

*Addis Ababa  
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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

**A HISTORY OF TULAMA OROMO IN CHILALO AWRAJA (1886-1974)**

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**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA,**

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**A HISTORY OF TULAMA IN CHILALO AWRAJA (1886-1974)**

**A Thesis**

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**of Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the  
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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Kimiya Aman, entitled: "A History of Tulema Oromo in Arsi Chilalo *Awraja* from 1886 to 1974" submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Masters of Arts in History complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## **Dedication**

**The work is dedicated to Nadhi Gammada.**

## **Acronyms**

ARDU: Arsi Rural Development Unit

CADU: Chilalo Agriculture Development Unit

HSIU: Haile Selassie I University.

IES: Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

IJAHS: International Journal of African Historical Studies

JAH: Journal of African History.

JEE: Journal of Ethiopian Education.

JES: Journal of Ethiopian Studies.

JOS: Journal of Oromo Studies.

MoCT: Ministry of culture and tourism

OMN: Oromia Media Network

PICES: Proceedings of International Conference of Ethiopian Studies.

SOAS: School of Oriental and African Studies

SIDA - Sweden International Development Agency

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## Transliteration

Amharic

The seven sounds of the Ethiopian alphabets are represented as follows:

1st = ለ=Ba

2nd = ቡ= Bu

3rd = ቢ=Bi

4th = ባ=Ba

5th = ቤ=Be

6th = ቦ=B/Bi

7th=ቦ=Bo

Gemination is indicated by doubling:

Example:

ደጃዝማች: Dajjazmach

አርሲ: Arsi

## Oromo

I. All words, proverbs, songs, names and phrases of Oromo origin are spelled according to the writing and reading system developed for *Afaan Oromoo* using Latin alphabet to ease the problem of reading some words. Oromo has basically ten vowels; five short and five long.

Short Vowels

a

e

i

Long Vowels

aa

ee

ii



## **Acknowledgement**

First and foremost, I am deeply grateful to my God and then to my advisor, Girma Negash (PhD), for his critical comments on the drafts of the thesis. I am also indebted to and extend my special thanks to *Obbo* Ahmed Bati who kindly introduced me to Chilalo informants and *Obbo* Korsu Tullu, *Obbo* Mohammed Hussien for their introducing me to Asella and surrounding informants and *Obbo* Hamu Simbo, Areda Gabisa, and *Obbo* Jibril Obsa for their generously introducing me to West Arsi, Boqoji, and Sagure areas of my Informants respectively. I am also thankful to all my informants who readily shared with me their experience and knowledge. I am very grateful to the librarians of IES, Kenedy, graduate library for providing manuscript in library.

## **Abstract**

*This thesis deals with the History of the Tulama Oromo in Chilalo Awraja, (c.1886-1974). It covers the period from the first eviction of the Tulama Oromo since the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The study deals, among other things with the genealogical trace of the Tulama Oromo, patterns of their original settlement in Shawan plateau, and later in Arsi, where they moved to due to eviction, and expansion of urbanization, Furthermore, the thesis treats the lives and mode of production While in Shawa The study attempts to respond to questions such as ; causes of their eviction, their reactions to that external pressure, and their coping up with new lives in new settlements in different periods. The study employed three procedures of collecting and analyzing historical sources. The first was collection of oral interviews that was basic method employed to obtain data for research. Informants consulted represented within their clans' elders and from different ethnic and religious groups possessing rich knowledge on activities during the period of Imperial administration. The second category of the sources employed is published and unpublished written source (books, articles, Journals, theses, publications and proclamations) have been utilized for the research. Most of these secondary sources were obtained from the Addis Ababa University IES and Kennedy Libraries. The third valuable sources that I used were archival materials. Considerable number of variable documents and Archives in the Awarja since Imperial regime in Arsi and Shawa province were destroyed during the change of government in 1991 and a few years after. I only found a valuable archival material at National Archival and Library Agency, and few achieve in Eastern Arsi Zone Administration and CADU publications and documentation. The shortage of archival sources and the dearth of written materials have been a challenge in the reconstruction of this thesis. This work, therefore, attempts to examine the livelihood of Tulama Oromo in pre and post settlements in Arsi plateau in line with political dynamism, economic situation, and socio-cultural change. It also, raises the relationships among Oromo of Tulama with Indigenous Arsi Oromo. Furthermore, the paper examines the relationship among man and land, over a period of time on one side and man and system on other. Finally, the paper shows how the life and conditions of Tulama in Arsi Chilalo shaped.*

Key words: *Tenants, Tulama, Arsi Chilalo, landlord, eviction. Settlements*

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## **Preface**

This study deals mainly with a history of the Tulama Oromo in Chilalo *Awraja* since 1886 to 1974. In dealing with the subject, published and unpublished written sources (books, articles, Journals, theses and others) have been utilized for the research. Most of these sources were obtained from Addis Ababa University (AAU) (Institute of Ethiopian studies (IES). and National Archive and Library Agency (NALA) are also used. Manuscripts at (IES) have also been used for this study.

The thesis is arranged in four chapters. The first chapter presents the Background of the study, that consists; Geographical setting , Agricultural production patterns, Administration structures, Population(demography), major theoretical frameworks and approaches to pattern of human migration. The Origin and patterns of Settlements of the Tulama Oromo in Shawa, Patterns of, Tulama Oromo views of land right. In Chapter Two, the thesis presents topics like; The early phase of the Tulama settlement in Arsi-Chilalo (1886-1941), the nexus between the expansion of Menelik II and the Tulama Settlement in Arsi, Causes of the Tulama Movement to the Chilalo (1880's to 1935). In Chapter Three, Thesis raise the following issues; Tulama Oromo Settlement in the Chilalo *Awraja* (1941-1974): The Tulama movement to Chilalo (1941-1960), Land policy and settlement of the Tulama in Arsi, Agricultural Policy and Eviction of the Tulama in the yearsbetween (1960-1974), the consequence of the Import of Tractors and Mechanized Farming and resulting eviction. The last chapter of this paper deals with the life and condition of the Tulama in Chilalo *Awraja*, Patterns of settlements of the Tulama Oromo in Arsi-Chilalo, the interaction of the Tulama Oromo with the Arsi Oromo in the Chilalo *Awraja* (1886-

1960), Change and Continuity in the Interaction between the Tulama and Arsi Oromo (1960-1974), the life and condition of the Tulama in, socio-economic and political life Chilalo *Awraja*.

Generally, the study would help to understand change and historical development of the Tulama Oromo livelihood in general and land tenure issues in particular. Over all, this thesis could be used as a base for other study, related to this issue. Above all, the main purpose of this study was to produce academic research in the historical development of Tulama settlement in the heart land of Chilalo *Awraja*. In such a way, it would have significance for academic research activities, general readers and could advance the frontier of our knowledge on the history under the topic of discussion in the study area.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Background of the Study Area

#### 1. Physical, Socio-Economic and Administrative Profile of the Arsi zone

##### 1.1. Geographical setting

Knowledge about environmental information and geographical setting of the study area is very important, because, it helps to understand, economic and political activities practiced in a particular geographical setting.<sup>1</sup> So as to understand the geographical situation of Arsi, it is vital to show its location, common boundary with another ethnic group. Geographical location of the Arsi Zone is astronomically between  $7^{\circ}32'15''\text{N}$  to  $8^{\circ}32'45''\text{N}$  latitude and  $38^{\circ}42'30''\text{E}$  to  $40^{\circ}48'10''\text{E}$  longitude. In relative location it is situated in the central parts of Oromia Regional National State. It has the total area of  $20,982.11\text{km}^2$ .<sup>2</sup> It shares boundary line with the regional state of Southern Nation, Nationalities and People of Ethiopia in Southwest, it also shares boundary with East Shawa in East and North East, Bale in Southwest and West Hararge Zones, in East.<sup>3</sup>

Arsi Zone has a great diversity in landscape which has effects on the diverse climatic conditions, soil and vegetation. Its landscape includes high and rugged mountain ranges, flat-tapped plateaus, deep gorges of Rivers and rolling plains. It has a great altitudinal difference between the highest and the lowest places.<sup>4</sup> The Arsi zone has four major physiographic divisions. The first one is the cool agro-climatic zone (above sea level 4000m), which covers the highest

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<sup>1</sup>Dechasa Abebe, "A Socio-Economic History of North Shāwa, Ethiopia (1880s-1935)," Doctor of Literature and Philosophy, University of South Africa History, 2015, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> Getachew Bedhasa, "A History of Asella Town from Foundation to 1991", Addis Ababa University, History Department, p.16.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p.7, Arne Lexander, *The Changing Rural Society in Arsi Land: Some Finding from a Field Study, 1966-67*, CADU, 1968 (Publication no 7), p. 2

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p.3

altitude of the area of the zone. The main topographic features in this part are mountain peaks such as Kaka with a height of (4,180 m.A.S.L), Bada (4,139 m.A.S.L), Chilalo (4,036 m.A.S.L), Enkolo (3584 m.A.S.L) and Gugu (3695 m.A.S.L).<sup>5</sup> The second one is the cool temperate agro-climatic zone that includes the mountain ranges, massifs and high plateaus of Arsi (2500-3500m) lies in the central parts of the zone, stretching from the border of NNPE (Nation Nationalities and people of Southern Ethiopia) to Asako district and belongs to the Arsi-Bale Massifs.<sup>6</sup> The third is the warm temperate agro-climatic zone (1500-2500), which comprises low plateaus of the zone. The fourth is lowlands of the zone (less than 1500m). It is found in the Awash River Valleys and Southeastern lowlands. The diverse climate and topographic phenomena have provided a wide range of natural environments, which form favorable habitat for a formation of wide variety of fauna and flora in Arsi zone.<sup>7</sup>

The Chilalo *Awraja* found within the Arsi- Bale massifs. It stretches from Hexosaa and passes through Digalu as well as Shirka and further protracted in to the province of Bale. The highest mountain in Ethiopia, like Chilalo, Kakka and Inkolo all of them are located in the Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>8</sup>

Arsi-Chilalo, is naturally gifted with many Rivers and Streams. Chilalo-Galema mountain ranges are the major water source for the major permanent Rivers of the zone. The Chilalo area has a complex hydrological drainage system. The main Rivers in the *Awraja* are the Katar, the

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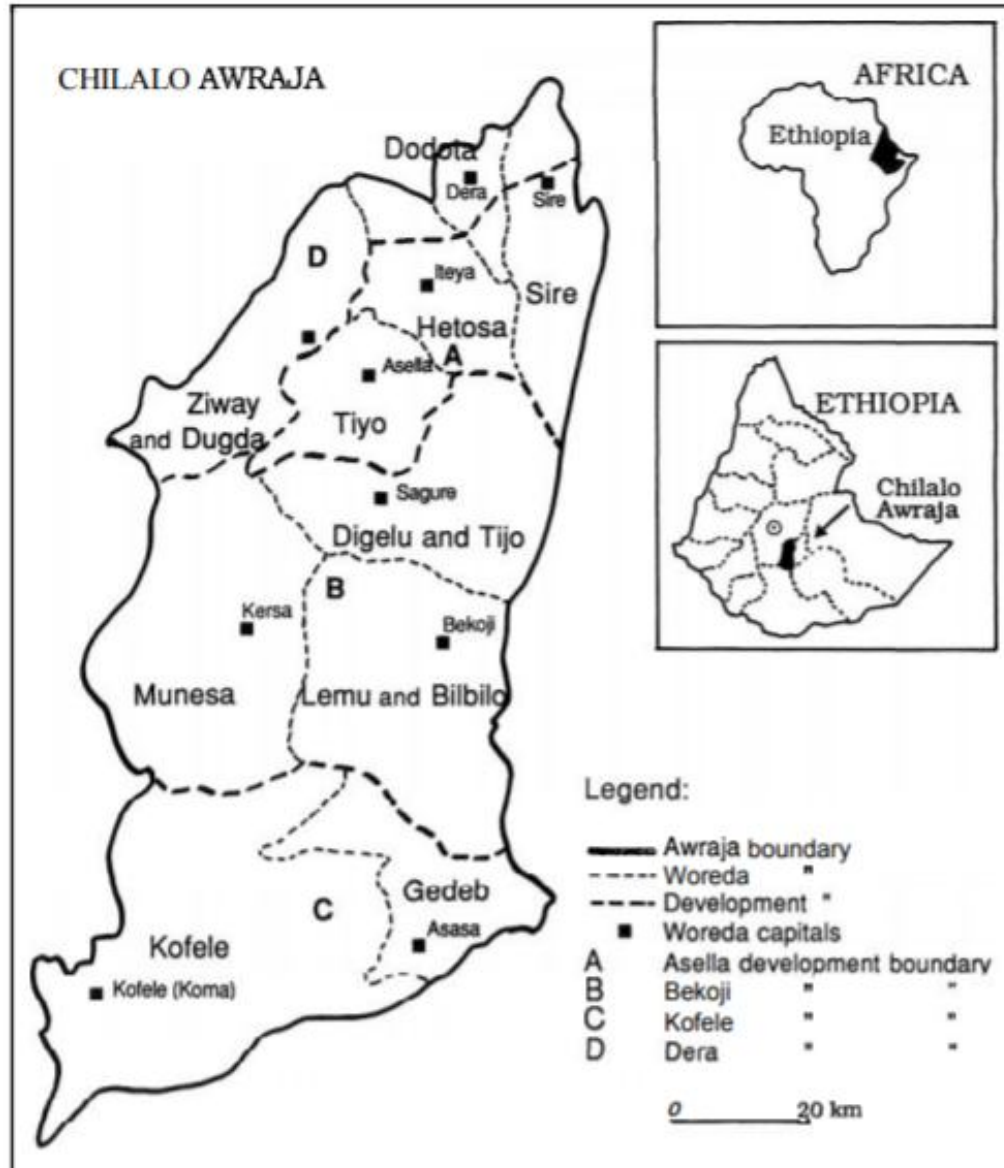
<sup>5</sup>Teferi Mekonin, Nigatu Gebremedin, Alem-meta Assefa, Biniyam Moreda, *Geography of Ethiopia and the Horn* Teaching Module for Freshman University Students of Ethiopia, September 2019, p.35

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid...*, p.35

<sup>7</sup>Megerso Hawiya, "Physical and Socio-Economic Profile of Arsi Zone," August, 8,2021.

<sup>8</sup> Getachew Regasa, "A Historical Survey of Chilalo Awraja, (1941-1974)", Addis Ababa University, History Department 2006..., p.20, see Arne Lexander, *The Changing Rural Society in Arsi Land: Some Finding from a Field Study, 1966-67*, CADU, 1968 (Publication no 7), p. 2

Anjelelo and the Keleta.<sup>9</sup> The Rivers in this region mainly used for human and livestock consumption and irrigation purpose. Some farmers use irrigation water from the Katar and Gonde Rivers in the North, in Ziway- Dugda *Warada* and in the area near to South of Melkassa. Farmers in this area primarily produce vegetables and fruits.<sup>10</sup>



<sup>9</sup> Cohen John Michael, "Rural Change in Ethiopia: A Study of Land, Elites, Power and Values in Chilalo Awraja." University of Colorado, Ph. D, 1973. Political Science, General. P.128

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p.128

### 1.1.1. Agricultural production pattern

Agrarian activities in Ethiopia had three patterns of agricultural production. Such as; plow farming, *enset*<sup>11</sup> and pastoralism.<sup>12</sup> All of them are found in Chilalo *Awraja*. Plow farming is the basic need production pattern common to most Ethiopian plateau. In the highland part of the *Awraja* such crops as wheat barley and teff are grown. In this farming, part of the farmers land is reserved for grazing purposes. This type of production found throughout the *Awraja* and is the main agricultural pattern between Dheeraa and Boqojji on the highland side of the Rift-Valley escarpment. *Enset* production is found primarily in the Southern *Waradas* of Kofale and Gedeb. The pastoralists are engaged in cattle raising and are found in both Rift-Valley section and rolling *grassland* of Kofale, Gedeb, Lemu & Bilbilo *Waradas*. The cereal production of the plow culture became the main contributor to the total economic production<sup>13</sup>

### 1.1.2. Agricultural Production

Agriculture is the major economic activity in the zone. It has a highly suitable climatic condition and fertile soil for production of diverse types of crops. Crop production of the zone mainly arises from traditional rain fed agriculture. The rainy season covers the months of July, August and September. At the high altitudes the monthly rainfall can be about 250 mm.<sup>14</sup> The major food crops produced in the zone are cereals, pulses, oil seeds and others. Among cereals, Teff, Barley and Wheat are the pre-dominant. Other crops include Vegetables, Fruits, Root crops and

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<sup>11</sup>Enset is a false banana tree whose root has a heavy food yield, the basic cultural complex come from Gurage or Sidama peoples in to the region.

<sup>12</sup>Dessalegn Rahmeto, *The Peasant and The State, Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950s-2000s*, Addis Ababa University Press, 2009. P. Cohn John, "Rural Change in Ethiopia...", P.196

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid*, P.197

<sup>14</sup> Arne Lexander, *The Changing Rural Society in Arussi Land: Some Finding from a Field Study, 1966-67*, CADU, 1968 (Publication no 7), p. 3

stimulants are also grown.<sup>15</sup> The cereals cover the largest part of the total area of the zone. The zone has high potential for livestock, poultry and fishery. In addition to this, Chilalo *Awraja* stood first out of the commercial farms of Ethiopia.<sup>16</sup> It is the fastest agricultural growing area, due to favorable climate, fertile soil and well-suited topography for tractor. Moreover, CADU stimulated acceleration of mechanization. But have an adverse effect on the eviction of tenants.<sup>17</sup>

A vast majority part of the Chilalo *Awraja* land mass is suitable for cultivation. The land was divided in to three types; *Lam* (cultivated) *Lamtaf* (semi-cultivated) and *Taf* (uncultivated).<sup>18</sup> The total amount of land in 1965 the *Awraja* under cultivation estimated 150,000 hectares, with more and more pasture land being placed under plow and tractor every year. About 500,000 hectares of additional fertile or semi fertile farmland were thought to remain unexploited.<sup>19</sup>

The region between Iteya and Asella, is extremely developed agricultural region, using traditional and mechanized techniques used to produce wheat. The broader range of crop grown in this area (North), wheat constitutes 49% of the crop land cultivated, barley 26% and flax, beans, peas, maize, teff and other crops the remaining 25%. While the regions South of Asalla, the core production is barely 59% takes up the most cultivated land, followed by 18% wheat, 15% flax and 8% beans and peas. But these figures changed every year based on marketing activities.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Arne Lexander, *The Changing Rural Society in Arussi Land: Some Finding from a Field Study, 1966-67*, CADU, 1968 (Publication no 7), p.3, see also Cohn John, "Rural Change in Ethiopia: A Study of Land, Elites, Power and Values in Chilalo *Awraja*." University of Colorado, Ph. D, 1973. Political Science, General. P.128

<sup>16</sup> Getachew Regasa, "A Historical Survey of Chilalo...", p.61

<sup>17</sup> Dessalegn Rahmeto, *The Peasant and The State, Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950s-2000s*, Addis Ababa University Press, 2009. P.98, See also Cohn John, "Rural Change in Ethiopia...", P.202.

<sup>18</sup> Getachew Regasa, "A Historical Survey of Chilalo...", p. 22

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p.22. Cohn John, "Rural Change in Ethiopia...", P.130

<sup>20</sup> CADU Planning and Evaluation Section, General Agricultural Survey 1970, (CADU Publication Number 71, 1973), p.61-63

In the far South, on the Gedeb- Assasa plain, there is some farming of flax and in the evergreen parts of Kofale there are enset plantations, but until recently the bulk of the Southern populations were pastoralists, because the wealthy well-watered *grass* land provided pasture for large Arsi herds.<sup>21</sup> The lowlands in the Rift-Valley region are used for cattle herding and production of maize often ever-changing basis.<sup>22</sup>

### 1.1.3. Administration

Arsi was one of the administrative divisions, *Taqelay Gizat* (governorate general) and *KefleHagars* (region) of Ethiopia under the Imperial and Derg regimes respectively. Under the imperial administration, Arsi province was divided in to three *Awrajas* or sub-province, namely, Arbagugu, Ticho and Chilalo. The Chilalo *Awraja* further divided in to 11 *Waradas*, these were; Tiyo, Digalu and Tijo, Lemu and Bilbilo, Shirka, Gadaab Assasa, Kofale, Munesa, Zeway Dugda, Hexosaa, Dodota and Sere. Asella was the capital of both province and *Awraja*. The Chilalo *Awraja* falls within the Arsi- Bale massifs. Chilalo was the largest of all *Awrajas*.<sup>23</sup> The bulk of the land mass of Chilalo *Awraja* is situated on the Eastern plateau, which only small regions in the North and west being located in the lower elevations of the Rift-valley. The total size of the administrative unit is approximately 10,100 square kilometers, which is an agricultural term is 1,010,000 hectares or 25,000 *gashas*. The capital Asella is situated in a place

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<sup>21</sup>Hector Blackhurst, "Ethnicity in Southern Ethiopia: The General and the Particular," In *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1980), p. 56

<sup>22</sup> Cohen John Michael, "Rural Change in Ethiopia...", p. 130.

<sup>23</sup>Arne Lexander, *The Changing Rural Society in Arussi Land: Some Findings from a Field Study, 1966-67*, no.7 (CADU publication, 1968), p.2, Elisabet Hanson, *General Description of the present Housing and Living Situation of the Farmers in the Chilalo Awraja, with Proposed for New Design*, 1970, CADU (Report number 7), p.23

where the high plateau.<sup>24</sup> Its boundaries mainly follow physical characteristics which makes the *Awraja* separate from the nearby areas.<sup>25</sup>

#### 1.1.4. Population

Out of the total population of Arsi majority of the inhabitant resides in Chilalo *Awraja*. The area was densely populated. The dynamic nature of demographic figure in the *Awraja* was increasing dramatically. According to 1967 census, the population of Arsi was 111,080 by the year 1990 this figure rises to 1,984,000.<sup>26</sup> Based on 1966 sample survey, the population of Chilalo *Awraja* was 361,400 this figure increased to 500,538 by 1969<sup>27</sup>, by the year 1970 and number rise to 398,592,<sup>28</sup> and 609,820 in the year 1976.<sup>29</sup> This figure shows the dynamism of population growth in the region.

The Chilalo *Awraja* before it becomes part of the Ethiopian empire in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, predominantly land of the Arsi Oromo. After the conquest the ethnic composition of the region changed. A number of Northern migrants with different ethnic background settled over the *Awraja*, particularly the Amhara and the Tulama Oromo. Majority of the working population engaged in agriculture<sup>30</sup>, but there were rare inhabitants of the Gurage involved in trade activity. There were also migrants came from the present region of Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia who were engaged in crafts activity and laborers.

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<sup>24</sup>*Ibid*, p. 2-3

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p.3

<sup>26</sup>Bizuwork Zewde, "The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills: With Particular Reference to Arsi," Addis Ababa University History Department, p.26.

<sup>27</sup> Population Census in Arsi, 1969, NALA folder no

<sup>28</sup> CADU *Planning and Evolution Section*, publication NO. 71, 1971, p.60

<sup>29</sup> Getachew Regasa, "A Historical Survey..." p.2

<sup>30</sup> John M. Cohn, "Rural Change in Ethiopia: The Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit" in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Jul., 1974), pp.582

## 1.2. Theoretical Frame Work of Ethnicity

### 1.2.1. Definition and meaning of Ethnicity

The principal groups under discussion here are the Tulama and the Arsi Oromo. Both belong to the same Ethnic identity, Oromo. It is important to see ethnicity from different perspectives. But ethnicity could not be conceptualized as a fixed trait that is strictly powerful in people's political decision.<sup>31</sup> Ethnic identity shifted from situation to situation, that challenges student of ethnicity to offer general hypotheses. For the purpose of this paper, it is not about what happened in the past but, how the Oromo perceive their identity. What the Oromo believed to have happened and the acceptance of the Oromo definition of reality by others. It is believed that the question of ethnicity emanating from definition given by others and self-definition about oneself.

As Brian M, du Toit explanations "ethnicity would refer to the characteristics and attitudes of those who reflect themselves and are measured by others to form a distinct ethnic group."<sup>32</sup> In order for a large society to sense it is an ethnic group or named by others as an ethnic group or nation, there must be some important preconditions. One of these is "having real or putative common ancestry, recalls of a shared historical past and cultural emphasis of one or more representative elements defined as the essence of their people hood."<sup>33</sup> Hence Azeez sees ethnicity as a sense of people hood that has its foundation in the combined remembrance of past experience and common aspiration.<sup>34</sup> Wsevolod W. Isajiw note the concept of Ethnic group as "Ethnic group refers to a community-type group of people who share the same culture or

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<sup>31</sup> Catarina P. Thomson, Instrumental and Constructivist Conceptualization of Ethnicity: *Implications for Latin-American Social Movements Research*, Estudios International Chile University, 2018, p. 67

<sup>32</sup> Brain M. Du Toit, ed., *Ethnicity in Modern Africa* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978, Introduction), p.9.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.9

<sup>34</sup> Ademola Azeez, "Ethnicity, Party Politics and Democracy in Nigeria: Peoples Democratic party as Agent of Consolidation," Department of political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, 2009, p. 9

descendants of such people who may not share this culture but who identify themselves with this ancestral groups.”<sup>35</sup> Barth’s in his work put ethnic boundaries, These are social-psychological boundaries and denotes to the fact of group-inclusion and exclusion. He put two types of ethnic boundaries, those from within the ethnic group (internal) and those from without the ethnic group (external). In many ways the subtleties of interethnic relations depend on the relationship between these two boundaries. The internal boundaries are the area of self-inclusion in the group. They overlap with the process of self-identity. The external boundaries are the boundary of exclusion of membership; it is the separation of the space of the outsiders.<sup>36</sup> So, what we can understand from the above definition of ethnicity, there is no single definition rather it is situational.

### **1.2.2. Theories of Ethnicity**

To put into clear understanding about the concept of ethnicity, tribes on one hand and intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic interaction, it's good to enlight readers at least the major theories of ethnicity. Contemporary, social scientists argued that the concept of Ethnicity will be understood in three major ways of conceptual theories; Of these, the Primordial theory is one that stress as ethnicity is inheritable and given with birth. For them, ethnicity is having a blood lineage either via matrilineal or patrilineal descent. Therefore, to be an ethnic group of a certain category, he/she should have a blood relation with whom ethnic he/she is claim. The second concepts of ethnicity were Instrumentalism, in which one can create his/her new identity as an individual or groups in order to achieve his/her economic motives. For them, ethnicity is a means of survival

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<sup>35</sup>Wsevolod W. Isajiw, “Definition and Dimension of Ethnicity: A Theoretical Framework,” Toronto University, p.6

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid*, p. 6-7

than identity. The third concept of ethnicity is social constructivism perspectives, in which they think that ethnicity is given by society, and will be cultivated or constructed by a society that surround individual. It's a psychological makeup of individual on basis the way they perceive themselves, and society construct them. Finnemore, M. and Sikkink conclude in their work that, "Actors construct or choose these identities from a menu of existing choices. The menu is historically and culturally constructed, but individuals choose rationally from the items that are on the menu at any given point."<sup>37</sup> As we know, the Oromo of Tulama and the Oromo of Siko-Mando's belongs to Oromo ethnic, a single dominant ethnic group of Ethiopia. As far as both of them are belong to a single ethnic group the interaction will be interethnic relationship from primordial point of view. However, since they have a variety of culture, dialect, and some sort of religious elements can be consider from Social constructivist perspective. Therefore, there is no single legitimate and acceptable theory rather contexts matter.

In the case of Oromo, the criteria of people hood, ethnicity and nationality be inherent in their acceptance in common ancestry, Oromo, shared communal history before and after their conquest by the Ethiopian state. Moreover, the Oromo identity is deep-rooted in common typical institution the *Gadaa* and *Qaallu* system, similar cosmology and system of belief despite change to Islam and Christianity, similar patterns of kinship group as well as jointly clear common language (Afaan Oromo),<sup>38</sup> which are not derived from Christian or Muslim culture.

Despite their conversion to Christianity or Islam the Tulama and Arsi Oromo equally pointed to specifically Oromo practices notably the *Gadaa*, the Oromo system of peers grading and

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<sup>37</sup>Finnemore, M. and Sikkink, K. Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relation and Comparative Politics, 2001. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4, p. 391-416.

<sup>38</sup> Abbas H. Gnamo, *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire, 1880-1974, The Case of the Arsi Gnomon* press, the Netherlands, 2013, p. See also, Hector Blackhurst, "Ethnicity in Southern Ethiopia: The General and the Particular," In *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1980), p. 55

democratic in its nature.<sup>39</sup> According to Alamayehu Haile, and Mohammed Hassan, the Oromo *Gadaa* assembly renewed in 16<sup>th</sup> century and started to expand in to the East, North, and West part of what we call today Oromia.<sup>40</sup> However, The Oromo people went under rapid socio-economic, political and cultural transformation. Changes are quicker and deeper. With subsequent Islamization and Christianization of the region and conquest by the central Shawan government, *Gadaa* system declined. But *Gadaa* system was not totally disappeared. It is still functioning in restricted form in some areas most of Southern Oromo, Borana, Guji, Southwestern Arsi (Munessa, Kofale, Kokkosa) and among the Tulama Oromo in Arsi and Bale.<sup>41</sup> *Gosa* still practical and manifest itself in different ways and are fresh in the memories of Oromo people.<sup>42</sup> *Gosa* can be seen as a sort of very protracted family about various lineage groups who express their group identity and unity, extended from a distant mutual ancestor. It is used to imply people to relate each other through recognizable common ancestors. *Gosa* as defined by Abbas:

“*Gosa* is a collection of patrilineal descent groups and lineages of an unlimited number of generations. This implies that genealogical depth of a *Gosa* is extremely variable. Many *Gosa* claimed that their ancestral line goes back to 15-20 generations or so, whereas for many genealogies stop at less than 10. The variation in genealogy could be explained by the chronology of segmentation/fission process: the most commonly evoked ancestral line among the Arsi varies, however between 10 and 12. This has an important implication as to the use of term *Gosa*. It is practically difficult to translate it in to conventional anthropological terms like tribe, clan and lineage.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Mohammed Hassen, *The Development of Oromo Nationalism, In Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, edited by P.T.W. Baxter, Jan Haltin and Alessandro Trizuli (Lawrenceville and Asmara: the red sea press, 1996), p.80, see also Blackhurst, “Ethnicity in Southern Ethiopia...” p. 55

<sup>40</sup> Mohammed Hassan A reviews of *History of the Sayyo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730 to 1886*; Negaso Gidada, in *Journal of Oromo Studies* Vol 14 no2, 2007, p.21

<sup>41</sup> Getachew Regasa, “A Historical Survey...” p.9, Cohen John Michael, “Rural Change in Ethiopia...” p.54

<sup>42</sup> Abbas H. Gnamo, *Conquest and Resistance...*, p. 23.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p. 59

Abbas remarks the difference between clan and lineage from anthropological perspectives, explained by “genealogical depth” and “accurate reference.” thus lineage is used for “accurate memory” whereas clan is employed for “vague or unverifiable” reference to ancestors in a complex genealogical structure.<sup>44</sup>

The Arsi territories since about 16<sup>th</sup> century inhabited by the Arsi Oromo descendants of *Sikko* and *Mando* non-matrimonial moieties which are further divided into clusters of lineages, *Gosaand (balbala)*.<sup>45</sup> It is believed that *Sikko* and *Mando* were the sons of ‘Arsi’ alternatively ‘Arse’.<sup>46</sup> *Sikko* is the elder son (*hangafa*) had five sons and *Mando* the younger (*qutisu*), had seven sons. The *Sikko* and *Mando* sons further divided in to numerous *Gosas* (clans) and sub-clans. Concerning their settlement pattern in Chilalo *Awraja* the *Mando* sub-groups resides in western and Southern part of Chilalo in what is today Kofale, Munessa, Assasa and parts of Sherka as well as Limu and Bilbilo. The *Sikko* sub-clans inhabited in what is today, Digalu, Tijo, Tiyo, Hexosaa, Dodota Sere and part of Zuway Dugda. But now a day the descendants of both *Sikko* and *Mando* live in many parts of Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>47</sup>

Until the closing of nineteenth century the Arsi-Oromo like other Oromo people, as a culture exhibited many of the social and political characteristics of the *Gadaa* system.<sup>48</sup> The most important of these is centered on leadership and clan land rights. Leadership of each clan was based on genealogical descent on the basis of social political control of the *Gadaa* system. *Gadaa* system is a complex form of organization providing rules and regulations of social

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<sup>44</sup> Abbas H. Gnamo, *Conquest and Resistance ...*, p.59

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p.196

<sup>46</sup> Getachew Regasa, “A Historical Survey...,” p.8-9, Temam Haji Adem, “A History of Amigna (1887-1941)”, Addis Ababa University, 1996. p. 1

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8-9, Informant Ahmed Geleto, Amino Eda’o, Haji Temam Omer

<sup>48</sup> Cohen John Michael, “Rural Change in Ethiopia...,” p53-54, Abbas H. Gnamo, *Conquest and Resistance ...*, p. 23.

interaction as well as establishing rule and common ownership of land. The land was owned by the clans and distributed and withdrawn by clan leadership.<sup>49</sup>

The Arsi *Gosa* occupied definite geographic areas and all members had equal right to use the pasture and land of their clan. Each *Gosa* had a chief or head. There was land which belonged to *Gosa* under the leadership of clan head. So, land was neither inherited nor sold.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the conquest brought about the decline and disappearance of *Gadaa* system among Arsi Oromo and resulted in “initial expropriation and continuous alienation of land.”<sup>51</sup> After the conquest *Gosa* has served as the last rampart in the defense of Oromo social cohesion and cultural identity. The famous clan head or heroes owned leading people against the invading force of Menelik in Chilalo *Awraja* were, Lenjiso Diga of Koloba, Jatani Bultum of Badosa, Eresso Tongo of Sabiro and Wayu Hamda of Hexosaa.<sup>52</sup> But later those clan heads were completely alienated from their land.

*Gadaa* system declined in Arsi because of two reasons, the first is introduction of Islam in Arsi and the second factor was conquest by Shewan government. However, certain value of *Gadaa* survived in Kofale and Munessa because of slow infiltration of Islam in western Chilalo.<sup>53</sup> Before the decline of *Gadaa* system both the Tulama and the Arsi like any other clans of Oromo lived under a common *Caffee* (*Gadaa Assembly*). The Tulama lived under *Odaa Nabe* whereas; the

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<sup>49</sup>*Ibid*, p. 31

<sup>50</sup> Abbas H. Gnamo, *Conquest and Resistance ...*, p.76

<sup>51</sup> Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional polity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 137.

<sup>52</sup>Getachew Regasa, “A Historical Survey...” p.33

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 9.

Arsi lived under *Odaa Roba*. However, with the passage of time these *Gadaa* assemblies became ineffective and declined as a political center.<sup>54</sup>

Internal dynamics among the Tulama Oromo clans led significant socio-economic and political transformation during the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century which led frequent internal conflict. Accordingly, the former *Abba Dula* (war leaders) turned themselves in to chiefs. These chiefs became busy in expanding their domain than uniting their people as a result the Oromo in general and Tulama in particular failed to unite against the conqueror. Historically the land of the Tulama was outside the control of the Shawan government, but at the end of nineteenth century the army of Menelik conquered it. The conqueror built a feudal tenure system and integrated the area in to Ethiopian empire with highly decentralized local government system.<sup>55</sup> To escape the burden many of the Tulama clans moved and established coordinated settlement in Arsi.<sup>56</sup>

### **1.3. Theoretical Approaches to Human Migration Pattern**

Most of the historical classic models of migration turn around the economic force affecting an individual's decision on where to establish placement. Settlement exists within the physical environment and is defined as an original place where individuals or group of people adapt themselves to the existing physical and social systems.<sup>57</sup> Push-Pull models interpret migration as a function of income and other opportunity gaps between origin and destination areas. In this model migration conceptualized in the context of relative poverty and limitations as a households or family.

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<sup>54</sup>Informant, Abdurahman Kabete

<sup>55</sup>Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo in and Around Finfinnee, 1860's-1974," p. 43.

<sup>56</sup> Getachew Regasa, "A Historical Survey..." p.35, Ketebo Abdiyo, "A Historical Survey of Arsi Oromo 1910-1974," Addis Ababa University, History Department, p. 44. see also Biratu Kenei, p.73

<sup>57</sup> Mengistu Wube, "Southward-Northward Resettlement in Ethiopia," *Northeast African Studies, New Series, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1995), pp. 85-106*

Migration is discussed in the paradigm of push-pull factors. Central to push-pull models of migration two groups of casual factors affecting one's decision to migrate: push and pull factors. Push factors are relative to the home country or region, while pull factors are associated with the place of destination. Typical push factors include but are adverse environmental conditions (famine, environmental disasters, and poor *infrastructure*, including lack of political or religious freedom. Some pull factors attractive to migrants into other areas are increased job opportunities; better living conditions.<sup>58</sup> push factors refer to the specific forces in individual lives that lead to the decision to migrate outside of its regular place, while pull factor refers to those that lead an individual to select one destination over another once the decision to migrate has been made. This type of analysis provides empirical fit to understand the circumstances that caused the inspiration (desire and choice) for migration.<sup>59</sup>

The case of Tulama Oromo migration to Arsi examined in the model of economic force that affects their decision to establish their residency in Arsi. The Tulama migration took place in the framework of both push and pull factors. In the case of pull factor, the decision to migrate is determined by the immigrant themselves, there is circumstances that motivate immigrants in place of destination (Arsi). Push factors related to their place of origin in Shawa adverse environmental condition like harvest failure, shortage of land and political insecurity. Apart from the Shawa Oromo in Arsi there are also immigrants like the Amhara, the Gurage and others. They established settlement around market area.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Anatasia Holobinko, "Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Understanding Human Migration Patterns and their Utility in Forensic Human Identification Cases," Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, 1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, ON, L8S 4L9, Canada, 2012, pp 44

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 44

<sup>60</sup>Arne lexander, *Changing Rural Society...* p.15, see also Getachew Bedhadha, "A History of Asella..." p.9

## 1.4. The Origin and patterns of Settlements of the Tulama Oromo in Shawa

### 1.4.1. The Origin of the Tulama in Shawa Plateau

There are historical evidences for the existence of Oromo sub clans in 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century in the present day what we call Shawa.<sup>61</sup> In line with this, Negaso Gidada argued as follow “Oromo groups were living in North and central Shawa at least from the Gibe up to the lower Awash during the Zagwe period (1137-1270) and during the reign of Yekuno Amlaak (1270-1285), Amda Tsiyon (1314-1344), Zara Yaqob (1434-1468) and Lebna Dengel (1508-1540)<sup>62</sup>” Furthermore, Tadesse Tamrat , Negaso Gidada and Mohammed Hassan in his recent publication “*The Oromo and Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia 1300-1700*” consolidate the above stated arguments in their works. Taddesse Tamrat identified the people of Galan and Yaya who lived near Mount Yaya, somewhere east of Katata, where St Teklehaimanot baptized them in the river Meesot'.

Taddesse, in his book entitled “*Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1529*” and Negaso noted “The Galan and Yaya are two Oromo clans and the place names of where they lived are unmistakably of Oromo origin.” According to Negaso, and Mohammed, the Galan and Yaya were, living in Shawa not far from Dabra Berhan. During the reign of Amda Tseyon and during the expansion of Christianity in the region from the sacrificial food they used then, it can be assumed that the Yaayyaa {Yaya} and the Galaan [Galan] cultivated wheat and raised cattle, goats and sheep. The name of their god 'Qorkee<sup>63</sup>' was an Oromo term, which had two meanings

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<sup>61</sup>Negaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730 to 1886* Addis Ababa: Mega Printing Enterprise, 2001, pp. 29-30; Allamaayyoo Hailee, *Sirna Gadaa: Siyaasaa Oromoo Tuulamaa*, Jildii Iffa, Berhane ina Selam press, Finfinnee, Oromiyaa 1999, p.32.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p.29

<sup>63</sup>Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p.184.

one meaning of *qorkee* refers to the name of a type of antelope. The second meaning of *qorkee* is the name of the Oromo month of February/March.<sup>64</sup>

#### **1.4.2. Patterns of Settlements of the Tulama Oromo in Shawa**

Usually, historians and anthropologists classify the Tulama Oromo as a sub-clan of Borana. Accordingly, they classify Borana Oromo in to; the Tulama and the Mecha the elder and younger respectively. The former settled in and around Finfinnee (Addis Ababa), whereas the later settled at least starting from Ambo to Sudan border.<sup>65</sup>

The Tulama Oromo genealogy has three major clans namely; Dachi, Bacho, and Jille. Furthermore, the Dachi, the eldest son of Tulama had three sub-clans namely; Jahan Galan (the six Galaan), Torban Obbo, Sadan Soddo. The six Galaan were Jidda, Liban, Abu, Ada'a, WarraJarso and Gadulla. Obo had seven sons: Gumbichu, Gullalle, Oborri, Yaayyaa, Eekka, Digalu and Gamu. whereas, Soddo had three sons: Oditu, Liban and Tum'e. All of these sub-clans had further divided in smaller sub-divisions.<sup>66</sup>

Bachoo, the second major sub-clan of the Tulama had six sub-clans namely; Sadan Illu, Torban Garasu, Saglan Urru, Saglan Wajjitu, Laman Keeekuu, Sedetan Metta. The Jille, the third major sub-clan of Tulama had also six sub-clans namely; kudhalaman Gonna, shaman Gusa, Sadden Loyya, Saden Ware, Shanen Siba, and turban Gindo<sup>67</sup>. The detail of the sub-clan division is noted in the diagram below.

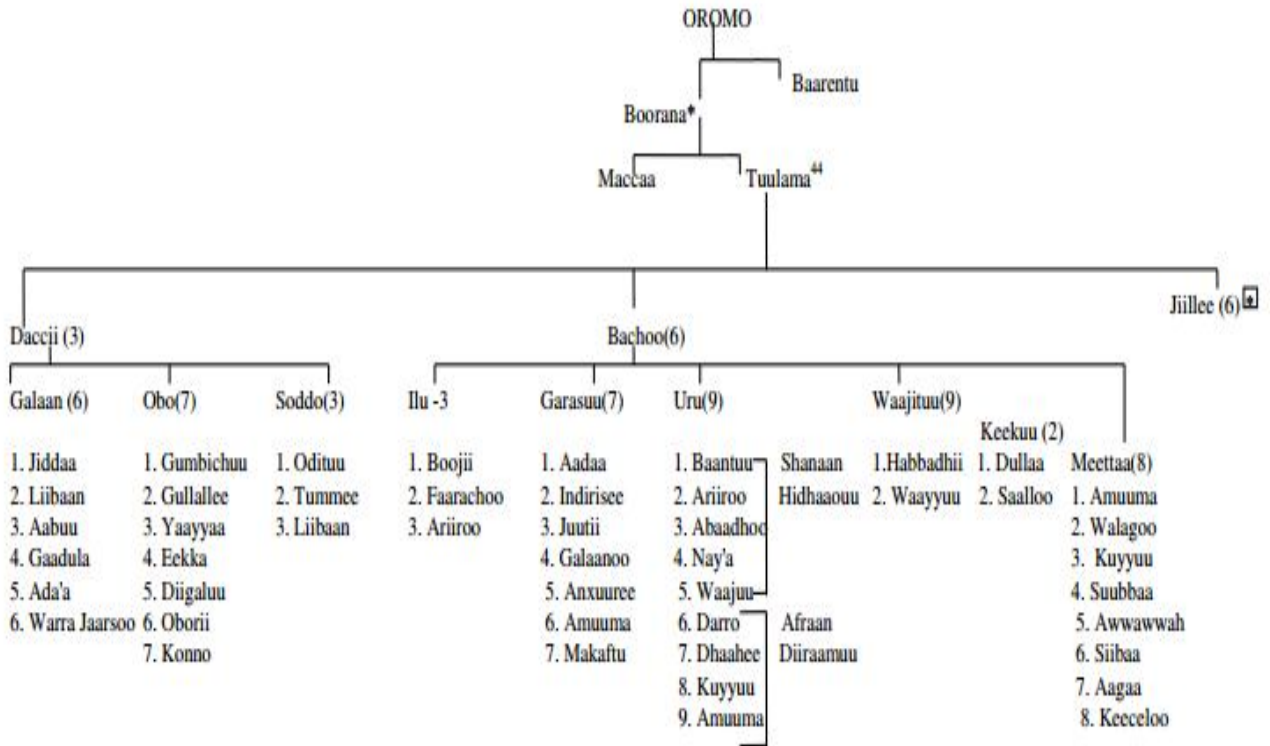
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<sup>64</sup> Mohammed Hassan A Reviews of History of the Sayyo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730 to 1886Negaso Gidada, in *Journal of Oromo Studies* Vol 14 no2, 2007, pp. 161-165.

<sup>65</sup> Allamaayyoo Hayillee, *SirnaGadaa...*p.32.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, p.25, Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, *History of the Oromo to the Sixteenth Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.,2006, p.117-137, Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo..." p.10

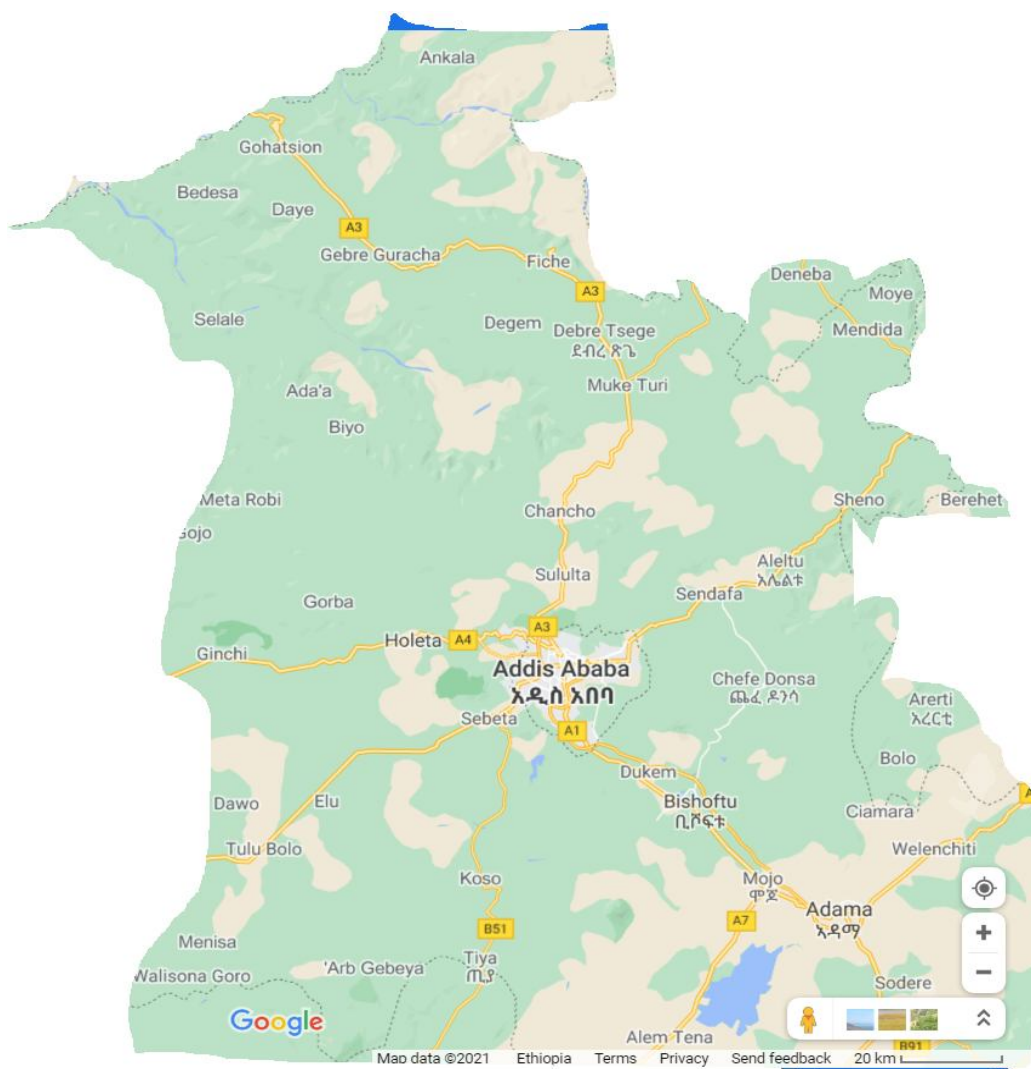
<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, p.22-26



Adopted from: TsegayeZelege, “The Oromo of Salaale a History (c.1840-1936)”, M.A Thesis, Department of History, 2002.

In relation to the overall pattern of their settlements, the Bacho settled in the west, the Dachi in the center and the Jille in the east. More specifically, majority of the Dachi sub-clans; Jahan Galan and Torban Obbo were settled in center of Shawa, in and around Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) only the Sadan Soddo moved to the Southwest parts of Shawa. The Bacho were mainly settled in Northwest and Southwest parts of Shawa. Among the Jahan Bacho, the Keku, Illu, and Garasu’s were settled in Southwest parts of Shawa, mainly in and around Waliso, whereas, Mettaa and Wajjitu’s were settled in West Shawa alongside of Mughher River. The SaglanUru, other sub-clans of the Bacho Oromo, settled in Northwest Shawa, particularly in and around Gabra Guracha. Jahan Jille, the third sub-clans of the Tulama has settled a land from east of Mojo and

Adama up to Awash River.<sup>68</sup> But this does not mean they did not cross the boundary of one another. for example, as stated above the former inhabitants of Salaale were the Gullale a place called Yaayyaa Gullale, northeast of Mugger valley locality inside Salaale, but later the Gulalle settled in Finfinnee area. The Gullale also settled in area between Adama and Karrayyu.<sup>69</sup>



Map 2: Tulama Oromo settlements areas. Adopted from Google map.

<sup>68</sup>Allamaayyoo Hayillee, *Sirna Gadaa: Siyaasaa Oromoo Tuulamaa*, Jildii 1ffa, Berhane ina Selam press, Finfinnee, Oromia 1999, p. 25, Tsegaye Zeleke, “The Oromo of Salaalee: A History (c.1848-1936)”, M.A Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University, 2002, P.20, see also Alemseged Debele, “A History of Kuyyu Warada, 1936-1991,” Addis Ababa University, p. 26

<sup>69</sup>Biratu Kenei, “Brigadier General Taddasa Birru: A Military- Political Biography (1922-1975),” Ph. D Dissertation Addis Ababa University 2019, p.38

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE EARLY PHASE OF THE TULAMA SETTLEMENT IN ARSI-CHILALO (1886-1941)

#### 2.1. Expansion of Menelik II and the Tulama Settlement in Arsi

It was in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century that the Shawan kingdom had started to expand towards the South, Southwest and Southeastern parts of Ethiopia. Following the conquest of Menelik, many Northerners and central peoples of Ethiopia moved to the South. Those northern and central peoples of Ethiopia moved to Arsi were the Tulama Oromo and the Amhara.<sup>70</sup> The Tulama Oromo moved to Arsi and settled there in different periods.<sup>71</sup> The first wave of their movement was started in the early 1880's. Since that period onward a chain of the Tulama Oromo clans continued to move to Arsi province, particularly to Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>72</sup>

During the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the process of Menelik II territorial expansion the Tulama clans of Abbichu, Jidda, Gullalle, Bachoo, Mettaa, Sooddo and Galaan were strongly fought against the army of Menelik in Shawa.<sup>73</sup> He faced strong resistance from these clans.<sup>74</sup> However, after long period of stiff resistance Menelik was able to break the Tulama resistance by using different techniques. He used divide and rule policy system, which is similar to that of the Western countries colonial rule. He tried to exploit the differences between the Tulama clans, and used one clan against the other.<sup>75</sup> The other factor that supported Menelik success to subdue

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<sup>70</sup>Hector Blackhurst, "Ethnicity in Southern Ethiopia: The General and the Particular," In *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1980)

<sup>71</sup>Ketebo Abdiyo, "A Historical Survey of Arsi Oromo 1910-1974," p. 45

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, p 45

<sup>73</sup>Girma Geda, "A History of Torban Obo Oromo in Boset Woreda, 1885-1991", MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History Department, p. 39

<sup>74</sup>Donald. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multi- Ethnic Society*. Chicago. 1974, pp. 84-85.

<sup>75</sup>Dirribe Demissie, *Oromo Wisdom in Black Civilization*, Finfinnee, 2011, pp.442-443, see also Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance...*, p. 140

the Oromo under his rule was the effective use of European military advisors.<sup>76</sup> He was able to bring modern military weapons which made his conquest very easy.<sup>77</sup>

Furthermore, Menelik's expansion to the South became successful with the submission of the Tulama Oromo chiefs like Gobana Dache in diplomatic winning.<sup>78</sup> Darge and Gobana were able to score a victory over the Tulama Oromo in Salaale by 1870.<sup>79</sup> Menelik's army led by *Ras* Darge conquered Salaale in 1870s and *Ras* Darge was appointed as governor of Salaale.<sup>80</sup> *Ras* Gobana Dacci joined the rank of the imperial army from the formerly conquered Abichu clan of the Tulama, he proved to be instrumental in the expansion of west and attained the highest military rank of *Ras*.<sup>81</sup>

Although, the Tulama Oromo made several efforts to resist the Shawan rulers in different times, especially in 1808, 1847, 1855 and 1860, specifically at Salaale, unfortunately their attempts remained unsuccessful.<sup>82</sup> The weakness of the Oromo clan themselves was a factor for their defeat. As a result of the beginning of the Shawan expansion, the Oromo had lost everything unity they had and had disintegrated into several little tribes who were mutually antagonistic to

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<sup>76</sup> Tabor Wami, *Partisan Discourse and Authentic History*. Addis Ababa: Artistic printing press, 2015, pp. 485

<sup>77</sup> Girma Geda, "A History of Torban Obo Oromo in Boset Woreda, 1885-1991", MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History Department, p 37

<sup>78</sup> Alamayehu Haile, Trans Dereje Hinaw, *Gadaa System: The Politics of Tulama Oromo*, 2009, Finfinnee, p.24.

<sup>79</sup> Tsegaye Zeleke, "The Oromo of Salale: A History (c.1848-1936)", M.A Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University, 2002, p.67

<sup>80</sup> Donald. Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Urbana and Chicago, 2000.p.221

<sup>81</sup> Bairu Tafla, "Three Patriots: *Ato* Atsma Giyorgis, *Ras* Gobana Daci and *TshaijTezaz* Gebre Selassie." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, vol,5 no,2, 1967

<sup>82</sup> Bairu Tafla, "Some Aspects of Land Tenure and Taxation in Salaale under *Ras* Darge, 1871-1900," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, XII, IWE 1974, P.2

one another.<sup>83</sup> Therefore Menelik used this vacuum as an opportunity to subdue the Tulama, consequently made effective control over them.

After submission of the Tulama Oromo, new feudal exploitative system was introduced, particularly, in Salaale and area around Finfinnee. The former dwellers or the Tulama were expelled.<sup>84</sup> Expropriation of land from local people and reallocation to the newcomers took place. This was for different reasons, first, to reward soldiers for the service they performed during the war of conquest. Secondly for effective control, because it is believed that unless the subjected people were expelled, no effective control might be exercised over them.<sup>85</sup> The need to quarter soldiers was also another reason for expropriation of the land of local people. Then Menelik introduced a new land measurement policy since 1879.<sup>86</sup> The system of land measurement had greatly influenced the land-system of Shawa Oromo.<sup>87</sup> It is supposed that land measurement started during the Gondorine period in the late of seventeenth century in Begemidir. But it was in 1879-1880 in Shawa that land measurement practice reached its height. It continued until the collapse of the imperial regime in 1974.<sup>88</sup>

The land was measured by *Gasha*, it is a unit of measure on all side with special rope known as *Qalad*. *Qalad* is also a name of plot of land by rope.<sup>89</sup> The policy of land measurement and

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<sup>83</sup> Kofi R.H. Darkwah, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813-1889*, London, 197 p.190. See also Abbas Haji, "Conquest and Resistance...", "p.140

<sup>84</sup> Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo in and around....," p.55

<sup>85</sup> Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance...*, p. 214

<sup>86</sup> Biratu Kenei, "A History of In and Around....," "p. 71

<sup>87</sup> Richard. Pankhurst, "Tribute, Taxation, and Government Revenues in Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century", *In Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1967, P.72

<sup>88</sup> Richard. Pankhurst, *State and Land in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, 1966, P.120; See also Richard. Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia: 1800 - 1935*. Addis Ababa, 1968, PP. 152-153; again, See also Bahru Zewde, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia (1916-1935)", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol .17, P.13

<sup>89</sup> Getachew, "A Historical Survey of....," p.23

redistribution was first tested in a small area west of the Chacha River around 1880s.<sup>90</sup> Krapf noted that the Chacha River was a tributary of the Abbay. He also added that it flows from an *Awraja* called Bulga and Angolala in a deep glen towards the Northwest, and which was located near Kum Dengai, in the *Awraja* Shawa-medea, come together with the Barressa and several other Rivers and forms the Adabai, flow in to Jamma into the Blue River, the so-called Abay.<sup>91</sup>

The societies of the South in general and Oromo in particular went under communal land holding system owned by extended families in the pre-conquest period.<sup>92</sup> Like other egalitarian or non-hierarchical societies, private ownership of land was unknown among the Oromo. Likewise, this approach is further supported by Tesema and discussed that “Land had eyes and ears and could act upon men who usurped the rights of the rightful owners even long after the latter had died or moved elsewhere”.<sup>93</sup> So land is central to the life of Oromo cultivators and pastoralist. In addition to this, in the Tulama tradition, land was regarded as a common resource, serving as a source of livelihood through farming and grazing. It was also attached to the social and cultural life of the Oromo at large. It was strongly connected to traditional Oromo belief system.<sup>94</sup>

Moreover, the importance of land went beyond its economic significance and was deeply associated with Oromo socio-cultural value. The Oromo believed that collective utilization of

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<sup>90</sup>Tsegaye, “The Oromo of Salaale...,” P,83

<sup>91</sup> J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labor During the Eighteenth years Residence in Eastern Africa*. London, Forgotten Books, 2013, P.25

<sup>92</sup>Gadaa Melbaa, *Oromia: An Introduction to the History of the Oromo People*, Khartoum,1988, p.63; see also Guluma Gameda, “Land, Agriculture, And Society in The Gibe Region: South Western Ethiopia, C.1850-1974”, Ph.D. Dissertation, History, Michigan State University,1996, p.30; again, see also Tsegaye, p.19.

<sup>93</sup>Tasema Ta’a, “Traditional and Modern Cooperative Among the Oromo,” In Baxter, P.T.W, J. Hultin and A. Triulzi (eds). *Being and Becoming Oromo, Historical and Anthropological Enquires*. uppsala,1996, p.204

<sup>94</sup>Biratu Kenei, “A History of Oromo in And Around Finfinnee, 1860s -1974,” Addis Ababa University, History “Department, p. 48, see also Tsegaye, “The Oromo of Salaale...,” P. 21, see again, Guluma Gameda, “*Land, Agriculture, And Society in The Gibe Region: South Western Ethiopia, C.1850-1974*”, Ph. D Dissertation, History, Michigan State University,1996 P.30

land would bring about peace and providence.<sup>95</sup> But the conquest had brought about great effect on the Oromo traditional land holding system. Majority of them lost ownerships right over their land. As a result of loss of ownership of their land the Tulama become economically exploited, politically weak.<sup>96</sup>

The major Tulama groups, the Dachi, and the Bacho, settled mainly in and around the capital, Northwest and Southwest part of Shawa, began to move to Arsi since 1880's. The case of the Jille, the third major clans of the Tulama is exceptional. Majority of the sub-clan of the Jille who are settled from east of Modjo and Adama to Awash River were not moved to Arsi as a permanent settler. Rather they simply crossed Awash River which is adjacent to their home as seasonal migrant. Some of the Tulama peasants of this area were temporary job seekers employed in the agro-industrial scheme in the Awash and Rift Valleys, like Wanji Sugar plantation, then returning home.<sup>97</sup> However, the rest of the Tulama permanently settled in Arsi. A number of factors accounted for the Tulama movement to Arsi, discussed here under.

## **2.2. Causes of the Tulama Movement to the Chilalo (1880's to 1935)**

As stated earlier, the first wave of the Tulama movement to Arsi began in the early 1880's. The Menelik and Shawa government who controlled the economic and political power at the center manipulated the migration of people to the South, particularly the Tulama Oromo. This was done by eviction and systematic marginalization.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Abbas, *Conquest and Resistance...*, p. 214, see also Biratu, "A History of Oromo...", p. 49

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 49

<sup>97</sup> Informant Debele Yami, Korsaa, kophessa Hey'i,

<sup>98</sup> Benti Getahun, "An Over View of Some Factors Limiting the Migration of the Oromo to Addis Ababa," In *Journal of Oromo Studies Vol, 8 No, 1 & 2, P. 55.*, see also, Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo in and around...", p.55

The Tulama Oromo movement to Arsi region was caused by both push and pull factors. There are a number of push factors, like, land hunger caused by continuous fragmentation of *rist* land, famine and starvation, population pressure, environmental degradation, maladministration of government officials, harvest failures followed by an increasingly irregular rainfall. Among all the issue of land was the most decisive push factor for the Tulama migration to Arsi.<sup>99</sup>

Large part of what is today the capital (Addis Ababa) was inhabited by the Gullalle which is part of the Tulama clan long before 1886.<sup>100</sup> However, in order to make land free and build imperial capital the Gullale of this area displaced and dislocated to another region, particularly to Arsi.<sup>101</sup> . With Southward shift of imperial capital, a number of royal camps were established. The establishment of these different Royal camps resulted in land alienation and displacement. Those royal camps include; Hococaa (1879), Dildila (1881), Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) (1886), Ejere (AdisAlem) (1900) and Holotaa (Genet) (1901).<sup>102</sup> Therefore, the shift of imperial capital to the newly incorporated regions of central Shawa resulted in the removal of the Tulama Oromo groups. As Tekalign noted, “we know for instance, that in the early 1880’s a fairly large number of Gulalle Oromo in and around the settlement of Dildila (Entoto) were remove & later settled in the newly conquered part of Arsi”<sup>103</sup> large number of Oromo peasants evicted from the Finfinnee area, if they refused, the troops of Menelik burnt their houses and their farm in to

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<sup>99</sup>Temam Haji Adem, “A History of Amigna (1887-1941),” MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, June 1996, pp.13

<sup>100</sup>Biratu Kenei, “A History of Oromo in and around...,” p.49

<sup>101</sup> Cohen John Michael, “Rural Change in Ethiopia...,” p. 107

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, p.49

<sup>103</sup>Tekalign Walde Mariam, “A city and Its Hinterlands: The Political Economy of Land Tenure, Agriculture and Food Supply for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (1880-1974),” Boston University, Ph. D, Dissertation, 1995, p.130.

ashes, so they have no other option except leaving the area to the landlords and marched to Arsi.<sup>104</sup>

The Gulalle like other clans of the Tulama Oromo suffered from exploitation and shortage of land. They were the victims of Menelik land measurement policy. Their land was taken for the construction of palace and Churches. Menelik started to distribute the land of the Oromo among his notables, soldiers, servants, followers and the Orthodox Church by dispossessing the original owners.<sup>105</sup> In 1879 Menelik distributed the confiscated land of the Tulama among his 31 dignitaries.<sup>106</sup> Some of these dignitaries were; Abune Matewos, *Ras Mekonin*, *Ras Gobena*, *Ras Michael*, *Ras Tesema*, *Dajjach Meshesha*, *AfaNugus Nasibu*, *Fitawrari Habte Gebriel*, *Aleqa Gebre Sellasie*.<sup>107</sup>

With the decline of the Gadaa system the unity of the Tulama Oromo began to crack down, consequently a number of smaller Oromo chiefs emerged. Some of the most known were, Tufa Muna, Tufa Obaa, Cangaree Sookilee, Goobanaa Dachi, Tufaa Araddo, etc. But the time of their raise and fall was need a study on its own.<sup>108</sup> As discussed above Menelik adopt the strategy of diplomacy and threat to get the submission of those important Oromo local chiefs. Some of these Tulama local chiefs had served in the army of Menelik campaign against Arsi, those mainly from, Abichu, Bacho, Gullale origin. But some of them refused to accept the regulation issued by the Shawan rulers. Those chiefs lost their land with the introduction of new land tenure system. Tufa Munaa of Gulalle was the best example. Tufa neither accepted the new regulation

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<sup>104</sup> Informant Kophesa Hey'i

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50-51,

<sup>106</sup> Punkhrust Sylvia, "Ethiopian Agriculture in Retrospect and Prospect." *Ethiopia Observer* 1, 8 (September 1957), 278-282

<sup>107</sup> Atsma Giyorgis Gabra Masih, *Ya [Oromo] Tarik*, p 777-779

<sup>108</sup> Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo in and around..." p.16

issued by the Shawan government nor participated in the war of conquest, as a result he lost his power and land.<sup>109</sup>

Once Menelik secured the submission of Gullale through persuasion and force he used the Gullale cavalry in the Arsi campaign.<sup>110</sup> Some of them were granted land as a reward for their military services and others were forced to accompany the war and finally settled there for the coming administrative tasks.<sup>111</sup> The new order of the Shawan government allowed the local chiefs of the Tulama like *Ras Gobana* and *Fitawrari Garede* involved in the business of reallocating or establishing ownership over large tracts of land. They did take full advantage of their position and accepted rewards of land for mediating the power relationship between peasants and their lords. As a result, they brought about a wholesale dispossession of the Oromo and forced them to migrate to another region.<sup>112</sup>

The Gullale clans were the first arrivals in Arsi who were pushed by the expanding empire of Menelik. The commonly held discourses and arguments is that about one third of the entire Gullale clan believed to have moved to Arsi.<sup>113</sup> This argument is strongly supported by my informants. The Gullale at initial stage settled in *Hexosaa Warada* around Itaya,<sup>114</sup> later they predominantly settled in South and South West of Asella in part of Munessa district.<sup>115</sup> This was

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<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p.48, Informant Debele Yami, Alemu Wariyo, Tusa Deti

<sup>110</sup> Michael Stahl, *Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development*, Africana publishing Company, New York, 1974, p.40

<sup>111</sup> Abbas H. Genemo, *Conquest and Resistance...*, p.275

<sup>112</sup> Tekalign, "A city and..." p.128

<sup>113</sup> Abbas Haji, "The History of Arsi 1880-1935," B.A Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1982, p.22, Ketebo Abdiyo, "A Historical Survey of Arsi Oromo, 1910-1974," p. 45, see also Ketebo, "The Political Economy..." p. 18, Biratu, "A History of Oromo..." p. 55, informant, Debele Yami, Korsa Tullu, Kopessa Hey'i, Ahmed Geleto, Amino Eda'o, Alemu Wariyo.

<sup>114</sup> Informant Ahmed Geleto, Amino, Korsa Tulu

<sup>115</sup> Ketebo Abdiyo, "A Historical survey of Arsi Oromo, 1910-1974," Addis Ababa University, History Department 24; See also, Abbas Haji, *Conquest and resistance in the Ethiopian Empire 1880-1974; The Case of Arsi Oromo*, Print force press, the Netherlands, 2013, p.275, see also Lexander, p.13

clearly an indication of the expropriation and dislocation of the Oromo and as a result, many Tulama clans like the Gulalle, the Galan and other Oromo clans were evicted.<sup>116</sup> As mentioned above, partially the Gullale moved to Arsi with the initiative of the emperor. Menelik rewarded large tract of lands for the Gullale in Arsi.<sup>117</sup> This means the land in Munessa *Warada* given for Gulalle was as a reward by the government. The granting of land in Munessa *Warada* for the dislocated Gullale Oromo continued until the late 1920s.<sup>118</sup>

After the conquest many of the ritual centers of the Tulama were taken over and changed to the center of Christian worship. Tefera Dibaba explained how the Tulama Oromo of Finfinne area, particularly the Gullale, the Ekka and the Galan express their grievances and the burden they suffered through their traditional folksong. All the names in the songs renamed in Amharic: Finfinne (Addis Ababa), Tulluu Daalattii (Arat Kilo), Hurufa Boombii (Jan Meda):<sup>119</sup>

### **Afaan Oromoo**

‘Enxoxxo dhaabbatanii  
 Caffee ilaaluun hafe  
 Finfinnee loon geessanii,  
 Hora obaasuun hafe  
 Oddoo Daalattii irratti  
 Yaa’iin Gullallee hafee.  
 Gafarsatti dabranii  
 Qoraan cabsachuun hafe  
 Hurufa Boombii irratti  
 Jabbilee yaasuun hafe  
 Kooraa Dhagaa Araaraa  
 Jaarsummaa taahuun hafe  
 Bara jarri dhufani.  
 loon keenyas in dhumani.

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<sup>116</sup>Tekalign, “A city and its Hinterlands...” P.249

<sup>117</sup> Cohen John, “Rural Change...” pp. 107, see also, Biratu, A History of Oromo...,” p.55, Ketebo, “The Political Economy of Land...,” p.18, Abbas Haji A” History of Arsi...,” p. 48

<sup>118</sup> Getachew “A Historical Survey of...,” pp.64

<sup>119</sup> Assefa Tefera, “Ethnography of Resistance Poetics: Power and Authority in Salaale Oromo Folklore,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Folklore, Indiana University, 2015, pp.81.

Bara Mashashaan dhufe  
Birmadummaanni hafe,

### English

No more standing on Entoto,  
To look down at the pasture below.  
No more taking cattle to Finfinne,  
To water at the mineral spring.  
No more gathering on TulluDaalattii,  
Where the Gullalle assembly used to meet.  
No more going beyond Gafarsa,  
To chop firewood.  
No more taking calves,  
To the meadow of HurufaBoombii.  
The year the enemy came,  
Our cattle were consumed.  
Since Mashasha<sup>120</sup> came,  
Freedom has vanished.”<sup>121</sup>

As the song's indicates once Menelik controlled Finfinne in 1886, systematically expelled the former dwellers. As a result, the Menelik an rule had no room for ritual sites, grazing-land, and meeting ground for the Oromo.<sup>122</sup>

The Galan expelled by the force of Menelik without any compensation or substitution of land in Arsi. Gejja (which is now Gejja *safar* in Addis Ababa), formerly the land of Galan given to Aymallal Gurage by Menelik, then the Oromo of the Galan displaced and sent to Arsi. The Galan Oromo evicted from their homeland for two important reasons. First unlike the Gullale the Galan

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<sup>120</sup> *Dajjach* Mashasha is the son of *Abeto* Sayfu Sahla Selassie (*Ras* Darge's half-brother).

<sup>121</sup> Assefa Tefera, "Ethnography of Resistance Poetics: Power and Authority in Salaale Oromo Folklore," Ph.D. Dissertation, Folklore, Indiana University, 2015, pp.81, see also Mohammed Hassen, "Some Aspect of Oromo History that Have Been Misunderstood," in *Journal of Oromo Study*, vol.1. no, 2, 1994, p. 84

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, pp.82

did not participate in the army of Menelik and refused to give their land, they evicted by force. Secondly, they were evicted just to vacate their land for grazing purpose of the palace herd.<sup>123</sup>

The second most important push factor for the movement of many Tulama clans to Arsi-Chilalo region was shortage of land in Shawa. With the introduction of land measurement policy, the communal land holding system was changed to land privatization. Many peasants become tenants. Hunger of land was the major factor for the migration of Tulama to Arsi. Land is the chief resource of the country. It is the major determinants of productivity or agricultural effectiveness and income. It is also a significant feature of the political economy of the rural population.<sup>124</sup> Access to it has always been strongly sought by all concerned; the peasant, the privilege classes as well as the state for the economic benefits. Since major parts of the land of the Tulama owned by few officials or landlords and *balabats*, there was inequitable distribution of resources. Consequently, the Tulama Oromo forced in mass to move to Arsi in search of better life and access of land.

Maladministration is also supposed to be another major cause of the Tulama movement in the above-mentioned period. Maladministration is evil deed committed towards the poor peasants by the *meselanesor indarase* (viceroy) of the absentee lords who were living in Addis Ababa or other towns.<sup>125</sup> The Tulama peasants suffered a lot as result of corrupted officials. The areas that strongly resisted during the conquest put under harsh administration. There were areas among the

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<sup>123</sup>Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo in and around...", p.50, See Ketebo, "The Historical Development of Ras Birru Safar in Addis Ababa up to 1974," Senior Essay. Addis Ababa University, 1992, p.5

<sup>124</sup>Dechasa Abebe, "A Socio-Economic History of North Shäwa, Ethiopia...", p 67

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid*," p. 47.

Tulama Oromo where harsh administration system was imposed. These include Abichu, Jidda, Gulalle, Soddo, Metta, Bacho, and others.<sup>126</sup>

As *Gadaa* declined and gradually disappeared among the Tulama Oromo it was replaced by an autocratic and exploitative administration. Most of the Tulama Oromo dispossessed from their land due to bad governance or maladministration of the Shawan governors. The Majority of the Oromo tenants who remained around the capital preferred to go to Arsi, because of harsh exploitation of feudal system. As a result, they migrated to the region where the system is relatively less severed.<sup>127</sup> For example, in the Salaale *Awraja* of Kuyyu *Warada* peasants could not withstand the pressure and burden of exploitative feudal rule, some became *Shifta* and other escaped to Arsi and Bale.<sup>128</sup>

In general, the Tulama Oromo farmer opportunities in Shawa declined and their life deteriorated. The peasants reduced to the status of tenancy, due to scarcity of cultivable land and bad governance.<sup>129</sup>

The second major factor for the Tulama movement to Arsi was pull factors. A number of factors attracted the Tulama to Arsi. The early arrivals of various Tulama Oromo in Arsi reported back good news about the new area to their kin and friends. They reported that, in Arsi land was fertile, relatively cheap and they also reported the relative peace and security of the region. Since then, a chain of Tulama immigrant in mass continued until 1974. Based on the informant data,

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<sup>126</sup> Alemayehu Haile, *Gadaa system the politics of Tulama*, p.204

<sup>127</sup> Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo in and around...", p.55, informant korsa Tullu, Debele Yami, Ahmed Geleto, Amino Eda'o, Alemu Wariyo, Aradda Gabbisa

<sup>128</sup> Alemseged Debele, "A History of Kuyyu Warada, 1936-1991," Addis Ababa University, p.74

<sup>129</sup> Michael Stahl, *Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development...*, p.43, See also Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance...*, p.48, see also Temam Haji Adem, *A History of Amigna (1887-1941)*, Addis Ababa University, June, 1996, p, 14

the Arsi clans welcomed the Tulama migrant, therefore, warm reception that made by the Arsi clans motivated the Tulama to settle in mass in the Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>130</sup>

The initial settlers of the Tulama Oromo in Arsi established well organized network with their relatives left in Shawa. Sometimes the movement carried out only by some members of the family, particularly head of the family, living behind the rest of his family members in Shawa. They did not carry with them to the new area of settlement a network of established relationship.<sup>131</sup> Even they came back to Shawa to visit relatives. So, there was strong connection between Arsi and Shawa.<sup>132</sup> The early arrivals tell good news about Arsi. They appreciated Arsi by emphasizing the fertility of Arsi.<sup>133</sup> The informant also said Arsi is more fertile land than Shawa and grow every crop and also a region of cattle.<sup>134</sup> Relative peace and security of Arsi, warm reception of Arsi community for the Tulama, relative proximity of Arsi to Shawa, all these are pull factors that attracted an influx of Tulama migrants to Arsi.<sup>135</sup>

### **2.3. Italian Occupation and the Tulama Settlement in Arsi (1936-1941)**

As reported by the informants, the occupation of Italy regarded as liberation of Oromo tenants and *Gabbars* when compared with the former pressure of Oromo exploitation by feudal lords. The Italians abolished free labor service.<sup>136</sup> There was also no land confiscation and grant in the Arsi region. Repression of Arsi *Gabbar* was also alleviated. Because Italian knows very well

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<sup>130</sup> informant Aradda Gebisa

<sup>131</sup> Hector Blackhurst, "Ethnicity in Southern Ethiopia...", p. 2

<sup>132</sup> Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo in and around...", p.102

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p.102

<sup>134</sup> informant Alemu Wariyo, Korsa Tullu, Arada Gebisa

<sup>135</sup> Hector Blackhurst, "Ethnicity in Southern Ethiopia...", p. 56-58

<sup>136</sup> Tadesse Berrisso, "The Pride of The Guji-Oromo: An Essay on Cultural Contact and Self-Esteem", in *The Journal of Oromo Studies* Volume 11, Numbers 1 And 2, 2004, p.19; See also Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo in And Around (Addis Ababa) From Ca 1860-1974", M.A Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University, 2010, P77; again, see also Mohammed, P.112; See also Gadaa Melba, p 69.

about Ethiopian history of unfair treatment of its people, they take the advantage of conflict between the center and periphery by attacking the symbols of the Ethiopian feudal exploitation, one of the most significant of this system was the abolition of *gabbar* system.<sup>137</sup> As result of this, the Italians were appreciated among the Oromo as “*Tola Faraanjit balleesse*” free service was eliminated by the *Faraanji* (the Italians).<sup>138</sup>

Moreover, the fascist reduced the former master-servant relationship between *neftegna* and *gabbar* and put them the same level of being colonial subject.<sup>139</sup> The Italian had changed the oppressive land holding system and brought some kind of relief for the oppressed. “*Xaaliyaaniitu ba’aa biyyarraa buuse*” (The Italian relieved the people of their burden).<sup>140</sup>

During the Italian occupation there were massive movements of the Tulama to Chilalo. A lot of Tulama families settled in the Chilalo *Awraja*. The settler’s herd about the fertile and cultivable land in the Chilalo.<sup>141</sup> Migration to Chilalo occurred throughout the Italian occupation, largely because of the absence of patriot resistance. The Tulama continued to bring more modern cultivation methods and crops to Chilalo. As a result, land pressure slowly forced the remaining Arsi pastoralists to become farmers.<sup>142</sup> The immigration to Chilalo increasing the shortage of grazing land, more and more land has been brought under cultivation. Land owners who earlier let large part of their land now renting it to the new comers.<sup>143</sup> The Italian land policy to some extent solved the problem of Oromo tenants. It allowed freely use the land which they had

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<sup>137</sup> Abbas, *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire...*, p. 302-303.

<sup>138</sup> Biratu, “A History of Oromo...,” pp.88

<sup>139</sup> Abbas, *Conquest and Resistance...*, p.303

<sup>140</sup> Biratu Kenei, “Brigadier General Taddasa Birru: A Military-Political Biography (1922-1975)”, Addis Ababa University, 2019, p. 81

<sup>141</sup> Getachew, “A Historical Survey of...,” p. 67

<sup>142</sup> Cohn John, *Integrated Rural Development, the Ethiopian Experience and the Debate*, Scandinavian institute of African studies, Uppsala 1987, PP.50

<sup>143</sup> Lexander Arne, pp. 51

previously rented from land lords. They distributed the land that belonged to the state, the church and the Amhara landlords to the Oromo tenants.<sup>144</sup> The Italian also abolished corvee labor. In general, the Italian administration, land policy and tax reform increased tenure security.

In the last date of Italian administration, there was conflict between the Arsi Oromo and the Tulama Oromo in the Chilalo region. Most of the Tulama Oromo settlers in Arsi sent to war against Italy in Ogaden front. the local Arsi who did not go war stayed at home and began to reclaimed the land of those Tulama Oromo allocated by the government in the day of Menelik and HaileSelassie. During this time the Arsi peasants became free to use land and harvest for their benefit.<sup>145</sup> This resulted in civil war between Arsi and Tulama. It was believed that the members of the Tulama made alliance with the Amhara and fighting the Arsi. Many people killed from both sides.<sup>146</sup>The Arsi angered with the action of the Tulama and began to attack the Tulama at night. Some of the Tulama groups opposed this action of Arsi and expressed their feeling in the following couplets:

<i>Yahurri gaara cilaalo</i>	Oh cloud of mount Chilalo
<i>Wajin nyaanne dhugneya</i>	
<i>Ya Arusi ma nugantan maaloo</i>	Oh Arusi, we eat and
	Drink together but why you break your promise?
<i>Si ganu hin rakkanne</i>	It is difficult to break our promise
<i>Lolli halkanmiti guyyaa ma hingaxamne</i>	war is not at night, why not you confront us at day
<i>Adu daawwe gubbaa</i>	in the day of dawwe
<i>Warra soddo jedhe Yaado Buttaa</i>	you family of sodo said Yado Buta

However, the government put an end to the war and succeeded in making peace in the area.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>144</sup>Biratu A History of Oromo in and around Finfinnee, p.87

<sup>145</sup> Getachew, "A Historical Survey of..." p.21

<sup>146</sup>Lexander Arne, The Changing Rural Society in Arsi Land: Some finding from a field study 1966-67 CADU Publication no 7, p.13

<sup>147</sup>*ibid*, pp.13.

## CHAPTER THREE

### TULAMA OROMO SETTLEMENT IN THE CHILALO AWRAJA (1941-1974)

#### 3.1. The Tulama movement to Chilalo (1941-1960)

As discussed above among the early arrivals of the Tulama in Arsi, majority of them evicted from their land from different parts of Shawa for different purposes. As mentioned, the period beginning from 1886 under emperor Menelik was characterized by war of conquest and land alienation. This might have been difficult for the Tulama who were exposed to Menelik II military aggression, conquest and land alienation. The horror of conquest and land alienation must be exacerbated with the foundation of Addis Ababa from local Oromo villages near Finfinnee and its surrounding in 1887. In addition to this, the Tulama inhabited land also needed for different purposes, such as for grazing of palace herds and to settle the soldiers and so on. Land alienation of the Tulama inhabited area also continued during the rule of emperor Haile Selassie, that forced the Tulama to move to Arsi. During Italian occupation (1936-1941) those Tulama who were poor and formerly disfavored by the system may feel better like the Arsi who had put stiff resistance to Menelik and Haile Selassie rule. As a result, the number of the Tulama migrant to Arsi during this period increased tremendously.<sup>148</sup>

In the post liberation period, those who stood against the emperor rule might have suffered a lot resulted from the Haile Selassie maneuver under the cover of “betrayal”. And those who remained loyal to the emperor were praised and given honorary titles and land at the expense of local communities. Hence, the members of the Tulama community in Arsi also might have been

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<sup>148</sup> Getachew Reggasa, “A Historical Survey of the Chilalo...,” p.67, see also Abbas, *Conquest and....*, see also Ketebo, “The Political Economy....”

either from the former or the latter category.<sup>149</sup> During the post liberation period the Tulama movement to Arsi was also continued. Different factors accounted for the movement of the Tulama community to Arsi is discussed in this chapter.

Maladministration or bad governance in relation to land tenure system was the major factor for the Tulama movement to Arsi in the post liberation period. The Ethiopia land tenure systems during the imperial era had been one of the most complex tenure systems in Africa.<sup>150</sup> The country's geographical, ethnic and cultural diversity and its historical background were mentioned among those factors that produced highly differential forms of land utilization and ownership. Such complex land tenure is also noted as playing a major part of hindering any serious progress towards a reform of the system. These difficulties might have also resulted in a variety of classifications and approaches used to describe the then land tenure system of the country.<sup>151</sup>

Basically, Emperor Haile Selassie's land tenure policy was similar to Emperor Menelik's tenure policy of encouraging feudal landlordism. This system was characterized by heavy exploitation, since most of the land was controlled by the state and feudal lords.<sup>152</sup> Land tenure systems were usually different in the Northern and South. In the North, an old or "ancient communal" tenure system of *rist* where occasionally renting and sharecropping occurred, Whereas, the southern land tenure was delineated as a mixture of private land tenure, "pastoralists" communal, and

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<sup>149</sup> Informant, Abdurahman Qabeto

<sup>150</sup> Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*, Addis Ababa University press, p.7

<sup>151</sup> Tesema Ta'a, "The Basis for Political Contradictions in Wollega: The Land Apportionment act Of 1910 and its Consequences", in *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1/2, Michigan State University Press, 1984, P.179; See also Allen Hoben, P.6; Again Ayalew Bogale, "Land Tenure in Ethiopia: Continuity and Change, Shifting Rulers, and the Quest for State Control," *CAPRwe Working Paper* No. 91, Alemaya University, 2008, P. 8

<sup>152</sup> Gadaa Melba, *Oromia: An Introduction to the History of the Oromo People*, Khartoum, 1988, P.63

government tenure which was strongly affected by an exploitative tax and tribute system (*gult*) that northern settlers had imposed on the indigenous population.<sup>153</sup>

The year 1941 was a turning point in the Ethiopian history, because this period was the time when Ethiopia was liberated from Italian invasion. With the restoration of Haile Selassie's government, privatization of the rural land was accelerated. Although the process was started before 1935, when Italy invaded Ethiopia, privatization of land particularly in the Southern Ethiopia was accelerated in the post liberation period. While communal land tenure remained intact in the North.<sup>154</sup>

The most important consequence of privatization was the spread of tenancy. For example, in Shawa some 65% of all holdings were estimated to fall under privatization.<sup>155</sup> Accordingly, there was mass exploitation of tenants by often absentee land lords. Tenancy was widespread in southern province. Most tenancy agreements were verbal, involving sharecropping arrangement known as *erbo* (quarter), *siso* (one third) or equal *arash* (half).<sup>156</sup> Tenants however, labored in an uncertain environment, in which security of tenure and produce was never secure.<sup>157</sup>

After the evacuation of Italy and restoration of the emperor, the former system of administration of the monarch was fully restored among the Tulama Oromo of North Shawa.<sup>158</sup> In the South, the land was connected to the emperor of Ethiopia. The monarch land privileges to whom he

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<sup>153</sup>Wibke Crewett, Ayalneh Bogale, and Benedikt Korf, land Tenure in Ethiopia: Continuity and Change, Shifting Rulers and The Quest for State Control, CAPRI working paper No. 91, p.7 and 8

<sup>154</sup> Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*, Addis Ababa University press, p.191, Biratu Kenei, "A History of Oromo...", p. 94

<sup>155</sup> Baharu Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*, Addis Ababa University Press, p.

<sup>156</sup>*Ibid.*, p.192

<sup>157</sup> Informants, Korsaa, Keepsakes', Debele Yami

<sup>158</sup> Arnesen. Odd Eirik, "The Becoming of Place: A Tulama Oromo Region in North Shoa," In Baxter, P.T.W, J. Hultin and A. Triulzwe (eds), *Being and Becoming: Oromo Historical and Anthropological Enquires*, Uppsala, 1996, P.231

selected to office and to his soldiers.<sup>159</sup>The soldiers settled permanently as masters and divided up the land even the local *balabats* who received their *siso* had various obligations. This included the paying of annual taxation in honey, butter, bull, goat, grain, money and other forms.<sup>160</sup>In addition to this, the former landlords and the emperor also made an extensive grant of land from *yamangest maret* for patriot, exiles, soldiers and civil servants with the objective of broaden its support.<sup>161</sup>

Although the number of Tulama settlers increased in Arsi during Italian occupation, their number increased even more after restoration of Emperor Haile Selassie. In the meantime, the emperor granted more land and subsequent land sale and purchase policy of the system attracted more immigrants to Arsi in general and the Chilalo *Awraja* in particular.<sup>162</sup> Further, the post liberation government land grants and arrangement for the new comers in purchasing and leasing land increasingly attracted more immigrants from the north in to the Chilalo region.<sup>163</sup>

In addition to this the number of ordinary peasants migrated to Arsi was also increased in the post liberation period. This was due to maladministration of officials in different parts of Shawa. Those Tulama Oromo settled in Arsi during period after 1941 were evicted from Shawa by harsh administration of the rulers. Their land was confiscated by exploitative rulers. The system strictly exercised unlimited authority. The rulers and people relation was a kind of “obeying” the “Command” in which the rulers were attempted to control the political, economic as well as the

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<sup>159</sup>Malkamuu Jaatee and Zakaariyaas Mulataa, *Review of Land Grabbing Policies of Successive Regimes of Ethiopia: The Major External Factor Challenging National Liberation Struggle of Peoples of Oromia and Southern Ethiopia*, Oromia, Ethiopia, 2012, P. 6

<sup>160</sup>BiratuKenei, “A History of Oromo in and around...,” p.72

<sup>161</sup> Bahru, *A History of...*, p 191.

<sup>162</sup> Informants, Ahmed Geleto, AradaGebisa

<sup>163</sup> Getachew Reggasa, “A Historical Survey of the Chilalo...,” p.67

social life of the local people.<sup>164</sup> For instance the land in the former Salaale *Awraja* around Degam, Hidhabu Abote and Fitcha, Yayya Gullale were confiscated by Made Abara (grandson of *Ras* Kassa Hailu), then he settled his relatives over the land of Salaale.<sup>165</sup> In his administration Amde was known by his inhuman and cruel rule among the Salaale Oromo and forced thousands of Salaale peasants moved to Arsi.<sup>166</sup> As a result, hundreds of Orthodox Churches were constructed with granting extensive land in Salaale.<sup>167</sup> Thus, by giving various name like, *itanazur*, (land for religion service), *yedimetmaret* (the land that played for the feed cats in the church for protection of objects from rats and other names the land of Salaale was confiscated.<sup>168</sup> Therefore, to escape the hardship a number of Salaale peasants migrated to Arsi.<sup>169</sup>

As the archive source indicates, peasants in different parts of Shawa governorate general accused the governors to ministry of interior. For instance, the Tulama peasants in Jeldu and Warra Jarso *Waradas* wrote an appeal to ministry of interior in the year 1968 by accusing their governors. In their appeal letter they express how much the governor in the area corrupted and exploited them.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Alemseged Debele, "A History of Kuyyu Warada...", p. 39

<sup>165</sup> Desita Habtamu, "The Struggle of Salaale Oromo Against Emperor Haile Selassie Land Policy (1941-1974)", B.A Thesis, History, Wollega University, 2011, P.22

<sup>166</sup> Melese Ejara, A Biography of Assafa Sharoo Lammi, B.A, Thesis, History, Wollega University, 2014, p. 17

<sup>167</sup> Crummy, P.221

<sup>168</sup> Desita, p.11

<sup>169</sup> Biratu Kenei, A History of Oromo in and..., p., informants, Amino, Korsa, Kophessa, Debele

<sup>170</sup> NALA, Folder No. 6162, file no, 17.1.3.26.08

The situation was worse and forced the tenants to decide to move out from their area. Therefore, to escape the hardship suffered from the landlords, the Tulama moved to Arsi.<sup>171</sup> They sang the following songs to express their grievances in their movement.

Oromo

English

<i>Yaa abbaa lafaa sika'e kuno sika'e</i>	“You landlord, I have left your land
<i>Yoo Jaldessi ciisi sif ta'e</i>	If a monkey be a tenant for you
<i>Yoo Sardidoon irboo sii hiree</i>	If a fox shares yourirbo
<i>YooMujaan midhaan sita'e”</i>	If grass be grain for you <sup>172</sup>

Maladministration of government raised from that of *Zaghi (abba Qoro)* was also another problem that the tenants suffered in salaale during the administration of *Ras Kasa* and his successors. *Zaghi* was a person who measure the agricultural land by visiting only cultivated areas as a form of *magamgamacha* (haphazard measurement). Worst of all, when natural disasters like, harvest failures followed by an increasingly irregular rainfall and *grasshoppers* reduced their productivity, it was the tenants who forced to fulfill what *Zaghi* expected from tenants, unless he has to be evicted from that lands.<sup>173</sup> The tax collectors also implement the order directly without calculating how it's difficulty. Archival sources also indicate that peasants in *Yayya Gullale, Warra Jarso, Kuyyu Waradas* of Salaale accused tax collectors of mistreatment. The peasants collected dues using the following poem.

Oromo

English

<i>yaatatari yaa hirmi nyaataa</i>	The agent who denied as
<i>Waaqni siyaaargu hiddi dhalootaa”</i>	Let waaqa who created us pass him judgement up on you. <sup>174</sup>

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<sup>171</sup>Tsegaye Zeleke, p.108, Biratu, p.52, see Appendix no I for grievances of Salale, look the appeal letter to *Ras Mesfin Sileshi*, the then governor of Shewa *Teklaygizat*.

<sup>172</sup>*Ibid.*, p 108

<sup>173</sup>Alemseged, p.73 See also p.107, See also appendix no

<sup>174</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 73

This happened in Salaale *Awraja* of Kuyyu, Jarso, Hidhabu Abote and Dagam *Warada*'s around 1960 and they suffered from invasion of grasshoppers.<sup>175</sup> In addition to this the peasants in Salaale also suffered a lot as result of corrupted officials.

The prevailing harsh socio-economic and political exploitation in Shawa forced migration of the Tulama Oromo to Arsi<sup>176</sup>. The imposition of the *Gabbar* system on those poor tenants exacerbated the situation. Kofi R.H. clearly indicates how much the *Gabbar* system was very harsh on the Oromo inhabited provinces of Shawa.<sup>177</sup> The Tulama were experienced double and triple eviction from one place to others by the same exploitative rule, in which peasants or tenants first evicted by feudal lords from North Shawa, then to East Shawa or Arsi and again forced eviction once again to either Bale or Hararghe a further remote area.

The same is true for the structure of taxation. Aggressive enforcement of state taxation forced continuous migration of the Tulama Oromo to Arsi. The tax collection system was based on multifaceted hierarchy that stretched from the king 's palace down to village officials (*chiqashum*). The three most important local officials in down order of rank were; *meselane*, *malekagna*, and *chiqashum*.<sup>178</sup> The lowest official in the hierarchy was the *chiqashum*. He was appointed from the *gabbars* for the service of one year. He was responsible for collecting taxes and forwarding them to the office concerned. All these local officials were unpopular. They were considered as aliens who had come to the region to aggravate the suffering of the poor peasants.

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<sup>175</sup>*Ibid.*, p.73 See also p.107

<sup>176</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 74, Biratu, 72

<sup>177</sup>Darkwah, p. 249.

<sup>178</sup>Dachasa, p. 103

Although their region was fertile, beautiful, and grew enough crops to feed them, these administrators made them fruitless and caused them to lead a substandard life.<sup>179</sup>

Besides the collections of formal taxes and tributes by the government for itself, there was a system by which the government given the right to collect and use land taxes and tributes substitution of land grants or salary payments to its officials or servants. This was known as the *gults* system. *Gult* was a tax and tribute control right given by the government to various retainers in the power hierarchy, such as local rulers, members of the royal family, the nobility, or priesthood and the religious formation. It was the government 's right to make and transfer the *gult* right at will from one official to the other.<sup>180</sup>

According to archival sources peasants in yayya and Gulalle *Warada* in Salaale wrote a letter to the ministry of interior how the corrupted officials over taxed them. My informants attest this, peasants in the above mentioned *Waradas* wrote their grievances to the ministry of interior, about their burden. But most of the time officials failed to address their problems, so their only option was to move to Arsi in search of better life.<sup>181</sup>

As stated above, Arsi before the conquest, land was belonging to different Arsi clans. But after incorporated to the Ethiopian empire, land in Arsi was confiscated by the conqueror. This land was distributed to the supposed local leaders among the Arsi Oromo and the rest have been granted to the church, to veteran soldiers and administrative personnel, while part of it had been sold to private persons. In the period after restoration in Chilalo *Awrajaa* land of any worth had

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<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p.118-119

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p.120

<sup>181</sup> Informants, KorsaTullu, AredaGebisa

been distributed in one way or another. Some land in the *Awraja* might also reserve for upcoming distribution.<sup>182</sup>

In the early years after restoration of emperor Haile Selassie considerable areas of land in the Chilalo region were distributed to officers and veterans of the armies who had fought in the 1936 war of patriots during the occupation. Land was distributed to these men on the basis of rank and duration of service, and these grantees were typically of the Amhara and the Shawa Oromo or the Tulama.<sup>183</sup> The land grant by the emperor in Arsi increased the number of immigrants to the Chilalo region.

The result of the immigration in to the Chilalo *Awraja* has been constantly increasing shortage of land, particularly of grazing. More and more land has been brought under cultivation. Land owners who earlier let large parts of their land vacant are now renting it out to settlers.<sup>184</sup> Except those Tulama granted land in Chilalo by the government most of them were tenants.<sup>185</sup>

Of all peasants, the tenants were the most exploited. Most common tenancy relations in Chilalo area were share-cropping system known as *irbo*, *siso* or *ikul*, where the share of products between the landlord and the tenant. It was based on the fertility of the soil. Tenants must pay one quarter or one half of the total produce as rent for the land they used. In addition to this they also are paid *asrat* (tithe) to the landlords. Moreover, tenants were provided free labor services to the landlords. The most of tenancy agreements were oral and characterized by a total absence of

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<sup>182</sup> Arne Alexander, *Changing Rural Society...* p. 28

<sup>183</sup> Cohn John, p. 112

<sup>184</sup> Alexander p. 15

<sup>185</sup> Informants, Ahmed Geleto

security of tenure.<sup>186</sup> For instance in Hetosa *Warada*, such verbal contract became common around 1950 and the officials have the privilege of evicting the tenants by their own will.<sup>187</sup>

Although the system of administration was relatively less severed in Arsi, peasants operated their agriculture in difficult circumstance, because of the burden imposed by the officials. Harvest failure due to irregular rain fall was not in consideration. Sometimes these officials were also over taxed the peasants. Tax collectors also gave deaf ear to peasants. Sometimes the taxes collected from peasants were taken by the *Warada* officials whom the government recruited them as loyal workers. This misusing of dues and payment was observed in early 1950 in Chilalo *Awraja* to accuse those individuals so many times. It seems that those untruthful officials made the local people sometimes to pay double payments and accused them illegally.<sup>188</sup> As archive source indicates, in Hexosaa *Warada*, Gullale *kebele*, peasants wrote letter to the ministry of interior, accusing corrupted officials over taxed them.<sup>189</sup>

### **3.2.Land policy and settlement of the Tulama in Arsi**

The systems of land tenure in the Arsi province different in terms the official body that will collect the land tax. It is also according to how the land was acquired by the owner and under which grounds he is cultivating tax. Its introduction of *gabbar* system in Arsi, brought about a new land holding systems, such as; *gabbar*, *Semon*, *Church gult*, *Riste-gult*, *Siso*, *Maderia*,

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<sup>186</sup>Henok Kifle, Investigation on Mechanized Farming and its effects on Peasant Agriculture, CADU publication No 74, Asella, March 1972, p. 11

<sup>187</sup> Informant: Korsu Tullu

<sup>188</sup>Henok, p. 15

<sup>189</sup> NALA, File No 17.14.12.01

Mengist, Gebertal, Yeketema Bota or Urban.<sup>190</sup> The Arsi and Bale regions classified as the *meadbet* which literally mean “kitchen” of the emperor. This was because the region served as the source of production and revenues for the government.<sup>191</sup> The Haile Selassie’s government also encouraged the settlement of the Tulama in the Chill region, particularly after 1941. This was probably to enhance agricultural produce of the region using *gabbar* labour.<sup>192</sup> The detail discussion of the complex land tenure system is beyond the scope of this paper.

Government land policy did not solve that much the problem of tenants. Even those tenants who lived on government lands did not benefit from imperial orders. The government set tenancy bill to improve land lord and tenant relation. The imperial order of Tikimt 23,1945 E.C with the objective of benefit for tenant and especially the crown speech 1954 E.C referring Arsi tenants. But the appeal letters state that not tenants but higher officials benefited from the orders. For the tenant what had becoming actual was suffering from higher rent and arbitrary eviction.<sup>193</sup>

Bizuwork discussed two forms of eviction: one was a slow one over the landowners steadily increased land rent. The second was direct eviction in which landowners ordered their tenants to leave their land before the next farm period. No substitution for both forms.<sup>194</sup> For example tenants in Hetosa *Warada* landlord asked them new contract. The tenant did not afford then they decide to leave their land and left for Bale.<sup>195</sup> From Itaya and Gonde area Marid and Mesfin Biru evicted hundreds of thousands of tenants.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>190</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48, Abbas

<sup>191</sup> Abbas, *Conquest and Resistance ...*, p. 275

<sup>192</sup> Informants: Ahmed Geleto, Tusa Deti, Korsu Tulu, Areda Gebisa

<sup>193</sup>Bizuwork Zewde, The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills with particular reference to Arsi M.A Thesis AAU 1992. PP.71

<sup>194</sup>*Ibid.*pp. 74

<sup>195</sup>*Ibid* pp74-75

<sup>196</sup>Bizuwork Zewde, The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bill with particular reference to Arsi, p. 75

After liberation, Emperor Haile Selassie introduced land tax decrees in 1941, 1942 and 1944. By the 1941 land tax decree the *gabbars* were directly sent tax to government assets. This decree abolished the central role of landlords. The 1942 land tax decree introduced fixed tax payment. The proclamation put the amount of taxation based on the size of land area in *gasha* and its fertility rate. It classified the land into cultivated, semi-cultivated and uncultivated, and imposed 15, 10, and 5 Ethiopia dollars respectively for each *gasha* of land.<sup>197</sup>

By the 1944 announcement, Article 4 provided different tax rate for all the three types of land for example for some provinces (Shawa, Arsi, Harar and Wollo) the amount set for fertile land was \$35 instead of \$15 of tax, for semi fertile land \$30 instead of \$10 and for poor land \$10 instead of \$5 tax. In effect, this law had doubled the tax obligations of peasants as compared to the previous law. The other character of this proclamation was that it did not impose same tax rate for all parts of the country. The Northern provinces were even allowed to continue with their old system as their land was not yet measured in *gasha*.<sup>198</sup>

### **3.3.Agricultural Policy and Eviction of the Tulama (1960-1974)**

Agricultural reform and land tenure were among the most pressing issues that requiring institutional reform in Ethiopia.<sup>199</sup> In order to address the country's slow economic growth the government attempted a series of progress towards national development plans. It was in the year between 1957 and 1974 Haile Selassie's government took initiative to enhance agricultural production. In mean time the issue of reforming agriculture discussed in the parliament. Hence, in the first and second five years plans the government emphasized investments in *infrastructure*,

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<sup>197</sup>Lexander, p. 52

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 53

<sup>199</sup> UN Humanitarian Affairs report 2002 Addis Ababa. The new Humanitarian

manufacturing and technology and plantation agriculture. During the third five years plan the initiative to enhance agricultural production through mechanization was taken place.<sup>200</sup> In addition to this, by the year 1964 the first landlord-tenant relationship bill discussed in the parliament and decision to improve the condition of tenants passed.<sup>201</sup>

However, because of complex land tenure and other structural constraints only limited progress was made in transforming peasant agriculture before the revolution of 1974.<sup>202</sup> The agricultural policy was inconsistent and biased against the peasant.<sup>203</sup> The applicability of tenancy bill was also in doubt, because majority of the members of parliaments were land owners in the Chilalo. Consequently, the bill was not successful and it does not go far enough in solving the fundamental issues of the eviction of tenants.<sup>204</sup>

As informants explain the northern settler community in Arsi, who came late in the 1960's and 1970's from the north were the landless poor peasants, particularly the Tulama Oromo. In mean time uncoordinated immigrants to the region of Chilalo continued constantly. The expansion of capital Addis Ababa evicted the surrounding Tulama Oromo, their farm taken for the establishment of big project like bole international airport. Large area also reserved for the residence of middle class and diplomats.<sup>205</sup> Consequently, the Galaan, Ekka and other Tulama Oromo evicted and made their destination to Arsi and Bale.<sup>206</sup> They came to seek better life in

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<sup>200</sup>Henok Kifle, Investigation on Mechanized Farming and Its Effects on Peasant Agriculture, Asella, March 1972, CADU Publication No. 74

<sup>201</sup>*Ibid*, p. 31

<sup>202</sup>*Ibid*, p 44

<sup>203</sup>Dessalegn Rahmeto, *The Peasant and The State, Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950's-2000's*, Addis Ababa University Press, pp 48

<sup>204</sup>Henok Kifle, *Investigation on Mechanized Farming and Its Effects on Peasant Agriculture, Asella, March 1972*, CADU Publication No. 74

<sup>205</sup>Biratu Kenei "A History of Oromo in and Around Finfinnee...", pp. 99

<sup>206</sup>*Ibid*, p 99

Arsi. But their life end as tenant.<sup>207</sup> The tenancy situation was too hard to solve the socio-economic status.

The widely used tenancy agreement in Arsi around 1960 was *Awci*.<sup>208</sup> It was the agreement that the tenant took the whole production of two years harvest except the *asrat* paid to landlord. This was with the intension of bringing land under cultivation by the effort of poor tenants. After two years of harvest a new sharecropping arrangement was given to the same tenants, which is *erbo* (a quarter), *siso* (one third) and *ekularash* (equal share).<sup>209</sup>

During the last two decades of Haile Selassie period a new type of landholding called *tissanna maret* introduced in Arsi.<sup>210</sup> *Tissanna* were non-*gabbars* lived and cultivated the land of landlords for long time. However, the landlords evicted them at any time, having no legal protection from arbitrary eviction, since the tenancy agreement was verbal.<sup>211</sup> Most of the *tissanna* in Arsi during 1960's and 1970's were the Tulama Oromo<sup>212</sup>. In 1960 and 1970 large numbers of tenants have been evicted to make way for the new type of cultivation. The eviction of tenants continued until the outbreak of the revolution in 1974.<sup>213</sup>

Some Tulama Oromo tenants who evicted by the landlords were ready to kill or die their landlords rather than end up as tenant. They express their grievances in the following poem;

*Maasaan gamaa lafa hin baatu*  
*Maasaan gamaa lafa hin baatu*  
*Talbaa facaafata taati*

The farm across the valley never be left fallow  
It would be at least for sowing flax  
Never it be for the one who did not farm it

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<sup>207</sup>Ketabo Abdiyo "A Historical survey of Arsi Oromo...", p, 87, informant Amino, Ahmed Geleto

<sup>208</sup> Tariku Degu, "Transformation of Land Tenure and The Role of Peasant Association in Eastern Arsi (1974-1991)," Addis Ababa University, 2008, pp. 10

<sup>209</sup> Getachew Regassa, "A Historical Survey of Chilalo Awraja (1941-1974)," July 2006, p, 67

<sup>210</sup> Tariku Degu, "Transformation of Land Tenure and The Role of Peasant Association in Eastern Arsi (1974-1991)," Addis Ababa University, 2008, p, 10

<sup>211</sup>*Ibid*, p10

<sup>212</sup>Ketabo "A Historical survey of Arsi Oromo...", p 45

<sup>213</sup>Mahdere Semayat, the impact of CADU On Tiyo Wereda, Addis Ababa University 1988, p. 33

*Tokko qotee tokko hin nyaatu  
Wal gaggalaafata taatii”*

Unless it will be the elimination of one of us.<sup>214</sup>

### **3.3.1. Import of Tractors and Mechanized Farming**

As stated above, Haile Selassie’s government in the last two decades of his regime, attempted to improve agricultural production through mechanization, which is part of the third five years plan. As a result, by the end of 1960s mechanized agriculture had expanded considerably in Arsi, particularly in the Chilalo *Awraja*. As various studies indicate the Chilalo *Awraja* stood first in commercial farming of any province in the country. Arsi province in general and Chilalo *Awraja* in particular, endowed with fertile soil, favorable climate and well situated for cereal production, among all the land tenure system with the expansion of privatization and monopoly of land in the hands of few rich people helps to attain the top position in commercial agriculture.<sup>215</sup> Arsi attracted the attention of local investors and foreign capitals.<sup>216</sup> It was also the fastest growing commercial farming in the country.<sup>217</sup>

In Arsi commercial and mechanized farming started before the introduction of package project (CADU). Large part of the province was held by big and absentee landlords, and by local elite. Big commercial farmers like, Asres Abay, Tedla Abebe, Merid Birru and Tesfaye Reda were pioneers, in adopting mechanized agricultural farming.<sup>218</sup> Study by Tariku Degu indicates that about 126 farmers had engaged in commercial farming on 575 *gashas* of land in the Chilalo

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<sup>214</sup>Ketebo Abdiyo, “The Political Economy of Land and Agrarian Development in Arsi,1941-1991,” p. 279

<sup>215</sup>Dessalegn Rahmeto, *The Peasant and the State, studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950-2000*

<sup>216</sup>*Ibid*, p 83

<sup>217</sup>*Ibid*, p, 85

<sup>218</sup> Abbas Hadji, *Conquest and Resistance...* p. 291

*Awraja*. There were about 184 tractors and 37 combiners that to be use in the *Awraja*.<sup>219</sup>For example, Asres Abay, possessed large portion of land in Zeway-Dugda, Boru Hetosa, and in Lole Ego. In another site Tedla Abebe was the leading mechanizer in the district of Zeway Dugda, Tijo Digalu, some part of Hetosa and Tiyo *Waradas*. Among all Merid Birru was pioneer in the Chilalo *Awraja*. He possessed in Etaya-Gonde area.<sup>220</sup> In general, Hettossa *Warada* was totally occupied by the heir of *Ras Birru*.

The introduction of a minimum package program named, Chilalo Agriculture Development Unit (CADU), increase the rate of mechanization particularly in the Chilalo *Awraja*. The package program introduced with the aim of bringing socio-economic development by raising the production of smallholders. But the project had far reached positive and negative consequences in the life of peasants.<sup>221</sup> For the purpose of this paper it is better to see the negative impact of mechanization, since commercial farming and mechanization resulted in the eviction of peasants in mass.<sup>222</sup>

The spread of mechanized farming hampered peasant traditional agriculture and way of life. Tenants and semi-tenants with their traditional methods of farming were not in a position to compete with mechanized farmers who used tractors, combines, fertilizers, and improved seeds.

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<sup>219</sup> Tariku Degu, "Transformation of Land Tenure and The Role of Peasant Association in Eastern Arsi (1974-1991)", Addis Ababa University, 2008, p.15

<sup>220</sup> Tariku Degu, "Transformation of Land Tenure and The Role of Peasant Association in Eastern Arsi (1974-1991)", "Addis Ababa University, 2008, p. 16, Getachew Reggasa, "A Historical Survey of Chilalo *Awraja* (1941-1974)," July 2006p. 58

<sup>221</sup> Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire, 1880-1974, the case of Arsi Oromo*, pp,290

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*, p.290, Kifle, *Investigation on Mechanized Farming and Its Effects on Peasant Agriculture, Asella, March 1972, CADU Publication No. 74*, p. 21

Hence, they could not satisfy the landlord requirement with their produce. Commercial farming shifts in tenancy relation in favor of the landlords.<sup>223</sup>

Mechanization not only affects agricultural land, but also grazing land. Mechanization decrease land available for cattle breeding. For poor peasants, livestock is an important economic reserve in time of crop failure. Peasants in Chilalo were not capable of possessing enough land for both agriculture and grazing. Therefore, as usual they have been rented pasture land from large landowners. The introduction of mechanized farming evicted poor peasants from their land<sup>224</sup>

The tenants burdened the most and were frequently evicted to make way for mechanization, or were forced to pay higher rent on their lands.<sup>225</sup> Majority of the tenants evicted and displaced from their holding as result of development of mechanized farming, which meant that large area mightily be changed to large scale agriculture by evicting tenants.<sup>226</sup> Mechanized farming mostly did not bring new land in to farming, but rather banished peasant on a large scale.<sup>227</sup> Therefore, the most appropriate land for machinery was brought under commercial farming. The people who used to cultivate this area were evicted or were reduced to status of daily laborer.<sup>228</sup>

According to archival sources a number of an appeal letters written by the tenants to the ministry of interior and ministry of agriculture from Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>229</sup> The tenants explain their grievances in the appeal seeking for solution for eviction. But the appeal would not bring a lasting solution. Based on the informant data, majority of the peasants evicted from agricultural

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<sup>223</sup> *Ibid*, p. 291, Henok Kifle, *Investigation on Mechanized Farming and Its Effects on Peasant Agriculture, Asella, March 1972, CADU Publication No. 74*, p. 21

<sup>224</sup> Micheal stahle p. 104

<sup>225</sup> Dessalegn Rahmeto, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia...*, p85

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, p. 85

<sup>227</sup> Desalegn Rahmeto, *The Peasant and the State...*, p.38

<sup>228</sup> Abbas Haji, *Conquest and...*, p.291

<sup>229</sup> WMTRC, box no 2746, file no 42

mechanized area were the Tulama migrants came in the late 1960's. Particularly from the Hexosaa *Warada* large number of the Tulama peasants evicted and moved to Bale and Harage.<sup>230</sup>

The degree of tenant evictions matched with the size of available land fit for mechanization. Different studies offer different figures. For example, study by Henok indicates, in the year between 1969 and 1970 a total of 392 tenants were evicted because of mechanization.<sup>231</sup>

In Chilalo with the expansion of commercial farming large number of peasants moved from mechanized area to lowland of Arsi and Southern Shawa (maqi). The Tulama Oromo who came from central Shawa had no alternative of returning to their former region because as Markakis remarked "there is no compensation trend of northward migration from the south because an analogous economic inducement is lacking" My informants also supported this idea, they argued that there was no extra land in the North once they left it for decades and the resources was also depleted for centuries, therefore tenants were not willing to go back again to North or Shawa. Hence, the evicted tenants had moved to nearby areas, where land is bought at low price. Those regions were Bale and Harage. For instance, those peasants evicted from *Ras Birru* domain of Hexosaa went the region of Harage Chercher *Awraja*.<sup>232</sup> The tenants were usually told to leave after the harvest was brought in. Therefore, mechanization inevitably brought further alienation of the already dispossessed peasants.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Informant :korsa Tullu, Kophessa Heyi, Debele Yami

<sup>231</sup> Henok Kifle, Investigation on Mechanized Farming and Its Effects on Peasant Agriculture, Asella, March 1972, CADU Publication No. 74, p. 20

<sup>232</sup> Abbas Haji, *Conquest and...*, p. 29, Michael Stahl, *Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development...*, p.43

<sup>233</sup> Informants: Korsa Tulu, Kopesa Heyi, Tusa Deti, Ahmed Geleto

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE LIFE AND CONDITION OF THE TULAMA IN CHILALO AWRAJA

#### 4.1. Patterns of Settlements of the Tulama Oromo in Arsi-Chilalo

As stated in the preceding chapter, the Tulama Oromo came to Arsi, particularly to Chilalo *Awraja* under different pretext and under different period. Both push and pull factors were responsible for continues migration of the Tulama to Arsi. These push-pull factors are sufficiently discussed in the previous chapters. Accordingly, the Tulama, after they came to Arsi, resided indifferent areas following different patterns.

Since 1880's there were different wave of the Tulama movement to Arsi region. They spread in different parts of Arsi, mostly in Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>234</sup> This was so for two important reasons. First, the settlers were well aware of the fertility of the region and access of cultivable land, Secondly, relative peace and security of the Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>235</sup> Particularly during Italian occupation of Ethiopia, there was large influx of the Tulama in to Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>236</sup> The Tulama community preferred to settle in the high land area of Arsi than the lowland area. This is because since the Tulama engaged in farming as major economic venture, they sought fertile high land of Arsi. My informant argued that even now a day; relatively we see small number of Tulama inhabitants in lowland of Arsi.<sup>237</sup> The Tulama Oromo mostly preferred to settle a fertile area of Chilalo which has favorable climate and suitable for plough farming.

Regarding the overall pattern of the Tulama settlement in Arsi, particularly in the Chilalo *Awraja*, it is important to draw two parallel lines to delineate their pattern of settlement. They

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<sup>234</sup> Cohn John Michael, "Rural Change in Ethiopia...", p. 106, informant Debele Yami,

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid*, p.106

<sup>236</sup> Getachew Regassa, "A Historical Survey of Chilalo *Awraja*...", pp. 66-67

<sup>237</sup> Informant: Ahmed Geleto (Abba Arsi).

followed Southeast and Southwest direction from their place of origin and settled over the vast region of Arsi. Accordingly, the majority of the Bacho and the Dachi clans settled in area to the north of Asella, in the Hexosaa *Warada* of Chilalo *Awraja*. Later, a number of Tulama inhabited in South, Southeast and Southwest of Asella town. Whereas, the majority of the Jille clan of the Tulama branch settled around Doddota Sire and Habura *Warada* which is adjacent to East Shawa, Meki area.<sup>238</sup> Regarding the present West Arsi, the Tulama came late than other part of the Chilalo *Awraja*. In this area the dominant Tulama clans were the Daci and Bacho.<sup>239</sup>

Although, now a day it is difficult to delineate the area of Tulama settlement in Arsi, initially in Arsi in general and Chilalo in particular, we see some uniform pattern of settlement. Which means the same clans settled in the same specific place of Arsi Chilalo. Accordingly, the Tulama clans of the Gulalle, the Galan, the Abichu, the Ada'a settled in Hexosaa *Warada*. In Munessa *Warada* area around Kersa, Bulchan, Lole, there is an organized community of the Gullalle, whereas the Gumbichu, the Digalu, Kachama, Galan, Mulo, Metta, Abichu, Salaale of Bacho settled in the Digalu and Tijo *Warada*. In the lemu and Bilbilo *Warada* majority of the Tulama clans settled over there were the former inhabitants of the Salaale *Awraja*.<sup>240</sup>

Early arrivals of the Tulama Oromo in Chilalo *Awraja* were the Gulalle Oromo, a part of the Tulama. As soon as *Tufaa Munaa* (the last Gullalle chief) defeated by *Ras Gobana*, the Gullalle were forcefully evicted from Finfinnee area and settled in the Chilalo *Awraja*.<sup>241</sup> A person whose name was AdaadaJarraa was believed to be the first person that arrived in Hexosaa *Warada*. He

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<sup>238</sup> Informant: Aradda Gabisa, Korsa Tullu, Dabale Yami, Kophessa Hey'I, Alemu Wariyo

<sup>239</sup> Informant: Gebi Oria, Abdurahman Qaabeto

<sup>240</sup> Informants: Ardda Gabbisa, KorsaTullu, Debele Yami, Alemu Wariyo, Ahmed Geleto

<sup>241</sup> Benti Getahun, "An Over View of Some Factor Limiting Migration of the Oromo to Addis Ababa," *In Journal of Oromo Studies*. V.8. No 1&2, pp 157, Getachew, pp. 66, Cohen John.pp.107, Tekalign Teklemariam, pp.130

was supposed to be the chief of Gulalle clan.<sup>242</sup> AdaadaJaarraa came to Milo Maammaa, (one of the chiefs of Hexosaa clan) and asked to settle his clan members in Hexosaa. “I will respect, your norm and obey your orders, we will replace the people you lost in those bad days, may you give us place to settle.” Then Milo Maammaa accepted the request and gave them lands and settled them in Hexosaa *Warada*.<sup>243</sup>

John Cohen gives us a detailed account as how the Gullale settled in Arsi

*‘The Gullalle [Oromo] originally lived South of Entoto where Menelik intended to found his capital. Sometimes around 1880 they engaged in a series of revolts which led Menelik to order them either to summit or leave Shoa and settle in the wild Chilalo region. Land was granted to their chiefs, who subdivided it among their followers. This land was located mainly in the Iteya and Kersa areas.’*<sup>244</sup>

As discussed above 1936 about one third of the Gulalle Oromo settled in South western part of the Chilalo particularly in Munessa *Warada*.<sup>245</sup> Most of the Tulama Oromo in the period after restoration also followed the foot step of the former settlers of Gullale and reside in the various parts of the Chilalo *Awraja*. Clans like Ada’a, Galan Abichu and Mulo settled over there.<sup>246</sup> Those Tulama clans settled in Sagure and Kersa in this period after 1941, had relatives in Arsi which formerly reside in the area. In addition to this, there were also a lot of families of Shawa Oromo settled on the western side of the Chilalo and Galama Mountain. Most settlers in the area become share-croppers or tenants and very few of them can get land of their own.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> informant Amino and Ahmed Geleto, Haji Temama Omer, Tusa Deti

<sup>243</sup> Informant Ahmed Geleto, Amino Eda’o

<sup>244</sup> Cohen John, “Rural Change...” pp. 107, Getachew Reggasa, “A Historical Survey of Chilalo...” p.66-67, Abbas Haji, “The History of Arsi...” p.49, Ketebo Abdiyo, “The Political Economy of Land and Agrarian Development in Arsi 1941-1991,” Ph. D Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, p., Biratu Kenei, “A History of Oromo...” p.55.

<sup>245</sup> Getachew Regassa. p.66

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, p.66, Informant Haji Temam Omer, Tusa Deti

<sup>247</sup> Informant: Abdurahman Qabeto, Gebi Oria

The early arrivals in to Chilalo *Awraja* formed considerable community in the area. Especially the Gullalle in Chilalo *Awraja* formed the most powerful groups in terms of economy.<sup>248</sup> The early arrivals got a chance of holding land even equivalent to the local Arsi clan. They were well received by the Arsi. The government encouraged these communities, to move to Arsi, because the Gullalle clan was given land in Arsi as a substitution for what they lost in Addis Ababa.<sup>249</sup>

As discussed earlier those Tulama groups served in the army of Menelik were rewarded land in Arsi. They were made to settle in many parts of Chilalo, for instance, *Ras Darge*<sup>250</sup> settled the Amhara and the Tulama Oromo in different parts of Arsi, particularly in the Chilalo *Awraja*. The former inhabitants in area around Asalla pushed to malaria infested lowland and the rest were pushed to cool part of Chilalo. This was done to make land free for the settlers. According to informants, in the post liberation period emperor Haile Selassie's government settled about 600 Tulama Oromo communities in Hexosaa, Doddota Sire and Tiyo *Waradas*. Accordingly, the Hexosaa clan of Arsi evicted from about 450 *wanta* (hectar) of lands, particularly from kebeles of Tiru Moye, Tiru Desta and Anole. The land of Hexosaa clan was given to the Shawa of the Tulama clans and other Amhara's settlers. The same thing happened in Tiyo *Warada*, from 18 kebeles of Arsi clans were dislocated. Fore example, from Duna Kebele the clans of Jilinsha, Abbure, Hogolcho, Akiyya Assalla, Usula and Hambentu were evicted. The Jilinsha, Abbure, Hambentu and Hogolcho clans were pushed to the Malaria infested lowland of Zway Dugda *Warada*, while the Akiyya Assalla, Usula were pushed to cool high land of Chilalo. In Doddota and Sire *Warada*, in the area around Lagaboru, the former land of the Arsi clan of Badosa given

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<sup>248</sup> John Cohn, "Rural Change in Ethiopia...", p.107

<sup>249</sup> Ketebo Abdiyo, "The Historical development of *Ras Birru Safar* in Addis Ababa up to 1974," Addis Ababa University, pp.5, Informants, Araddaa Gabbisa, Korsu Tullu, Debele Yami, Alemu Wariyo, Ahmed Geleto

<sup>250</sup> governor of Arsi, during Menelik period

to Shawa. *Ras Darge* in some case used force to dislocate some clans of Arsi, especially the Waji clans hurted; they refused to leave their land, but *Ras Darge* forcefully evicted the Waji.<sup>251</sup> The land of all these Arsi clans was distributed to the Tulama Oromo who served in the army of Menelik during the war in Arsi and the rest was given to the Amhara settlers.<sup>252</sup>

According to informant the localities inhabited by different Tulama clans at present are named after them, particularly in Hexosaa and Munessa *Waradas*. For example, Gulalle Odaajila, Gulalle Hiddi Birru are located inside Hexosaa *Warada*, whereas Gullale Doge and Gullale Bulchana are located in the Munessa *Warada*. All these are the Gullale inhabited areas.<sup>253</sup>

Following the footsteps of the Gullale Oromo, many other Tulama groups inhabited different parts of the Chilalo *Awraja*. There were the Bacho and Dachi clans, the former resident of Salaale, Galan and Abichu settled in high land of Hexosaa.<sup>254</sup> The same thing occurred in the Digalu- Tijo *Warada*. Digalu is now a name of village and one of the *Warada* in a former Chilalo *Awraja*. The name Digalu was adopted after a name of one of the sub clans under the Dachi, which is one of the three major clans of the Tulama. According to study in 1968 in the Digalu village, among the total household of the village, about 43% of house hold were born in Shawa and lived over 20 years in the Digalu area.<sup>255</sup> This study indicates in the Digalu and Tijo *Warada* the Tulama constitutes almost half of the community in the *Warada*.

The Ada'a clan of Tulama was settled in Hexosaa *Warada*. There is name of place which call after the name of clan Ada'a, around Itaya area. Still there is a place name called Kachama

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<sup>251</sup> informants, Aman Osman, Ahmed Geleto, Tusa Deti, Gigi Roba, Haji Irkiso, Nura Chilalo, Nuralla Waqayyo, Haji Temam Omer, Amino Edao

<sup>252</sup> Informant: Ahmed Geleto, Nurachilalo

<sup>253</sup> Informant: Korsa Tullu

<sup>254</sup> Getachew Reggasa, "A Historical Survey of Chilalo....," p.66-67, informant Korsa Tulu

<sup>255</sup> Taddese, *Census in Digalu Village, 1968*. pp. 5. CADU (Publication number 21).

around Sagure. The majority of the inhabitants here came from Shawa and settled over a long period of time.<sup>256</sup> In addition to this, in Albaso (a vast plain South of Asella), Tulama families such as the Gumbichu, Abichu, and Gulalle were settled over there a long time before the rise of Emperor Haile Silasie.<sup>257</sup>

Concerning the Tulama settlement in west Arsi, reliable data doesn't exist. However, those clans occupied in other area of Arsi are supposed to inhabit West Arsi too. These may include Salaale, Galaan, Abbichu, Metta, Gullalle, Eekka and others. Those Tulama clans supposed to be arrived in the area of the present West Arsi lately when compared to those occupied Arsi proper. This has to do some thing with the relative remoteness of the former and proximity of the latter.<sup>258</sup> The Tulama clans in Arsi in general mainly settled in Hexosaa, Digalu and Tijo and Munessa *Waradas*, all in the Chilalo *Awraja*. Few settlers in the area around the town of Asella, Ziway Dugda, *Warada* adjacent to the town of Maqi, there were the Jille clans. Regarding the present west Arsi very few numbers of the Tulama settled in areas of Gedeb specifically in Kofale and Arsi Nagelle.<sup>259</sup>

#### **4.2. The interaction of the Tulama Oromo with the Arsi Oromo in the Chilalo *Awraja* (1886-1960)**

To begin with this, lets first shade some light on the reception of the local Arsi to the Tulama clans up on their arrival. There is one major common denominator between the Tulama and the Arsi clans emanating from common ancestor of *Oromumma* (Oromoness).<sup>260</sup> Arsi tradition counted those who share common ancestry and common historical back ground and

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<sup>256</sup> Informant: Korsatullu

<sup>257</sup> Informant: Debele Yami, Korsatullu, Kophesa Heyi

<sup>258</sup> Informant: Aman Osman, Gebi Ori, Abdurahman Qaabato

<sup>259</sup> Informant: Tusa Deti, Ahmed Geleto, Areda Gebisa, Debele Yami, Abdurahman Qabeto

<sup>260</sup> informant: Abdurahman Qabeto

psychological make up with themselves as *Ambaa* (contextually refer to distant relatives) and those who are against their values as *Diinaa* (enemies). This is traditionally known as *Ambaa-Diina* (Relatives and aliens/enemies). When the Tulama were alienated of their land they counted on this common ancestry and tradition as an opportunity to move to Arsi and other Oromo areas than moving to land of aliens. Aseffa Tefera<sup>261</sup> explained that the Tulama Oromo preferred to move to Arsi and he emphasized that this had to do something with common ancestry and belongingness which is known as *Ambaa*.<sup>262</sup>

It has to be taken in to consideration that both harmonious and hostile relation ship have existed between the Tulama and the local Arsi communities.<sup>263</sup> The harmonious relationship must have emanated from their belongingness and common ancestry psychological make up.<sup>264</sup>

Basically, the relationships between these Oromo communities might have begun before the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century by the fact that they are adjacent to each other in settlement pattern.<sup>265</sup> These two Oromo communities also share two similar Oromo *Gadaa* (*Luba*) names than any other Oromo branch. Among the five *Luba* (*Gadaa*) names *Birmaji* and *Robale* are used by the Arsi and the Tulama communities.<sup>266</sup>

The Tulama Oromo who came to Arsi early in 1886 were well received by the Arsi clans, and integrated with the local Arsi in terms of culture, economy and social life.<sup>267</sup> In most part of the

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<sup>261</sup> professor of History

<sup>262</sup> speaking on OMN's documentary film by journalist, Abraham Birru

<sup>263</sup> Informant: Gebi Oria, Abdurahman Qabeto

<sup>264</sup> Informant: Ahmed Geleto, Gebeyeh, Adugna, Korsu Tullu,

<sup>265</sup> Obviously, the territorial boundary between Tulama and Arsi stretches from Meqi area in the upper Awash to Dhera and Bosat Mountain in the middle Awash on both sides

<sup>266</sup> In case of other Oromo branch, for instance, Borana, you have completely different *Gadaa* names, of course within the frame work of the universality of the *Gadaa* system.

<sup>267</sup> Informant: Dabale Yami, Kophessa Hey'I, Korsu Tullu, Alemu Wariyo, Tusa Deti, Ahmed Geleto, Amino Eda'o

Chilalo *Awraja*, in area around Hexosaa, Digalu and Tijo, Munessa, Gedeb and Kofale *Waradas* the Arsi clan gave lands for those new comers or the Tulama. According to informants Arsi clan chiefs or *balabbats* such as Milo Mamma of Hexosaa, Dilbato Qiltu of Sabiro, Lenjiso Diga of Koloba, Gameda Hedeto, Badhaso Elemo and also other Arsi clan leaders gave land for the Tulama. oxen for plough cow for milk as a gift. So, the relationship between the Tulama and Arsi was smooth, particularly at the early stage.<sup>268</sup>

The Tulama are interactive, like any other Oromo community they give and take. They are also innocents if they are carefully dealt with. But sometimes they are easily manipulated by non-Oromo elements under the cover of religious solidarity of Orthodox faith. Except those in military no significant conflict is reported to have occurred between the Tulama and the Arsi during their early arrival. Later on, with the need for more resources (land and cattle) by the Tulas some skirmishes have occurred in some place in Chilalo. Two particular incidents of conflict reported in Shuunee of Munessaa district and Caffé Jilaa of Denbel areas, some times in the second half of twenty century. There is a song by the Tulas maintained to this date by the Arsi of the Boqoji areas:

<i>Gaafa Shuunee loon fardumaan fuunee</i>	Oh, at the battle of shune we simply captured the cattle by horse.
<i>Gaafa Jilaa loon Abbatu bira jiraa</i>	While at the battle of Jila, the owner is present, fought hard and we failed to do the same <sup>269</sup>

However, with the passage of time and Amhara maneuver, the Arsi and the Tulama might have developed permanent hostility. A typical example is the Tulama of Jille occupying Meki areas of Denbel and the neighboring Arsi clans predominantly occupying the whole Denbel region and

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<sup>268</sup> Informants: Ahmed Geleto. Abbas Haji, “The History of...,” p 32

<sup>269</sup> Informant: AbdurahmanQabato

beyond. According to one of my informants at Shashemene, narrated that he remembered when he was a child, it was around 1970 Ethiopian calendar he prevented to travel to Habura town in the afternoon by the elder living in Meqi because the Jilles do not have excuse for an Arsi traveler to be on vehicles, horseback or on foot having got favorable time, place and condition.<sup>270</sup>

In terms of social life, the Arsi Oromo and the Tulama Oromo intermixed in many ways. They shared common language, culture and other cultural trait of Oromo. Since they shared basic tenets of Oromo culture and values in most cases the Tulama Oromo lived among the Arsi *Gosa* without any difficulty.<sup>271</sup> As my informants in Asella, Itaya, Gonde and Sagure, Boqoji and Kofale state, the Tulama in Arsi integrated with them in more specific ways with Arsi culture. Speaking the same language for both groups might have also reduced the barriers in their communication. In Arsi culture guests are respected and treated very well. Therefore, those Tulama migrants arrived in Arsi were well treated and respected among the Arsi moreover, the Arsi respected the Tulama because they believed that the Tulama are elder than the Arsi. One of my informant attests this, when his grandfather evicted around 1910 from Gafarsa (Addis Ababa) area settled in Albaso a vast plain South of Asella around Sagure, the members of Tijo clans of Arsi, well received them given him oxen, caws and even land to cultivate.<sup>272</sup>

The Tulama and the Arsi community in the Chilalo *Awraja* remained intact to their respective culture and religion, except few marriage relationships and religious conversion. However, relative tolerance gradually developed between the two communities. This is observed in many ways of their social life. For instance, the Tulama and the Arsi Oromo in several occasion that both of them attended each other's wedding ceremonies. They also attend each other's funerals.

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<sup>270</sup> Informant: Abdurahman Qabato, Gebi Oria, Hamu Simbo, Elias Simbo

<sup>271</sup> Informant: Ahmed Geleto, Tusa Deti, Abdurahman Qaabato

<sup>272</sup> Informant: Debele Yami

They might have attended some common rituals of the Oromo *Waqeffanna* (indigenous Oromo religion) and *Irrecha* (Oromo thanks giving to *waaqaa* or God). My informant from Kofale from his experience told that his family attended the Mudaa ceremony in Dirre Sheik Hussein. He also witnessed around 1970 Ethiopian Calendar, the Tulama inhabiting in the area around Gedeb pilgrims to Dirre Sheik Hussien and take part in Mudaa ceremony.<sup>273</sup>

Linguistic wise, both communities do not face much difficulty in communicating each other. This means their accent is not far from each other except some terms such as keenyaa, eechaa vs keennaa, eessaa respectively. Moreover, when we look the Tulama communities occupying in Arsi areas, they had highly adapted to Arsi local communities' accent and manner of speech.<sup>274</sup>

#### **4.3. Change and Continuity in the Interaction between the Tulama and Arsi Oromo (1960-1974)**

It is logical conclusion that any society migrating from one region to the other region must bring something new to the new region and community. There must be also something that they have to learn from indigenous community. In our case, the Tulama have brought a lot of things to Arsi, and they have also learned many things from the Arsi. The first thing that the Tulama teach the Arsi was their farming system.

The coming of the Northerners in general and the Tulama Oromo in particular to Arsi region had two important consequences. Firstly, the beginning of plough farming in the area. There is ample information that the Tulama have practiced farming, even while they lived in their homeland. When they came to Arsi since 1880's, they also continued farming system. Plough farming

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<sup>273</sup> Informant:Abdurahman Kabeto

<sup>274</sup> For example, those who live in Diida'aa and Bale say diydama vs digdama or diddama in other Arsi areas

began in Arsi after 1887.<sup>275</sup>The Tulama were hard workers, they are highly known for their agricultural activities. At the time they arrived in Arsi they were experienced agriculturalists. Consequently. They engaged both in cultivating land and rearing cattle. In fact, we do not find many livestock possessed by the Tulama in Arsi when we compare to that of Arsi. Most probably the Tulama engaged in cultivating crops few are rearing cattle. This might have to do something with their relatively long-time attachment to farming. For all practical purposes the Tulama are highly known for their agricultural activities.<sup>276</sup>They tutored Arsi farming. These migrants continued to bring more modern cultivation methods and crops to Chilalo. As a result, change survival forms of Arsi and become agriculturalist.<sup>277</sup>

Most writers and informants posit that the Arsi totally engaged in cattle breeding as the only economic venture.<sup>278</sup> However, the Arsi like the Somali and Afar not strictly engaged in pastoralist way of life.<sup>279</sup> In areas like Sirka and Jaju farming started early.<sup>280</sup> As Ketebo stated “They produce barely using wooden plough or a double tipped wood known as *dongora*”<sup>281</sup> However, intense farming or oxen plough agriculture introduced to Arsi by the Tulama Oromo. The Arsi valued the Tulama way of farming. The Tulama farmers successfully exploited the virgin land of Arsi, consequently increase agricultural produce.<sup>282</sup> Some of them become rich peasants and land owners. Hence the Arsi learned this and became mixed farmers and sedentary agriculturalists.

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<sup>275</sup>Ketebo, informant Araddaa Gabbisaa

<sup>276</sup> Informant, Abdurahman Qaabato, Gebi Oria, Korsaa Tullu

<sup>277</sup> Cohn John, “Rural Change...,” p.111

<sup>278</sup> Abbas The History of Arsi..., p.51

<sup>279</sup> ketebo, “The Political Economy...” p.19,

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid*, p.21

<sup>281</sup> Ketebo Abdiyo, “The Political Economy...” p 74, Arne Lexander, *Changing Rural Society*, p.3

<sup>282</sup> Ketebo Abdiyo “The Political Economy...” p, 76, Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance...*, Getachew Reggasa “A Historical Survey...,” p. 68, informants Amino Eda’o, Ahmed Geleto, Tusa Deti

The Second most important consequence for the coming of the Tulama to Arsi was an increase in the value of land.<sup>283</sup> Before the coming of the northern immigrant land in Arsi was a clan land which belongs to all members of the clan. It was neither sold nor privately owned. But, the Tulama were got land in Arsi in two ways, either peacefully or claiming the land after some years of cultivation. With the expansion of plough agriculture under feudal administration, the price of land increased tremendously over a period of time. The selling of land began in Arsi since the beginning of land measurement. Particularly after 1941 there was an extensive land sale.<sup>284</sup> Based on informant data land measurement was started for example, around 1910 one *gasha* of land sold for 8 *birrs*, just after a year the price increased to 100birr for the same size of land. In the year between 1930 to 1935 one *gasha* land was sold in 300 to 500birr. In 1960's the price of land increased to 3000birr, by the year 1974 it was sold by 10,000birr. Land was the major source of revenue for both emperor Menelik and Haile Selassie. Land grant and sale was intensified after 1941 in Arsi this increased the price of land and shortage of lands.<sup>285</sup>

There were some specific learned social and economic practices used by the Tulama communities to enhance their agriculture. A communal system of labor mobilization known as *Daboo*, which is used to help gathering the harvest with a group. It helps to share the burden during harvest with little cost and energy. Still the other may be share cultivation known as *Qixxe-Qotuu*, a kind of agriculture jointly practiced by two farmers, one contributing labor, cereal and fertilizer. The production is believed to be equally shared between the two.<sup>286</sup> Still

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<sup>283</sup> Ketebo. A Historical Survey of Arsi Oromo 1910-1974, p, 45

<sup>284</sup> Getachew Badhadha, p. 7

<sup>285</sup> Informants: Aman Usman, Gebi Oria, Abdurahman Kabeto

<sup>286</sup> Informant: Abdurahman Qaabeto, Gebi Oria

other specific labor must have existed between the two communities, but need further research works.

The Tulama not only bring something new to Arsi but also, they shared many values of the Arsi cultures, like marriage, food, conflict resolution mechanism and so on. The Tulama marriage culture is their own. It needs vast research. To begin from the wide process of engagement (*qaadhima*) to wedding ceremony, the elders are delegated to the girl's family and up on willingness from them. The bride and groom are accompanied mostly by their peers. The process is a little bit different from the Arsi marriage process. The Tulama marriage process somewhat mixed with the Amhara marriage ceremony while they were at Shawa and even after they came to Arsi. The Tulama even after they came to Arsi they confined to their own marriage process. Since around 1910 after they came and interact with Arsi they began to practice marriage process somewhat similar to that of Arsi but what the Tulama shared from Arsi is the case of bride wealth, which is known as *gegawo*, a kind of cattle gift. In addition to this the Tulama also shared the Arsi culture of gift to the family of bride known as *Waya* or *Bullukko*, a scarf made of cotton.

Although the Shawan Oromo and Arsi share common language, *Gadaa* system and other traits of Oromo culture, their conversion to opposing religion (the Arsi accepted Islam whereas the Tulama were Christian) minimized intermarriage and strong socialization. But most writers put that there was some degree of intermarriage. Informants also agreed with this idea. The Arsi men married to Tulama women. Even the Arsi notable balabats since the first decades of 20 century had married the Tulama ladies. But the Tulama men might not marry. Arsi women.<sup>287</sup> This was

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<sup>287</sup> Abbas, *Conquest and...*p.276

because for the Arsi women it is difficult for them to convert to Christianity, whereas the Tulama ladies may be converted to Islam.<sup>288</sup>

The other thing that the Tulama adopted from Arsi was having multiple wives. As my informant states that having multiple wives was forbidden in the Tulama culture. The Tulama when they came initially to Arsi they might confine to only one wife, but as they interact with the Arsi they share the culture of marrying more than one wife which is typical of Arsi. Although the exact time when the Tulama started this culture was not known, based on rough estimate it was after 1960.<sup>289</sup> Now a day we see a lot of Tulama household that have many wives. If the Tulama man had two wives, he called the eldest wife as *Ayya Guddo* (the eldest), and the younger as *Ayya Tikko* (the youngest). This was not known among the Tulama before 1960's.<sup>290</sup>

*Mammaksa* or idiomatic expression is also another culture that the Tulama adapted from the Arsi, since from the very beginning of their arrival to Arsi, about 1880's. *Mammaksa* is a culture of all the Oromo but special among Arsi. It is culture among the Arsi elites to start speech with *Mammaksa*. They can transmit a lot of message through a single phrase. The Tulama Oromo also learnt this culture from the Arsi. Now a day it is difficult to differentiate the speech of Arsi and the Tulama. The Tulama Oromo in general act like the Arsi. They don't like if they call them Shawa or Tulama they call themselves we are Arsi.<sup>291</sup> Although the Tulama and the Arsi speak the same language it seems like a little bit difficult for the Tulama to understand the Arsi manner of speech. But after 1941 most of the Tulama clans in Arsi adapted to the Arsi culture of speech

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<sup>288</sup> Informant:Korsatullu, Ahmed Geleto, Haji Temam Omer, Abbas, "A History Arsi....," P. 50

<sup>289</sup> Informant: Alemu Wariyo, Nura Chilalo

<sup>290</sup> Informants: Ahmed Geleto, Tusa Deti, Debele Yami, Kophesa Heyi

<sup>291</sup> Informants: Areda Gabisa, Kophesa Heyi,

particularly *mammaaksaa*. Such kind of positive interaction between the Arsi and the Tulama developed over a period of time and still continued to exist.<sup>292</sup>

On the other hand, the Tulama also have their own culture of expressing their grievances or whatever they want to say through their traditional folk song and *Ragadda* rhyme. Particularly the Salaale Oromo are known by this folk song. Therefore, the Arsi also learned from the Tulama both the rhyme and their dance *Ragadda*. As one of my informant attests that, he remembered when he was a child around 1965 in Saagure he practices the Arsi culture of dance known as *Tirri*, whereas his Arsi friends also practice the Tulama dance style called *Ragadda*.<sup>293</sup>

The conflict resolution method of the Tulama must have emanated from the Tulama *Gadaa*. *Jaarsummaa* is a conflict resolution mechanism among the Oromo people. Although, *jaarsummaa* is the culture of all Oromo it is typical among the Arsi. Most of the time the Tulama Oromo who lived in Arsi used force to settle dispute. But in Arsi culture whenever there is dispute between two groups, they brought the case immediately to the elders or *Jarsaa*. The decision of the *Jaarsa* was indisputable, what they call *Muramte* (final decision). Now a day the Tulama elders in Arsi also highly respected and capable of resolving conflict equivalent to the Arsi elders.<sup>294</sup>

More over the Arsi and the Tulama Oromo more integrated each other with the culture of *Harmahodhaa*. This is breast feeding the mother of one another. If the child of Tulama feeding the breast of an Arsi mother this child considered as the child of Arsi and vice versa<sup>295</sup> According

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<sup>292</sup> Informant: Ahmed Geleto, Gebi Oria, Nura Chilalo, Korsa Tullu

<sup>293</sup> Informant: Abdurahman Kabeto, Areda Gebisa

<sup>294</sup> informant Arada Gebisa, Debele Yami, Korsa Tulu, Ahmed Geleto, Kophessa Hey'i

<sup>295</sup> Informant: Alemu Wariyo, Haji Temam Omer, Arada Gebisa, Debele Yami, Korsa Tulu, Ahmed Geleto, Kophessa Hey'i

to my informant now a day many Tulama family call themselves we belong to the Arsi clans. As discussed in the first chapter the Tulama belongs to the Borana confederacies of the Oromo, and further divided in to three major clans, whereas the Arsi belongs to the Barentu confederacies of the Oromo. Divided in to two moieties Sikko and Mando and further divided in to several clans (*gosa* and *balbala*). But now a day in many places of Arsi and the former Chilalo region the Tulama Oromo claim the Arsi clans. for example, according to the data I collected in Boqoji there are families of Tulama that claim the Arsi clans of Qoma-walashgora.<sup>296</sup> But Qoma is the known Arsi clan which is predominantly settled in the area around kofale. This integration was the result of *Harma Hodhaa culture*.<sup>297</sup>

The settler communities who were resided in Chilalo *Awraja* brought with them new socio-economic and cultural settings. These changes were increasingly observed after 1941 and continued up to 1974. The arrival of new comers brought about a demographic change in the *Awraja*. For instance, according 1972 CADU study 43% of the population in the *Awraja* were the new comers.<sup>298</sup> Another study in Digalu and Tijo Warada of Yeloma kebele indicates that almost all the head of house hold were the Tulama class.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Informant: Gabayehu Adunna

<sup>297</sup> Informant: Areda Gebisa, Gebayahu Adunna

<sup>298</sup> CADU Publication No

<sup>299</sup> Elisabet Hanson, General Description of the present Housing and Living Situation of the Farmers in the ChilaloAwraja, with proposal for new design, Ethio-Swedish institute of Building Technology, CADU report, publication No 7, Addis Ababa, February, 1970.

#### 4.4. The Life and Condition of the Tulama in Chilalo *Awraja*

##### 4.4.1. Socio-economic and Political Life

During their early arrival in 1880's the Tulama might have hospitalized by the Arsi themselves for one or the other reasons. One, innocence and generosity (*fayyalumma*) are a common value of the Oromo nation in general and Arsi of the past in particular. Gradually the Tulama themselves managed to hold land for cultivation to sustain their lively hood. This was particularly true in the Albaso area where the land in this area is highly fertile. Later on, about 1941, because of the Fertility of the land in Gedeb areas of Hasasa too, they began to move to this direction and cultivated considerable land. Still, some of them might have lived on cultivating land for the local land owners mostly to Amhara settlers. Still others cultivated land for few Arsi land lords (the *balabats*).<sup>300</sup>

In addition to this many hard-working Tulama rented lands and enjoyed comfortable life equivalent to landlords.<sup>301</sup> Some of the Tulama settlers in Arsi had also enjoyed the privilege of *balabbat*. Especially those groups belonged to the Qallu family. One of my informants at Boqoji attests that his grandfather came to Chilalo *Awraja* around Boqoji at about 1887. He was the Family of *Qallu* came to Arsi not as a settler but to cure the wounded people of Arsi in the war with Menelik through the process of *Ichima*. *Ichima* is a kind of leaf which helps to cure the wound. The process of curing by this leaf is also called *Ichima*. In Oromo culture the *Qallu* was highly respected among the people. So, most of the *Qallu* family of the Tulama clans in Arsi enjoyed the privilege of *balabbat* in Arsi.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Informant:Abdurahman Qabato

<sup>301</sup>Ketebo, "The Political Economy..." P.161

<sup>302</sup> Informants, Ahmed Geleto, Kopesa Heyi, Debele Yami

Some of the Tulama groups those who believed to be participated in the war of conquest of Arsi in 1886 were relatively safe from burden of tenancy and socio-economic exploitation.<sup>303</sup> They integrated economically and politically with the conqueror given land and position. Menelik granted both land and *gabbar* (laborer). They became local representatives of imperial power and were named *balabbat*.<sup>304</sup> Because of this, some of the Tulama communities were viewed by the Arsi as bearer of the Shawan Amhara conqueror and incorporation of the Arsi Oromo land in all directions. But, in contrary to this argument there are also some Tulama Oromo nationalists like Taddese Birru who inspired Oromo unity and belongingness as seen at the Mecha-Tulama mobilization meeting at Dheeraa. Taddese Birru and his followers slaughtered *korma* (big bull) and consumed together as symbol of Oromo unity and belongingness.<sup>305</sup> Another Tulama nationalist Dhaabaa Galatuu (Abba Gishuu), in Dodola districts of the west Arsi Zone who was highly respected by the Arsi community and elected to lead the ritual ceremony.<sup>306</sup>

However, majority of the Tulama Oromo peasants in Arsi were reduced to the status of *gabbar*. The land they inhabited was subject to various dues, they also forced to render personal services to government officials. This was also done to Arsi clans too. For instance, during the rule of Sahlu Difaye, all the peasantry groups including both Arsi and the Tulama Oromo suffering from harsh and exploitative administration<sup>307</sup>. They wish to die than administered by such cruel governors. The following couplet was Arsi people grievance against Sahlu administration in 1969.

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<sup>303</sup> Abas, *Conquest and Resistance...*, Ketebo, "The Political Economy..."

<sup>304</sup> Michael, Ethiopia: *Political Contradictions ...*, p. 45

<sup>305</sup> Biratu Kenei, "Brigadier General Taddasa Birru: A Military-Political Biography (1922-1975)", Addis Ababa University, 2019, p. 225, informant, Abdurahman Qabato, Gebi Oria

<sup>306</sup> Informant : Abdurahman Qaabato

<sup>307</sup> See appendix no 3, 7

ዘጠኝ ዓመት ሙሉ ያነከተሽ በሬ  
 በጣም ደስ ይበልሽ ተነቀለልሽ ዛሬ  
 ሁላችሁም በተራ እልል በሉ  
 ጉንፋን እንዳይዘን ተነቀለልን ሳሉ  
 ተሽክመን ነበር ዘጠኝ አመት ሙሉ  
 ከአዋሽ ባሻገር አስራችሁ ጣሉ  
 ይህን ይፈልጋል ያኅሲ ሕዝብ በሙሉ<sup>308</sup>

**Translation**

The bull that persecuted you for nine years  
 Congratulation he gone away today  
 Say *il il il* all of you  
 Because Sahlu gone away  
 We carried him for nine years.  
 Tie and drop him to Awash River.  
 All Arsi people need this.

Gadaa system played an important role in the social life of the Tulama Oromo. The Tulama Oromo long before they came to Arsi region they practice an Oromo socio-political system called *Gadaa*. But gradually the *Gadaa* system declined in Shawa where the Tulama Oromo settled. This was because the system of administration introduced following the conquest by Menelik II prohibited the practice of the *Gadaa* system. The Tulama Oromo also went under change in terms of culture and values, because of long time contact with the Amhara. After the military success of the Shawa government the Arsi region was also put under socio-political and economic system of the central government.<sup>309</sup> In the administrative unit of Arsi in general and Chilalo in particular *Gadaa* system was no longer served. But in a real sense *Gadaa* system was not totally disappeared among the Tulama. Although the Tulama Oromo failed to practice *Gadaa* system from their center at Odaa Nabe they celebrate every eight years in their locality with their immediate neighbor. Because the imposed administration prohibited gathering at their center.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> The Grievance of Arsi people from 1961-1966 E/C. IES-MS 2391/102 k4.see also, appendix no 4  
<sup>309</sup> Girma Geda, “A History of the Torban Obo Oromo in Boset *Wareda*, 1855-1991”, M.A Thesis Addis Ababa University, 2018. pp.43  
<sup>310</sup> *Ibid*, p.44

The Tulama prohibited practicing certain activity of the *Gadaa* ritual before they came to Arsi, particularly the Salaale Oromo. The encroachment of the Shawan ruling elites and the rise of local chief in Salaale hindered them properly practicing the *Gadaa* system.<sup>311</sup> But after they left their home land, they continued to practice certain Oromo traditional belief and rituals. Harold Marcus states that “in their isolation from their home land the settlers felt more cultural identity than ever before.”<sup>312</sup>

Blackhurst observed the testimony that assured the continuity of some *Gadaa* practices among the Tulama in Arsi because of the existence of suitable and relatively better conditions in Arsi.<sup>313</sup> He tells us that the Tulama Oromo in Arsi still practice the *Gadaa* system which has five grades. He analyzes their social organization and economic life.<sup>314</sup> For instance, among the Tulama community in Arsi women lived according to the traditional Oromo culture and used to celebrate the *ateetee*.<sup>315</sup> Although the Tulama and the Arsi Oromo share the same ethnic origin they have different historical experiences. In Shawa the Tulama adopted many features of Amhara culture, particularly Orthodox Christianity. For the Amhara and the Tulama Oromo Church and Saints are not only the centers of religious life but also the center of social relations.<sup>316</sup>

As stated in the preceding chapter the Tulama Oromo converted to Orthodox Christianity before they came to Arsi. They prohibited in practicing their indigenous religion *waqeffanna*.<sup>317</sup> As of

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<sup>311</sup> Alemseged Debele, “A History of Kuyyu *Warada*, 1936-1974”, M.A, Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University, 2010,” p. 21.

<sup>312</sup> Harold G. Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844-1913* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 194

<sup>313</sup> Hector Blackhurst, “Continuity and Change in Shoa Galla *Gadaa* System.” In *Age, Generation and Time*, edited by P.T.W. Baxter and Uri Almagor (1978), pp 246-249

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid*, pp.246-250.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 250

<sup>316</sup> Arne Lexander, *The changing Rural Society...*, p 16

<sup>317</sup> Girma Geda, “A History of the Torban Obo Oromo in Boset *Wereda*, 1855-1991”, M.A Thesis Addis Ababa University, 2018. pp.43

the mid-nineteenth century, the religion of the Tulama Oromo was tremendously transformed. The majority of them abandoned the *Waqeffannaa* religion and embraced Christianity. The main reason that led this transformation was the conquest of the Tulama Oromo by the Menelik II and became part of the Ethiopian Empire.<sup>318</sup> According to Dachasa Abebe the expansion of Christianity in the Tulama Oromo was not only made through peaceful way of church building and preaching Christianity. There was an act of forceful Christianization by abolishing indigenous religious practices after 1878.<sup>319</sup> However, they continued to practice their traditional Oromo belief and rituals in Arsi.<sup>320</sup> In some place the *Qaallu* institution and Orthodox faith have been merged and used by the local people. The traditional Oromo ritual practice have survived and remained the core of their beliefs system among the Tulama in Arsi.<sup>321</sup> Although, the Tulama remained intact with Orthodox Tewahido, they rarely assumed priesthood position because of this considerable number of the Tulama members have inclined to *Waaqeffanna* and Protestant Christianity.<sup>322</sup>

In their economic life the Tulama in Arsi, as stated above mainly engaged in agriculture as the main economic activity, both in their homeland and after they come to Arsi. Consequently, they engaged both in cultivating land and rearing cattle. In fact, we do not find many livestock possessed by the Tulama in Arsi. This might have to do something with their relatively long-time attachment to agriculture. The Tulama at the time they arrived in Arsi, they were experienced agriculturalists. Consequently, the Tulama got land in Arsi either peacefully or claiming the land after some years of cultivating it. For instance, by growing “*Bahr Zaf*” as a means and

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<sup>318</sup> Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance...*, pp. 261

<sup>319</sup> Dechasa, p.64

<sup>320</sup> Biratu Kenei, “Brigadier General Taddasa Birru: A Military-Political Biography (1922-1975)”, Addis Ababa University, 2019, pp.64

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid*, pp 277

<sup>322</sup> Informant: Abdurahman Qabato, Hamu Simbo

mechanism of land possession and gradual legal land ownership. In addition to this the Tulama also engaged in trade as economic activities to some extent. However, because of long time attachment of the Tulama to agriculture one can hardly find large number of the Tulama engaged in trade activities. They also served in the military activities. But, the scope of their engagement is wide in the case of military service than trade. Still others might have engaged in other activities such as weaving.<sup>323</sup>

In terms of political participation, the Tulama community in the Chilalo has a very little political participation. They were not able to integrate in government bureaucracy. Their participation in the local government structure and administration is limited.<sup>324</sup> Even they were not entitled to the office of *balabbat*. The officials in *balabbat* title mostly recruited from Arsi Oromo clan and Amhara notables. Abbas put that during 1960s and 1970s the candidates for chamber of the deputies largely taken from the Amhara and Arsi notables.<sup>325</sup> The Tulama community in Arsi did not seem to have been active politically.<sup>326</sup> However, this does not mean that they were totally excluded from political participation. During the period of Emperor Haile Selassie, Shawan elites of the Tulama origin participated in national government and civil service.<sup>327</sup> According to informant data the Haile Selassie government favored the Tulama against the Arsi. This is believed to emanate from the system of divide and rule policy. To this effect, a testimony of this is implemented in Kofale *Warda*, during the Haile Selassie's nominal parliamentary election of 1970s two candidates in Chilalo *Awraja* have competed for *Indarase*. One is Wude Damena and the other One is *Balambaras* Wako Turi from Kofale, the Tulama and the Arsi respectively. The

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<sup>323</sup> Informants: Gebi Oria, Abdurahman Qabato

<sup>324</sup> Alexander, *The changing Rural Society in Arsi Land*, pp.10-11

<sup>325</sup> Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance...*, pp. 261

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid*, pp.277

<sup>327</sup> Abbas, *Conquest And ...*, pp. 278

latter is said to have got better vote than the former. However, Wako Turi was unfortunately in that the vote was reciprocated only by the fact that he is an Arsi and Muslim.<sup>328</sup>

Culturally, the Tulama have preserved their dressing style relatively similar to the Amhara settlers. The Tulama dressing style is not complicated as such but, wore clothes similar to the Amhara culture they have preserved their accent though highly mixed Amharic terminology. Moreover, they had preserved their beautiful songs with their *Ragadaa* rhythmic dances. They had also preserved the Follee and irrecha festivities.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> informant:Abdurahman Qabato, Gebi Oria

<sup>329</sup> Informant: Gebi Oria, Ahmed Geleto

## **Conclusion**

In this long account of the Tulama Oromo one can understand that the history of Tulama Oromo in Arsi was a history of tenants that has been generally based on expropriation of their surplus by powerful absentee landlords through forced labor expropriation, rent, tax, exorbitant interest rate. This exploitation and tension among farming communities formed the background for the various forms of peasant confrontation. This research basically reveals the long and bitter local struggle between tenants and land lords, that invited the intervention of the state on the side of its reagents or the landlords. It had different features ranging from passive, non-violent forms to outright rebellions and violent attack against landlords and their properties. This resulted in the eviction process of 1870s and 1950s. As I tried to investigate in this study, it was a government sponsored eviction from their ancestral lands. Of course, this is due to state preference to maintain the status quo in sustaining its economic interest of landlords. It also was a political necessity without which many resident and absentee landlords could not have kept their economic interests.

As we know with the expansion of urbanization, rural societies who formerly inhabited that area are forcefully evicted either by the government body or its reagents and settled in another area. This reality is happened on the study subject the Tulama. The evicted people or families has been forced to settle to area of Arsi. The coming of Tulama Oromo to Arsi brought about the shift of mode of production in the region it resulted in the tendency to depend more greatly on ploughing land than animal husbandry. Along with this shift, only minor efforts were made by the government to create suitable circumstances that contributed to the sustainable growth of the farmers 'livelihood.

In the final analysis I have found out that the life of the Tulama settlers in their new area of settlement was better than their previous life under dominance of a local despotic feudal governors. This is due to the fertile lands that they get hold of in Arsi province which was by far better in terms of agricultural productivity. This continuum settlements of the Telama Oromo in Arsi was eventually helped them to form friendly relations with the local Arsi and many of sub districts adopted names drawn from Tulama clans like, Adakai, Galan, Gulalle, Eekka, Digalu, Yaayaa, Sagure, and others. Moreover, their interaction with their Oromo helped them to adopt and cultivate positive intra-ethnic, interdependence among the Two communities. This practiced for about a century and still in force today with some shocks and minor local tensions

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### List of Informants.

No	List of Informant	age	Sex	Place& Dates of Interview	Remarks
1.	Haji Dersu Waree	78	Male	Asalla  21/2/2020	He knows about the life style of the Tulama and Arsi in the region specific in Asalla.
2	Debele Yami Kelecha	75	Male	Asalla  21/2/2020	He is one of the victim's families came from Gafarsa, Finfinnee area. Narrated what his Grand Father, Kelleche Tufa to him information on the cause of coming of the Tulama to Arsi,
3	Araddaa Gabbisaa	80	Male	Boqojji  27/2/2020	He is among the Qaallu family of the Tulama Oromo who has fresh memory on the eviction of Tulama from Finfinnee area came to Bokojji
4	Alamu Waariyo	73	Male	Asallaa  21/2/2020	he is the known lawyer and legal advisor, knows the introduction of Land tenure and taxation system in the areas

5	Qophessaa Hey'i	103	Male	Asallaa 27/2/2020	He knows historical Development of an eye witness during the change of government, both imperial and Derg regime
6	Haji Temam Umar	70	Male	Asallaa 29/2/2020	He well knows the interaction of the Arsi and the Tulama.
7	Tusa Detti	68	Male	Asallaa 7/11/2020	He has deep knowledge on the eviction of the Tulama
8	Amino Eda'o	60	Male	Asallaa 7/11/2020	He has served in various office gave information on Arsi <i>balabbats</i> reception of the Tulama
9	Ahmed Geleto	78	Male	Asallaa 7/11/2020	He is Abba Gadaa of Tiyo <i>Waradaa</i> , who has deep knowledge on the land alienation and Tulama settlement in Arsi
10	KorsaaTulluu	71	Male	Itayyaa 8/11/2020	He is among the Tulama Oromo who came to Arsi (Itayyaa) before the Italian occupation. He has also a good knowledge on tenancy and settlement pattern of the Tulama

11	Abdurahman Qaabato	52	Male	Shaashamann e 4/3/2022	He is legal advisor and legal expert at Shashamane who has better knowledge on the various historical experiences of the Tulama in West Arsi, their life style, interaction and change and continuity
12	Gebi Ori'a	69	Male	Kofale 4/3/2022	teacher and well informed about the rural institutions in West Arsi
	Hammu Simbo	60	Male	Kofale 4/3/2022	Farmer well informed in Oromo custom and tradition
14	Gebeyehu Addunyaa	60	Male	Addis Ababa 20/4/2022	He is an agronomist and deep knowledge on the land tenure system in Arsi
15	Amaan Usmaan	70	Male	Adama 16-20/4/2022	He is retired worker of state commercial farm, well knows the life and condition of the Arsi and the Tulama tenants, the effect of mechanization from his own eye witness and what his Father, Narrated
16	Nura Chilalo	54	Male	Sagure 13/7/2020	He is among the well-known elders in Sagure had good knowledge on the interaction of Arsi

17	Nurallaa Waaqayyo	74	Male	Asalla 20/2/2020	Farmer well informed in Oromo custom and traditions of the people
18	H/Irkiso Feyiso	85	Male	Asalla 7/11/2020	He knows about administration system of the region specific in of <i>Tiyo Waradaa</i>
19	H/Gigi Roba	69	Male	Asalla 7/11/2020	He knows the land tenure system of <i>Tiyo Waradaa</i>
20	Elias Simbo	62	Male	Shashamane 4/3/2022	He is farmer gave information about the land tenure and taxation system in West Arsi

## **Glossary**

*Abba*: - literally a father but it is also used for prefix of horse name, or ordinary priests.

*Abba Dula*: - Military leader in the Gadaa system.

*Abba Qoro*: - a local tax collector on behalf of landlord

*Abune*: - Literally, Bishop

*Afa-Negus*: -literally mouth of emperor, or a title that given to the judges since imperial time.

*Aleqa*: - Head of a church, a learned priest.

*Awraja*: - sub- province.

*Balaabbaat*: - landlord

*Balambaras*: - ruler of Amba or fortress.

*Bokku*: -wooden kept by an Abba Gadaa in powerful.

*Ciqashum*: - A local chief who carries orders of government officials to the people, expedites payment of land tax and helps in execution of court decrees when he get orders of court.

*Cisanya*: - literally tenants.

*Dagna*: - a kind of court or judge what we call it Astededer [Governors]

*Dajjazmach*: - commanders of the gate, and a rank below *Ras* and above *Fitawrari*.

*Endarase*: literally, like myself.

*Faranj*: - literally, a Whiteman.

*Fitawrari*: -commander of a vanguard force

*Gosa*: - tribe

*Gasha*: - literally means shield but, it became a measurement of land were equivalent to 40 hectares.

*Gebbar*: - literally meaning tenant in relation between land lord and obligation of tenants, to be pay tribute, its obligatory relationship between land lord and his tenants.

*Grazmach*: - literally ‘commander of the left’ a rank above *Balambaras* and below *Qagnazmach*.

*Gult*: - is a right to collect tribute.

*Luba*: - is a Gadaa last grade

*Maderia*: - a land given to somebody as result of military engagement services.

*Qagnazmach*: - ‘commander of the right ’a rank above *grazmach* and below *fitawrari*.

*Qalaad*: - 40 hectares of land

*Ras*: - literally head of army which was above *dajjazzmach* and below *negus*.

*Shifta*: - bandit.

*Warada*: - district.















## **Declaration**

First, I declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and that all sources has been used for this thesis work have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for M.A. degree at Addis Ababa University, Department for History, I solemnly declare that this thesis is not submitted to any other institution for the award of any academic degree, diploma, or certificate.

Name: Kimiya Aman Usman

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa

Date of submission: June, 2022.