E.C., No. 11723/20889.; A letter written from *Grazmach* Tafasa Tabike, vice ruler for the Ministry of Interior to *Däjjazmach* Sabsibe Shibiru, Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat* vice viceroy, dated *Nahase* 29, 1960 E.C., No. 20168/45.

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] A letter written from the Ministry of Finance to the main custom duties office, dated 1/2/61 E.C., No. ጰበ2/15/28/4.

administrators named the hospital as 'Mangistu Hailamariam', in memory of the then chairman of the Därg. Following the coming to power of the EPRDF government, however, the Hadiya Zone officials renamed it as *Nigist* Elani, after the influential Hadiya queen of the Medieval Christian Kingdom. The initial budget which was demanded by the engineers to complete the construction of the hospital building was 2,500,000 *Birr*. After the elapse of some years, the cost of construction materials was increased while the budget remained unaltered. In the middle of the construction, the contractors demanded additional 2,500,000.00 *Birr* from the *Awraja* administration. From the Kämbata and Hadiya people, the *Awraja* administration already collected 2,197,947.26 amounts of Ethiopian *Birr*. They gathered such money with receipt which was brought from Shäwa *Kifla Hagar*. 6000 receipts were reported to have brought from Addis Abäba mainly to protect corruptions and its resultant mal-administration.[137] The *Awraja* had no the capability to cover the remaining expenses; rather once again it returned its face to the people. In the middle of such ambiguity, the central government intervened and decided to cover the remaining expenses and also promised to construct more classes for nursing students and houses for health workers. The hospital building was expected to have 4 stairs and 250 bed rooms for patients. The government considered this hospital as model in the national level and expected to serve not only the Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* people, but also the southern *Awrajas* of Shäwa, Sidamo *Kifla Hagar*, Gamo Gofa *Kifla Hagar* and Arsi *Kifla Hagar*.[138]

During the construction of the Hospital, it is said that Petros was effective in supplying the necessary materials and human power that any modern hospital needed. My informants told me

[137] A letter written from Shäwa *Kifla Hagar* administration to Birhanena Salam Printing Press, Dated February 9, 1971, No. አ.ወ.6/3/ሸ; Informants: Firde Taklagiorgis and Gabramichael Wachämo.

[138] A letter written from Petros Gäbre, Kämbatana Hadiya *Awraja* administrator to Shäwa sub-province, EWPRC (ኢ.ሰ.ፓ.አ.ኮ) representative, No. 8099/208, Dated August 29, 1973 E.C.

that Petros was able to collect the aforementioned money by ordering the Hadiya and Kämbata people to bring the skins of oxen which were slaughtered during the *Maskal* holiday.[62] Depending on the income from the sale of skins, contributions from the *Awraja* people and the money allocated by the government, he succeeded to build the hospital which is still serving as the main medical center of the area. In addition to the income that Petros collected from the sale of skins, he obtained considerable amount of money from Hadiya and Kämbata people who were working in large scale plantation agricultural areas like Mätähara and Wänji. The people in these areas were the main sympathizers of the developmental projects in the *Awraja*. Moreover, the then national standard hotel (Sport Hotel), the swimming pool (now ceased to give service to the people), stadium and youth centers were built during the leadership of Petros. Many people witness that these achievements were the result of his personal devotion to work and his ambition to see sustainable development in his administrative jurisdiction.[139]

In the areas of education, as mentioned else where in this work, the Haila Selassie government could not give equal attention for all Ethiopian peoples.[140] In Hadiya, the government gave attention for urban centers like Hossana where the dominant dwellers were the settler population.[141] Its existence reported to have reflected the prevailing class structure.[142] In Hadiya, the government used religion as one of the criteria to discriminate the mainstreaming society from modern education. The Orthodox Christians were reported to have primary rights over the indigenous population to send their children to schools in Hossana.[143]

[139] Informants: Gabramichael Wachämo, Firde Taklagiorgis and Asäfa Bunte.
[140] Bahru Zawde, *A History of …,* p. 221.
[141] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Aboche Takiso.
[142] Kiflu Taddese, "Some Thoughts …," p.200.
[143] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Ermolo Badulo, Anshiso Awilo and Taräkägn Jifar.

Because of the existence of such disparity, the Hadiya people were affected in four major areas; namely, political, economic, cultural and linguistic development. Politically, the landlords seemed to have excluded the Hadiya people. The governors of the area had been recruited mainly from outside Hadiya and sent mostly from the central government. The 'feudo-military' government denied the majority Hadiya people from playing their part in economic spheres for their country.[144]

The exclusionary activities of the feudal rule believed to have created long term effect on the minds of the children of Hadiya people, particularly in the modern economic and political spheres. They Hadiya children could not get motivating factors to attend schools and excel in their education. It is said that, during the feudal rule, modern education was almost alien to Hadiya people. The schools were found at a long distance from the Hadiya people both geographically and culturally. In the schools which were found in Hadiya, the curriculum content and its themes were prepared based on the northern cultures and values. It was seen inspiring the children of the settler families.

Linguistically, the Hadiya people were forced to learn Amharic language. There had not been any efforts on the part of the *Awraja* administrators to adopt *Hadiyisa* (Hadiya language) as a language of instruction in the schools, the government and business transactions.[145] The northerners considered themselves as agents of "civilization" or in Amharic '*ሀገር ማቅናት*' to the Hadiya and other southern peoples.[146]

[144] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Shifäraw Bifebo and Firde Taklagiorgis.
[145] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Taräkägn Jifar and Aboche Takiso.
[146] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Shifäraw Bifebo Tämäsgän Landäbo and Täsäma Abo.

In 1972, the ‘feudo-military’ rulers in collaboration with Haila Selassie I university and other non-governmental organizations made an attempt to examine the Ethiopian education. It came to be known as ‘Education Sector Review’. It tried to make education more relevant and give greater participation for the oppressed and exploited sections of the society. However, the issue of diversity could not be given due consideration in the review. It is said that the review emphasized the assimilation of different Ethiopian languages including *Hadiyisa*.[147] This is to mean that the government was seen forcing the Ethiopian people to adopt Amharic language. It can be clearly seen from the then government criteria set for the admission for Haila Selassie I University. (See the appendix)

In the 1950s, long before the promulgation of Education Sector Review, there was a literacy program that aimed at political and propaganda purposes. At that time, the budget granted by the government to combat illiteracy was too small because the bulk of Ethiopian peoples were illiterate.[148] Even though there were more than 80 languages in the country, Amharic was declared to be the only medium of instruction. Moreover, all instructional materials and tests were prepared in the same language which hindered the non-Amharic speakers like the Hadiya to acquire the necessary literacy skills. The literacy program of the imperial government did not consider cultural and language differences and the program was not related to the day to day life of the Hadiya people. Kabada Firesanbat writes:

[147] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro, Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.

[148] **ከበደ ፍሬሰንበት፣ ዘመናዊ ትምህርት በቅድመ አብዮት ኢትዮጵያ፣ከድህነት ወደ ልማት፣ እዉቀትን ለትዉልድ ማስተላለፍ፣ በፎረም ፎር ሶሻል ስተዲስ የዉይይት መድረክ ላይ የቀረቡ ጽሁፎች፣ ሺፈራዉ በቀለ (አርታኢ)፣ አዲስ አበባ፤ ፎረም ፎር ሶሻል ስተዲስ፣** 2006 **ዓ.ም. ገጽ** 19.

> መሰረተ ትምህርት ለኢትዮጵያዊያን ሁሉ እንዲዳረስ ሰኔ 1946 ዓ.ም. የትምህርትና ስነጥበብ ሚኒስቴር የትምህርት ቦርድ አጽድቆት የጊዜዉ አንዱ የትምህርት ፖ'ሊሲ ሆነ። መሰረታዊ ትምህርት ለሁሉም የታቀደዉ ለአራት አመት ትምህርት ሲሆን አማርኛ ብሄራዊ ቋንቋ ሆኖ እንዲያገለግል ነበር። ሆኖም ግን ልጆች ወደ ትምህርት ቤት ሲገቡ ትምህርት መጀመር ያለባቸዉ በራሳቸዉ በቤት የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ መሆን እንዳለበት በጥናት መልክ በጊዜዉ የቀረበ ቢሆንም በስራ ላይ ግን አልዋለም። ጥናቱም አማርኛ የትምህርት መስጫ ቋንቋ እንዲሆን በዝቅተኛ ክፍሎች መጀመር እንዳለበት ገልጻል።[149]

Its translation reads:

> In 1946 E.C., the Ministry of Arts and Education, aimed to implement the program of 'basic education for all'. The ministry made it one of its major policies. The imperial government, in collaboration with the Ministry of Arts and Education, planned to materialize the policy within 4 years program. In the policy, Amharic was declared to be the official language of the country. In the kindergarten level, nevertheless, the government allowed the usage of vernacular language, but it could not be implemented. This was largely because Amharic language appeared to have used in all classes as a medium of instruction.

So, it is possible to say that the literacy program of the imperial regime was meaningless and irrelevant to the needs of the Hadiya people. Due to this, most of the Hadiya adult students left classes before completing the program.[150]

In 1974, the Ethiopian revolution erupted and destroyed the aristocracy. The Provisional Military Administrative Council addressed the basic questions of the Hadiya and other oppressed peoples including those related to education in its new policies.[151] The Därg took measures that would result in positive consequences on the condition of education in Hadiya.[152] It made an attempt to respect the equality of all ethnic groups of the country. It appeared to have considered different

[149] *Ibid.*
[150] Informants: Bäkälä Anulo, Shifäraw Bifebo, Anshiso Awilo and Firde Taklagiorgis.
[151] Informants: Aboche Takiso and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[152] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Asäfa Bunte.

languages and cultural background during the preparation of literacy instructional materials.[153] Although initially the Ministry of Education used Hadiya language as a medium of instruction, it was no longer continued to be used in the area. This is to say that the Hadiya language was ignored and limited to a single subject. The Hadiya people were forced to attend the other subjects during the literacy campaign in Amharic.[154]

The Därg was able to receive foreign support to undertake the literacy program with less challenge.[155] Literacy program in Hadiya and elsewhere in Ethiopia was not an end in itself but it was a means for further studies.[156] To continue their education, many adults had attended night schools.[157] In Hadiya districts, there were community skill training centers which offered practical training to the Hadiya peasants in agriculture, family living condition, education and health. So, the literacy campaign was said to have been the main instrument that offered the Hadiya peasants further understanding about their daily activities. The Hadiya workers who participated in productive, distributive and service giving organizations benefited from the literacy program which helped them to further their knowledge and skills related to their different occupations.[158]

[153]አዲስ ዘመን፣ በሸዋ ክፍለሀገር ከ3 ሚሊዮን125 ሺ በላይ ጎልማሶች ከመሀይምነት ተላቀቁ፣ እሁድ ጥቅምት 23 ቀን 1974 ዓ. ም.፤ ገጽ 1 እና 4.

[154] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Abatikun Lamboro and Asäfa Bunte.

[155]አዲስ ዘመን፣ ለመሰረተ ትምህርት ዘመቻ ርዳታ ተገኘ፣ ቅዳሜ ግንቦት 3 ቀን 1977፣ ገጽ 1.

[156]አዲስ ዘመን፣ በመሰረተ ትምህርት ዘመቻ የህዝቡ ተሳትፎ እንዲቀጥል ተጠየቀ፣ ቅዳሜ ጥቅምት 1 ቀን 1979 ዓ.ም.፤ ገጽ 7.፤ አዲስ ዘመን፣ ከጨለማ ወደ ብርሀን፣ አርብ ጥቅምት 28 ቀን 1974 ዓ.ም፣ ገጽ 8.

[157]አዲስ ዘመን፣ ትምህርት ሚኒስቴር የማታውን ት/ቤት እንደቀኑ እንዲያጠናክር ተጠየቀ፣ ሀሙስ መጋቢት 6 ቀን፣ 1971 ዓ. ም.፣ ገጽ 4.

[158] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Aboche Takiso.

In addition to modernizing the education sector, the Därg declared villagization to be implemented in the country. Villagization in Ethiopia after 1974 was the result of the relegation of the western economic strategies in solving third world problems. Hence, the Därg began to force Ethiopian rural people to establish villages in their respective areas. The program focused primarily on promoting social services like water supply, health, education and marketing facilities.[159] It planned to attach the scattered rural homesteads and villages to a central location so that it would facilitate the aforementioned basic services.[160]

Although villagization was officially announced in mid-1985, its concept was alive and being discussed long before in the country. The rational and objectives of villagization campaign in the country were set forth in Amharic document which was sent by the provincial governor to sub-provinces, entitled Villagization Guidelines. The guideline identified a number of major objectives. The researcher categorized them into four major parts. These are: enhancing extension services aimed at increasing agricultural productivity, promoting more rational land use patterns and conserving natural resources, facilitating access of rural people to schools, clinics, water supplies and service cooperatives and strengthening security and self-defense. (See the guideline in the appendix)

According to the guideline, members of the Hadiya villagization committees were: secretary of the district chairman, head of the district vice chairman, district administrator, head of the district agricultural development office, representatives of the districts for urban development,

[159]አዲስ ዘመን፣ የመንደር ምስረታ እቅድ አፈጻጸ ዉይይት ተካሄደ፣ ማክሰኞ መስከረም 2 ቀን 1979 ዓ.ም. ገጽ 1.

[160]አዲስ ዘመን፣ ስለገበሬ መንድር ምስረታ ዉይይት ተደረገ፣ ረቡዕ መስከረም 14 ቀን 1979 ዓ.ም. ገጽ 1; Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Taräkägn Jifar.

education, construction and health, representatives of the military commissariat, national water work commission, district All-Ethiopia Peasant Association Committee and district All-Ethiopian Trade Union Association and district Teacher Association.

After the policy was made and the responsible personalities were assigned in Hadiya, the committee decided to move before the next plowing and planting period began. The Hadiya peasants were given ample time to be organized into Peasant Associations. After the formation of Peasant Associations in Hadiya, their leaders were also given enough time to form the sub-committees and to select sites, demarcate and distribute plots, and prepare for dismantling, porting and reconstructing their houses and compounds. The district and *Ḳäbäle* villagization committees were made to operate according to the national guidelines.[161]

The government sent calendar to Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* so that the later could implement villagization without problem. The calendar was sent to the *Awraja* hoping that it would minimize the problem of agricultural productivity. Accordingly, villagization campaigns were conducted before the rainy season began.[162] The Hadiya Peasant Associations tried to follow the technical rules set up for site selection by Villagization Guidelines. Although the central government urged the *Awraja*, *Wäräda*, and *Ḳäbäle* site selection committees to select suitable sites for the people, in most cases sites were selected based on the interests of the chairman or influential members of the executive committees. This implies that, in most cases, the selection

[161] Informants: Abatikun Lamboro and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[162] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lambore and Aboche Takiso.

of village sites in Hadiya were done by the members of Peasant Associations and so, they did not select the sites on the basis of technical grounds and the national guidelines.[163]

In the *Awraja* as well as in the Hadiya districts, technical committees were established. So as to evaluate the sites, the Hadiya *Wärädas'* technical committees appeared to have visited every Peasant Associations in their areas of jurisdiction. Generally, it is said that the *Wäräda* committees reported to have approved the selection of Peasant Associations' sites at *Ḳäbäle* levels. To reject the sites selected by the *Ḳäbäle* Peasant Associations, the *Wäräda* committee had to evaluate the report on technical grounds, mostly related to lack of land for village expansion, water logging and soil erosion.[164]

The location of a common field and offices for peasant associations, and facilities to be built were the most important themes that were well discussed in the plan. The General Guideline of the central government calls for the placement of this field in the middle of the village, dividing it into two halves. But some villages in Hadiya had common service fields at the end or the sides of the villages. This may be resulted from the corrupted minds of the leaders of the Peasant Associations in the villages. According to informants, the size of the common fields varied from villages to villages and they were not always in squares.[165] The buildings of the common services in the villages like the PA office, the village primary school and clinic, had no common design although the Villagization Guidelines offered a model drawing. The common services were located in or around the villages and the houses were made of mud and covered with grass.

[163] Informants: Firde Takla Giorgis, Asäfa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro, Ayala Lombamo and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[164] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Anshiso Awlo and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[165] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Shifäraw Bifebo and Asäfa Bunte.

The Peasant Association Villagization Coordinating Committees were required to send daily progress reports to *Wäräda* Villagization Coordinating Committee, which in turn sent summary reports of the villages progress to the *Awraja* Villagization Coordinating Committee. The *Awraja* Villagization Coordinating Committee in its part was expected to send a progress report to the Regional Villagization Coordinating Committee.[166] In Hadiya, to inform peasants about the importances of villagization, extensive efforts were made by the agitation and propaganda committees. In the seminars, the need to resist rumors was given due consideration.[167]

The Hadiya PA committee members were responsible to select sites, identify literate PA members for training in how to survey sites. After training, they organized them into brigades, dismantled the farmsteads and reconstructed houses at the new village sites.[168] All primary and secondary school students and teachers were forced to participate in the villagization campaign.[169] One of my informants says the Hadiya students were the main agents of villagization who were able to transport *Ensat* and other household materials up to the village sites and they also dug holes for house construction.[170]

As I have noted above, the Hadiya districts and Peasant Associations established propaganda committees. The Hadiya peasants were unable to defend the program because of the psychological pressure that the government put on them. Some of the new villages were

[166]Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Damise Mänsido, Taräkägn Jifar, Abatikun Lamboro and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[167] Informants: Damise Mänsido, Abäbä Tumdado and Abatikun Lamboro.
[168] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Gabramichael Wachämo and Asäfa Bunte.
[169]አዲስ ዘመን፣ ወጣቱና አብዮታዊ ትግሉ፣ መስከረም 2 ቀን 1979፣ ገጽ 4.
[170] Informant: Abatikun Lamboro.

uncertain as to why they moved to villages and what steps they should take to deal with their new problems or take advantage of their new conditions.[171] Sometimes, the Hadiya peasants were forced to march to their new villages by soldiers and political cadres. But in most cases, the people did not wait until they were forced to move to villages by soldiers because peasants know the cruelty of the military rule. Many Hadiya peasants went unwillingly, but they went when ordered to do so. Security forces were assigned at all organizational levels so that they would deal with resistances that might appear in the *Awraja*. There is no evidence to say that the villagization campaign in Hadiya was inhumanely implemented or resulted in a wide spread suffering.[172]

The Hadiya villagization took enormous amount of human labor and materials to move a large number of people. The process was carried out by the collaborative forces of students and peasants at a time. This minimized the time households lacked adequate shelter. But students and peasants moved from one house to the other without completing the previous one.[173] The process of moving people into villages had no measurable effect on crop production in Hadiya. Students, teachers, peasants and others worked on dismantling, porting and reconstructing farm houses and stopped when the rain appeared. Because of this, agricultural work was not affected during the growing season. The Hadiya peasants received timely delivery and increased quantities of fertilizer.[174]

[171] Informants: Asäfa Bunte, Taräkägn Jifar, Aboche Takiso and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[172] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.
[173] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo and Firde Taklagiorgis.
[174] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.

In Hadiya, villagization could not be followed by collectivization. This is to say that each peasant homestead had the right to till his former land and use the production for him and his family. Where villages covered a member of Peasant Association fields, he was given land from the former farm areas of each peasant resettled in the village.[175] In Hadiya districts home garden production had suffered relatively the most from villagization. The garden plots at the old homesteads were abandoned because it was difficult to maintain them due to the long distances. Particularly for the poor farm families, this seems to have created serious debacles in consumption and cash income.[176]

As mentioned above, the major reason for promoting villagization in Hadiya and elsewhere in the country was to make basic human services easier for rural people. However, the government could not bring such an endeavor into practice because most children of the new villages still walked to their former schools. They were also forced to go to the same place for medical services and went to very distant areas to get spring water in the forests and mountains. Since the socialist regime was against tea houses or *taj* and *talla* sellers to be operated in the villages, the people had to go to the small towns for their basic consumer goods and entertainments.[177] The absence of pipe water in the newly established villages created a profound effect on human health and the government failed to keep the sanitation of the villages. Shortage of wood for construction and fuel was the other serious problems the Hadiya people had faced in their new settlement areas. Some Hadiya peasants built temporary shelters on distant fields or grazing lands. Generally, the government failed to provide the basic services the villagization program

[175] Informants: Shifäraw Bifebo, Aboche Takiso and Damise Mänsido.
[176] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Abatikun Lamboro.
[177] Informants: Anshiso Awilo and Markos Anebo.

promised. The effects of villagization in Hadiya may be of short or long term nature.[178] However, according to some informants, the major benefit of the program was their access to literacy classes. There were a number of classes in Hadiya villages which had been constructed in the form of halls where literacy activities were held, usually in the morning for women and evening for men.[179]

[178] Informants: Asäfa Bunte and Shifäraw Bifebo.
[179] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Gabramichael Wachämo and Firde Taklagiorgis.

CONCLUSION

These days, it is possible to say that the Hadiya people are living in different parts of Ethiopia. The researcher divided the widely dispersed Hadiya people into three categories: the non-assimilated, the partially assimilated and fully assimilated. The non-assimilated ones are living in today's Hadiya zone or named by some authors as 'Hadiya Proper'. The partially assimilated groups are dwelling among the Gurage people and are living in an organized way retaining their Hadiya identity, though assimilated partially. During the military and EPRDF regimes, a large number of Hadiya people were taken forcibly to different areas in Ethiopia being part of resettlement program. These people are living assimilated partially. The totally assimilated Hadiya groups are settled in different parts of Ethiopia. They dwell among the Oromo, Afar, Somali, Wolayta, Kämbata, Gurage, Sidama, Halaba, Sïlti and so on. In such areas, the Hadiya people are assimilated totally to the dominant cultures with which they are living. The main focus of this study is the non-assimilated ones, but it gives some lights for the fully and partially assimilated groups.

To have a look at the comprehensive history of Hadiya people, the researcher classified the overall history into 5 periods. These were the period of state formation (c.10th to the 13th century), the heyday (13th to the mid-17th century), the period of agony or the Dark age (since the middle of the 17th century to the end of the 19th century), feudo-military period (from the end of the 19th century to 1974) and the military period (1974 to 1991). Many authors tended to consider the period of Hadiya history that started from the 13th century and disappeared in the late 16th century, and made an attempt to disconnect the medieval state from the todays Hadiya people. The researcher argues that, before the 13th century, the Hadiya had travelled a long historical trajectory that led them to undertake state formation. The long process of the formation

of Hadiya state was completed in 13th century, but reached its climax of power in the 14th century. During state formation, *Fändänano* religion had played significant role in unifying the different Hadiya groups. With the introduction of Islamic religion since the 11th century A.D., the dominant role that the *Fändänano* had been playing began to be replaced by Islam. This does not mean that the *Fändänano* religion was avoided totally from the hearts of the Hadiya people. During the Hadiya heydays, the *Fändänano* had survived synchronizing with Islam. But it was Islamic religion that made the Hadiya state strong and sees its glory.

At that time, the Hadiya had spent times of friendship and animosity with the Christian kingdom and the neighboring states. They gave their daughter to King Zara Yacob and through her, the researcher argue that, they protected the Christian religion and the Christian state from complete annihilation by the coordinated forces of the neighboring Muslim sultanates and the Ottoman Turkey in the times after the death of her husband in 1468. Through her, the Hadiya also contributed for the beginning and development of Ethiopia's foreign relation and diplomacy.

Since the end of the 16th century, however, the Hadiya began to see the period of agony and complete disintegration. Mainly because of the long aged Muslim-Christian conflict and population movements, the different clans of the Hadiya people were forced to migrate to different places in different directions. The rest stayed in their original places being assimilated to the powerful cultures. Such restless events led the Hadiya to lose their vast land and identity. During the period of agony or the Dark Age, those Hadiya people who were able to come to their present settlement had spent much of their times fighting each other mainly because of lack of resources. At these times, *Fändänano* religion became the dominant force over Islam, but it could not play its part in bringing the different warring groups of the Hadiya to unity. The coming of Minelik's administration was believed to have ended the intra-tribal conflicts in

Hadiya and gave some relief for quarreling groups, as the former was able to handle the situation effectively. Gradually, the intra-tribal wars were replaced by Hadiya-Shawan conflict following Minelik's effective control of the area. Leaving aside their tribal animosities, the Hadiya began to struggle the northerners who brought the hitherto unknown *Gäbbar* system and its accompanying elements to their land.

As indicated above, when Menilek's force came to the Hadiya land, the later were found disunited and fighting each other. This created fertile condition for Menilek's army to attack and defeat them one after the other. Each Hadiya clan had to face the well-equipped and numerically superior army of Menilek with traditional war materials without having support from other clans. The partially assimilated Hadiya, particularly the Ḳäbena fought the Showan force for about four years and were able to inflict a number of defeats against him. Here, I argue that Käbena's jihadist movement was not resistance movement; rather they were expansionists who aimed to create strong Islamic state in the region. Such strong fight delayed the conquest of the non-assimilated Hadiya which were to be incorporated in the years between 1891 and 1894. Among the Hadiya groups, the last to be incorporated to Menilek's empire was Badäwacho. From 1893 to 1894, the Badäwacho had undertaken war of resistance against the northerners independently of the other Hadiya clans, but they saw their final defeat at the battle of Korga. Then the defeated Badäwacho retreated to the neighboring Wolayta territory and allied with the later and shared their experiences to them. It was such experiences that believed to have helped *Kawo* Tona of Wolayta to score initial victory over the northerners. The Badäwacho had prior experiences of combating the well-equipped Menilek's army than that of Wolayta. Then they fought them being the vanguard force of *Kawo* Tona's army.

After controlling the Hadiya and Kämbata areas, Minelik's administration divided the two areas into two sub-provinces: 'Lemo and Shashogo', and 'Kämbata'. Many of the Hadiya districts were reorganized into 'Lemo and Shashogo', with the exception of the Badäwacho, which was taken to the 'Kämbata' sub-province. After the coming to power of *Ras* Abata Buayalew in 1897, the two sub-divisions were brought into a single administration and renamed as Lemo and Kämbata. It was Bargano Moliso who became administrator of the *Awraja* at the time of the Italian occupation that changed the name of the sub-province from 'Lemo and Kämbata' to 'Kämbata'. Following this decision, the Hadiya name was rejected and the people began to be known to other Ethiopians as Kämbata.

Following the incorporation, a new socio-economic system (*Gäbbar)* was introduced to the Hadiya people. From the outset, all Hadiya people were brought to the *Gäbbar* system and a number of feudal dues were imposed upon them. At these times, the land and people became the properties of the government. *Gäbbars* had the right to pay land tax by their names and no one could arbitrarily evict them. But with the formation of Ministerial council in 1907, the nobilities in collaboration with the foreign legacies forced Menilek, who was seriously ill at that time, to declare land as private property. Then on, land became commodity and many *Gäbbars* began to adapt a new socio-economic relationship called *Ċhisägna* (tenancy) system. After this, the Hadiya land was classified into two big categories: *Gïmït* and *Gasha*. The land that the *Gäbbars* settled became *Gïmït*, whereas the one settled by tenants named as *Gasha*. From the times of incorporation to the coming of Italians to the Hadiya land, tenants had greater privileges over the *Gäbbars*. As far as they were paying tributes (half or quarter of their produces depending on their agreement) to the landlords, there were no additional feudal dues imposed on them. But a *Gäbbar* had more than five burdens to fulfill. Following the Italians withdrawal, particularly

after the 1948 declaration, a number of obligations were brought to tenants and the later reduced to the level of slavery, however. Generally speaking, the researcher argues that the major part the life of Hadiya people since the incorporation was dominated by *Ċhisägna* system than that of the *Gäbbar*. For this reason, the researcher used the term *Chisagninat* (tenancy) throughout the dissertation to express the ups and downs that the Hadiya people had faced since the incorporation. I also argue that *Gäbbar* system was not eliminated totally from Hadiya land after the withdrawal of the Italians from Ethiopian soil. It continued to exist as minor factor in the area.

During the feudo-military rule in Hadiya, the new administration had created social cleavages and other forms of hierarchies and many of the lower positions were given to individuals who were recruited from the autochthonous population. Positions reserved for such individuals in Hadiya were *Wana, Ċhiḳashum, Sängaḳoro* and *Balabat.* At a later time, particularly after the withdrawal of Italians from Ethiopian soil, the settlers began to involve in some of such positions. *Wana* was the lowest position that had direct linkage to the *Gäbbars* and tenants. In addition to such classifications, there were culturally elected leaders called *Danas*. The difference between the *Balabats* and *Danas* was that the first one was elected by the government and were seen serving the government interest and the second one indicates the cultural leaders who were elected by the Hadiya people. *Danas* were elected to serve people's interest, whereas *Balabats* were there to serve the government in the expense of their kinsmen. The term *Dana* should not be confused with Amharic word *Dagna*. The task of *Dana* was very large and wholesome, where as *Dagna'*s task was only limited to giving justice to the people under the areas of their jurisdiction.Almost all of the positions reserved for the autochthonous population

were controlled by males. In Hadiya, positions that had been given to women during feudo-military administration were less than 1%.

Since the mid 1890s, there was a big move on the side of the northern administrators to make the autochthonous population part of the *Näfṭägna* army. After the turn of the 20th century, the majority of the *Näfṭägna* soldiers were recruits of the indigenous people who were able to replace the old aged force that came to the south with Menilek's generals. This is to mean that the *Näfṭägna* became the composition of low number of 'Amhara' warriors and very large number of indigenous troops. The local recruits who became the permanent member of the *Näfṭägna* army were said to have called themselves 'Amhara' and were expected to embrace Orthodox Christianity. Here, the name 'Amhara' indicates a society who was gathered for common political objective and the one converted to Orthodox Christianity.

Inter-ethnic conflict had been created about three times in the history of the 'feudo-military rule' in south central Ethiopia. The first one was undertaken in the 2nd decade of the 20th century. During the dual rule and power rivalry at the center, inter-ethnic conflict was made between the Hadiya and the neighboring peoples. The Second inter-ethnic conflict was undertaken in the time following the defeat of the Ethiopian army by Italians in the mid-1930s. The third one was done after the defeat of the Italians and their evacuation from Ethiopian soil till 1942 and 1943. In all of the three inter-ethnic wars, instead of bringing the conflict to its end, the Shäwan rule was seen exacerbating the animosity that had developed among the peoples in the region. It is said that the administrators were using such conflict to weaken the unity of the surrounding ethnic groups in such difficult times.

From the time of incorporation till the coming to power of the Därg, the Hadiya were able to return their land from the hands of the landlords twice. One was in the time of power struggle following Menilek's illness and the second one was after the defeat of Ethiopian army in 1935/36 by Italians.

Since the incorporation, there had been changes and continuities in the history of Hadiya cultural development. During the times of agony till the 1920s, the Hadiya had used clothes made of skins of different animals. This was mainly because, the Hadiya at the time were pastoralists and had much exposure for varieties of animal skins than the *Abujadid* ones. With the expansion of agriculture, however, the Hadiya began to adopt *Bulluko* clothes. After the Italian occupation, *Bulluko* began to be replaced by Sarewana. These days, Sarewana lost its original appearance and color, and substituted by the one designed by the Zonal EPRDF officials. Following the coming of the settler populations and the increament of their relationship with the neighboring ethnic groups, the Hadiya began to adapt varieties of crops and ox-drawn farming tools.

For the advancement of identity consciousness and struggle for equality in Hadiya, the introduction of Protestant religion played a vital role. Protestant churches had served the Hadiya people as places of secret meetings that aimed to defy the old regime. This is to mean that the one played by *Fändänano* and Islam in the previous times was replaced by Protestantism. The missionary schools and the government ones which were introduced in the 1940s had played great roles in the process of raising the ethnic consciousness of the Hadiya people. The establishment of *Ras* Abäbä Waldasamayat School (renamed Wachämo at a later time) and the joining of some of the Hadiya students at Addis Abäba University were decisive events that brought the Hadiya students to struggle for their identity recovery and socio-economic equality. It was in the late 1960s and the early 1970s that the Hadiya struggle for social, cultural and

economic equality intensified. At these times, the question related to identity was stronger than the economic ones. Finally, because of the nationwide struggle, the Haila Selassie government was deposed and replaced by the Därg in 1974. It was the Darg that was able to respond to the Hadiya identity question.

Though different civilian sectors staged demonstrations to defy the old regime since the 1960s, the final showdown of the 1974 revolution was the work of the military. At the beginning, the Hadiya peasants and students accepted the revolution with great enthusiasm and joy. Following the intrusion of the EPRP and other civilian based parties in the area, however, the relation between the military and the Hadiya students and peasants began to take different direction. It was after the completion of the Red Terror in other parts of the country that Petros Gäbre, the then Kämbata *Awraja* administrator, brought it to the area. It took the lives of many promising individuals who could contribute to the development of the *Awraja* in particular and the country in general.

GLOSSARY

Abagäda = *One of the traditional title in Hadiya which had been in usage before the incorporation of the area to Ethiopian empire.*

Abälïj =*A kind of social bondage in Orthodox Christianity.*

Absentee landlord = *A landlord who was living outside of the land that belonged to him. It had been tilled by the labor of tenants.*

Adila = *Indigenous title of the Hadiya which had been given to top administrative individuals.*

Afä-Nïgus = *The spokesman of the king.*

And Alägn =*A kind of bribery in Mätähara and Wänji which means 'I have one more'.*

Anjancho =*Priest of the Fändänano religion.*

Asrat =*Tithe which had been paid to the government*

Asrat-Bäkurat =*Tithe paid to the Church.*

Ato =*Mr.*

Awraja =*Sub-province*

Balabat =*Important title reserved for autochthonous population which was above the Sängaḳoro.*

Balambaras =*An important title of feudal Ethiopia which was below Däjjazmach and Fitawrari positions.*

Borde =*A kind of drink made from maize and has alcoholic content.*

Bullo =*A kind of food made from barley flour*

Buluko =*Heavy cloth which was designed to give heat for an individual and used like a sheet.*

Chäwa =*One of the military units during feudal Ethiopia.*

Ċhiḳashum =*The status reserved only for the autochthonous population which was below the Sängaḳoro and above Wana.*

Ċhiresano =*Indigenous surgery mechanisms of the Hadiya people.*

Ċhisägna =*Tenant*

Corvee labor =*Forced labor*

Däbo =*A group of people organized for labor.*

Däga =*Temperate climatic condition.*

Dagna =*A title given to the court leaders.*

Däjjazmach =*A title below Ras which had been given to individuals during feudal Ethiopia.*

Dana =*Indigenous title of the Hadiya people which had been given to clan leaders and other dignitaries.*

Därg =*A military group that had ruled Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991.*

Enjära =*A kind of bread made from ţeff.*

Erbo arash =*A tenant who took land from the land lord and agreed to give 1/4th of his produce to the latter.*

Fändänano =*Indigenous religion of Hadiya people.*

Fätno därash =*One of the army units during feudal Ethiopia which had mostly used during emergency.*

Fitäha Nägäst =*Traditional law of feudal Ethiopia.*

Fitawrari =*The commander of the military during feudal Ethiopia.*

Gäbbar =*A farmer who pays tributes of different kinds to the landlord, the government and other higher officials above him.*

Gäbäre =*Farmer.*

Gäda =*The socio-political system of the Oromo people.*

Gärad =*Medieval Hadiya title given to important personalities.*

Gari = *A wagon pulled by horses*

Gasha =*A kind of land settled by tenants during feudal Ethiopia.*

Gïbïr =*Tribute*

Gille =*A kind of knife armed by the people of Karayu Oromo.*

Gïmït =*A kind of land settled by Gäbbars during feudal Ethiopia.*

Gïndäbäl =*A right to land given to soldiers during feudalism*

Giorgisa =*Giorge*

Grazmach =*Commander of the left*

Gult =*Tribute appropriation right given to the government officials and other dignitaries in lieu of salary.*

Gultägna =*The owner of Gult.*

Habusa =*Threatening spirits of the Fändänano religion.*

Haräḳe =*A local beer which has high alcoholic content*

Hiragano =*Indigenous prophets of the Hadiya*

Hudad =*Government land which had been tilled by Gäbbars.*

Ibilisa =*A harmful minor spirit of the Fändänano religion.*

Idïr =*A traditional self-help association.*

Ihapa =*EPRP party*

Jarra =*Protective spirit of the Fändänano religion which is limited to males.*

Ḳäbäle =*The smallest government administrative unit which is below district*

Ḳägnazmach =*The commander of the right*

Käläfa =*Way of eating food during the Fändänano fasting days*

Käy shïbïr =*Red Terror*

Kiflä Hagär =*Province*

Kitosa =*Christ*

Ḳolla =*Tropical*

Ḳuami =*Regular*

Ḳuna =*One of the instruments used for grain measurement during feudal Ethiopia.*

Leba Shay =*The traditional court procedure of feudal Ethiopia.*

Mälkägna =*One of important titles during feudal Ethiopia*

Mäntïr =*Eradicate*

Marame =*Mariam*

Mätïn = *One of the instruments of grain measurement during feudalism in Ethiopia.*

Mäto Aläḳa =*Commander of the 100.*

Mïkïtïl =*Deputy*

Mïrit or Täsärinät =*One of the socio-economic system of feudal Ethiopia that allowed a government or a lord to allocate its soldiers in every houses of the Bala-Rist so that the latter was expected to give food for the period which was fixed by the government or a suzerain of a given area.*

Näch Läbash =*An ordinary soldier below Näfṭägna during feudal Ethiopia*

Näch shibir =*White terror*

Näfṭägna =*An ordinary soldier during feudal Ethiopia.*

Nigist = *Queen*

Pipel =*The status of laborers in Wänji and Mätähara Sugar Factory which is below Ḳuami and above the seasonal workers.*

Ras =*Important title during feudal Ethiopia which was above Däjjazmach and below Ras Bitiwadad*

Rist = *Land possessed by an individual which is transferred from his/her forefathers.*

Sängaḳoro = *A status which is below the Balabat and above Ċhiḳashum which was introduced after the incorporation of the Hadiya land to Minelik's empire.*

Sarewana = *Indigenous Hadiya cloth which is not heavy like Bulluko.*

Shalläka =*Military status above Shambäl.*

Shambäl =*Military status below Shalläka and above Mäto Aläḳa (commander of 100).*

Shetana =*Davil*

Simon =*Tribute which had been paid for the Church.*

Siso =*1/3*rd *of the produce that had been paid to the different echelons of power.*

Täjj =*Local beer which is yellow in color.*

Ţäḳlay Gïzat =*Province*

Tälla =*Local beer which is black in color*

Tänḳuay =*Witch*

Ţasbela = *A kind of ceremony that Fändänano religious followers are practicing during fasting time.*

Ţeff = *A kind of grain used for making Enjära*

Ţibäsima = *A kind of ceremony that Fändänano religious followers had been practicing during fasting times.*

Ushetäto = *A kind of ceremony that Fändänano religious followers had practiced during fasting time.*

Wa'a = *God*

Wäfelala =*A kind of flogging used by the Därg government against opposition elements during the Red Terror.*

Wäinä Däga =*Semi-tropical*

Wana = *The lower position below Ċhiḳashum which was introduced after the incorporation of the Hadiya people to Menilek's empire and reserved only for the autochthonous population.*

Wäräda = *District*

Wäriḳa'a =*The higher spirit of the Hadiya indigenous religion*

Wäyzaro /W/ro/ *=Miss.*

Wäzadär, Labadär *=Laborer*

Zämächa *= Campaign*

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A letter written from *Grazmach* Tafasa Tabike, vice ruler for the Ministry of Interior to *Däjjazmach* Sabsibe Shibiru, Shäwa *Ʒäḳlay Gïzat* vice viceroy, dated *Nahase* 29, 1960 E.C., No. 20168/45. (NALA)

A letter written from the Ministry of Finance to the main custom duties office, dated 1/2/61 E.C., No. አበ2/15/28/4. (NALA)

A letter written from Shäwa *Kifla Hagar* administration to Birhanena Salam Printing Press, Dated February 9, 1971, No. አ.ወ.6/3/ሸ.(NALA)

A letter written from Petros Gäbre, Kämbatana Hadiya *Awraja* administrator to Shäwa sub-province, EWPRC (ኢሰፓአኮ) representative, No. 8099/208, Dated August 29, 1973 E.C. (NALA)

Announcement note for Kämbata *Awraja* administrator Dated *Yakatit* 14, 1965 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Kontab *Wäräda* people and *Balabats* to Ministry of Interior dated *Ginbot* 27, 1961 E.C. (NALA)

Court case note between Abara Dasta and *Ato* Birhana Mariam Danano on one hand (accusers) and *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame, the *Awraja* administrator (accused), dated 7/11/64 E.C., No. 11723/20889. (NALA)

Court case note between Abara Dasta and *Ato* Birhana Mariam Danano on one hand (accusers) and *Fitawrari* Ruga Ashame, the *Awraja* administrator (accused), dated 7/11/64 E.C., No. 11723/20889. (NALA)

Minutes of recordings for the meeting held in Hossana, dated December 13/1963 E.C..

Minutes of recording written on the meeting of the *Awraja* and *Wäräda* administrators, Dated *Nahas*e 24/1960. (NALA)

Note written from Kämbata *Awraja* to Getahun Tasama, Ministry of Interior, dated *Magabit* 13, 1965.

Petition letter written from the Hadiya *Gäbbars* to the Ministry of Interior dated *Yakatit* 12, 1961 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter from Kämbata people's representatives to Shäwa *Ṭäḳlay Gïzat*, dated *Maskaram* 10, 1961 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from *Ato* Araga Ersido to the Ministry of interior, dated *Hamle* 9, 1961 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Kämbata *Awraja Balabats, Sängaḳoros, Ċhiḳashums* to the Ministry of Interior, dated *Nahase* 10, 1960 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Sike (Badawach) *Näfṭägna* and settler population to *Fitawrari* Tadla Tamirat, the Kämbata *Awraja* ruler, dated *Ginbot* 4, 1964 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Angacha *Wäräda* people to Getahun Tasama, Ministry of Interior, dated April 25, 1964 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Gimbo Sagamo, Goda Gona and Tilahun Maicha (Gamo Gofa local evangelists) to Emperor Hailaselassie dated *Yakatit* (February) 13, 1947 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Kämbata *Balabats* and *Sängaḳoros* to the Ministry of Interior, Dated *Megabit* 13, 1965 E. C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Kämbata *Awraja*, Angacha *Wäräda*, to the Ministry of interior dated *Miyaziya* 25, 1964 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Kämbata *Awraja Näfṭägna* and settler population to the Kämbata *Awraja* administrator, Ruga Ashame, dated *Miyaziya* 15, 1964 E.C. (NALA)

Petition letter written from Kämbata *Awraja* farmers (particularly the Halaba) to the Ministry of Interior dated *Ginbot* 13, 1937 E.C. (NALA)

Tax receipt of the month of *June* 1961 E.C. which includes *Asrat* tax, Education tax and health tax. (NALA)

The letter written by the Hadiya *Gäbbar*s to *Ato* Getahun Tasama, the then Ministry of Interior, dated April 20, 1964. (NALA)

INFORMANTS

No.	Name of informant	Title	Sex	Age	Place of Interview	Date of Interview (E.C.)	About the Informants
1	Abäbä Kajebo	*Ato*	M	68	Hossana	7/2/13	He gave me valuable information about the post-incorporation Hadiya.
2	Abäbä Kemiso	"	M	69	"	18/3/13	"
3	Abäbä Tumiso	"	"	74	"	9/2/13	"
4	Abäbä Watiro	"	"	49	"	7/4/13	"
5	Abäbäch Lätebo	*W/ro*	F	65	"	27/3/13	She gave me information about tenancy system in Hadiya.
6	Abara Awano	*Ato*	M	71	"	14/3/13	He gave me important information about the Hadiya war of resistance against Menilek's army.
7	Abara Kalacha	"	"	78	"	1/7/13	"
8	Abara Muturo.	"	"	74	"	4/5/13	"
9	Abatikun Lamboro	"	"	81	"	8/4/13	He was one of the leaders of student movement during the last years of the Haila Selassie's regim. He had also served the military government as administer in different offices of the Awraja. He is one of my key informants who gave me valuable information about the Hadiya identity, revolution and the Italian period.
10	Abatikun Manedo	"	"	64	"	29/2/13	He gave me information about the Hadiya religion and its unifying role.
11	Abaye Side	"	"	76	Gimbichu	6/8/13	"
12	Abeba Dutiso	"	"	69	Hossana	7/3/13	"
13	Abinat Mandido	"	"	60	"	3/3/13	"
14	Aboche Takiso	"	"	79	"	15/3/13	He had served the *Awraja* being a history teacher in Wachamo highschool and one of the leaders of the Hadiya student movement during the last times of the Haila Selassie's government. He is one of my key informants who gave me valuable information about the Hadiya identity, revolution and the Italian period.
15	Abraham Abune	"	"	87	"	30/2/13	He gave me information about the identity question in Hadiya.
16	Abune Fayisa	"	"	53	"	21/3/13	"
17	Abune Makango	"	"	59	"	23/2/13	He gave me information about the migration of Hadiya people to Mätähara

							and Wänji.
18	Alamayahu Argaw	“	“	69	“	19/4/13	He is one of my informants who told me about the pre and post incorporation Hadiya.
19	Alamayahu Bishawu	“	“	68	“	20/4/13	“
20	Ali Sundako	“	“	54	“	3/4/13	“
21	Amarach Manedo	*W/ro*	F	71	“	13/4/13	She gave me information about the Hadiya resistance against Menilek’s expansionist force.
22	Amarach Shishore	“	“	65	“	12/4/13	She gave me information about tenancy and *Gäbbar* systems in Hadiya.
23	Amarach Warku	“	“	67	“	9/3/13	“
24	Ambago Gaktiro	*Ato*	M	96	Fonko	24/9/13	He was a Capo in Wanji sugar corporation. He gave me information about the migration of Hadiya people to Mätähara and Wänji.
25	Ambako Anito	“	“	81	Hossana	30/4/13	He gave me information about the Hadiya resistance against Menilek’s expansionist force.
26	Amo Mudasir Waraki	Sheh	M	83	Käbena	12/09/14	He is the renowned figure in Käbena and gave me valuable information about the Käbena history.
27	Anamo Dune	“	“	56	“	3/2/13	“
28	Anshebo Dutiso	“	“	67	“	6/5/13	“
29	Anshebo Tirore	“	“	83	“	13/4/13	“
30	Anshiso Awilo	“	“	84	“	17/3/13	He was the leader of the EPRP party in Hadiya and reported to have saved from the Red Terror. He is one of my key informants who gave me important information about the EPRP, Meison and other parties during the revolution in Hadiya.
31	Asfaw Tirulo	“	“	56	“	1/5/13	He gave me important information about the *Gäbbar* and *Ċhisägna* systems in Hadiya.
32	Assefa Bunţe	“	“	64	“	28/5/13	He was one of the Hadiya students who struggled to liberate the Hadiya people from the domination of other ethnic groups and was important figure in the *Awraja* administration during the times of the Darg.. He is one of my key informants who gave me important information about

							the *Fändänano*, Muslim state of Hadiya, war of resistance and the revolution in Hadiya.
33	Ayala Lombebo	“	“	53	“	29/4/13	He offered me information about the religious roles in unifying the different Hadiya groups. He also told me many things about the *Gäbbar* and tenancy systems, struggle for identity and the revolution in Hadiya.
34	Bäkälä Wamisho	“	“	74	“	18/4/13	“
35	Bäkälä Wändïmu.	“	“	75	“	4/4/13	“
36	Bäkälä Wondïmu	“	“	73	“	7/3/14	“
37	Bäkäläch Lamango	*W/ro*	F	65	“	6/3/13	She gave me valuable information about the Red Terror in Hadiya.
38	Bäkäläch Suldolo	“	“	62	“	14/3/14	“
39	Balata Petros	Ato	M		“	3/4/13	He is one of my key informants who gave me important information about the *Fändänano*, Muslim state of Hadiya, war of resistance and the revolution in Hadiya.
40	Balata Shomoro	“	“	61		11/6/13	“
41	Beyoro Erduno	“	“	50	“	9/4/13	“
42	Birhanu Yakob	“	“	60	“	11/2/13	“
43	Bizunesh Abure	*W/ro*	F	69	“	10/4/13	She gave me information about the struggle for identity recovery. He also told me about tenancy and *Gäbbar* systems in Hadiya.
44	Dämbälo Womiso	*Ato*	M	78	“	11/3/13	He is one of my informants who gave me information about the war of resistance, the Italian occupation period and the revolution in Hadiya.
45	Däboch Tirago	“	“	89	“	16/3/14	He was a Capo in Matahara. He gave me information about the migration of Hadiya people to Mätähara and Wänji
46	Dagafa Sabir	“	M	84	Käbena	15/09/14	He gave me important information about Hassan Unjämo jihadist movement in Käbena.

	Damise Mänsido.	“	“	76	Addis Abäba	12/5/14	He is one of my key informants who offered me valuable information about the history of Hossana town, the contributions of Witto clan for the establishment of the town, and the role played by *Dana* Fitebo for preservation of Hadiya identity.
47	Däsaläch Agano	*W/ro*	F	69	Hossana	4/6/13	She gave me information about the revolution in Hadiya.
48	Dägälo Tale	*Ato*	M	71	Fonko	5/12/13	He gave me information about Lemo people in Hadiya.
49	Dogiso Abe	“	“	76	Hossana	9/12/13	He offered me valuable information about the Hadiya participation at the battle of Adowa; their history on eve of the Italians’ arrival to Ethiopia.
50	Dutiso Gidesa	“	“	70	“	8/3/14	“
51	Emam Aliye	Sheh	M	87	Käbena	13/09/2014	He is the grandson of Hussan Unjämo and gave important information about the Käbena History.
52	Erbalo Agago	“	“		Hossana	17/5/13	“
53	Erduno Tumdado	“	“	66	“	19/6/13	“
54	Ermolo Badulo	“	“	82	“	13/5/13	He is the researcher’s father and gave him about the history of the migration of Hadiya people to Mätähara, Wänji, Nuraera and so on. Moreover, he gave him information about the revolution, the Italian occupation period and the resistances of the Hadiya against Menilek’s expansion.
55	Ersumo Densamo	“	“	80	“	22/12/13	He gave me valuable information about the post-incorporation period in Hadiya.
56	Ersumo Tasfaye.	“	“	56	“	30/5/13	“
57	Esayas Womiso	“	“	87	“	14/4/13	“
58	Eshatu Tumiso	“	“	76	“	15/11/13	“
59	Firde Tekle Giorgis	“	“	81	“	14/12/13	He is one of my key informants who gave me information about the horrors of the Red Terror in Hadiya and the *Gäbbar* and *Ċhisägna* system. He also offered me valuable information about the Hadiya socio-cultural history in the post annexation period.

60	Fitebo Ersumo	“	“	57	“	27/5/13	He gave me information about the post restoration time, i.e. post 1941 period.
61	Fitoro Shomoro	“	“	76	“	1/13/13	“
62	Francis Madoro	“	“	69	“	7/4/02	He was one of my key informants who offered me important information about the Red Terror, villagization, education and resettlement policy of the Därg in Hadiya.
63	G/Michael Moltilo	“	“	65	“	9/8/13	“
64	Gabramichael Wachämo	“	“	76	“	3/8/13	He is one of my key informants who rendered me important information about the relationship between Hadiya and Kämbata people during the feudal and the Därg period. He told me many things about the fate of Amhara people in Hossana during the Italian occupation.
65	Girma Kassa	“	“	56	“	20/11/13	He is one of my key informants who rendered me valuable information about the Hadiya people during the Haila Selassie period.
66	Girma Lonsako	“	“	54	“	7/3/14	He gave me important information about the post incorporation Hadiya history.
67	Gudiso Ersamo	“	“	67	“	7/7/13	“
68	Guta Mulata	“	“	89	Wonji	8/7/07	He gave me good information about the history of Hadiya people in Wänji.
69	Habtamu Kenore	“	“	75	Hossana	19/9/13	He gave me information about the post restoration period in Hadiya.
70	Hailamariam Jinebo	“	“	67	“	16/12/13	“
71	Hajji Abdullahi Nuga	Hajji	M	67	Käbena	13/09/14	He gave valuable information about the Käbena history.
72	Hajji Abadir	Hajji	M	71	Käbena	14/09/14	“
73	Hajji Umar	Hajji	M	69	Käbena	14/09/14	“
74	Jamal Awol	“	“	73	Hossana	4/6/13	“
75	Kabada Erguno	“	“	60	“	6/10/13	“
76	Kabada Gizawu	“	“	74	“	7/7/13	“
77	Kabada Landäbo	“	“	69	“	12/12/13	“
78	Kabiso Molla	“	“	64	“	3/13/13	“
79	Kumilachawu	“	“	79	“	18/6/13	“

	Amanu						
80	Lämädo Ajula	“	“	98	“	20/09/13	He is one the inhabitants of Hossana town who had direct hand information about the feudal subjugation in the *Awraja*. He is one of my important informants who gave me valuable information about Hossana town and the *Ċhisägna* system.
81	Lämädo Shamebo	“	“	65	“	9/8/13	He gave me information about the Hadiya history in the post incorporation period.
82	Lamboro Shomoro	“	“	54	“	27/11/13	“
83	Makebo Lagore	“	“	75	“	13/5/14	“
84	Malasa Jinebo	“	“	64	Kalisha	15/5/14	He was commander of 100 in the army of Darg and was recruited from among grade 12 students for such purpose. He is one of my key informants who gave me valuable information about the Hadiya’s contribution for the development of the Ethiopian military. He also told me about the revolution in Hadiya
85	Markos Makebo	“	“	53	Hossana	11/9/13	He gave me important information about the post-incorporation Hadiya history.
86	Mubarak Hussien	Sheh	“	61	Käbena	12/9/2014	He is the grand son of Hassan Unjämo and gave me important information about the Käbena’s relation with Hadiya.
87	Shifäraw Bifebo	Dagna	M	106	Kalisha	26/8/13	He is the son of the renowned Lemo Balabat, Dana Bifebo. Dana Fitebo, the one who helped Ababta Buayalew to establish Hossana town, was his uncle. He is my key informant who gave me valuable information about the period before and after the incorporation of Hadiya people to Menilek’s empire.
88	Shimalis Abara	“	“	54	Shone	6/9/13	He gave me information about the Hadiya history since the times of state formation.
89	Tagasach Warku	*W/ro*	F	70	“	16/11/13	She gave me information about the post-incorporation Hadiya.
90	Takatal Lämädo	“	M	76	“	4/13/13	“
91	Tamire	“	“	63	“	2/2/13	“

	Danano						
92	Tanagne Salamu	*W/ro*	"	54	"	7/3/13	She gave me information about the Hadiya during the revolution.
93	Taräkägn Jifar	"	"	82	"	7/4/13	He was the coordinator of Meison party in Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja*. He is one of my key informants who gave me valuable information about the movements of Meison party in Hadiya.
94	Taräkägn Suldolo	"	"	76	"	23/5/13	He gave me valuable information about the struggle for identity, religions, and tenancy system in Hadiya.
95	Tenaye Gäbre.	"	F	68	"	20/5/14	She gave me information about the revolution in Hadiya.
96	Tesfaye Menchulo	"	"	79	"	5/8/13	He offered me information about the medieval history of Hadiya people.
97	Tesfaye Weshebo	"	"	75	Fonko	16/8/13	"
98	Tsädäkä Abara	"	"	63	Shone	30/04/14	He gave me information about the restoration times in Hadiya.
99	Umar Abasimbo	*Haji*	"	98	"	15/11/13	He was one of the committee members of the Kämbata *Awraja* development and the vanguard in the construction of Alamgana Wolayta gravel road. He is one of my key informants who rendered me important information about the Haila Selassie rule in Hadiya. He also gave me valuable information about the medieval Hadiya history.
100	Waldamaskal Shomoro	"	"	60	"	19/7/13	He gave me information about the Hadiya resistance against the expansionist forces of Menilek. He also enriched me with information about the *Gäbbar* and tenancy system in Hadiya.
101	Wälde Bälachäwu	"	"	72	Gimbichu	27/04/14	"
102	Wamisho Shifäraw	"	"	60	Hossana	3/12/13	"
103	Wamisho Wosoro	*Ato*	"	70	"	9/07/13	He gave me important information about the Hadiya resistance against Menilek's rule and he also told me about the *Gäbbar* and *Ċhisägna* system in Hadiya
104	Wändïmu Mänsido	"	"	86	"	5/13/13	"
105	Wändïmu Shamebo	"	"	84	"	6/10/13	"
106	Wändimu Tulore	"	"	72	"	17/05/14	"
107	Wärkïnäh Anito	*W/ro*	F	70	"	10/06/13	She gave me valuable information about the Hadiya people during and after the

							occupation period.
108	Wärkïnäsh Aba	“	“	76	Shone	30/4/14	“
109	Woldämichael Anulo	*Ato*	M	65	Hossana	10/07/13	He is one of important informants who gave me valuable information about the *Gäbbar* and tenancy system in Hadiya. He also told me many things about the revolutionary activities in Hadiya.
110	Womiso Kälbore.	“	“	69	“	07/09/13	“
111	Womiso Tone	“	“	62	“	09/10/13	“
112	Wändïmu Erbälo	“	“	69	“	09/05/14	“
113	Wärkïnäsh Abame	*W/ro*	F	68	Addis Abäba	30/5/14	She gave me information about the relationship between the Hadiya and Kämbata people.
114	Wärkïnäsh Ijajo	“	“	67	“	13/10/13	“
115	Yohannes Chinkiso	*Ato*	M	88	Mätähara	09/07/07	He was from Hadiya and had spent the major part of his life in Matahara being a business man. He offered me ideas about the Hadiya resistance against Menilek’s incorporation and the migration of Hadiya people to Mätähara and Wänji.
116	Zärihun Bäkälä	“	“	75	Hossana	13/06/13	“