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**A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE FUGA LOW-CASTE OCCUPATIONAL
COMMUNITIES OF SOUTH-CENTRAL ETHIOPIA**

BY

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Key to the transliteration System Used

In writing Ethiopian names, the following transliteration system has adopted for the purpose of writing the dissertation

The seven Ethiopian Alphabet sounds are represented as follows:

- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| 1. | በ | Bä |
| 2. | ቡ | bu |
| 3. | ቢ | bi |
| 4. | ባ | ba |
| 5. | ቤ | bé |
| 6. | ብ | be |
| 7. | ቦ | bo |

Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 8. | ሸ | Shā |
| 9. | ቸ | Chā |
| 10. | ሽ | ñā |
| 11. | ጸ | Zhā |

Glotalized Sounds are represented as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------|
| 12. | ቀ | qä |
| 13. | ቐ | tä |
| 14. | ቆ | <u>chä</u> |
| 15. | ቐ | sä |
| 16. | ጸ | pä |

Germination Sound always be written as follows:

e.g. በቀለሽ Bäqqäläch Chāmāda

ተናኘወርቅ ጆምበሬ Tananna Warq Jambare

ደጃዝማች ዠግገህ Däjjazmach Zhāmanäh

ABSTRACT

The ancestors of the Fuga outcast occupational communities are believed to have initially come from northwestern Ethiopia sometime in the early medieval period. They together with other people, settled at Ambaricho in Kāmbata, at Māsmāsa in Hadiya, at Asar and at Ennär both in Western Guragé, and in Y Kāmma. On their arrival in these places the Fuga were already hunters and woodworkers who served their companions in identifying convenient settlement places in south-central Ethiopia. There is a strong feeling that the Fuga might have originally been a branch of the Fuga, a clan among the Wayto clans of the Lake Tana region.

After the immigrant Fuga's settlement in south-central Ethiopia they intermarried with the indigenous people, remnants of the primitive hunters who also practiced occupations like pottery and tanning. They were both able to learn each others occupations through time. Both came to be identified as low-caste occupational communities with the common name of Fuga.

The low-caste Fuga occupational communities were able to retain lands of their own only in their original settlement places which they have been using for farming activities. Despite their population growth they were not able to gain any additional land outside of their original settlement places before the arrival of the Shāwan conquering army of Menelik (r. 1889-1916) in the nineteenth century. As occupational communities they were not able to gain any additional land until the last decade of the nineteenth century. For centuries they have lived among the Kāmbata, the Hadiya, the Guragé and the Yāmma being known as despised low-caste occupational communities.

The lack of land among the Fuga subjected them to economic poverty and harsh social oppression and labour exploitation. As a result some Fuga families migrated to neighbouring areas in the same region looking for better opportunities. Wherever they went they were despised and segregated in their settlement areas as they were considered landless low-caste occupational communities.

In the twentieth century the Fuga communities came to be relatively better treated at the hands of the Shāwan conquerors and settlers who dominated the indigenous societies. Some Fuga families were able to integrate with the Shāwan army and were able to secure farm lands as tenants in the same manner the other indigenous societies under went.

Since the arrival of the Shāwans some Fuga individuals started to accept either Islam or Christianity, giving up their former traditional beliefs and food habits. Their outward migration also helped them to experience better economic and social life. They migrated to some Oromo areas where they enjoyed better treatment.

Since the 1950s. however, many Fuga families in different parts of the Oromo areas started to rent or to buy farm lands. Along with their farming activities they also continued to work as potters, woodworkers and tanners to subsidize their incomes. At the same time a few young Fuga started schooling. Some Fuga communities even had their own school where they educated their children. Similarly, they also established their own churches and provided religious services to the communities. This development was encouraged by the 1974 Revolution which to a great extent favoured despised low-caste communities.

Based on the 1975 land proclamation all Fuga communities residing in the rural areas obtained farm-lands of their own for farming activities. The land ownership liberated them from tenancy and to some extent from poverty. The socio- political change enabled them to live like any ordinary peasant. They also got political support from the government so that they were treated equally with the rest of the societies. Such careful treatment encouraged them to participate in the newly organized peasant associations. It was since then that the Fuga community members started to serve as government employees. And many of the hard working among them became economically better off. As a result of their economic improvement many Fuga children attended public and government and schools and the traditional segregation was minimized. However, the whole effort made by the Fuga could not provide them equality with other and full acceptance. Still there are some social barriers, like marriage, which deny the Fuga equality.

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PREFACE

The objective of this study is to outline the history of the Fuga communities from their historical settlement in south-central Ethiopia up to the present. It is hoped to serve as a launching point for any scholar interested to pursue it. The study is mainly based on fieldwork conducted among the Fuga in Guragé, Hadiya, Kāmbata, Yāmma and some Oromo towns, all in south-central Ethiopia. It has also involved short visits to the Chinasha of Wālayta in northern Omo and the Manna of Ari in southern Omo. My pilot study of the Fuga was started in 1989. Before I fully engaged myself in serious fieldwork I conducted a series of short visits to Hadiya and Kāmbata from 1989 in order to assess the feasibility of the study project.

All available primary and secondary written sources of travellers and scholars were consulted before and after the field research. I have also stayed abroad for eight months during the academic year of 1995-96 to collect primary archival and secondary library materials in some European countries, namely Norway, England and Italy. While collecting oral traditions among the Fuga and non-Fuga elders I stayed among them for several months. I have been going deep into the remote villages in search of early Fuga settlement areas and looking for their knowledgeable elders. I have also been to almost all the Hadiya, Kāmbata, Guragé and Yāmma towns searching for elders who knew something about the socio-economic and political history of the Fuga and the dominant societies among whom they lived in south-central Ethiopia.

It is sad to see that the archival materials that belong to the period before the 1970s are in bad conditions either locked in small rooms, forgotten, or scattered on the floors of dusty rooms. Some documents are torn into pieces, others partially tied up with threads and kept on broken shelves in a disorderly manner. Young men and women archivists are in charge of them, though some of them do not seem to know what to do with their documents, which they call "dead files." In their present conditions it seems that researchers cannot make use of them. The archival materials a researcher may find are of very recent times. The only place where archival materials are kept in a better condition is in the office of the Hossana Municipality. But they have very limited materials.

In the course of my research I was using a tape recorder to record information and a camera to take pictures of some places and persons relevant to my work. I have used different methods to identify and contact my informants. I had to introduce myself to some Fuga elders, prominent among their people. For this I used government employees, students, teachers and the residents in the towns and villages where I stayed. Once I got acquainted with some important elders they were able to recommend me to others. Finally I was able to establish a good relationship with two Fuga elders, namely Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo and Ato Élyas Grañ from Woliso and Hossana respectively. I found this strategy to be fruitful, because they travelled to different villages with me and introduced me to other Fuga elders. They also assisted me as guides and interpreters. They themselves were also among my best informants. Wherever I went with them and once I explained my objective the Fuga elders easily

developed confidence in me. They were frank and happy in sharing with me all the knowledge they had accumulated. Without them a full access to the Fuga communities could have been difficult and time consuming.

I cannot find enough words to express my appreciation for the warm welcome and hospitality I received in the various villages of Hadiya, Kāmbata and in Woliso where I was able to spend several nights in the rural areas. Using the methods described above and owing to the effective use of my research assistants I was able to contact and interview most senior Fuga elders in the various highly scattered villages. Among others the Fuga of Guragé, the great majority of whom were landless, appear to be less organized and less aware about their history. By comparison the Fuga of Māsmāsa and the surrounding areas, wherever they are, are better educated and able to organize among themselves and interested to have a written history of the Fuga society. They are active and aware of their history, even outside of Māsmāsa, in Woliso, Shashāmāné, Kuyāra, Arsi Nāgālélé and Hossana. The Fuga living in Woliso were willing to provide me with all the documents they had, which I did not find elsewhere. The Fuga of Kāmbata are also equally knowledgeable about their history.

It was by using the oral history and archival materials I gathered and the available secondary literature on outcasts that there is that I have written the history of the Fuga. For convenience I have divided the thesis into six chapters. The first chapter deals with the literature review of the relevant materials that I gathered in different libraries here at home and abroad. The second chapter tries to introduce the Fuga

people based on their oral traditions. The third and the fourth chapters are about their internal social dynamism, and their reaction to the various political systems imposed on them through time. The fifth chapter is about social transformation and urbanization among the Mäsmäsa people and the Fuga who, as an integral part of the Mäsmäsa, shouldered heavy political and social responsibilities. The last chapter concerns itself with the Fuga's economic role in society and the recent economic and social changes which emanated from the new landowning rights that the Ethiopian Revolution bestowed on them.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Most historical research undertaken on Ethiopia have crystallized around the Empire State and its twin institution the Orthodox Church. The documentary information on the medieval period and on later period is predominantly about these institutions. It is understandable that in most instances the preoccupation of modern scholars should be politico-religious affairs, particularly as there is serious paucity of documentary sources on social developments or because of the lingering idea that oral tradition is not suitable evidence for historical studies. Indeed, oral tradition is not solely an oral account of the history of ethnic groups (be it of the dominant groups or of the minority), but it is also a record of their psychological make up and mythology.

The review of the literature reveals that so far there has been no single comprehensive study made on Ethiopian occupational outcast groups. Reports made by some European travelers since the 18th century and recent studies made by sociologists touch mostly on generally observable characteristics like religion, occupation, commodity production and their relations to land, without trying to find out the internal dynamism of these societies. As these studies only touch on outcast groups in a rather marginal way, they cannot tell much about the Ethiopian occupational outcast groups in general and about the Fuga in particular. The basic aspects of Fuga social problems are almost untouched. So far not much effort has been made by

scholars even to identify properly the places of Fuga settlement in south-central Ethiopia.

The travelers, whose main concern was not so much to write about the history of the Ethiopians as to describe the exotic places they had been to and the strange customs they had observed, could not even make distinctions between the various occupational outcast groups about whom they made only passing remarks. This in itself has influenced the researchers of later periods to focus on a generalized understanding of the occupational groups and to discount their particular individual dynamism and peculiarities. For an outsider it seems that the Fuga are homogenous occupational groups practising the same activities: hunting, pottery and woodworking. However, when one learns more about them one sees that there are striking internal differences among them, mainly arising from living under the domination of different ethnic groups. Their peculiarities include, as reported by travellers and researchers, that a few were ironworkers, some others tanners and still others basket makers. These activities were not common to all the Fuga communities. To cite an example, different occupational societies living in southern Ethiopia who are engaged in hunting, pottery production, ironwork and woodwork are all regarded as Fuga, a misunderstanding which arose from confusing their differences and similarities. Such generalizations completely ignore their respective identities and the unique relations they have retained with their respective dominant groups.

For the simple reason that most of the Fuga who have been living among the Guragé (except those of Ennär and Assar in Endägäñ) do not claim ancestral land ownership and ancestral permanent living places, they do not seem to be bound to any single locality. They say that their ancestors had lived here and there by moving from one area to another. It is mainly those Fuga communities in Hadiya, Kämbata and Yämma who demonstrate strong attachment to certain villages as their ancestral home villages. They frequently mention areas like Mäsmäsa and Bushana, both in Hadiya; Amacho Watto and Angacha near Ambaricho, both in Kämbata, and a few places near Fofa in Yämma as their ancestral settlements. According to my research findings those Fuga of Hadiya origin are strongly represented in Oromiya. It is also among the Fuga of Hadiya that we find educated, government employees and top religious elites both of the *Qalä Hiwät* Protestant Church and of the *qalicha* institution. However, the few individuals we find in Addis Ababa as shoe shiners are from the Guragélands.

In dealing with the study of a non-literate occupational group, this thesis on the Fuga attempts to rely mainly on oral traditions in addition to the scarce written evidence that there is available. Relying largely on oral tradition, the history of this non-literate people may not be a full exposition to the extent that the history of literate societies can be. This is because non-literate people have preserved their history mainly by transmitting it orally from generation to generation, sometimes distorting and sometimes forgetting part of it over the years. This study may thus appear unimportant to those historians who write on the history of literate people. Nevertheless it is hoped to be of some significance for researchers who want to do further research on the subject. It intends primarily to add, by way of contribution, to

the ethnography of Ethiopia, and to serve as a methodological essay on the explanatory treatment of such phenomena while at the same time constituting a record of the history of outcast groups and their patrons.

As a history student I was at first inclined to choose a relatively much more accessible subject related to Ethiopian political and religious history with relatively better documentary source materials on which a researcher can rely. However, it has been the policy of the Department of History for a long time now to encourage its students to write on social history so as to narrow the gap in historiography between the literate and the non-literate Ethiopian societies. On my part, however, it was primarily because of Professor Merid Wäldä Arägay's unceasing encouragement and advice that I ultimately developed an interest in the non-literate Ethiopian occupational outcast groups.

"Research in history is based on finding data; research in anthropology is based on creating data."¹ To address such fundamental issues one has to use all possible means to unearth facts. It is my feeling that I have tried to use both historical and anthropological methodologies in the reconstruction of Fuga history. In relation to methodology, Cohen also asserts that "history can become more historical in becoming more anthropological, [and] that anthropology can become more anthropological in becoming more historical."² But it has been difficult for me to employ much of the anthropological method, though I appreciate its importance, because most of the time I have relied on my basic training as a history student. Despite the possible shortcomings in combining different methodologies the

undefined role and social relations of Ethiopian occupational outcast groups makes it necessary to attempt both methodologies, the historical and the anthropological.

All over Ethiopia, it seems that certain tasks considered as despicable, such as pottery, iron working, tanning, weaving and even hunting less dangerous wild animals were reserved, in the eyes of the dominant groups, for the low status endogamous artisans. To analyze such devious attitudes and feelings of people it would be better, in the future, for the subject to be handled by serious scholars in anthropological studies. Not only were the occupational outcast groups limited to these economic activities but they were at the same time denied basic human rights and condemned to illiteracy. They were even treated as sub-human. Though not restricted by any kind of national law, until the beginning of the second half of our century, the Fuga children could not attend the traditional church or mosque schools or the modern government and mission schools owing to the discouraging treatment that they suffered at the hands of the non-Fuga students. The exception may be the case of the Betä Israel who had relatively better opportunities to acquire some degree of literacy in their own church schools or in modern government schools which, in the final analysis, may have provided them with the opportunity for self-emancipation.

The harsh treatment of artisans had probably some similarity in other countries. The Harijans of India, like the Ethiopian Fuga, were condemned to a destiny of "poverty, hunger, hatred, hard labour, illiteracy, dirt, and dust, quarrels, lack of education, dark and dingy habits use of abusive language,... observance of internal untouchability and [abuse of them for their] skinning of dead animals."³

Unlike occupational outcast groups elsewhere Indian caste retained a rigid caste-based social system which did not allow any social mobility for almost the last two millennia. Throughout its history the Indian social system has maintained the four distinct classes of priests, warriors, cultivators and artisans. Renowned scholars have formulated different conflicting theories regarding the origin of this caste system. Some scholars underline the fundamental difference in race and blood between the conquering Aryans and the conquered people, each being categorized into privileged dominant and despised outcast groups. In relation to such theories Risely has the supporting opinion that antagonistic social grouping is to be attributed primarily to racial differences which in the final analysis led to the development of distinct occupations.⁴ Chanda is of the opinion that, along with the Aryan conquest, the subjugation of the indigenous people into slavery established different racially based castes.⁵ A renowned scholar, Nesfield, challenges this and writes that there has been a long period of intermarriage between the two groups before they were separated into different caste groups. He assumes that it was "merely a question of occupation"⁶ before they entered into an uncompromisingly designated social scale. Once the social boundary was demarcated the dominant groups developed along a principle of hierarchical society which they strengthened by endogamous marriage customs and specialized economic activities. The racial aspect of Nesfield's theory would not hold true from the fact that once the different groups had open inter-marriage they would no longer be able to maintain racial purity.

The reality, however, is that in Ethiopia it is hard to speak of racial differences and there is no manual occupation (except to a certain degree that of iron working or smithing) which can be designated as one always to be done exclusively by one group of people. In most parts of the country, those social groups involved in the production of metallic objects, though these are basic essential commodities, are despised, segregated and even sometimes feared as evil-eyed by the majority of the dominant population. To segregate the craftsmen the dominant groups create lame excuses in general, like their having their own indigenous religious beliefs, their food habits, what the dominant groups consider lack of sanitation, etc., and thus consider them as being people of "low status", as "impure" and "polluted" members in their eyes. There is no such thing as innate impurity. Impurity, if at all it exists, is what people temporarily perceive in physical contacts with death, blood diet or other things. In the Ethiopian situation, it seems that after an occupational caste is once established for any reason it tends to maintain its distinct identity through endogamous marriage and by sharing localized common food habits and specialized occupations. Thereafter, in order to keep them separate from the rest, what are pronounced are their religious beliefs, food habits and occupations. Any other minor possible peculiar characteristics, which may reveal and perpetuate distinctions, are also given importance and prominence.

There is no common understanding among scholars on the Ethiopian hierarchical social system. Hallpike disagrees with Shack who uses the idea of caste when discussing the Fuga, which is more appropriate for the Indian system where there is distinct hierarchy of occupational groups. In Ethiopia, Hallpike says, the society is divided into two main groups-the cultivators who are considered as superior and the

artisans who are held as inferior by these.⁷ Here, it seems that the ruling and religious elite are not considered as a social class who occupy higher status in comparison with the cultivators. In spite of his comment on Shack, his generalization also suffers from similar problems. Unless Hallpike frames his generalization from the particular case of the Konso, I may strongly differ from his argument which says that, "within these two categories [cultivators and artisans] there is no status hierarchy, and comensality [commensalism] and marriage are not forbidden."⁸ Between the various Ethiopian occupational outcast groups and the dominant cultivators there has always been distinct hierarchy and neither commensality nor marriage relationships occurred between them. A good example for their distinct separation could be the Wayto living among the Amhara, the Manna among the Ari and the Fuga. For the period up until the last quarter of this century I was not able to find any written document or tradition of any oral report about any single marriage relationship between the Fuga and the ordinary cultivators. If there has been intermarriage at any time in their history it was only during the last twenty years that a few members of the Fuga occupational outcast groups were able to marry members of the dominant group. This was possible probably because of the newly introduced egalitarian political system of, "socialism," and the persistent propaganda effort made by the political cadres of the *Därg* for equality among all people, irrespective of their occupation. What Hallpike has written about the Hauda occupational groups of the Konso seems to be completely different from the reality and objective conditions that one can observe among the rest of the Ethiopian occupational outcast groups before the 1970s. His comment on the concept and the absence of literature on religious purity and impurity may be problematic; it is unreasonable to expect sufficient literature to serve as a good evidence for the non-

literate societies. In the traditions of the dominant groups, the religious impurity of the outcast groups is highly emphasised vis-à-vis the religious purity of the dominant groups to the extent that the former were not allowed to touch any food of the latter or to eat with them. It seems that religious purity or impurity has been the main factor that sheds light on the social boundary between outcast groups and dominant societies. According to the findings of Hallpike, despite the similarity one can find between the Hauda and the other occupational outcast groups, it seems that the Hauda enjoyed better status among the Konso.

There is a common understanding that the Fuga have had two distinguishing sets of social and economic relations, one within and between themselves and the other with the rest of the society or their patrons. They worked hard to feed themselves and to satisfy the labour demand of their patrons. The Fuga have been using traditional tools in their production of artistic and high quality pottery and of wooden utensils which they provided to both the upper class members and the mass of the dominant groups. Such technological backwardness has arrested their economic development. They were even made to make a distinction between the commodities they produced for the elite and the ordinary members of the dominant society. The difference in the production was institutionalized not because it earned them better prices but because they were usually forced to do so. It seems that there have never been any social, political and economic incentives that would have encouraged them to improve their technology.⁹

With a single piece of wood and without nails, the male Fuga made for the chiefs of the dominant groups with whom they lived well designed big chairs with back-supports. These commodities were larger than those made for the commoners. In their production these objects required more time and energy. But commodities made for the Fuga themselves and for the ordinary members of the dominant people were smaller, which in most cases needed less attention and less time. The materials produced for the ordinary people included round and rectangular tables, stools, headrests and plates, etc., for any one who could afford to buy them or who could obtain them in the form of gifts.

Some occupational groups specialized in or retained one occupation while others had as many as three or even more. Among others the Betä Israel, also known as Kayla (Fälasha), practiced smithing, pottery and weaving as their main occupations. Similarly, the Wayto of Lake Tana, neighbours of the Betä Israel, have retained as their regular activities hippopotamus hunting and fishing in addition to skills in the making of reed boats. The Konso Hauda occupational outcast group, also known by different names like the Tummu or Bayta (smiths), Akotta or Agono (potters) and the Koka (tanners) have lived as separate communities among the dominant groups.¹⁰ In relative terms all the above mentioned occupational groups have lived as landless people and settled in separate villages which segregated them from members of the dominant groups.

If we look at occupational groups in south-central Ethiopia and other southern parts we find despised outcast¹¹ occupational groups engaged in different economic

activities. For example, the Näfura living among the Guragé and Yämma are limited only to iron working. The *Faqi* or tanners in Guragélands do only tanning, unlike those in Kämbata and Yämma who also engage in pottery making. In the Jinka and Bako areas of Southern Omo the male members of Männa occupational group engage in iron working while their women do the pottery. Among the Oromo of the Gibe region in southern Ethiopia, all the artisans practicing different trade were collectively called *ogessa*.¹² Quoting Balcha, Muhammed Hassen writes that the carpenters and the tanners were identified as *faqi* and the potters as Fuga.¹³ As far as my Fuga informants are concerned the only Fuga one finds in Jimma were those who went as migrants in search of wood in order to make wooden objects and to find a market for their products.

The Fuga communities, who are the subject of this thesis, have been living in most parts of south-central Ethiopia and were associated with different occupations like pottery, hunting, woodwork and to some extent tanning. Like the Wäyto who have been living among the Amhara and the Watta among the Oromo, the male Fuga are associated mainly with hunting and woodwork. One may observe distinct differences in settlement pattern between the Watta and Wayto on the one hand and the Fuga on the other. The Watta and the Wayto have distinct villages, which separate them from the dominant groups.¹⁴ The Wayto are reported to have been hunters and woodworkers.¹⁵ The Wayto had occupational similarity with the ancestors of the Fuga, who initially came to the region where their descendants are now found, and they claim to have been only hunters and woodworkers. The Mäsmäsa elders are of the opinion

that their ancestors were not woodworkers. Woodwork as a Fuga occupation was adopted only two generations ago. It was long after their settlement in south-central Ethiopia that they learned pottery and tanning from the indigenous people. The Fuga living among others are also highly demanded by the neighbouring societies for their specialized skills in woodwork, and quite a small number of them for tanning. The female Fuga are in great demand for their pottery and basketry.

It is difficult to categorize the various communities into hierarchy and importance on the basis of occupation alone. However, in south-central Ethiopia people have developed attitudes about the status of the various occupational groups. All informants unanimously tell that among the three known occupational outcast groups, the *Näfurä* (smiths) rank first in hierarchy to be followed by the Fuga and then the *Faқи* (tanners) who occupy the lowest position.

Tamari, in his introduction to his doctoral thesis, confirms that in West Africa there existed occupational outcast societies among the Mandinga some time before 1300, among the Woloof or Wolaf before 1500 and the Soninke, Fulani and Songhay before 1600.¹⁶ In his writing he compares the various caste institutions in the world so as to arrive at a conclusion that despite the differences in social developments and social systems one can find similarities and peculiarities among the various castes. The commonly known caste system, on which researchers base their definitions being that of India, Tamari recommends the establishment by scholars of different comparative social structures. In his comparison of the Indian, Japanese and some Ethiopian castes

with the Western Sudanese he finds more similarity with the Indian Jat and Varna castes.¹⁷

Scholars like Hanwick, as quoted in Hale, are of the opinion that “the term Houdas translated and that appears frequently in the TS is *qayn*, which in Arabic means blacksmith, artisan, or by extension slave.”¹⁸ Concerning the origin of outcast occupational groups in West Africa there is a strong view that they were initially obtained as captives.¹⁹ The *griot* itinerant singers or entertainers, also known as *mbo jolo* in Gambia, are a distinct social group who were retained for centuries because of their indispensable skills and services. Stoller is of the opinion that “the word *griot* might have been a Mande word that was Frenchified...in the nineteenth century.”²⁰ The West African castes share similar characteristics with the outcast occupational groups living in Ethiopia. Among others, endogamy may be taken as a good example. But, interestingly enough, in West Africa, “The endogamous groups that control certain occupations (weaving, metalworking, leather working, praise singing etc.) are not despised.”²¹ For some occupations it may also partially hold true with the Ethiopian society.

For a proper understanding of the Fuga it is necessary to have an idea of other societies in different parts of the world who have undergone similar experience of being subordinates to their respective dominant population. At present, occupational outcast groups are found in the developed nations of Europe and the Far East as they are also found in the developing nations of Southern Asia and Africa. Among the Europeans are found the Gypsies who are also known by different names like

travellers, Sami and Roma. They are depicted as nomadic, despised but culturally heterogeneous ethnic groups.²² The indigenous Norwegian Lapps were denied equal status with others since they were identified as a stigmatized and inferior outcast group.

The "Lapps live interspersed with Nordic Scandinavians"²³ in places where there is scarcity of population. Within the developed Norwegian society the Lapps lacked a separate organization to solve their problems and to promote their interests since, within the modern Norwegian society, they were concentrated mainly in urban centers. The fact that they lacked a separate geographical zone meant that they could not unite or organize themselves. The main factor for their maintenance of their identity has been their marginalization, despite their cultural and religious assimilation.²⁴ Ethnic groups establish mainly social boundaries not "necessarily based on occupation of exclusive territories ...it entails a frequently quite complex organization of behaviour and social relations."²⁵ For the last quarter of this century the Lapps and other groups have been demanding recognition of their ethnic identities and of territorial entitlement. Though not finalized for action, the Fuga have started to organize among themselves to be recognized by the state and to struggle for their socio-political rights and for a distinct territorial settlement.

Both scholarly research findings and their traditions show that the Gypsies entered Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages or earlier from northern India.²⁶ The Gypsy emigrants from Asia were initially free and useful, being needed in Eastern Europe during crisis to fill the shortage of manpower because of their skills as smiths. It was sometime in the middle of the sixteenth century that they came to be looked

down on in the social ranking.²⁷ The Gypsy were able to assimilate for sometime after their arrival in Europe until a later period when the public attitude towards them changed. As despised and relegated groups from the rest of Europeans. they were forced to adopt a nomadic way of life. Once they were despised, the plight of the nomadic Gypsies became worse and they were subjected to mistreatment. At times they were tolerated and at other times they were persecuted. Though the Gypsies had a common language, a common culture and a common racial background in the early years of their arrival they later developed diversified identities.²⁸

Unlike the European Gypsies and Indian outcasts who have different names in different places the Fuga retain the same name while living among the various peoples who speak different languages; for example, the Semitic Guragé and Mäsmäsa;²⁹ the Cushitic Oromo, Hadiya and Kambata; and the Omotic Yämma. Among these language groups the Fuga perform similar functions and have experienced similar social treatments.

The Fuga have very strong commitment to their own identity. For obvious reasons they have regarded the dominant groups, before some of the Fuga themselves came to own land, as superior only by virtue of their control of the land and the vital social institutions, like the church, the mosque, the court, etc. During the *Därg* regime they were able to get land of their own and at least verbal assurances that they were equal with the others. In spite of the tactics of the dominant groups to degrade and reject them, the Fuga work hard to improve their political and social rights. Despite

their inability to attain social and political equality, nowadays, some Fuga families have succeeded in achieving better economic status.

The restrictions imposed on the Fuga by the dominant groups have been manifold and have considerable repercussions in a variety of ways in their social life. In the regional perspective there have been differences in migratory patterns and ways of life throughout their history in the region. When a Fuga migrated he only moved to the neighbouring town or to the neighbouring ethnic group. He would not risk going to far away places where he might not find his own people. The general trend of the long period Fuga migration indicates that initially they migrated from Kambata to Hadiya and then gradually moved into the neighbouring Guragé lands. Since the beginning of our century some Fuga families have migrated to some Oromo villages and towns owing to the attractive promises made by some Oromo landlords and some Oromo clans. They provided them with lands to settle upon and farm, besides market opportunities for their products.

Owing to the process of interaction over a long period, which resulted in gradual stigmatization, assimilation of individual families among the group of migrants has been difficult to obtain in the places of new settlement, even in places where their ethnic background was less known. There has always been a deliberate avoidance of the Fuga, preventing them from intermarriage with others and denying them opportunities of economic improvement and social mobility, which could have improved their social status. An individual Fuga who tried to change his identity by disappearance from people who knew him frequently jeered at other Fugas who

exhibited common Fuga characteristics. Some Fuga elders, hoping that it would remain confidential, told me that, had it been possible, many of them would have concealed their identities and become ordinary members of the dominant groups. Examples of such attempts were cited among those who had changed the names of their fathers in order to identify with the Oromo. In most instances, such behavioural pattern was commonly observed among the few individual Fuga males who were employed either in the army or in factories. In order to escape their former occupational humiliation they never went back to their home villages.³⁰ The only time that they went back home was after they were demobilized from the army by the EPRDF government in 1991, which was when they lacked any other better alternative of living.

Though it may be hasty generalization to conclude that avoidance of one's group in exchange for a new identity is universal among despised occupational groups, it seems to hold true when one compares the behaviour of the various occupational outcast groups. In Japan the Burakumin outcast group tried, though unsuccessfully, to "escape the stigma by moving out of the neighbourhoods."³¹ Wherever they went they had to live the same life of being isolated and despised. Being an occupational outcast would entail diversified roles and social identifications that were expected to determine one's rights and duties as an individual in comparison with others. In many hierarchical societies "birth into a certain family, social class, caste or ethnic or religious group is an important factor in creating social identity."³² In Japan, there were other despised social groups that included those who came as migrants and fishermen. Among the Japanese societies the least beneficiaries from modernization are the despised outcasts.³³ This group of people is assumed to have come from Korea be it as

emigrants or as war prisoners some time between the fourth and seventh centuries.³⁴ They earned their living as hunters, woodworkers, ironworkers, musicians; etc.³⁵ Ascribed membership is permanent and difficult to get out from, to be admitted, as a member is equally difficult. Acquired occupational specialization is a characteristic that helps as a common manifestation for one's identification with the caste. It has been a common phenomenon that an individual was ascribed social identity by family relations or by one's own age and sex.

In Japan the Socialist Party, together with the Communist Party, helped defuse what might otherwise might have been a permanent source of trouble, the "former outcast communities ... the Burakumin."³⁶ Mistreatment and harsh oppression are however over simplified by over generalization that the outcasts were oppressed in the same manner as the other victims of Japanese monopoly capitalism.³⁷ Some Japanese political organizations have welcomed into membership the Burakumin and the Korean minorities from political motives.³⁸ On the other hand some companies want carefully to avoid them, with the result that their recruitment is discriminatory so as to exclude the Burakumin.³⁹ The ethnic minority, the Koreans, and the social minority, the Burakumin, suffer from systematic and consistent educational and employment discrimination.⁴⁰ Fuga elders have repeatedly reported similar discriminatory practices. They complain that they have never had employment opportunities like others even when they excelled in entrance examinations.

The Burakumin have served as inferior artisans, craftsmen and workers throughout their history in Japan. They were not able to assimilate into Japanese

society even when Japan became developed. Similarly, the Fuga were not able to assimilate into the neighbouring ethnic groups even after they acquired land and accumulated wealth like the other non-Fuga peasants.

According to Hansson, Weber defines status in association with prestige, class with wealth and political organizations with power. Sociologists describe status in relation to one's style of life that has strong correlation with both wealth and power.⁴¹ If carefully analyzed they seem to have significant differences. In the case of the Fuga wealth does not seem to contribute towards prestige and power properly or to promote their social status. Social status is better understood, therefore, within the parameter of one's rights and duties in society recognized by the customary law in relation to the ordinary person. What is true with the Fuga is that the customary laws specify different rights, privileges and duties appertaining to the majority group members and excluding minorities like the Fuga. However, "social status is a more hazy concept than legal status and not easy to determine in practice."⁴²

In Ethiopia as well as in other African countries there has not been any legal system by which the occupational outcast groups are sanctioned and kept separate at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Rather, we find strong cultural and traditional practices which may be viewed as customary law which, to a great extent, discourage social, economic and political mobility of despised occupational outcast groups. Though there is a distinct economic and political base for social hierarchy which is sometimes reflected in the ethnic and religious hierarchy as well, there has not been, in its strict term, a historically recognized rigid caste system in Ethiopia like that of India.

In the case of Ethiopia, there is no nationally realized common characteristic or occupation peculiar to all the occupational outcast groups other than endogamous marriage. It seems that technological backwardness and lack of economic progress have made most of the Ethiopian nationalities and ethnic groups remain in their respective regions until the modern period, and to be parochial in their attitude, whereby intermarriage among them was less encouraged. Their relationship with their respective subordinate occupational outcast groups has always been archaic and conservative.

If we want to look at the various occupational outcast groups and their economic activities, hunting as an occupation does not, for example, include the Betä Israel. The pottery production of the Tābiban excludes the Wäyto and the Watta living among the Amhara and the Oromo respectively. The various Ethiopian outcast groups have been practising different economic activities mainly because they are dictated by the natural resources available in their respective places of settlement. Let alone developing a distinct and common identity among all the outcasts, to borrow Haberland's statement, "culturally and linguistically they do not distinguish themselves from the people among whom they live. There is no one example of a group speaking a different language from that of their host."⁴³ However, other scholars may realize the distinction between occupational outcast groups and the ordinary dominant people from the point of view of class antagonism. The ordinary dominant people usually tried whenever they had the opportunity to exploit the Fuga in all possible ways. When they felt that the Fuga had some utensils that they desired, the dominant groups obtained them either in the form of gifts during holidays or exchanged them for a cheaper price.

The landlords on whose lands some Fuga families settled could order the latter to provide needed utensils or labour service for free. The landlords were fully aware that there was no law to protect the Fuga from exploitation. The only fear they had, if there was any fear at all, was that their Fuga subordinates might run away secretly to settle under different landlords. Unlike slaves, the Fuga had the freedom to abandon their patrons if they wanted to change patrons. Though the Fuga families could run away any time in order to escape oppression and exploitation it was possible that the patrons could take illegal coercive measures. Besides this, there could be uncertainty, on the part of the running away Fuga families, about their treatment by future patrons.

In most instances the ancestors of the occupational outcasts seem to have made their living mainly from hunting and basket making, in addition to their responsibility of being “executioners and removing dead animals”. Such activities later developed to butchery, meat selling, tanning and shoe making.⁴⁴ Thus, any occupation related to animal products was viewed as a despised economic activity. This is precisely what has been observed with the Fuga. They were at times viewed as scavengers who consumed carcasses thrown away by others and were made responsible for removing the remains of such carcasses. The main differences that one finds between the Fuga of Ethiopia and other submerged groups elsewhere is the stage of development of the host or dominant societies and whether they lived in rural or urban centers. Wherever they had to live economic activity of the lowest status was designated for them. In spite of the differences in their development one can find a lot of common occupational similarities and characteristics among outcast groups of different societies. For example, in the Far East the Paekchong outcasts of Korea and the Burakamin of Japan were expected to

live as musicians, hunters, executioners of criminals, removers of dead animals, tanners, woodworkers and coffin makers. They had to be endogamous and could not live solely on a single occupation. My research findings show that most of the above mentioned economic activities and endogamy were commonly practised in one way or another by the Fuga communities. The only difference was that some activities were localized to specific areas and to some Fuga communities while others were common to all other ethnic groups.

That all the Ethiopian hunting castes have common ethnic origin does not seem to be plausible. De Castro holds the assumption that the Watta predominantly living in south and south-western Ethiopia, the Wayto who have lived along the banks of Lake Tana and the Manjo living among the Kafficho are remnants of the ancient negroid aboriginals.⁴⁵ Trimmingham agrees with what De Castro forwarded and Vinigi L. Grottanelli supported this by saying that all the occupational outcast groups who live scattered in most parts of Ethiopia are primitive hunters and remnants of earlier inhabitants.⁴⁶

In spite of the ecological differences that influence economic activities and demand for products the main occupation of the Fuga and Watta has been indicated to be the hunting of hippopotamus. Enrico Cerulli also reports that the manner of hunting among the various communities of the Watta was the same.⁴⁷ But the Cushitic people to which the outcast groups linguistically belong in general were not used to eating fish and hippopotamus because they considered them as impure or unclean.⁴⁸ At least after their settlement in south-central Ethiopia, there is no tradition or claim

among the Fuga which indicates their participation in hippopotamus hunting or eating its meat. The Fuga also tell that they have not lived near a lake or big river banks where hippopotamus are found and hunted. The low caste in the Somaliland are also despised for their eating of impure meat.⁴⁹

Leon de Avanchers, Massaja, Cecchi, Braukamper, have stated that in addition to hunting the occupational outcast groups have also assumed additional responsibilities. Many Fuga elders I interviewed support this. The hunters (including the Fuga) in Oromiya, Kambata, Hadiya and Guragé were the executors of the death sentences decreed by the kings or community councils.⁵⁰ Cecchi reports that the hunters themselves tanned skins. Braukamper also reports the same idea that a Fuga community of Kambata has been engaged in tanning.⁵¹

The Fuga throughout their history have been treated as different group by all the dominant groups. They also claim that they have lived among the various dominant groups as different people and have developed social boundaries, which kept them apart from the rest, to mention a few: endogamous marriage, different food habits, though shared with a minority group of others, up until the beginning of the twentieth century, their different religious belief centered on the *qalicha* institution. Though some of the Fuga families had land, landlessness has been their peculiar identity, particularly after they migrated to the guragèlands and Alaba. Moreover, their psychological make-up and belongingness to each other has served as a distinct boundary for Fuga identity as a community

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹ Bernard S. Cohn, An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p.6.

² Ibid. p.42.

³ Dewan Ram Parkash, How to Erase Untouchability (New Delhi: R.P. Bookwala and Co. 1979), p.181.

⁴ C.Hayavadana Rao, Indian Caste System: A Study. (New Delhi: Asian Education Service, 1988), p. 3.

⁵ Rama Prasad Chanda as quoted in C. Hyavadana Rao, 1988, p. 23.

⁶ Rao, p. 3.

⁷ C.R. Hallpike, "The Status of Craftsmen Among the Konso of South West Ethiopia"; presented at the Meeting of Social Research Fieldworks in Northeastern Africa, Addis Ababa, 1967, p. 1.

⁸ Ibid. p. 1.

⁹ Merid W/ Aregay, "Society Technology in Ethiopia 1500-1800," Journal of Ethiopian Studies Vol. XVII, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1984), p. 142.

¹⁰ .For the detail see also C.R. Hallpike, "The Status of Craftsmen Among the Konso of South West Ethiopia" 1967.

¹¹ "Occupational casts" may not exactly fit the Ethiopian situation where there is no social task which is permanent (Haberland 1978, p. 129) controlled on a monopoly basis by an ethnic group or by a sector of a society. There may be some localized rigid division of activities between the dominant and the despised minorities. However, such rigidity in economic activities may not necessarily be extended to others elsewhere in the country.

¹² Muhammed Hassen, The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.130.

¹³ Ibid. p. 130.

¹⁴ Enrico Cerulli, "The Folk Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia," Harvard African Studies, Vol.3. Varia Africa 3, (Cambridge, 1922), p. 200; and Tecle Haimanot G. Selassie, "The Wayto of Lake Tana: An Ethno-History" (MA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1984), p.23

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 85.

¹⁶ Tal Tamari, "Les Castes au Soudan Occidental étude Anthropologique Historique" 1988

(Microfiche), Thèse (Doctrat d'Etat)Universite de ParisX, 1987,

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 37.

¹⁸ Thomas A. Hale, Griot, and Novelist: Narrative Interpreters of the Songhay Empire (Gainesville: University of Florida Centre for African Studies, 1990), p. 39.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 41.

²⁰ Paul Stoller, The Cinematic Griot: The Ethnography of Jean Rouch (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), P. XVI.

²¹ Hale, p.41.

²² Harald Eidheim, Aspects of the Lappish Minority Situation. 3rd. Ed., (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1977), p.10.

²³ Ibid. pp. 11, 14 and 15.

²⁴ Ibid. pp. 14 and 15.

²⁵ Fredrik Barth, (editor), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference (Oslo:Universite Forlaget, 1982), p. 15.

²⁶ David M. Cohn, A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia (London: I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd. 1995), p. XI.

²⁷ Ibid. p.XI.

²⁸ Angus Fraser, The Gypsies (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), p.

²⁹ M.L. Bender, "The Languages of Ethiopia: A New Lexicon Statistics Classification and Some Problems," Anthropological Linguistics, V. 13, No. 5 (Stanford: Stanford University, 1971), p. 236.

³⁰ Oral Informants: Ayälä Genawo and Yohannes Dabelo.

³¹ Karek van Wolferen, The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, Inc.,1990), p. 74.

³² Anders Hansson, Chinese Outcasts: Discrimination and Emanicipation in Late Imperial China. Vol. XXXVII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), p.5.

³³ Mikiso Hane, Peasants, Rebels and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), p.139.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Hansson, p.14.

³⁶ Wolferen, p. 74.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 75.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 104.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 160.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 194 and Hane p. 140.

⁴¹ Hansson, p.5.

⁴² Ibid. p. 4.

⁴³ Eike Haberland, "Special Castes in Ethiopia," Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies held in Chicago. (Chicago 1978), p. 129. There is a recently obtained information from my colleague, Dr. Adhana Haile, that there is an outcast group called Waṭa in southern Tegray who speak different language from the neighbouring people. In fact, this needs to be studied whether it is a fullfleged language or an argot used only by the Waṭa.

⁴⁴ Hansson, p.14.

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⁴⁶ J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. , 1965), p. 233.

⁴⁷ Enrico Cerulli, 1922, p. 206.

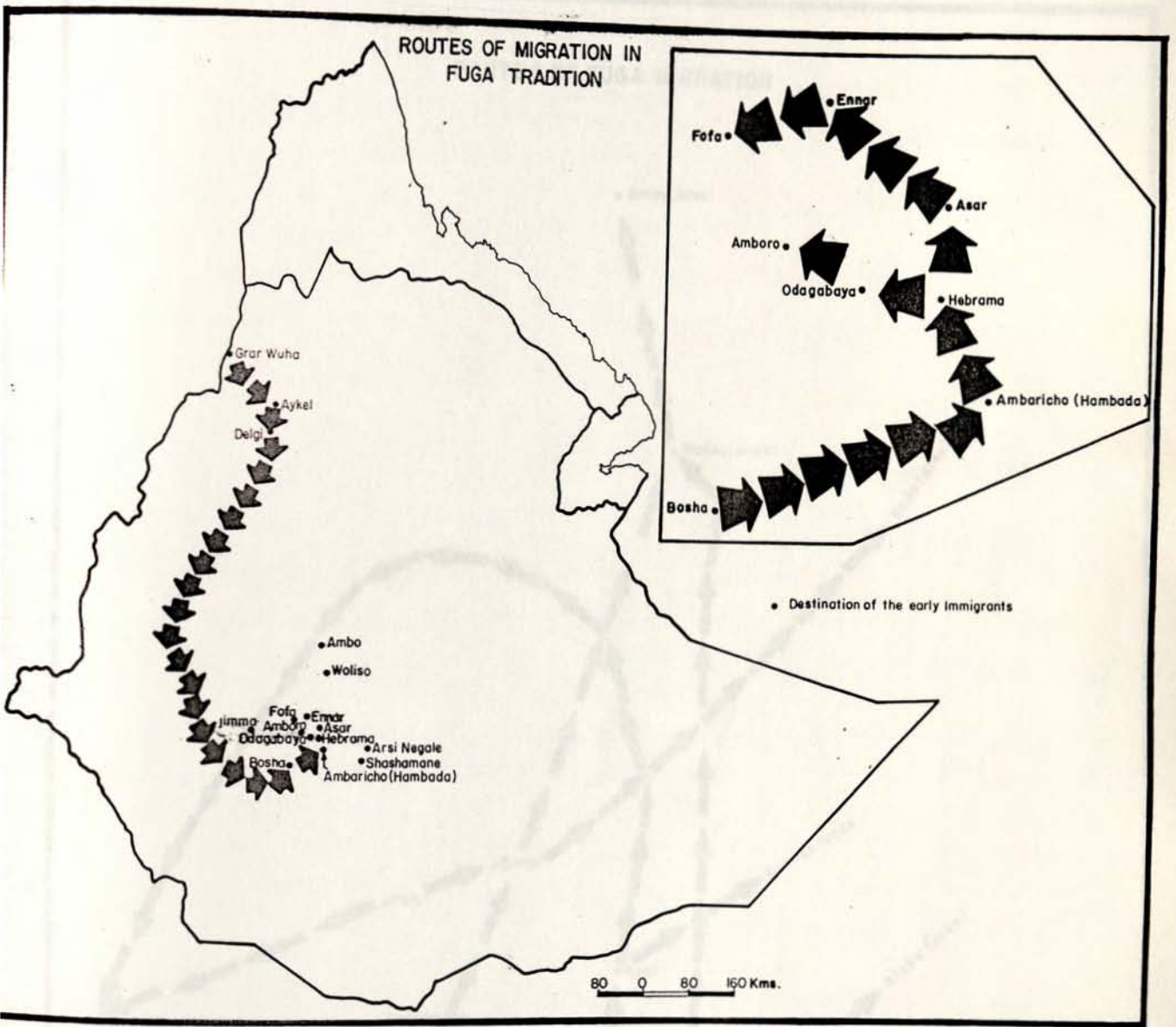
⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 206.

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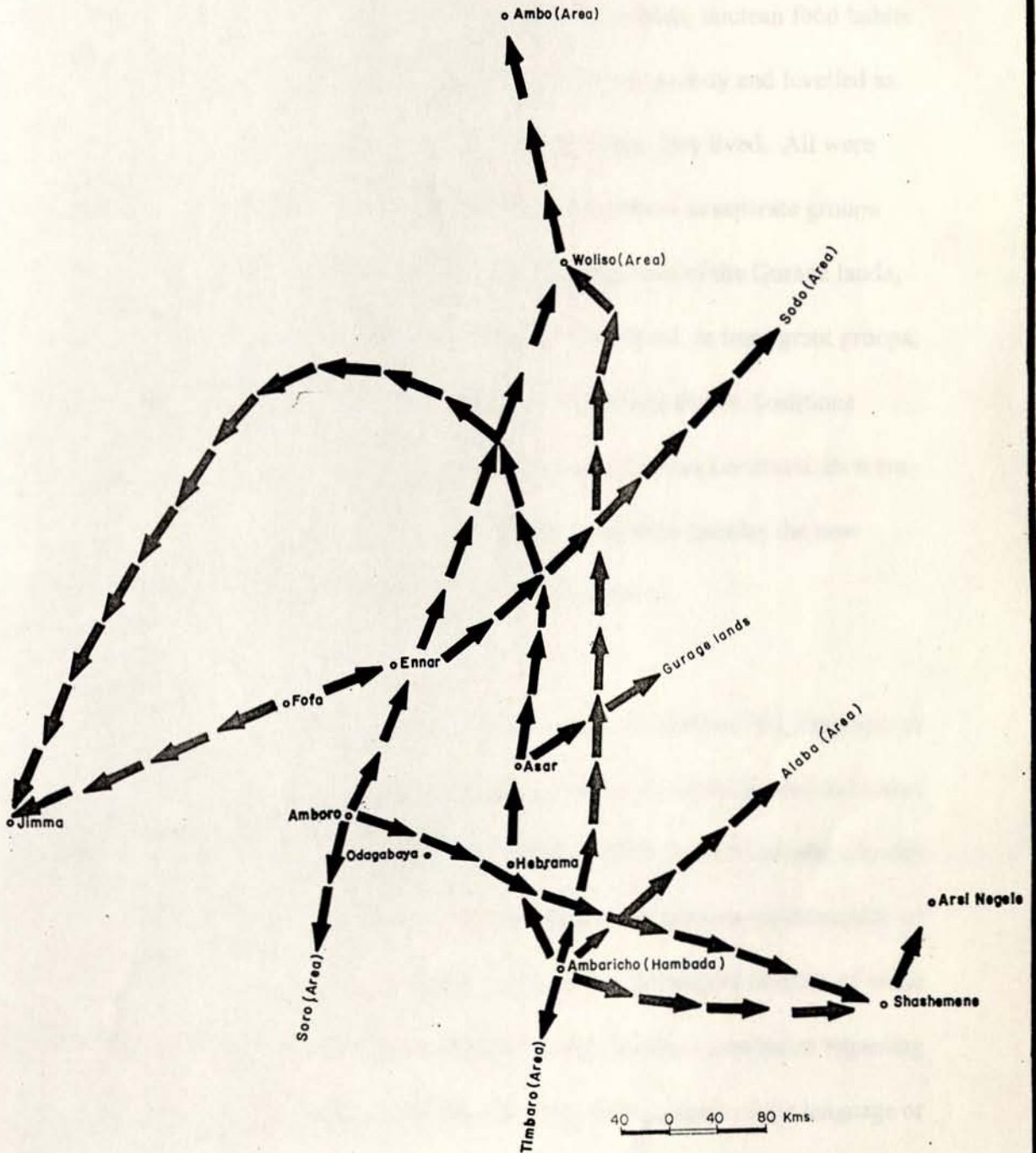
⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 206.

⁵¹ Braukamper, 1984, p.301.

ROUTES OF MIGRATION IN FUGA TRADITION



ROUTES OF FUGA MIGRATION



CHAPTER II

QUESTIONS OF FUGA ORIGINS AND IDENTITY

In south-central Ethiopia several communities whose names vary from place to place have been usually associated with manual occupations, unclean food habits and social restrictions. As such they were forced to live in poverty and levelled as landless by the respective dominant societies among whom they lived. All were indiscriminately subjected to social stigma that had kept them as separate groups from the rest. Among these groups are the Fuga communities of the Guragé lands, Hadiya, Kāmbata and Yāmma. At present they are also found, as immigrant groups, in Alaba and in some Oromo towns and villages. In all these places, traditions prevail to indicate for centuries in the past, that the various Fuga communities were known by the same name of 'Fuga' though since the last three decades the new names like *Amarican* and *sāratāññoch* have gained currency.

In the Ethiopian context religion has not generally defined the linguistic or political territory of any ethnic group or of the state itself. Ethnicity had not had either have a fixed meaning or permanent territory in Ethiopia. The context of ethnicity has varied throughout the country's history. The unbalanced but continuous interaction of people has caused the expansion of either the language or religion or both of some dominant groups at the expense of weaker ones, thus leaving a confusion regarding identities. In some cases this expansion has led to the disappearance of the language or

religion or both of the weaker groups. The Fuga have assumed different identities in their historical discourse with the neighbouring dominant groups. It is to the belief of most of the elders of the dominant groups traditional religion and its practices have played a significant role in the shaping of cultural and social boundaries between themselves and the Fuga communities.

The minority groups, subjected to this historical phenomenon, seem to have lost completely their languages with the assumption that they once they had their own distinct languages. However, even when the distinct languages they formerly had disappeared, some forms of community identities, camouflaged and obscured in legends and myths, tend to continue. This has happened even with some well-known societies like the Gafat and the Mäsmäsa. Based on current circumstantial evidence the writer is inclined to use the term communities in dealing with the Fuga occupational outcast groups who have been living among different linguistic and cultural groups in south-central Ethiopia.

Ethiopia has been identified as a museum of ethnic groups. It is assumed that in the whole country there are about eighty ethnic groups with distinct linguistic identities. When compared with the other geographical zones of Ethiopia we find most of the linguistic variations in southern Ethiopia. A good number of the varieties of the language groups have been living in south-central Ethiopia. Though they claim to have distinct characteristics, the reality is that many of those who live as neighbours

tend to share common origin, common cultural heritage, common linguistic background and common beliefs.

Ethnically the Fuga had never been associated neither with the ordinary Guragé, the Hadiya, the Kämbata, all living on the eastern side of the Gibe River and with the Yämma dominant groups who have been living to the west of this river. In all areas there are also various occupational groups other than the Fuga. The major ones among them are the Tame, the Näfurä, the Buda who “constituent des classes de sorciers inférieurs qui n’ont pas droit de posséder la terre.”¹ This is to say that the occupational groups “constitute the groups of inferior witches who do not have the right to own land”. Azais and Chambard seem to have over generalized when they reported that all the occupational outcast groups have no right to the ownership right of land. The fact is that some of the Fuga who have been living on either side of the Gibe River have had land for several centuries now while the Näfurä have had it at least for the last one hundred years or more.² Azais and Chambard might have been influenced by the common statement reported by travellers or researchers that the Fuga and others like them are landless and without any defined religious belief. At least until the end of the last century, in the eyes of the dominant groups, the Fuga were considered to be neither Christians nor Muslims. The occupational outcast groups, wherever they have been living, were seen, categorised and treated in the same way by their respective dominant groups.

The name *buda* mentioned above has a double meaning in south-central Ethiopia. On the one hand, particularly among the Ennär, it represents collectively the

despised *Faqi* or tanners whom others consider as having the evil eye. On the other it does not at all represent any special group with any common identity. *Buda* in most Guragè lands, Hadiya and Kämbata is applied to any person who could be a member of any ethnic or occupational group who possesses special evil power in his/her eyes to cause problems to others. Unlike the case in other parts of Ethiopia, in south-central Ethiopia there could be a single *buda* or evil eye in a family or clan irrespective of its social, economic or political class background.³

It seems that, concerning the occupational groups, in the Gondarine period “the state developed policies, which discouraged a high degree of social assimilation that might have been expected in the new urban environment.”⁴ Even worse than residential segregation they were subjugated, they were denied the necessary patronage that would have enabled them to produce quality products and to pay good taxes.⁵ Even nowadays, the situation does not seem to have been changed much. The Wayto who have been living at Fassilo in the centre of the Baher Dar town were recently moved to the undeveloped western outskirts of the town. Their former residential places were given to rich non-Fuga rich individuals so that these might build better houses that fit the development conceptions of the town. Similarly, at Alaba Qulito the municipality had given the Fuga community collectively a piece of land at the western extreme end of the town where they erected poorly constructed clusters of small huts. Even then their possession was not secure. When the town expanded, one of the rich merchants came and constructed his house on the land owned by the Fuga. After they lost this land together with their houses, the Fuga residents appealed to the

municipality, but no one came to their help. I have been to the place and the Fuga residents showed me the house that the merchant constructed on their land.

Occupational outcasts in the Ethiopian context cannot be grouped into a single community. They are many in number and have lived in different places under different dominant religious groups and political systems. These occupational outcasts have been denied the basic and fundamental rights, to the ownership of land, to owning and keeping domestic animals, to education, to justice and to some of the economic activities that have been traditionally reserved for the members of the dominant groups. The major occupational outcast groups who have retained their generic names for being low castes are the Beté Israel (Kayla or Fälasha), living in north-western Ethiopia, the Wayto of Lake Tana, the Watta in the Oromo lands, the Fuga of south-central Ethiopia, the Nufrä (smiths) in the Guragé lands and in Yämma, the Hauda of Konso, the Männa living among the Ari in the south-western part of the country, the Manjo of Kafa, the Kwayäjo living among the Gimira, the Zumaal, the Midgan and the Yibir of Somalia and *Faqi* (tanners) found in most parts of highland Ethiopia.⁶

Other similar occupational outcast groups engaged in similar economic activities are known by different names while living among different language groups. The trade it has chosen identifies each group. There seems to have been a time when individuals were forced to acquire new skills as a result of which they changed their

identities. It goes without say that ethnicity is created and recreated and its continuity depends “on the maintenance of a boundary.”⁷

All of the above mentioned occupational outcast groups use their labour primarily to support their respective families and to serve the various dominant groups. Besides, the *Näfurä*, the *Faqi* and the Fuga serve freely, without any expectations of compensation, the members of the land owning nobility of the Gurage, Hadiya, and Kāmbata zones, and of the special district of Yām̄ma. These dominant social groups are more fortunate in enjoying the services of the occupational outcast groups without having to reciprocate. Of the three, it seems that, currently, the largest known occupational outcast group is that of the Fuga, living amongst various dominant groups. The Fuga are not only deprived of material, political and economic advantages but also of social and psychological opportunities like respect from and equal treatment with others. In his discussion of social stratification within Kāmbata society, Braukamper writes,

The Oyeta who claimed to originate from Gondar, formed the royal clan; the gulba from Bulga (Šawa) formed a clan of nobles; the originally Omotic-speaking hinnira and taza made up an upper stratum of, free commoners, while the lower stratum of free commoners was composed of effegenna and ebbegenna, who had become linguistically dominant; finally the fuga formed an endogamous caste of artisans.⁸

Not a single Fuga informant or any of the elders of the dominant groups I interviewed is certain about the meaning of the name Fuga and when exactly it was introduced. The name Fuga is simply claimed to have been the name of their founding father who settled first at Ambaricho in Kāmbata, coming with his family as an immigrant from northwestern Ethiopia. Moreover, a few of the Fuga elders attribute its meaning to a Hadiya word *fugé*, which means to blow musical wind instruments.⁹ Even in Yamma *fugé* has a similar meaning, namely blowing musical wind instrument.¹⁰ Playing such wind musical instruments have been the speciality of the Fuga alone, particularly in Hadiya and Kāmbata.¹¹ Similarly the neighbouring Chinasha occupational groups among the Wālayta are known for their skill in singing and dancing and also for using musical instruments.¹² However, they were not called Fuga by their patrons, but Chinasha.

Still other informants suggest that it may be a derogatory name derived from the Amharic word “*funga*” (lit. flat nose) which is commonly used in south-central Ethiopia for a breed of a very short mule with a flat nose.¹³ These assumptions and other of their type seem to be etymologies derived from current words for the already existing name of Fuga. In Kāmbata and Hadiya elders have developed a myth that, in early times, there were about 136 known non-Fuga clans in Kāmbata alone. The best known among them include the Oyāta, Gulba, Juma, Wāsānosa also known as Wāsana, Gābāra, Zato, Gānza, Borojemala, Dāwaro, Damota, Omoshāgora, Womalo, Gāja, Nurtu, Agawo, Enagara, Aberama, Deldel, Santaro, Ashenimāna. Gafata, Wāshāsha, Gorāqama, Galla, Furzana, Wārāra, Gadēnāt, Mālgé, Dubo,

Bodémäna, Ybu, Ongota, Lukomäna, Laweka, Mäkuta, and Wälqa.¹⁴ Here, according to Ergecho, the Fuga community were not considered as a clan of Kämbara origin.

Though the Fuga are not mentioned here they are considered as one of the “Lamala” or seven clans competing for power. As collected from most of my informants, the following are the current Fuga clans: Aduwo, Amxon, Anguedo, Aseri or Shadigu, Awisero, Badegé, Banto, Beguto, Chekuz, Dehurid, Dorodiyo, Dusho, Gebiro, Geche, Gehtesa, Geja, Gewes, Giyando, Guangue, Harbache, Harbulo, Hoqiya, Kusharo, Maréno, Meger, Mékiyo, Moto, Nareno, Négewo, Nomoch, Oyo, Qenuwo, Tasnamo, Tenbaro, Tontosa, Wayoso, Zenguw, Zeniyo and Zingéro.¹⁵

Unlike Ergecho, *Said* Maki Ali tells that there were about 360 clans who gathered at the Ambaricho massif to elect a common leader from among themselves. According to the calculation of some elders the time of their arrival is assumed to have been some time in the eleventh century.¹⁶ In their competition for power the elders screened out the great majority and were left only with seven whom they traditionally know as the “Lamala”. The “Lamala” consisted of Fuga (the eldest), Zäyä, Efegeba, Ebäjena, Tazo, Gulba and Oyota (the youngest). The competition was agreed to be based upon the longest fasting endurance of each “Lamala” representative. The result was that the Fuga gave up on the first day of fasting to be followed by Zäyä who ate on the second day, Efejäna ate on the third day, Ebejena on the fourth, Taza on the fifth, Gulba on the sixth leaving, and Oyeta, the youngest, to be the winner who cleverly

fasted up to the seventh day.¹⁷ He is said to have secretly eaten honey provided by his sister. It does seem that the Oyeta family assumed power immediately. In fact, it seems to be that the Oyeta became leaders starting with Womma Onno and the rule of his family lasted only seven generations. This dynastic rule was started by Onno and followed by Kätäma, Waqo, Dagoyä, Delbato, Hélamo, Mosiso, Bärgano and Aneyo.

In relation to this Täsfayä Habiso has a longer list of the Kambata dynastic rule which starts with Hamälmal. He also provides dates for their reign, all in the thioipian calendar. The list starts with Hamälmal (r.1552-1612) who is believed to have been appointed by the then Ethiopian emperor, to be followed by his descendanats. His successors were: Däm'mälash or Dämé (1612-1647), Ayälä or Anno (1647-1682), Bala (1682-1715), Kätäma (1715-1750), Del'aba (1750-1755), Hadälo (1755-1763?), Guenjäbo (1763-1768), Waqo 1768-1803), Däguyä (1803-1835), Delbäto (1835-1885), and Agague (1885-1888). All of them ruled as kings over Kambata. The following four chiefs, namely, Agago (fl.1885-1888), *Qäññazmach* Moliso (1888-1912), *Fitawrari* Bärgano (1912-1939) and Aneyo (1939-1966)¹⁸ administered Kambata being within the Ethiopian Christian Empire since their submission to the Shäwan army in 1892. The last chief died on the eve of the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution.¹⁹

By this tradition the Oyäta descendants of the family justify their position and deny the right of succession to the descendants of Fuga on the basis of primogeniture because of the failure of Fuga and the others in the fasting competition. Elderly informants narrate with enthusiasm that the role of a female in

the assumption of power of Oyäta was significant. Oyeta's sister is said to have provided her brother with niger seed ground and mixed with honey which she put within his *mäqänät* or cummerbund worn around his waist, which was commonly worn as a waistband.²⁰ Others, could not get any legitimate claim to rule, for they were neither the descendants of the *winner* nor *angafoch* or the first born, like the descendants of Fuga, the first born. Members of the Oyeta clan probably created this tradition later to justify their assumption of power. Similarly, it also intends to establish the impurity and weakness of the Fuga whose descendants as a result, are condemned to low status in the society. No Fuga elder shares or approves this tradition in any way.

The initial competition for power among the "lamala" is told unanimously and with little variation by well known elders of Hadiya and Kämбата. The tradition of fasting was commonly known as *Somanno*. The people of Kambata before the Shäwan conquest practised it.²¹ Fuga, according to all elders, is also taken as the eldest and as one who had the largest family. The implication here is that when the dominant group members want to flatter the Fuga they tell them that Fuga was the eldest who deserved respect had it not been for his weakness. When they want to despise him they say that he was weak and cheap and had to collect the parts of the meat that people threw away so as to feed his large family. This story in which Fuga is belittled is totally unacceptable to the Fuga descendants. Such traditions do not even currently exist in most parts of the Guragé lands and in Yamma. The Fuga elders are selective in their statements and tell about Fugé, their founding father being the "eldest". They

also say that Fugé or his descendants got nothing by being the eldest. They take this tradition of being the eldest as a flattering word.

After the competition for leadership was over the “lamala” slaughtered a bull and shared it among them. To satisfy his large family with meat Fuga is said to have taken the head, together the intestines parts of the bowels, and the other rejected parts of the meat of the slaughtered bull. Semitic people who migrated from the north who eat the parts just mentioned. Burno Ducati, as he heard it from the Somali reports that the Cushitic Muslims and followers of local religions like the Oromo did not eat head, intestine and legs of animals.²² It is thus said that as a result of his scavenging behaviour his brothers despised Fuga as well as those descended from him.²³

Fuga, among others, had a son Yabo who later emerged to be the founding father of the three main Fuga clans which settled in Hadiya and in Western Gurage. Yabo had three sons called Angädo, Guangue, Asaro and the unnamed daughter who became the mother of the clan of the Yämma Bera Fuga.²⁴ The four children of Yabo are claimed to be the founding parents of the Fuga living in Mäsmäsa, Ennär, Gañäkäsär and of those in Yämma whose common clan name is not known to the informants. Though Fuga was said to have had a large family no elder was able to tell me the names of his children other than that of Yabo.

The first written reference to the Fuga appears in the works of Isenberg and Krapf who were in Ethiopia in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. They

commented that, "In Gurague [there] is a heathenish people called Fuga. They are a wandering people and eat all that the Guragueans abhor."²⁵ In the last quarter of the same century, in 1879-1880, Gustavo Bianchi visited them in the same Guragé area and commented on them with high admiration and wrote about their folklore at length.²⁶ Perhaps it was a slip of the pen but he reported that the Fuga were Christians like the Guragé with whom they lived. I could not find any tradition or written evidence to tell that the Fuga were Christians before the conquest of the Shāwan army.

The Fuga have nominally obtained the flattering "respect" as *angafoch* or elders in the same way that the Watta have among the Oromo. Wata, the ancestor of the Watta is identified as one of the Sālgän Borāna, the four sons of Tulama. He is said to have lived as a hunter on the riverbanks in Borāna and was not used to eating cereals.²⁷ Regarding the respect that the Fuga as *angafoch* or elders enjoy, the Fuga themselves have a joke which reads, "they respect us only when we cross wooden bridges or rivers together and send us over first flattering us as "elders" in order to make sure their own safe crossing."²⁸ Grottanelli mentions the Fuga as people living among the Guragé and the Giangero (Yamma).²⁹ Their presence beyond the Guragé Zone is mentioned here for the first time. The same Fuga are mentioned as a tribe who have been living among the Guragé.³⁰ Dästa was probably influenced by Isenberg's report to write that the Fuga were limited only to the Gurage lands.³¹ Travellers and Ethiopian writers do not seem to have realised the existence of Fuga communities in both Hadiya and Kāmbata as well. Their existence among the Hadiya and Kāmbata is

not indicated in any written source until modern anthropologists came to know about them. Had they developed interest in the Fuga it could have been possible for them to get information about those Fuga who have been living in Hadiya and Kämbata. Subsequent references have dealt with the socio-economic role which the Fuga played among the Guragé.

The word “*fuga*” in Amharic is also defined as an untamed ox, probably to express the Fuga’s aggressive, non-conformist and unruly behaviour, whereas *fugo* is defined as a primogenitor or the first born son or elder.³² This story of the “first born” may have originated in order to flatter the Fuga so that they may feel important. This is a reflection of their bravery and their excellence in hunting and war, mainly because of their daring behaviour and unparalleled accuracy in shooting with poisoned arrows. Indeed, this shows their non-conformist character or subtle behaviour in challenging clan antagonists who suppressed them in their social, political, economic and cultural lives.

Esteves Pereira has made comparison among the various occupational outcast groups in Ethiopia including the Fuga. “Os Veto, (Wayto in Amharic), sao um nomade, que vive dividido em familias espalhadas pela Abyssinia, onde sno chamados (Wato in Amharic) (melhor Weto in Amharic: ou Wäyto in Amharic:), entre os Gurage, que os denominãm Ruga [Fuga], Fuga in Amharic:, e nos paises accupodo pelos Galla.”³³ The translation of this text reads, “The Wayto are nomads who live divided in families, scattered throughout Abyssinia, where they are called (Wato in

Amharic) better Weto in Amharic or Wayto in Amharic), among the Guragé, who call them Rupa [Fuga], Fuga in Amharic; and in the countries occupied by the Galla [ie. the Oromo].³⁴ Moreover, he assumes that the Fuga might have been probably one branch or tribe of the Wayto.³⁵ Indeed, during my fieldwork among the Wayto I have been able to identify that a Fuga clan exists as one of the four clans of the Wayto society of Lake Tana.³⁶ Like the Fuga who claim to have come from the north the Chinasha of Wälayta have retained a similar tradition. The kings of Wälayta belonged “to the Tegré clan which is said to have migrated from northern Ethiopia, bringing, among others, the Chinasha with them.”³⁷ This does not, however, tell much about from which part of northern Ethiopia the Chinasha migrated and what type of occupation and social status they had earlier before coming to Wälayta.

The Fuga have been rendering complex social services to the Guragé, the Hadiya, the Kambata, and the Yämma dominant groups. To provide satisfactory services to the landed groups and to get a local market for their crafts among settled peasant societies, they have been made or forced to live in such a scattered manner to the extent that they lacked a distinct territorial or geographical boundary of their own. They were limited to the small and mostly unproductive plots of land given to them by the landlords.

I have tried to mine and dig out the entire Fuga habitat for appropriate information with which to reconstruct their history. Having lived among the traditional patron societies of Kambata, Hadiya, Guragé, and Yämma the Fuga have

retained a different social status, but a very low one. In all the three zones and in Yämma when social ranking is set among all the occupational groups the smiths occupy the highest and the tanners the lowest, while the Fuga stand in the middle.³⁸

Among others, in Kämbata and Yämma alone, the Fuga men have been practising tanning in addition to their hunting and woodwork activities and their women engage themselves in activities linked with pottery production. A monograph written in 1940 by an Italian governor of the administrative zone the Italians designated as that of Galla and Sidama has it that the Fuga of Bako in south-western Ethiopia were tanners, in his words “concia pelli.”³⁹ In order to check whether there were any Fuga occupational outcast groups living among the Male of south-western Ethiopia and to verify the report of the governor, I went to Jinka in May 1998. However, I only found the Männa occupational group who are still identified as Fuga by the Amhara and by other settlers, while the indigenous people, the Ari, call them Männa. For the nineteenth century conquering Amhara of Shäwa, it seems that any occupational group, which engaged itself in pottery, basketry, woodwork and hunting, was simply called Fuga, irrespective of its ethnic origin or background. Here, the name Fuga was taken as a generic term to distinguish artisans and craftsmen from the rest. This attitude seems to have developed because it was the Fuga who were living among the Guragé, the Hadiya, the Kämbata and the Yämma whom the Shäwan conquerors first met during their campaign towards the southern regions. In their advance further south, it seems that the Shäwan conquerors called all craftsmen by the name of Fuga.

In Ethiopia occupational groups are found both among the agricultural and nomadic societies. Despite the diversity of their trade all are despised and segregated, and barred from social interactions with their patrons. Marginalized societies exist likewise in both the highly modern societies of the world (mainly in Europe and in the Far East) and in the less developed areas of Africa and Southern Asia.⁴⁰ It seems that the marginalized occupational groups in Ethiopia live at the lowest level of economic development compared to their counterparts elsewhere. Throughout their history, there has never been any institution to protect traditionally recognized rights and duties appertaining to all occupational groups.

In south-central Ethiopia, for example, we find the hard working smiths, tanners, potters and woodworkers leading a life of destitution. Italian writers/travellers seem to have realised this when they say, "*Si tratta soprattutto della lavorazione dei metalli, della tessitura del cotone, della concia delle pelli, dello allestimento delle stoviglie.*"⁴¹ When translated to English it reads, "One means above all the working of metals, the weaving of cotton, the tanning of hide, the making of pottery." The Italians were able to make a distinction among the various occupations, up-grading that of the smiths wrote "Per la lavorazione dei metalli occorre fare una grande distinazione, a seconda che trattasi di metalli nobili o del ferro."⁴² Its English translation being, "In the working of metals it is necessary to make a great distinction depending on whether one is talking of noble metals or of iron." Almost all elder informants and the smiths themselves in the Gurage Zone have invariably witnessed that the *Näfurä*, iron

workers, or smiths have had better economic and social status than their counterpart the potters, tanners and woodworkers in the same area. They had already established marriage relations with the ordinary members of the dominant Gurage and Hadiya.⁴³ From my personal observation, at least at present, they also seem to be economically better off. They have high self-esteem. They boast that there are no Fuga thieves and beggars and no Fuga prostitutes. Isenberg and Krapf made a similar report about the Watta, who claim that they alone were pure Oromo and that they did not marry with others. The Watta felt that they were not hurt by the Oromo or by the Christians for the Oromo and the Christians were afraid of the Wattas' curse.⁴⁴

In the Guragé, Hadiya, Kāmbata and Yāmma societies the occupational group who specialise in hunting, pottery, woodwork and tannery have been living among the dominant groups, particularly among the Kāmbata the Hadiya. They were commonly known as Fuga by both their patrons and by nineteenth and twentieth centuries travellers and researchers. The Fuga in Guragé, Hadiya and Kāmbata are the only single occupational group who are associated with various economic activities like hunting, pottery production, woodwork and tanning. Huntingford writes that in Yāmma "the leather-workers, hunters, and potters belonged to a class of Fuga."⁴⁵ Richard Pankhurst has also confirmed this idea.⁴⁶ According to Herbert Lewis an extension of the Fuga have been living in Jimma after they were brought by Abba Jiffar.⁴⁷ Since the clan to which Abba Jiffar himself belong is reported, by elders, to have been from Amboro in Hadiya, where the ancient Fuga lived, the Fuga in Jimma might have been taken by the clan members when they left for Jimma. Or, Abba Jiffar

might have taken some Fuga from Yämma when he conquered it. In Kämbata too, besides pottery production and woodwork, the Fuga have practiced tanning.⁴⁸ The burying of the dead is also assumed to have been the responsibility of the Fuga both in Yämma and Kämbata.⁴⁹ The burying of the dead bodies of lepers, in particular, has been the exclusive responsibility of the male Fuga. In return for their services they were given all the property of the deceased. In Kämbata individuals affected with serious contagious diseases, no matter what their social, economic and political background were, were classified as “unclean”. This has been the reason why their bodies were disposed of, as polluting objects, by the Fuga males who themselves were inferior in status in the eyes of the dominant groups.⁵⁰

The way the Fuga were made to execute criminals and to dispose of the dead bodies of lepers in the Gurage lands and in Kambata respectively, corresponds to the custom in Japan where “those who disposed of dead people and animals were regarded as doing unclean work.”⁵¹ The disposal of corpse and carcass also affects the status of other people who formerly dealt with animal products such as the tanners and leather workers.⁵² Such social attitudes in the Ethiopian context might have affected the Fuga, who initially were established in Kämbata where they have been practising tanning and the making of bowstrings. They have been persistently stigmatised and regarded as “unclean” before and after their migration to where they live now.

In most traditional societies it was a common practice that an individual threw some fetish objects at the threshold or compound of another person to cast a spell on him when the latter was considered to be an enemy, so as to cause him physical or psychological harm. Such action was feared by most if not by all traditional people. Individuals would not dare to touch or to step over the material thrown on the ground. In south-central Ethiopia the dominant societies believed that it was dangerous to touch the objects thrown down to cause a person serious problems. There was a belief that members of the Fuga communities were immune and were not affected by such practices for the simple reason that they had preventive medicine. As a result of this belief, when some non-Fuga faced such problems they asked any Fuga to get rid of the things thrown. Therefore, in addition to labour exploitation and clearing of dead bodies, for such services as just mentioned above the land-owning members of the dominant societies invited and allowed Fuga families to settle on their lands.⁵³

Segregation of the Fuga could generally be expected to prevail extensively in rural areas where the traditional outlook of the dominant rural population has developed. In the same rural areas, the occupational outcast groups of different trades never intermarry with each other, let alone with the dominant groups. Besides this, there is the humiliation and economic deprivation of the Fuga families who happen to reside on the law of others and have lived under a master-servant relationship. Whenever any Fuga causes any problem to members of the dominant group they have no rights even to be accused as full-fledged adult members of the society. Rather it becomes the responsibility of the patron to act on behalf of his Fuga client. If any

landlord failed to do so he could no longer get the free services of any Fuga, because no one would be willing to come under his patronage. Equally important, he would immediately lose self-esteem, respect and social status among his group as an unreliable guardian of his subordinates.

Tradition has it that the Fuga are segregated and condemned to poverty as people who are designated to subhuman status. A different origin has not been attributed to them, but they were accorded inferior status because of their food culture and poverty as landless people. Among the Fuga communities that I interviewed the one with a strong self-esteem in identifying itself as Fuga and which has owned land throughout its history, is the Bera Fuga of Yämma. Its members do not at all intermarry with outsiders. As a minority, strict refraining from female circumcision has been one of the means of maintaining its distinctness. Marriage with a circumcised female is not allowed among the Bera Fuga. Male or female marriage with an outsider has been strictly forbidden. If by chance such a marriage took place the individual when discovered would suffer from social ostracism. No one among the members of the community would dare to enter into a second marriage relationship, even if divorced, with the individual even if the offender was divorced.⁵⁴

Non-Fuga *Faqi* or tanners, which are of Wälayta origin, called Awada according to Braukämpeer are currently living in Kämbata. Another non-Fuga occupational group is the *Näfurä* or smith, called so by the Guragé, and *Yirfo* by the Yämma.⁵⁵ The *Näfurä* (or *Yirfo*) are associated only with one

occupation, namely iron working. The commonly known Fuga occupational groups, though treated separately by scholars, after the outbreak of the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974, have developed a desire to have new names like the Amharic *säratäññoch* or workers associated with their occupations. Although the Fuga have lived under and have been identified with the name of Fuga for centuries, even when they knew that it was a derogatory one, they are now interested in acquiring a new name.

For members of the dominant group in particular the name Fuga means an identification for the hunters, woodworkers, potters and tanners (the last being only in Kambata and Yämma) which bore a pejorative and derogatory meaning. It is because of this reason that the Fuga want to assume a new and non-pejorative name. Though it was not my intention to worry about the new names suggested by the Fuga themselves, it has been difficult to choose one from among the names that could probably fit to solve their anxiety based on their interest. Nevertheless, I have decided to use the historical and traditional name of Fuga. The name Fuga has been used for centuries by the dominant groups and by the Fuga themselves. For my purpose I could not find any one appropriate name, among the suggested ones, that could be a better representative and acceptable one for the concerned people other than the historically known name of Fuga. Therefore, Fuga would remain to be their name in this work. Some Fuga elders in Hadiya relate their origin to the Biblical creation of man and say that their people are "Adami", descendants of Adam. This is intended to mean and to say that they are equal with others.⁵⁶ The Fuga community, which has settled in eastern Woliso for the last forty years and those communities which have been living

in the Guragé zone for several centuries have adopted a different name, that of "Amarican" since the 1950s.⁵⁷ This name of flattery, "American", was initially given them by a certain Oromo landlord who provided them with land to settle. The person did not seem to have intended to despise the community, rather it was with the spirit of appreciating their skill in craftsmanship that they had developed. Informants say that he was comparing them with the technologically developed Americans.⁵⁸

Conscious of their history the educated male Fuga nowadays prefer to be called "Gafat" rather than Fuga, and at the same time they claim to be descendants of the ancient Semitic people, the Gafat of Ethiopia. There are also some elders who say that the Fuga are descendants of the Kayla (Falasha or the Bete Israel) of Ethiopia who came from Israel.⁵⁹ Still other Fuga elders would like to be called *shäkela_säratäñoch* or potters after the dominant occupation of pottery production by the Fuga women.

I have repeatedly heard it from elderly Fuga informants of Hadiya and Kambata that they have suffered on many occasions at the hands of the landlords. Some told their experiences sobbing and in tears. Few Fuga peasants had obtained the status of a *gabar* or tenant though they continued to suffer under the socio-economic oppression of the privileged *näftäña* and *balabat*. Like the non-Fuga tenants, they provided regular free (corvée) labour service two days a week on the *hudad* (government) land allotted to officials, besides the additional occasional mobilisation for other activities.

None of the Fuga adults were able to appeal for fair treatment and justice to higher officials for any affront they suffered or experienced even at the hands of the ordinary peasants. There has never been any legal ground that obliged the Fuga to serve the dominant groups. The servant-master relationship was usually established on mutual understanding and consent made between the individual landlord of the dominant group and the landless Fuga who had no alternative way of livelihood. The Fuga families had some degree of power and freedom to exercise. They had their own families, owned tools and domestic animals and received land for settlement and agricultural use. Some have receipts in their names for the land taxes they paid yearly. The Fuga have developed a very strong mechanism of avoiding unfair treatments by their patrons. To assert their rights they first looked for opportunities and discussed the issue with other landlords and arranged with them for their secret escape. They secretly took whatever useful property they had to the new settlement places and abandoned their former houses so that they could avoid any unnecessary confrontation with the former landlords. The former landlords, however, could not thereafter force the Fuga families to return to their lands against their will.

Realising the insecure political position of the Fuga, ordinary peasants also exploited them. To draw a parallel, just as the Japanese “rulers allowed the *samurai* [‘military elites’] to abuse the commoners, they permitted the commoners to abuse the burakumin.”⁶⁰ Likewise, in south-central Ethiopia, just as the landlords and the local authorities themselves mistreated the ordinary peasants, they allowed the peasants to mistreat members of the Fuga occupational groups. This is, however, only to indicate

that the Fuga also suffered from additional burdens imposed on them by the ordinary peasants who acted as the small bosses over the unprotected occupational groups.

Were the Fuga physically and racially or linguistically different from their neighbours to suffer from such problems? Observations by Italian travellers indicate that the Fuga had similar skin colour to their neighbours, the Oromo and the Sidama. Ugo Nanni writes "I Sidama sono di color bronzo"⁶¹ which means "the Sidama are of bronze colour." If the Sidama had bronze skin colour what about the other Cushitic Ethiopians? In the second quarter of the nineteenth century (1879-1880) Bianchi has a narration about the colouring of the Oromo and the Fuga. He writes "*I Fuga-Galla, come i Soddo-Galla, sono più neri de Kabena e dei Guraghè, che sono del color del bronzo scuro degli Abissini.*"⁶² Its literal translation is "The Fuga-Galla, like the Soddo-Galla are more black than the Kabena and the Guragés, who are of bronze colour, darker than the Abissinians." From my personal observations I could not make any distinction in colour or physical feature between the Fuga and the ordinary Cushitic people of Kāmbata, Hadiya, Yamma and the Semitic Māsmāsa⁶³ and Guragé. However, during my fieldwork in western Guragé a few exceptions were observed. Some of the Fuga living at Bole in Chaha seem to share some characteristics in their physical features with the Nilo-Saharan groups. Both seem to be jet-black in colour, flat nosed and with curl hair. Akalu collected similar information when elders told him that some of the Fuga in the Ezha area were related to the "Shanqella" (of Nilo-Saharan language group) of Illubabor.⁶⁴ If this is taken as valid information, it is possible to assume that the former Fuga who claim to have come from north-western

Ethiopia were probably joined later by other late-comers who might have been obtained as slaves from among the Nilo-Saharan groups. This is possible, because some of the Nilo-Saharan language groups with dark skins were traditionally victims of slave raids until the beginning of this century. When they were freed from slavery they might only have been able to identify with and join the low status communities.

Fuga informants say that the indigenous hunters who might have been remnants of the primitive hunters were assimilated by the Fuga who themselves at that time were hunters. Therefore, it appears to the researcher that among the Fuga were found members of those remnants of ancient hunting communities who through time claim to be part of the Fuga. In course of time both the Fuga immigrants from the north and the remnants of the indigenous hunters were collectively known as Fuga, which came to acquire a derogative meaning. Different minorities who might have come later with different professions were probably assimilated by the Fuga because of their close socio-cultural relations thereby developed common identification. It was probably because of such social phenomenon that Enrico Cerulli classified the Fuga in general as one of the ancient hunters who "mark the hunters of the central group."⁶⁵

In spite of their spatial distribution the Fuga have remained relatively small in number when compared with the dominant groups. There seem to have been several factors that negatively affected the growth of the Fuga population. Besides their fertility and mortality patterns there were other man-made complex processes which

affected the size of the Fuga population. The male Fuga exposure to a hostile environment while hunting dangerous animals could have negatively affected the members of the male population. In the localised wars that continued up to the nineteenth century the Fuga who were known as accurate shooters with poisoned arrows were encouraged to take risks as vanguard fighters, where the chances of their being killed were very high. Some of the female Fuga remained widowed once their husbands died because of the marriage prohibition with others from outside their groups.⁶⁶ The only chance they had was to become co-wives of some married male Fuga.

In most instances the landless Fuga families had were partially dependent for livelihood on their exploitation of clay soil, forests and wild game. This phenomenon became important particularly after the Fuga were identified as artisans. To ease the population pressure on the limited resources, to avoid starvation and to escape from the oppression and exploitation of landlords the Fuga voluntarily opted for migration to neighbouring areas, if they considered them better. Moreover, the unceasing or incessant wars and conquests of the neighbouring ethnic groups had a significant impact on the occupational groups in general and the Fuga in particular. For the victors would take them into captivity in order to enjoy their diversified but free services. In the constantly changing fortunes of their patrons Fuga migrants played an intermittent role in the dispersal or redistribution of their population over a vast area.

Why was the Fuga migration, until the turn of our century, limited to the Hadiya, Gurage and Kambata zones and to the Yämma *leyu-Wäräda* or special sub-district? The causes for the Fuga migration could have been many. However, it is necessary to suggest a few. Traditionally the Fuga have been dependent for their sustenance predominantly on hunting, woodwork, house construction and pottery production. These economic activities required forested lands and clay soil to enable them to continue their economic activities. The environmental degradation that depleted the forest deprived the hunters of the game they used to kill and the wood they cut to construct houses and make household furnitures. Even when they had the scarce resources, once their number grew in a limited area they needed a market for their products. Had they been concentrated in one area their products would get no demand. They also lacked the experience of taking their products to far away market places, for the Fuga did not engage in trade and commerce.

Recently, the 1975 "land to the tiller" proclamation caused the fragmentation of land to the extent that the new land owning peasants were not able to get excess land to leave uncultivated for other purposes. The plots of land the peasants owned were always ploughed and sown to earn their livelihood. If by chance there happened to be clay soil in the land of a peasant it became difficult for the Fuga who wanted to extract the clay soil to make ceramic objects. This is possible because the peasant had to use his land continuously to secure his yearly food supply. When land was shared among the peasantry, in most instances, no special consideration was given for the Fuga's needs of clay.

Before the Ethiopian Revolution the *balabats* or landlords usually owned large tracts of land which were used for farming and the rest left for forest and grazing. Those landlords who had clay soil in their domain invited and attracted some Fuga families to settle on their land and use the clay soil in return for the necessary free labour services of the Fuga. When a Fuga lived on the land a landlord owned he got free access to both the clay and the reserved woods. The fact that clay soil was available only in specific places, as it was generally scarce in south-central Ethiopia, meant that the great majority of the Fuga families did not have enough raw materials. The absence of clay soil or wood near their settlements forced them to migrate to another neighbourhood or completely abandon ceramic production and resort to other economic activities.⁶⁷

Since the 1975 land proclamation it is only in a very few farmers' associations in Hadiya and Kāmbata that the land and other needs of the Fuga communities have been considered. Where their needs were in fact considered they were purposely segregated to settle in certain villages where there was clay soil for pottery production. This was justified on the ground of the smoke, which was produced when the Fuga potters fired their pottery. In most instances they were given the lands in the places which they had initially chosen to settle in to serve the *balabats* or landlords.⁶⁸

Similarly, since the outbreak of the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974 some of the Fuga have moved into new economic activities, mainly farming. To abandon their

former derogatory name they have also assimilated the new revolutionary and popular name of "säratännöch". Initially *Säratännöch* was an Amharic word used for artisans or workers. The word has since then come to encompass all artisans and factory workers, irrespective of their specific economic activities. The *Därg* cadres frequently used this word in the sense of the proletariat, with which the Fuga and occupational outcasts found themselves more comfortable. At present the Fuga themselves and the other craftsmen have found it a suitable name in order to redress the traditionally established pejorative names of *faqi*, *näfurä* and Fuga. However, in most parts of the Guragé zone the Fuga usually identify themselves with a different name, *Gamäs*, tracing their origin back to the early settlers at the Ambaricho massif.

The dominant non-Fuga Gurage, Hadiya, Kämbata and others have known the potters, woodworkers and hunters as Fuga for generations in the past and the Fuga so named accepted it as their name, though nowadays some of them shy away from using it. Alongside the female-dominated occupation of pottery production, the male Fuga predominantly engage themselves both in hunting and woodwork and partially in tanning. It seems that the Fuga did not have either particular territory or language or a defined administrative unit or any other boundary that demarcated them spatially from the rest.

Despite the occupational differences the various artisan practitioners are considered as outcasts. Enrico Cerulli identifies all artisans as a group and writes

“Come in tutta l’Etiopia I mestieri di fabbro, conciapelle, e vasaio sono ritenuti dai

*Giangerò ignobili ed ereditariamente esercitati solo da gente di bassa casta.*⁶⁹ The English translation is, “As in all over Ethiopia, the crafts of iron working, tanning and pottery are believed by the Janjaro [Yämma] ignoble and is hereditarily practised only by the low caste people”. He has also differentiated the Fuga from the rest but with only one aspect of their activity. He seems to have ignored their dominant economic activities of hunting and woodwork. In his case “*I conciapelle ed I vassi sono della stripe Fugà e cioè di quella stessa che troviamo come gente di bassa casta presso I Guraghe.*”⁷⁰ Its English translation is, “The tanners and the potters are of the Fuga tribe and they are the same as those outcast group found amongst the Guragé.” Moreover, Cerulli also tells where they live and says “*I Fugà (viventi tra I Guraghè ed I Giangero) ed i Mana o Manno (viventi nel Caffa e tra I Sidama dell’Omo).*”⁷¹ The translation reads, “The Fuga live among the Guragé and the Janjero (Yämma) and the Mana or Manno live in the Kafa and among the Sidama of the Omo.” In this case he is making comparison between the Fuga and the Mana as similar outcasts. Unlike the travellers who preceded him, Enrico Cerulli realised that the Fuga at least lived in two different places, namely Guragé and Yämma.

Fuga associations with home places and territorial attachment have been only with specific villages in the various zones of Gurage, Hadiya and Kambata. When a Fuga from Guragé, Hadiya or Kambata who lives far away from his birth place is asked where he or she comes from the response will be a small village where he was born. He or she does not identify himself or herself with the large zones or regions.

On the other hand, when a member of the dominant group is asked the same question his answer would be one of the zones or regions.

The only traditional institution which the non-Protestant and non-Catholic Fuga revered, feared and obeyed has been the *qalicha* institution which was a centre of their worship. Its importance was dependent on the head *qalicha* who was residing near the Ambaricho massif in Kāmbata until the 1970s. Traditionally, and before the introduction of Protestantism and Catholicism to the Fuga community, this institution has been a unifying factor, which brought all the Fuga under a single religious and traditional administration. Under the leadership of the Fuga *qalicha* based at Ambaricho there were other subordinate or minor Fuga *qalichas* who resided in various villages mainly representing the various Fuga clans. The service of the *qalicha* institution was not limited to the Fuga community.

Fuga elders consistently tell that the directions of the wave of their ancestral migration towards south-central Ethiopia have been different or more than one. Some have a strong opinion that the first immigrants came by crossing the territory of Shāwa and via Selti of the Guragé zone to the Ambaricho massif. Still other elders in Guragé tell that their ancestors came via Alaba to the Gurage area. But those Fuga elders in Kāmbata and Hadiya tell, as they were told by their fathers, that the first Fuga wave of immigrants impinging on Kambata, Hadiya and Western Gurage came from the north to Ambaricho via Bossa or Kafa by crossing the Gibe River. There are similar

traditions that have been preserved by different peoples in southern Ethiopia.

According to Cecchi,

*"I Boscià, I Garo ed I Wallamo si dicono Tigré, quelli di Kullo e di Cobo si dicono Amhara, quelli di Kambat si dicono Israel; intorno a questi ultimi, come sui Giangierò e Guraghè, la nostra spedizione partodire qualche cosa. Quelli di Kaffa si dicono derivanti dalla provincia del Damot (Goggiam) e Arghepò (Argoba della carta), altri ancora si dicono Sciohò, che sono quelli che, secondo la traduzione letterale della parola, sarebberó I primi abitanti che, di Kaffa, cioè scaturiti dal suolo."*⁷² The English translation reads, "The Boshà, the Garo and the Wolamo call themselves Tigré, those from Cobo identify themselves with the Amhara, those of Kāmbata identify themselves with the Israel; around the latter, just like the Janjero and Guragé, our expedition ought to deliver something. Those of Kafa claim to be from the province of Damot (Gojjam) and Arghepo (Argoba on the map), there are still others who claim themselves to be Shioho, these are according to the literal translation of the word the would be first inhabitants of Kafa, that is to say scattered from their habitat."

The first arrivals in south-central Ethiopia are assumed to have settled at Hambada in the foothills of the Ambaricho massif before they then dispersed to neighbouring Kambata, Hadiya, Māsmāsa and Western Gurage. In all cases Hambaricho is commonly understood as their first settlement area and later as a point of departure to the three zones of Gurage, Hadiya including Māsmāsa, and Kāmbata.

According to Staffan Grenstedt Hambaricho is a combination of two terms amba (fortress) and aricho (sun) in the Kāmbata language.⁷³ In both the Hadiya and Kāmbata languages, the term *amba*, unlike its Amharic meaning, does not mean fortress but it is used to indicate a village.⁷⁴

Gäbrä Yesus has gathered a tradition in which two Fuga males, "Webajeye and Kanchiye, accompanied the two sons of Sidi in the twelfth century from Hadiya to the land of Chäha and were mixed with the people."⁷⁵ Here, one can at least consider the tradition for the direction of the early Fuga migration, though there is uncertainty about the date. The writer also describes Webajeye as a strong warrior in battles. The Fuga and other elders at Amboro tell that their ancestors came some time about seven hundred and eighty years ago to the Amboro settlement. The ancient male Fugas in particular are remembered for their hunting and fighting abilities. The elders strongly stress that on their early arrival at Amboro, the Fuga were neither potters nor woodworkers, but ordinary followers of the dominant immigrant groups. The Mäsmäsa and Fuga oral traditions have it that the Fuga offered very important services to the Mäsmäsa, Ennär and Endägañ when all came together to their respective areas. The Fuga were responsible to carry the tabernacles of the various churches. On their arrival in south-central Ethiopia, as known hunters, they assisted as fighters and at the same time they were also able to identify the suitable settlement places.

In the Guragé tradition it says that one Fuga and his friend first came as alien immigrants who were not initially allowed to freely mix with the host

society, the Jära. The host people, the Jära Guragé, told both of them to stay away in the forest and live as hunters in order to get their food. One day the two men returned to the Jära Guragé and asked for female assistants to be their wives. It happened that the friend of the Fuga was given a poor girl from among the Jära or ordinary Guragé, whereas the Fuga was provided with a slave girl. The children of the Fuga born of the slave girl were not allowed to mix freely with the ordinary people for the obvious reason that between the two newcomers the Fuga could not establish his status in the society. Being the husband of a slave with a low status his children were despised as outcasts. According to some of the Guragé elders this is how the clan deserved low status in the whole Guragélands.⁷⁶

An invading army or a colonising people, however, come with a host of camp followers and inferior servants, individuals or groups probably of various origins. As one of the *Lamala* (seven clans) the Oyeta (as they called themselves later) settled at the Ambaricho. Gradually, the political influence of the Oyeta, extended into both the present Kāmbata and Hadiya regions, by mixed marriage alliance and probably also by migration of related peoples, which finally increased the size of Oyeta. Similarly, when the Guragé, as their elder claim to have come from northern Ethiopia,⁷⁷ under their *azmaches* settled in their present area, they were probably followed by minority outcasts, who were not accepted as equal members and remained as a group below the others. However, no tradition confirms such probability.

The Fuga elders of Amboro say that their ancestors learned the skill of pottery production and tannery from the indigenous people, the Awado tanners and the Da'ewa potters, much later after their settlement at Amboro.⁷⁸ In which case it is possible that the indigenous Awado and Da'ewa were settled agriculturalists. The Fuga, when referring to the overall Fuga population living at Amboro and the surrounding region, say that they are Eger-Tä'angod. The term Eger-Tä'angod here refers to the Fuga community which initially came from *kälayena-kä'tach* (lit. from above and below) i.e., from the direction of sunrise and sunset, in other words from the Gurage and the Kafa regions respectively.⁷⁹ Yohannes Dablo further explains that those who came from the east came originally from Gondär, Gojjam and Damot, but entered into their settlement places by way of Shäwa. This group included most of the eastern and central Guragè people. While those who came from the west started from the same north-western Ethiopia and came by way of Bosha in Kafa, Alaba and Kämbata. According to this classification the Fuga solely came with the second group. This group constituted the Fuga communities who had settled in Kämbata, Mäsmäsa, western Gugagé and Yämma.

The sons of Angod were Qänäwo, Négo and Zéngäro; while the sons of Eger were Dusho, Banto and Giando. Besides, this the Fuga who have settled at Ennäär are called Guangua and those at Asar, Asäro.⁸⁰ The Guang or Guangua, as Yohannes calls them, who have been living among the Gurage, might probably have been a branch of the Gongga who occupied western Sidama, as Cerulli describes them.⁸¹ "The Gongga, one of the Minjo family groups, are considered to be the nucleus of the 'true' Kafa."⁸²

In spite of her uncertainty about the sons of Guangua, Emahoy Mulatwa speaks about the sons of the common Semitic ancestor called Shadegär whom the Fuga or Guangua accompanied. Those sons of Shadegär were later considered to be the founding fathers of some of the various clans of Guragé. The clans are Gozé, Atärafa, Wänjala, Fasilo, Gamé, Gärmé, Ambäsa, Masheto, Gämäbesh, Agezé and Dasara. Emahoy Mulatwa adds that the people of Ennär, Asar and Mäsmäsa who are the descendants of a man called Bäläw are assumed to have come from Tegray and Gondar with their kinsmen, the people of Yämma. As she heard it from elders these people came by way of Bosha or Kafa accompanied by the Fuga who provided them services in carrying the church objects and identifying settlement places.⁸³ The Mäsmäsa elders have retained a similar tradition that their ancestors had come to their present place from north and north-western Ethiopia, accompanied by the Fuga, some time after the fall of Aksum. On their way to Hadiya according to what the Ennär elders say, they came from the north by way of Gerar Weha in the north-western side of what is now Gondär town and Dälgi on the western bank of the Lake Tana. From there it seems that their route was across the Gojjam highlands of western Ethiopia and they advanced across Wälläga until they arrived in Bosha of Enariya. It was from Bosha that they crossed the Gibé River and went to the Ambaricho Massif and settled for some time before their dispersion to the various places in Hadiya, western Gurage, and Yämma.⁸⁴ The Fuga of Yämma have a tradition that they are an extension of those Fuga in Hadiya and Guragé.

Abba Rago Bäqura tells a tradition which says that eight families of Fuga origin came from Zegeda in the Guragé country and crossed the Omo River to settle in Yämma or Janjero where they got free land to settle. For many generations up to now the Fuga families which descended from these have retained the lands they shared at that time.⁸⁵ In Yämma all of them were commonly known or identified as Bera-Fuga. Bera in this context seems to have been the name of the ancestral founding mother of the Fuga who branched out at Mätäne from her Fuga brothers and crossed alone the Omo River to settle in Yämma.⁸⁶ *Abba* Rago says that they still are comfortable to be identified by the name of Bera Fuga. The name Bera also seems to have been used to distinguish them from other Fuga elsewhere. During my fieldwork I learned that the elders of the Bera Fuga were found to be comfortable and proud of their name Fuga, though the dominant group took it as a derogatory name.

Like the Fuga in Guragé, Hadiya and Kāmbata marriage in Yämma is outside ones *gossa* or clan. They have also been members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church since the time of *Abba* Jobber. In spite of their conversion to the Christianity they respected the old tradition of marriage arrangement.

As observed in Yämma and elsewhere in Ethiopia “i mestieri di fabbro, conciappelle, e vasaio sono ritenute dai Giangero ignobili ed ereditariamente eseguiti solo da gente di bassa casti.”⁸⁷ The smiths likewise are known by a similar name yirfo (though to the Guragé *Näfurä*), probably a name of a “*stirpe*” or tribe as Cerulli suggests. Moreover, he writes, the tanners and the potters are of the tribe of Fuga.⁸⁸ If

one wants to draw a parallel it is obvious that the Fuga of Kāmbata engage themselves both in tanning and pottery production like those in Yāmma. Moreover, it was for the first time that, “Les Fuga en revanche sont peu redoutés; ils travaillent le bois, parfois le fer.”⁸⁹ To further strengthen their similarity with other Fuga elsewhere Cerulli writes that the Fuga of Yāmma are the same as those in the Gurage areas.

The Fuga and the ordinary Ennär elders support the tradition that the Fuga in Yāmma are their kinsmen through their ancestral mother who crossed the Gibe River to settle in Yāmma while the ancestors of the Fuga of Ennär in western Guragé remained behind to settle at Mātane near the church of Emanuel.⁹⁰ Like the Fuga elsewhere, the Fuga of Yāmma are culturally bound to the tradition of marrying outside their *gossa* or clan.⁹¹

Considering their early kinship relationship with the Guragé it is said that *Abba Gäda Gallo Wafiqo*, the chief of Ennär, invited and brought many Fuga families from Yāmma and allowed them to settle on his own land at Ennär. Their descendants have continued to live in the same place up to now.⁹² *Abba Gäda Gallo* had his own Fuga to whom he and his ancestors gave land to settle upon. These Fuga from Yāmma were needed to provide additional services to the Ennär People.

In reference to the whole Yāmma people it seems that “the origin and early history of the Janjero is shrouded in mystery.”⁹³ The non-Fuga elders in Yāmma claim that their ancestors had come from the Gondär region some time in the remote past.⁹⁴

There is a widespread tradition that some ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia claim origin from the northern part of the country. In relation to this Orent has written:

The Kaffa, Kullo, Konta, Janjero, Koira and Baditu, all have legends concerning the migrations of northerners sometime in the middle ages of Ethiopia. These kingdoms then incorporated various cultural artifacts from the north, e.g. the title *rasho* ...and the extensive use of councilors of state. However, one must not assume that kings *per se* necessarily came from the north ... Instead ... there existed among southern Ethiopian peoples individual clan centered kinglets which found it convenient to bind together for communal hunts or warfare... and after northern influence penetrated southward there occurred a crystalization of these kinglets and then the formation of the state.⁹⁵

They are also referred to being as one of the Gonga people of Kafa. This corresponds with the Mäsmäsa tradition that the Semitic people of Oyeta in Kambata, the Mäsmäsa themselves and the Ennär and Asar in the Guragé region had initially come by way of Kafa. The Ennär Fuga community had its own Fuga chief, *Abägaz Kérago*, who was appointed by a Gurage chief, *Qäñzmach Abba Dama Gallo*. The Fuga leader *Abägaz Kerago* was converted to Christianity and became a member of the Orthodox Church some time at the beginning of this century. At *Abäbaz Kerago's* baptism *Abba Dama Gallo* became his godfather.⁹⁶

The land owning Fuga of Amboro, confidently tell that their forefathers were only known as warriors and hunters who later learned a new skill in woodwork, some three to four generations ago, from other woodworkers living in the Selti and Ulbaräg areas.⁹⁷

Throughout their history the Fuga have been also popular for their *Gifata* folklore dance and song which is still commonly performed in Hadiya and Kämbata. The female and male members of the Fuga community at Amboro demonstrated it for me in 1996.

The Fuga society, like other neighbouring societies, follows a strictly patrilineal line of kinship when identifying one's clan membership. All Fuga who belong to the same clan through the paternal line of kinship do not arrange marriage relationship among members. Though not common, marriage may be arranged within the clan of one's mother. However, it respects the custom of not marrying within seven generations of kinship relationship through the female line.⁹⁸ The seven generations counted for marriage arrangement has been found to be universal among all the major ethnic groups and among many of the minority ethnic groups in Ethiopia. In Kämbata I was told that the justification for the seven generations as a precondition for one's marriage was that when a glass of water is mixed with an equal amount of milk the colour of the milk dominates. When more glasses of water are added until the ratio of the milk and water becomes one to six, the colour of the milk can still be detected. But when a seventh glass of water is added, the colour of the milk is not detected at all. The analogy, therefore, was that kinship after seven generations can not be considered. Marriage with one's own kinsmen is traditionally considered to be a taboo which, if broken, might results in having biologically defective children.⁹⁹ Therefore, marriage if arranged within seven generations, is regarded as incestuous and biologically unhealthy.¹⁰⁰ As a result of this tradition, the

Fuga strictly respect the distance of seven generations, if they are able to count their genealogy properly. If the concerned families are not able to count properly they usually consult those of their elders they consider knowledgeable. The elders have the responsibility of deciding whether the proposed marriage between two parties would be culturally acceptable or not. This is necessary because some individuals are not knowledgeable even about their own genealogy. Marriage between the Fuga and others, however, has been restricted to similarity in occupational background. It is the belief of the great majority of the Fuga that marriage with the non-Fuga occupational groups is unacceptable. The Fuga (potters and woodworkers), Faqí (tanners) and Näfurä (smiths) are strictly endogamous. It seems that marriage with the smiths had better acceptance even by the dominant groups in the whole region, the Guragé, Hadiya and Kāmbata.¹⁰¹

Why did the Fuga, who were invariably hunters, woodworkers and potters, welcome the Shāwan army who arrived in south-central Ethiopia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century? Were the other submerged ethnic groups elsewhere similar? Among others, the Fuga Manna and the Misha or Dongor Manna who have been living among the Ari people seem to have received better treatment at the hands of the Shāwan conquerors. It seems that it was most likely from the Amhara's previous experiences of the Fuga who had been living under the domination of the Gurage, Hadiya and Kambata that they also called by the same name of Fuga a similar occupational group, the Manna, whom they found among the Ari.

Based on the popular tradition collected and on the strong claims made by the Fuga communities and other societies in south-central Ethiopia, it may be plausible to assume that the ancestors of the Fuga communities seem to have been an extension of the Fuga clan, a branch of the Wayto of Lake Tana. The ancestors of the Fuga communities who migrated from northern Ethiopia settled in Hadiya, Kambata and Western Guragé and were joined by the indigenous hunters and craftsmen in the new places of settlement. Having settled and been joined by the indigenous communities intermarriage and other social interactions developed between them. As a result of their close interactions both developed common identities and the dominant societies treated them as occupational outcaste communities. It happened that the indigenous communities identified themselves with the new immigrant Fjuga and gave up their former names. Since then and until now Fuga communities in south-central Ethiopia have been the Fuga who came from the north intermingled with the indigenous hunters and craftsmen whom the Fuga joined.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

¹ Azais, R. P. et A. Chambard, Cinq Années de Recherches en Ethiopie, p. 191.

² Oral Informants: Alämu Wäldé Zänjé, Abära Éga Gargis, and Abiyo Däbälo Uyuno.

³ Oral informants: Abiyo Dabelo, Akabo Chinqso, Dabero Hébon and Feseha Haylä Maryam.

⁴ James Quirin, "Caste and Class in Historical North-west Ethiopia: The Beta Israel (Falasha) and Kemant, 1300-1900," Journal of African History, 39, (1998), p.205.

⁵ Merid W/ Aregay, "Society and Technology in Ethiopia 1500-1800," Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Vol.XVII (1984), p. 142.

⁶ I.M. Lewis, Peoples of the Horn of Africa. Somali, Afar and Saho (London: International African Institute, 1955), .p. 52; and Lincon de Castro, Nella Terra dei Negus, 7 vols., (Millan: Fratelli Treves, 1915), 2, p. 338.; James A Quirin, "The Beta Israel (Felasha) in Ethiopian History: Case Formation and Culture Change, 1270-1868". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1977); C. R. HallPike, "The Status of Craftsmen Among the Konso of South-west Ethiopia," Meeting of social Research Fieldworkers in Northeastern Africa, Addis Ababa, 1969. (unpublished); and Werner J. Lange, "Status and Functions of Kafa Bards in Feudal Ethiopia," Northeast African Studies. Vol. 1, no. 1-3, 1979-80.

⁷ Fredrik Barth, 1982, p. 14.

⁸ Ulrich Braukämper, Die Kambata (Wiesbaden: Franz steiner verlag GMBH, 1983), p.296. In the quotation, the name of the ethnic and occupational groups are originally written in small letters.

⁹ Oral Informants: Yohannes Dabelo, *Dañña* Kargébo Ugébo.

¹⁰ Oral Informants: Zegejo Mogo Tormo, Wäldä Sänbät Béna and Abba Rago Bäguro.

¹¹ Oral Informant: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo.

¹² Tsehai Berhane-Selassie, "Gender and Occupational Potters in Wolayta: Imposed Femininity and 'Mysterious survival' in Ethiopia", Gender Issue in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa. Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1991), p.19.

¹³ Oral Informant: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo.

¹⁴ Oral Informant: *Delébo* Ergécho Mägoré.

¹⁵ Oral Informants: Shanqo Gubäna, Léramo Wayiso, Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo, Elyas Grañ, Mäsälä Mälkamu and Geselé Kamburé.

¹⁶ Oral Informant: *Säyed Mäki Ali*

¹⁷ Oral Informant: *Delébo Ergécho Mägoré.*

¹⁸ Täsfayä Habiso, "Yä'Kambata ena Hadiya Hezb Tarik ena Astädadär," Memiographed in Amharic, (Addis Ababa; 1984), pp. 153-154.

¹⁹ ral Informant: *Delébo Érgécho Mäjoré.*

²⁰ Oral Informants: *Delébo Ergecho Mogoré* and *Geselé Kamburé.*

²¹ Oral Informants: *Delébo Ergecho Mogoré* and *Geselé Kamburé*

²² ASMAI, Africa 5, Pacco, F.No. 82. Bruno Bucati, "Concezione ed Organizzazione Religiosa Indigena," 1938.p.4. Archivo Del Materiale Recuperato Di Nord. Roma.

²³ Oral Informants: Habuqo Shalémo, *Delébo Ergécho Mägoré* and *Säyed Mäki Ali.*

²⁴ Oral Informant: Abbo Chewaso Seayé.

²⁵ C.W.Isenberg and J.L.Krapf, *Abyssinia. Journals of Rev. Messrs Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society* (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1943), p. 181.

²⁶ Gustavo Bianchi, *Alla Tera Dei galla: Narrazione Della spedizione Bianchi in Africa nell 1879-1880* (Milano Fratelli Treves, Editori, 1886), p. 335.

²⁷ Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Fondo Conti Rossini. "Genealogies des Borana". Ms. 81, p.6.

²⁸ Oral Informant: *Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo.*

²⁹ Vinigi L. Grottanelli, "I Niloti Dell'Etiopia Allo Stato Attuale Delle Nostre Conoscenze", *Bollettino Della R. Societa Geografica Italiana*, Serue VII, Vol.VI, Fascicolo N.12, 1941, p.566.

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³¹ Dästa Täckelä Wäld, *Amharic Dictionary*, 1962 E.C. p.966.

³² *Abba Yohannes Gäbrä Egziabher*, *Tegreñña-Amharic Ethiopian Dictionary* 1948-49), p. 831.

³³ F.M. Esteves Pereira, *Chronica de Susenyos, Rei De Ethiopia*. Tomo II. Lisbon: Im prensa Nacional, 1900: 492.

³⁴ Translated by Professor Merid Wolde Aregay.

³⁵ Pereira, p. 493.

- ³⁶ Teclé Haimanot Gebre Selassie, p. 48.
- ³⁷ Tsehai Berhane Selassie, p. 19.
- ³⁸ Oral Informants: Gashu Ejäta and Shefäraw Nägash.
- ³⁹ Giverbi, Dei Galla e Sidama, Gimma, 1940 p.13. ASMAI Africa IV Etiopia, Posizione 198, Pacco 29, File no. 262, Report no. 394237.
- ⁴⁰ Anders Hansson 1996.
- ⁴¹ R. Basile-Giannini, (edit.) Rassegna Economica Delle Colognie. (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, Anno 25° N 5 Maggio 1937-XV), p637.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Oral Informants: Shifäraw Nägash and Gezaw Täklä Karé,smith.
- ⁴⁴ Isenberga and Krapf, The Journals of C.W. Isenberg and J.L. Krapf, Detailing their proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa and Journey in other parts of Abyssinia in the Years 1939,1940, and 1941. (Lodon: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1968), p. 236.
- ⁴⁵ Huntingford, 1955, p. 139.
- ⁴⁶ Richard Pankhurst, 1968, p. 43.
- ⁴⁷ H. Lewis, "Wealth Influence and the Prestige Among the Shawa Galla," Social Stratification in Africa (New York: The Press, 1970), p. 185 and "Jimma Abba Jiffar: A Despot Galla Kingdom"PH.D. Dissertation, New York: Colombia University, 1963 , pp. 61-62.
- ⁴⁸ Braukämper, 1983, p. 301.
- ⁴⁹ Huntingford 1955, p. 139; Richard Pankhurst, 1968, p. 43 and Ulrich Braukämper, 1983, p.301.
- ⁵⁰ Ulrich Braukamper, 1983, p.301 and Oral Informant: Estifanos Gäbriél.
- ⁵¹ Makiso Hane, Peasants and Rebels and outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982) ,p. 140.
- ⁵² Mikiso Hane, p.140.
- ⁵³ Oral Informants: Wäyzäro Marta Qājāla, Negatu Wäyāsa and Gulé Nunamo.
- ⁵⁴ Oral Informants: *Abba* Rago Bäguro Abba Tämsas Jober and Wäldä Sänbät.

⁵⁵ G. W. B. Huntingford, The Galla of Ethiopia: The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero (London: International African Institute 1955), p. 139.

⁵⁶ Oral Informants: *Qalicha* Abbo Chāwaso and Egziabher Abbo .

⁵⁷ Oral Informants: *Abägaz* yohannes Dablo and *Qalicha* Abbo Chāwaso.

⁵⁸ Oral Informants: Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo, Dawit Grañ and Gashu Ejäta.

⁵⁹ Oral Informants: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dablo and Ilias Grañ. This idea seems to be of recent creation. The Fuga elite are currently engaged enthusiastically in fabricating new identities. The issue of Israel origin might have emanated from this desire.

⁶⁰ Mikiso Hane, 1982, p.142.

⁶¹ Ugo Nanni, Che Cosa È L'Etioipia (Casa Editrice Giacomo Angelli S.A., 1935 XIII.), p 83.

⁶² Gustavo Bianchi, Alla Terra Dei Galla (Milano: Fratelli, Editore , 1886:), p. 356.

⁶³ ⁶³ M. L. Bender, "The Languages of Ethiopia: A New Lexico statistics Classification and Some Problems" Anthropological Linguistics, V. 13, N.5 (Stanford: Stanford University, 1971), p.236.

⁶⁴ Akalu Woldä Mariam, 1983, p. 55.

⁶⁵ Enrico Cerulli, "The Folk Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia, Harvard African Studies Vol. III, Varia Africa 3. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922),p.214.

⁶⁶ Oral Informants: *Qalicha* Abbo Chāwaso and Dawit Grañ.

⁶⁷ Oral Informants: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo and Leramo Wayiso.

⁶⁸ Oral Informants: Léramo Wayiso, Élyas Grañ and Badanga Maru.

⁶⁹ Enrico Cerulli, Vol. II, Roma 1933, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Enrico Cerulli Vol. II, 1933, p. 17.

⁷¹ Enrico Cerulli, Vol.II, 1933, p. 17.

⁷² Bollettino Della Società Geografica Italiana, Anno XVI-Volume XIX, SerieII-Volume VII. (Roma: Stabilimento Giuseppe Cicelli, 1882) , p. 419.

⁷³ Staffan Grenstedt, 1995, p. 10.

⁷⁴ This information is obtained from Dr. Beyene Dolecho and Ato Yacob Arsano instructors in the Department of Geography and in the Department of Political Science and International Relations respectively at Addis Ababa University.

⁷⁵ Gäbrä Yesus Kérémo, 1991, p. 62.

⁷⁶ Gäbrä Yohannes Kérémo, 1991, p. 62.

⁷⁷ Oral Informants: Admasu Worqé, *Bashay* Asfaw Wäldä Maryam and *Abägaz* Nuru Säyed. Denberu Alemu, Mengestu Hailemariam Fikre Hailemariam and others, *Gogot: Yäguragé Behérésäb Tarik, Bahel and Quanqua* (Amharic) (Wolqité, 1987 E.C), p.24. In this book there is an assumption that the Guragé people had come to their present place sometime in the ninth century after the then Aksumite king was persecuted by a pagan Queen Gudit.

⁷⁸ Oral Informant: *Wäyzäro* Amäläworq Sulé Sedoso.

⁷⁹ Oral Informant: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo

⁸⁰ Oral Informant: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo

⁸¹ See also E. Cerulli , *Alcuni popolazioni Sidama Abyssinia Meridionale 1. I Sidama Orientale.*(Roma, Casa Editrice Italiana,1925), p. 2.

⁸² Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia 1593-1646*, 1954, p. lvii.

⁸³ Oral Informant: *Emahoy* Mulatwa Damtäw

⁸⁴ Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkébo Urgébo and *Mämeré* Gäbrä Mikael Qaṭiso.

⁸⁵ Oral Informants: *Abba* Rago Bäqura, 90 years old, Fofa 16,08,96 and Wäldä Sänbät.

⁸⁶ Oral Informant: *Emahoy*. Mulatua Damtäw.

⁸⁷ Enrico Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*. Vol. II. (Roma, 1933), p. 17.

⁸⁸ Enrico Cerulli, *Etiopia Occidentale*. Vol. II. (Roma, 1933), p. 17. In Cerulli's words, "i conciapelle ed i vassai sono della stirpe Fuga."

⁸⁹ Azais R.P. et Chambard A. 1931, p.189

⁹⁰ Oral Informant: *Emahoy*. Mulatwa Damtäw.

⁹¹ Oral Informants: *Abba* Rago Bäqura.

⁹² Oral Informant: *Emahoy*. Mulatwa Damtäw.

⁹³ Murdock, *Africa* , p.188; Isenberg and Krapf, *Abyssinia*, p.30; Johnson, *Travels*, vol.2, p.432; Bender, *The Non Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, 1976: 351

⁹⁴ Getachew Fule, "The Kingdom of Janjero: A Historical Survey to 1890", (B.A. Thesis in History at Addis Ababa University, 1985), p. 5.

⁹⁵ A Orent, "Lineage Structure and Supernatural: The Kaffa of south West Ethiopia", (PHD. Desertation in Anthropology, Boston University, 1969), pp. 54-54.

⁹⁶ Oral Informant: *Emahoy*. Mulatwa Damtäw.

⁹⁷ Oral Informants: Dawit Grañ, *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo.

⁹⁸ Oral Informants : *Wäyzāro* Alämnāsh Näjen, Dabaro Hébon and Dässalāñ Tulano.

⁹⁹ Oral Informants: Alämnāsh Näjen, Dabaro Hébon and Dässalāñ Tulano.

¹⁰⁰ Oral Informants: Alämnāsh Näjen, Dabaro Hébon and Dässalāñ Tulano.

¹⁰¹ Oral Informants: Daññā Bäqälä and Shefärāw Nägash.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE RELATIONS

Anthropological works on the Fuga of south-central Ethiopia, the Wayto of Lake Tana and the Watta among the Oromo focus, to a great extent when analyzing their socio-political lives, upon their hunting practices. The available works embody them as endogamous with undefined religious ideas. They are most of the time associated by the dominant groups with unclean dietary habits, sexual and ritual pollution. Though the Fuga were repeatedly reported as hippopotamus hunters by others, their own elders strongly denied these reports of hippopotamus hunting. However, they say with pride that the elders themselves and their ancestors were warriors and renowned hunters of other wild game. The wild animals the Fuga hunted included all small and big beasts available in south-central Ethiopia, except the hippopotamus. The hunting of big game earned them better status and better opportunity in the selection of brides.

The Fuga, like the dominant societies among whom they have lived, are a patrilineally organized society. For serious social and political purposes like marriage and leadership their descent is counted through the male line, though they do not completely disregard the female lineage. Kinship relationship commonly important in their everyday life and it is clearly manifested in their social, economic and political organizations. The basic unit being the household, which is also the smallest

economic unit, kinship extends up to a *gosa* or clan level. The word *gosa*, among all the Fuga communities, is a commonly used term to determine marriage relationship, local administration run by clan elders, and kinship relations. In south-central Ethiopia, as it is elsewhere in many developing African countries, a family is more than those persons living under a single roof, namely man, woman and their children, what Western sociologists call a nuclear family. Fuga society has, more than this, the same family is at the center and then it extends to include the grand father, grand mother, brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins, and their offsprings.

YÄGÄVÄTÉ CHÄWATA (EARLY FUGA YOUTH INITIATION)

There has been a strong awareness among the Fuga that male circumcision and female clitoridectomy is an obligatory practice for both sexes. No Fuga family arranges marriage before a male is circumcised or a female had excision of the clitoris. In relation to this practice they have developed a belief that a girl who marries without clitoridectomy will be sexy and end up being a prostitute even though being a prostitute is unknown among Fuga women. Therefore, this initiation practice is a first requirement in a Fuga family. However, the fuga amongst the Yämma are an exception; they never practiced female circumcision.¹ This may be because the dominant Yämma do not practice female circumcision. Both the Bera (potter) Fuga or and the dominant Yämma rather condemn it. I found it difficult to check and establish whether it was the dominant Yämma who influenced the Bera Fuga or the other way round. No explanation was given as to why they abandoned female circumcision even after they accepted Orthodox Christianity and Islam that both recognize the practice. Rather, the Yämma and the Bera Fuga found female circumcision abhorrent and

imposed ostracism on any female found circumcised. Though this cultural deviation from many Ethiopian societies surprised the researcher and inspired him to investigate further he found no satisfactory explanation. He was rather inconvenienced to assume that it might have been a continuation of ancient custom practised probably by the indigenous society which eventually influenced the immigrants who claim to have come from northern Ethiopia.

Female circumcision has been a common practice among most societies in south-central Ethiopia including the Fuga communities. The ordinary societies in Guragé, Hadiya and Kāmbata including the Fuga communities insisted on female circumcision and considered it as their core customary practice that they should retain. Exceptions to this practice were the ordinary Yamma and their neighbours the Bera Fuga who have lived together.

If by chance a Bera Fuga female is found to have been circumcised no male member would be willing to marry her. This was found to be a means of asserting their cultural identity. The ordinary male Yamma and the male Bera Fuga have always been circumcised from time immemorial. Therefore, it would be odd and culturally unacceptable if a male Bera Fuga is not circumcised.

Among the Hadiya and Kāmbata Fuga the young boy or girl, who has fulfilled the circumcision or clitoridectomy requirements, would prepare himself or herself for another initiation ceremony known as *yägäbäté chāwata*. For the *yägäbäté chāwata* initiation ceremony the youth of both sexes between the ages 14 and 16 and those who belonged to the same neighbourhood contributed some money for the occasion.² In the

past the young Fuga were not able to get money easily. Also there was no traditionally fixed date for the *yägäbäté chäwata*. It was the responsibility of the concerned youth to decide and fix the date according to their convenience. The money contribution was such that the elders of the youth brought one Maria Theresa thaler each from their respective parents, while the younger ones brought only half a Maria Theresa thaler each. After the disappearance of the Maria Theresa thaler from circulation, contribution was made in *birr*. The older members were expected to contribute two *birr* each and the younger ones only one *birr* each.³

When the money was collected, the young boys and girls chose a central place so that all could make the necessary preparations for the ceremony. For the occasion a spacious house of a respected family was usually selected. No Fuga family would refuse to offer his house for the service. In the selected house the youth prepared before the fixed date *bordé* and *täla* or local drinks. When the day approached a bull was bought and slaughtered for the occasion. After everything was made ready the concerned youth invited some of the most respected elders among the Fuga community. Invitation was made to both sexes, including the owners of the house.

A man and a woman were selected from among the invited guests. They were requested to lead the ceremony and remained standing while the youth sat down on the floor, as if they were guests of honour. To begin the activities of the ceremony the elected male and female elders were given each a *mar abbo* or a *wancha* (cup made of pottery) full of honey which they put on a table in front of them. Then, each youth participant held a *wancha* or a cup full of *bordé* or *tälla* and stood in front of the two

elders. The youth stood in pairs, a girl and a boy. The paired boy and girl are believed to have liked each other, but not intended for future marriage alliance. Each pair, turn by turn, approached and stood before the elders to give each other new names. The boy was expected to give a pleasant name only to the girl with him and the girl reciprocated in the same way. The new names have to be good names, as each of the pairing individuals would be called by them for the rest of their lives. These names became functional only among all participants. If a participant, by mistake or otherwise, calls another participant by his or her former name any time thereafter he or she would be sued or accused before elders and would be fined. The fine could be paid in honey or local drink or in money.⁴ This initiation ceremony did not lead to a marriage relationship between the pairs. Marriage among the newly initiated members was considered incestuous. Rather, they saw each other as the closest peer-group friends throughout their lives.⁵

THE BURDENS OF THE FUGA WOMEN OF SOUTH-CENTRAL ETHIOPIA⁶

This section does not at all claim to deal exhaustively with the political, economic and cultural subordination of the Fuga women who have lived under the heavy oppression of the dominant groups for centuries. It only tries to show what the Fuga women contributed to the society at large and how the dominant groups whom they served treated them as members of the Fuga occupational outcast minority. As members of the despised and oppressed fuga society the women shared equally the social degradation and the ruthless economic exploitation imposed on their men by the ordinary groups.

In addition to the common problem of the Fuga society, the women particularly, because of their gender also suffered from the chauvinist attitude of the male Fuga. The dual oppression made the life of the Fuga women much more difficult. There is a famous Amharic saying which affects the feeling and attitude of women and which may explain the position at the cultural level of the Ethiopian women in general and the neglected ones in particular. "Yä' sét aémeroñña yä'jeb qändäñña yäläwem." ("There is no woman with brain anymore than there is a hyena with horns").⁷

The Fuga communities, though relatively small in number when compared with the other neighbouring peoples, are found highly scattered in the three zones of Guragé, Hadiya, Kāmbata, and in the special district of Yāmma. Besides, they have also emigrated, since the early decades of our century or a bit earlier, to some villages located between Woliso and Ambo and the towns of Ambo and Jimma all in Oromiya region. Though they live in a scattered manner over a vast area they still maintain common identities and characteristics. It is possible to indicate the villages and towns of Fuga settlement, but difficult to tell the size of their population.

The rough estimate given by Fuga is that the Fuga number about half a million. But I have found it difficult to come up with a meaningful figure. My understanding about the half million estimate of the Fuga population seems to include all the artisans which the Fuga considered co-occupational groups subjected

to a way of life similar to theirs. The other reason for the high estimate of the Fuga communities seems may be because of their highly scattered settlement pattern.

One may make valid statement about the Fuga's numerical gender relations. From my personal observation it may be safe to guess that in some of the Fuga communities the Fuga women are a bit more in number than the men. The truth is that one hardly finds an adult male Fuga without a wife whereas there are some widows and co-wives in the various villages, besides the one to one marriage alliances. And it is the Fuga women who contribute much more to the family income and who work hard in the household, no matter whether they are married or not. Much of the women's income is obtained from pottery production. And as a result of this economic activity the Fuga in general are known as potters. It is obvious that the man who has more than one wife could not contribute much to the different households. Therefore, the whole responsibility and burden of the house rests on each woman alone. Had it not been for the standing chauvinist politico-cultural factors the Fuga women's numerical advantages and economic contribution should have advanced their social and economic status.

In south-central Ethiopia, mainly in Hadiya, Kāmbata, Yamma and in most parts of the Guragélans, pottery production is the sole occupational monopoly of the Fuga women. Everything, starting from the identification of the clay soil up to the selling of the finished pottery products in the market place is done by the Fuga women themselves. Until the recent past, agriculture and cattle herding was not the occupation of the Fuga people. Like the Fuga, the ordinary Guragé women of Ezha

equally engaged in pottery production.⁸ In northern Ethiopia too, that there are no special castes of occupational groups identified with pottery making.⁹ In both cases, the women engaged in pottery production are not stigmatized because they pick the occupation merely for economic reasons. Even in south-central Ethiopia where we have the Fuga outcast specializing in pottery the Ezha women of western Guragé who participate in this profession are not stigmatized. Therefore, the occupation as such is not the cause of the stigmatization.

The Fuga women who are engaged in the same economic activity are despised not because they are potters but because of their ethnic background. In relation to pottery and other activities "If a man is seen doing a woman's job he will be insulted with the name of *mistot* (effeminate). A man who is seen pressing the liquid from the *wesa*-bread or cutting the bread will no longer be called a man."¹⁰ Out of fear of being humiliated and insulted by friends the male Fuga of Hadiya and Guragélands do not particularly participate actively, in pottery production.

Division of labour based on gender is universally accepted among the Guragé, the Hadiya, the Kāmbata and the Yamma where we find the Fuga communities. The division of labour among the various peoples mentioned is not limited to any class or group of people. The upper class, the freeborn masses and the members of the occupational outcast equally make distinction between the economic activities of the male and the female. This also holds true with the Fuga community. "The wife of the Fuga makes the clay utensils (such as) *biter*, *engapa*, *jāmba*, *tenkiyā*, *gābāna*, *wancara*, *tewa*, *fingan*, and *qwareya*."¹¹ Among the items

mentioned here the *gäbäna* and the *tewa* and *finjan* should be written as *jäbäna*, *tiwa* and *finjan* respectively. When a male Fuga is seen engaged in economic activities which the society considers as female occupation the man will be scolded and insulted as a “womanish” person. His friends would not like to be associated with him thereafter. In order to avoid such humiliation, in most instances, the Fuga men avoid activities in pottery production and household management.

The community monopolized occupations, mainly among artisans, fail to recognize gender even though they were gender specific. The Fuga occupational communities are generally identified as potters though pottery production, though in all cases it is the domain of women, and not of their men. When members of the dominant group say “the potters” they simply mean the Fuga, irrespective of gender distinction. In its real sense pottery is predominantly the occupation of Fuga women and carpentry that of Fuga men. The Fuga women do not only specialize in pottery, but they are also known for their basketry in places where they are bamboo trees but not clay soil. Similar to the landlessness and settlement problem of the Fuga, the same as *Chinasha* potters of Wälayta were “like those who allowed themselves to be enslaved because of poverty, were settled in low-lying, uncultivated areas, in return for producing pottery for the land owners.”¹² When describing the general location and the status of land given to the Fuga by the landowners, the elders report in Amharic in the following way. “*Balä restoch yämiyasäfrun bädäbub aqetacha hono bästä egeregé ena bästägera balqänaw mürét näbär.*”¹³ In its rough translation it means that the plots of land given by the land owners for settlement to the Fuga

families were usually the underdeveloped land at the lower edges and in the left side of their domains.

In Boshā, After the land to the tiller proclamation was decreed in 1975, the Fuga peasants were given separate settlement areas because the dominant Hadiya felt that the Fuga women would pollute the neighbourhood when baking their pottery.¹⁴ They were not always free from the complaints of the dominant groups. It is also the feeling of the dominant Hadiya, like the Wālayta, that "Firing pottery is a hazardous affair which will expose the whole village to the dangers of fire."¹⁵ The blame for air pollution and the fear of fire accidents is attributed to the Fuga women and the Chinasha potters in their respective regions.

As if her fate is predestined, it is mainly the Fuga woman who tries to support her family by the production of Pottery. The responsibility of pottery production of Fuga females starts at an early age. At the of six, when the non-Fuga children to to school to start learning and the males are left free to play in the neighbourhood fields, the female Fuga children go to the clay extraction areas with their mothers. In the field they start to learn how to identify a good clay soil with its layers. At this stage their task is mere observation while the mothers are engaged in extraction. They help in carrying part of the extracted clay soil home for the making of pots. After the extracted soil is transported home the process begins by grinding and sieving it in order to get very fine clay so as that may make the best utensil.¹⁶

As reported by the women potters themselves there are seven types of layers of clay soil to be selected and to be used for different purposes in the production of pots. The nature of the clay determines what objects is to be produced. In some places it was reported that some type of clay soil could not be used to make specific objects like large jars. In such situation the Fuga women would specialize in the production of smaller earthenware rather than large jars.

It is common practice that the Fuga women themselves carry their products to the market places; and they travel for hours. The men do not help the women in carrying the different pottery products. It is only when a woman is sick that her husband, desperate for money, carries the ready made ones and sells them in the market. Elders reported that, in the past, there was unfair market bargaining and exchange between the Fuga and the dominant groups. The buyers could force the Fuga women to sell their objects at very low prices. Or, sometimes some young people would take the objects without paying anything. The Fuga elders complained that the law treated them unfairly. Government officials and policemen were indifferent in investigation the complaints of robbery or other assaults against the Fuga and in taking action against the offenders. When they appealed to the court the judges would tell them to live the way their fathers had lived by being obedient to the dominant groups. They were told, in Amharic, "*endä abateh nur.*"¹⁷

The male Fuga do not participate in pottery production. They never extract clay soil, never carry it and never burn it. They are not supposed to carry pottery products to the market places.¹⁸ The only assistance they make is that they fetch

grass and firewood for the baking of the pots. As a result, the man never asks his wife how much money she has earned by selling the pots she made. He knows that she will spend it only on her household needs and to cover her personal and her household expenses. According to Fuga tradition the husband has no right to claim any money from his wife's income. The men, as heads of their respective families, are aware of the fact that if the wife does not earn money it will be their sole responsibility to support the family. By using the money they earn, the women buy coffee, salt, cabbages, *qocho*, spices and other things needed for their home and for themselves. It is, therefore, to the advantage of the men to encourage their wives to work hard and earn more money so that they can cover as much as the household expenses as possible. The man buys or brings meat on ordinary days and holidays. He clothes for all members of his family, cows or oxen when needed, and pays the *edir* money and the tax.¹⁹

Fuga women also face serious problems in getting the appropriate prices for their pottery products. Potters who have acquired reputation for quality pots and jars sell some of their objects to neighbouring clients who come to their houses. When clients buy from the house of the potter they have better choice of quality. The remaining pots are carried to the nearest market to be sold both to individual buyers and to Guragé long distance merchants who take them to other market places inaccessible to the Fuga producers. The Fuga women living in Arsi Nägälé tried to take their products to the market places where the Guragé merchants sell. To discourage the Fuga potters and in order to secure their economic advantages the Guragé merchants organized the lumpen young men in the markets to break the pots

and utensils brought by the Fuga women.²⁰ This was repeatedly done and no law was there to protect them. It is in this way that the Guragé merchants discourage the Fuga women from getting better prices for their commodities. Even within the Guragé zone the Guragé women merchants monopolize the pottery trade by buying the pottery from the Fuga women to sell them in far away market places where there are not potters. Pottery is thus exported from Ezha to Chäha. Even if a Fuga woman wants to engage herself in the pottery trade she does not get capital to start the business and, who knows, she may face the problem that the Arsi Nägälé Fuga women experienced. It was only in Woliso that I found Fuga women entering the business as beginner merchants. They get on credit the supply of pottery from their friends and from potters related to them. They usually pay their debts for the pots they take after they sell the commodities. This is, however, a recent phenomenon and it may be too hasty for the researcher to comment about it.

Traditionally, and in theory, the male Fuga is responsible for providing for his family no matter what his economic status may be. Sometimes there may arise conflict between the husband and the wife on how to use the money earned by the man, if he has any. When the wife finds it difficult to get enough money for her household expenses from her husband because of his extravagance she will first try to discuss the problem with him without involving others. If she fails to convince her husband to save and use properly the money he gets she will tell the problem to their relatives so that they may advise him in order to take care of his family. It is only if he fails to listen to the advise of member of their families that the case is reported to the village elders.²¹

Land ownership by the Fuga after the 1975 proclamation did not glaringly change the status of their women. There are thousands of Fuga families whose economic status is very low and who are still bound to pottery production with all its inconveniences. Only a handful of women belonging to rich Fuga families have abandoned pottery production simply because they are most of the time engaged in agricultural activities and in home management. Yet in the eyes of the dominant groups their status remains within the levels of the usual status of Fuga societies. Moreover, the male Fuga still exercise male domination irrespective of their economic position in their society. By way of conclusion, the burden of women can be partially stated in the following manner. Ethnically they are not considered as equals of the women of the dominant groups. Some members of the dominant group feel that the slaves or ex-slaves have better status than the Fuga, because they can intermarry with others once they obtain their freedom. The Fuga on the other hand can not marry outside their community whatever improvement in their economic status they may have achieved. The land owning families who provided land for settlement to the Fuga force women to give their pottery products free by way of compensation for the land they use. Besides, they are expected to do several works in the household of the landowner for free. Sometimes the land owning family may provide them with food. They are also made to pay for the clay soil to the landowner from whose land the clay soil is extracted. In the markets the Fuga women are not able to bargain for fair prices for their commodities on equal footing. Because of their insecure position the Guragé merchants exploit them by taking the pots made by the Fuga for sale in other market places.

THE STATUS OF FUGA WOMEN IN MARRIAGE RELATIONS

Before marriage, it is a common practice that a Fuga girl passes through the compulsory initiation of female circumcision, generally undertaken for girls between the ages of four and six. In the past it could have been done even at the age of her puberty. Why was female circumcision necessary? Though Fuga women were found to be shy to respond to such culturally sensitive questions when asked by the researcher, the male informants were able to give their own opinion.

Male Fuga experts in circumcision reported incidents where certain girls were circumcised twice for their clitoris because they were not fully cut the first time. The excuse they gave was that their clitoris grew again and it was a shame for her family to give a girl in marriage in that condition. Thus, the young girls had to suffer twice for the sake of the honour of their respective families.

Before or after the female circumcision, it was less common among the Fuga to have a boy friend without the official parental recognition of their being engaged. Among the Fuga communities sexual intercourse by girls before marriage was unthinkable. Marriage was in most instances arranged by parents through the mediation of elders. In case of dissatisfaction over the marriage arrangement the girl was not allowed to complain directly to her parents. If the girl was not at all interested to marry

the one recommended by her parents she could inform her unwillingness to the parents only through her girl friends.²² If the parents disagreed with the opinion of their young girl, she could defy authority of her parents and marry the one whom she liked by running away with him secretly. But, this was very rare practice. If it happens, the parents had no alternative other than that of accepting their daughter's choice. It has been a common practice that parents usually agreed when they were asked indirectly about such marriage arrangements made by their children.

Thereafter, the parents' main concern would be to verify whether the envisaged marriage arrangement is socially and culturally acceptable or not. According to the Fuga custom no marriage can take place between two individuals who belong to the same clan through the parental line. Marriage among kinsmen or families belonging to the same clan is not permitted it is a taboo. Even if the marriage is approved it is believed that the new family will end up having a handicapped or biologically defective children. Because of this belief no one dares to marry within the same clan. If they are attached to each other through the mother's clan and if they are not related up to seven generations the marriage can be allowed. If the marriage arrangement violates one of the two rules it will be considered and incestuous one.

Other than this, the main concern of the Fuga in general is the growth of the family in size. Parents of both families capitalize on having more children. The father in-law and the mother in-law when blessing a bride during their introduction say to her "have more children, win your husband being productive and respect us."²³ Women

among the Wālayta also have similar life experiences. They are expected to fulfill the interest of the husband.²⁴

“In order to achieve that a woman could use everything within her power, giving birth to as many as she could of her husband’s children, and bringing them up, allowing for any number of co-wives to join her household...by bringing them under her obligation due to several factors like poverty”.²⁵

In case the Fuga woman does not give birth to children, no matter what the reason may be, she is blamed for infertility. In this case, the husband is encouraged and allowed to marry a second wife without divorcing the former.²⁶ It is very a common and regular practice among the Fuga that when the husband wants a second wife he asks the permission of the wife who is still living with him. Taking into consideration the various advantages, she will in most instances allow him to marry another woman. Though less likely, even if she refuses to allow him have a co-wife he will ask her again through the mediation of elders. In front of the elders the woman will have no say about her own affairs or she will not have the courage to disobey the male elders, and so finally she agrees. From early times, the Fuga fully obey their traditional elders who made decisions on any conflict that may arise among their people. It has been uncommon to go to court for cases that arose among the members of the Fuga society. This being the reality in the Fuga tradition, females are never involved in the social activities of elders. There is the Amharic say “*sét betaweq bāwād yaleq*”, the rough translation of which is that no matter how very knowledgeable

a woman may it is be the man who decides in the end. Such proverb may apply or may be appropriate in the culture where the Fuga women are treated unfairly, and where they are undefended and underrepresented in their own affairs. If again he wants to have a third wife he asks both his wives. He follows the same process for any additional wife, either by asking for the consent of his wives or by involving the Fuga elders until he gets the number of women he wants. In all cases, in case the co-wives disagree to his multiple marriages he will still involve the elders with the pretext that he has enough land to support them all. It is necessary to remember, however, that at least until the 1975 land proclamation the land which the Fuga man claimed to possess was not really his. In reality the women support themselves and do not expect much from the husband. Once they are married divorce is unheard of and it is the responsibility of the wives to support their respective households. I could not get satisfactory reason as to why the Fuga culture discourages divorce. It may be due to the insecurity of the male Fuga, to the fear that their women may be taken by others. Among the Fuga of the Woliso area, for example, some peasant Fuga women have started to marry Oromo men.²⁷

Some Fuga men were found to be unhappy regarding this new trend of marriage relationship. Their justification was that it was good to stick to the old tradition in which their youth married only among themselves. However, this is a recent phenomenon. As to their men only the male Fuga elite marry women of different ethnic groups, but mostly from outside of their region. In case a Fuga woman is married to a non-Fuga and if she is divorced she suffers from ostracism. As a result she would not

get any Fuga husband.²⁸ This was traditionally the customary law intended to discourage their women from marrying outside the community.

There are also additional reasons, which enable the man to marry as many as seven wives if he says he can afford to do so. The excuses for taking additional wives include the wife's failure to feed her husband properly and, her weakness in household management. The real reasons, however, are the economic advantages to the man from having more than one wife. Even if he is a drunkard and wasteful he will find more security and money to spend by marrying many women.²⁹ Here, it is necessary to remind readers that the land that the male Fuga claim or use may not be his own. Before the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution most of the peasants of south-central Ethiopia, let alone the Fuga, had no *rest* land of their own.

When a Fuga woman dies her husband is entitled to marry her unmarried younger sister or one from among her unmarried relatives. He does not even need to remain long without wife. The new wife can be the only wife or a co-wife. On the other hand, if a male Fuga dies the widowed wife has to wait at least for four years without a husband. Thereafter, she marries her brother-in-law. If by chance her former husband did not have a brother she may be given to the nearest of male relatives, more likely one of the uncles will take her, to be the only wife or a co-wife. The woman's chances of having a relationship with another man are by then sealed. But the man has an open chance to marry again and again and to keep several wives.

In the eyes of the dominant groups the low social status of Fuga women has saved them only from sexual harassment. Until recently there has been a strong social

barrier in the sexual interaction between the Fuga and the rest. Because of the fact that the Fuga settlement pattern is laid out in a scattered way the likelihood of sexual harassment among the Fuga themselves is also rare. It is either very close Fuga relatives or very close friendly families of in-laws who live as neighbours. Any illegal or unofficial sexual relationship among the Fuga is considered either incestuous or criminal. As a result no one among them will attempt at sexual assault, as all of them know each other very well. If any incident of the sort takes place the result will be ostracism which the despised Fuga will not be able to withstand.

THE ROLE OF THE *SHEMAGELÉ* OR ELDERS AMONG THE FUGA

There is a commonly understood set of criteria that a person needs to attain in order to qualify for the status of a *shemagelé* or an elder in his community. The elected *shemagelés* were not necessarily economically better off. Age, wisdom, well mannered and sociable ones were the requirements for this post. Once a man is put in the *shemagelé* category he is expected to carry out various responsibilities assigned to him by the community. The minor duty that a *shemagelé* does is to sponsor and lead the *yägäbäté chäwata*. Moreover, he is supposed to resolve serious issues that could affect individual Fuga families or the community at large. In handling issues the *shemagelés* takes maximum care to get credibility and to maintain harmony within their society.

When two families want to arrange a marriage between their children they consult elders and ask them to serve as go-betweens. The elders are asked to check and report that the two families are not related in blood. Before marriage is proposed it has to be ascertained that the couples do not belong to the same clan through their respective male lines. Marriage arrangement between members of the same clan has been universally unacceptable to all Fuga communities. *Shemagelés* who know both parties have to certify that such an impediment does not exist before the proposed marriage can proceed.

Mediation to resolve conflicts at different levels is also the responsibility of the *shemagelés*. Whenever there is conflict between individuals or groups, if one of the conflicting parties feels hurt, it takes the case to one of the *shemagelés* or elders. The responsible *shemagelé* to whom the case is reported appoints the applicant for another day on which he would be able to meet and explain the case to the other concerned *shemagelés* so that all of them may fix a convenient day for hearing. Then the *shemagelé* who has received the appeal of one party circulates it among the other *shemagelés* who work with him. Having discussed it, they fix a day as to when to have a meeting. The decision of the *shemagelés* is conveyed to the plaintiff so that he may be able to present his case to the influential elders. The council of elders meets on the fixed date, chaired by the senior may among them. He allows complainant to explain how the conflict arose and how it affected him. After listening to the applicant the *shemagelés* decide when to call the accused party. The *shemagelés*, the disputants, their families and others interested in the case are expected to attend the hearing on this day.

Then, the *shemagelés* give a chance to both parties to explain their cases for fair judgement. If the accused party denies wrong doing the plaintiff would be expected to produce witnesses, if he can. If he produces witnesses the normal procedure continues. The *shemagelés* listen to the witnesses and give their legal decision in public guided by their community-set customary law. For further elaboration and for a fair judgement some precedents may be cited.

When the plaintiff is not able to produce witnesses then the *shemagelés* apply the traditional way of settling disputes. Serious disputes and conflicts are handled by the *shemagelé* of the *angafa gosa* (eldest clan), who is usually capable of resolving most of them. Each *gosa* or clan has its own *angafa* (eldest) *shemagelé*. He is assisted by minor *shemagelés* from the same clan. However, the *gosa shemagelés* are invoked only when the conflicting parties belong to the same clan. If the offence arising involves parties from different clans the council of elders is formed from among the two clans' *angafa shemagelés* of the two clans. When the one clan or joint clan *gosa shemagelés* fail to resolve the problem a new council of elders is formed. The newly formed council of elders which serves as an appellate body consists of two *shemagelés* from each Fuga *gosa* or clan, in which case one of the two is the *angafa shemagelé*. But, the practice was that the entire Fuga communities were administratively separated into four, namely Hadiya, Kambata, Gurage and Yamma, the exception being during the Italian period when all the Fuga, except the Bera Fuga of Yamma, came to have a centralized administration under one *dañña*. In Kambata and Hadiya, the chairman of the council of the general assembly of the various clan

elders has been always *angafa shemagelé* of the Tontosa clan. This council of elders presided by the Tontosa clan *shemagelé* finishes the case depending on the evidences gathered. If the evidence is found to be insufficient the accused is made to swear an oath that he is innocent of what has been alleged against him. This council of *shemagelés* can resolve any dispute including murder cases. No case among the Fuga goes beyond the Fuga's own traditional authority. The establishment and maintenance of an independent institution for the settlement of disputes among Fuga seems to have been created in defiance of the dominant groups' administrative apparatus and to show their self-reliance. The Fuga of Guragé and the Bera Fuga of Yamma have similar ways of resolving conflicts.

GUDDA CERMONY

To settle the feud or enmity between parties both the conflicting groups and the *shemagelés* arrange the *gudda* or intestine knotting system ceremony.³⁰ For the *gudda* ceremony the culprit or guilty party provides a black sheep on a fixed day. The sheep is presented to the *shemagelé* who leads the ceremony. The sheep is laid on the ground with its head to the north and its tail to the south, to be slaughtered by *angafa shemagelé* (eldest) of the Tontosa clan with a new (unused) knife. The plaintiff stands to the eastern side of the sheep and the culprit to its western side. The sheep is slaughtered and its stomach opened and its intestine taken out for the occasion. For the dispute-settling ceremony the intestine is taken out without skinning the sheep. The Tontosa *angafa shemagelé* holds the intestine standing in the center between the two parties. He asks both the plaintiff and the culprit to hold the intestine from the two ends with their right hands and simultaneously to hold together the slaughtering knife

with their left hands. The *angafa shemagelé* knots the intestine at the middle. He tells them, warning them that, “if you on the right side (plaintiff) or left side (culprit) kill or cause any problem or do damage to any member of the other party let your intestine be cut like this.” Then he orders them to cut the intestine at the knot with the knife they are holding together. If the weapon used for the crime is available they hold it together in the same manner that they hold the knife. After this the knife and any other weapon used for the crime are bent or broken together so that they may not be used anymore. Then, the two concerned parties are provided with a black ox-horn filled with black honey and told to taste it together at the same time. The process symbolizes,

“Gudu guendäro Ehuni”

Let the knot be an end (to the problem)

Qéguk Kanig gämbäl ehuni

Let your blood be as black as these (sheep and honey).

*Hilék hitetä muräntu*³¹

Let your intestine be cut like this (by showing the objects and the action) if you hurt each other any more.

After having done this they burn fire in the center of a road and put) on it to burn the intestine, the knife and the weapon used for the crime (including murder). Finally, they sprinkle the blood and the remaining black honey on the fire in order to extinguish it and at the same time throw the container into the fire. The two parties are

made to say, "If we break the oath let our family be destroyed like this fire" and both parties put out the fire by trampling on it.

The next step is that the family of the plaintiff provides a white sheep and white honey in a white ox-horn as a symbol of forgiveness and peace. The same *angafa shemagélé* slaughters the white sheep and takes some of blood with the fingertips of his right hand to be smeared on the foreheads of the two parties, making them stand side by side. Again he makes them taste from the white honey in the white ox-horn. With the remaining honey, honey-water is prepared and drunk by all participants. Then the meat of the white sheep is roasted and eaten by all participants. The eating and drinking together is done in the hope of bringing the two disputing families together and to wish them unity, friendship and a peaceful life in the future.

To close the occasion woman in her menopause is summoned from among the relatives of the culprit. She is then told by the elders to gather all the utensils used for the ceremony like the knife by which the black sheep was slaughtered, the horn with the black honey and the carcass of the black sheep. Everything is put inside the stomach of the carcass to be thrown or pushed over a steep cliff. While throwing the objects over the cliff the woman in her menopause touches her hanging breasts and says, "if any one of you violates the dispute settlement let your eyes come out of their eye-sockets to hang like my breast." Having said this she throws away the carcass of the black sheep filled with the above mentioned objects. This is a symbolic warning them to the effect that if any party breaks the peace settlement, as the black materials representing things of bad omen are put inside the stomach of the carcass and thrown

down the cliff, they too will face the same fate.³² After the ceremony of conflict settlement is completed no Fuga family would dare to break the agreement. In this *gudda* ceremony both Fuga men and women participate so that none of them would, in the future, instigate revenge.

Since the oath is taken seriously the kinsmen of both parties try to convince and warn their man to keep the peace settlement so that the kinsmen may be saved from the effect of the oath. If the culprit feels that he is innocent he kills a sheep and swears an oath. If he is innocent the belief is that the plaintiff bears the consequence of the oath.

To handle cases, the Fuga and the non-Fuga therefore have their respective institutionalized and hierarchical appellate judicial structure presided by an elder or by the officially known *dañña*. At the lowest level they have the village Fuga council of elders which settles minor conflicts between families. Clan members who originally belonged to the village but live in far away places use the same village council of elders. Above this the Fuga have a clan-based council of elders which is responsible to settle conflicts that arise among all members of the clan. When the Fuga had an officially appointed *dañña*, whether before or during the Italian period, the *dañña* assisted by other Fuga elders acted as the supreme legal party. If the culprit is found guilty at any level he is fined depending on the seriousness of the offence.

THE *QALICHA* INSTITUTION

In their attempts to solve minor and major problems affecting individuals or groups the Fuga have, besides the elders, ritual heads who receive regular tributes and vows in cash and kind. These heads fulfil functions similar to the *nägadras* of the Wäyto of Lake Tana. Amongst the Wäyto the *nägadrases* served as officials responsible for the day to day affairs of Wäyto societies and at the same time served as a liaison or link between their people and the officials of the state. The Wäyto have a well-structured political system empowered to resolve community problems. The leaders served as minor officials who operated outside of the state structure.³³ I have learned that the Fuga have similar institutions that carefully handle internal and external societal problems. It is because of this internal autonomy of resolving conflicts that no publicity has been given to any conflict that arises within these non-integrated societies. Furthermore, even if the problem has not been solved to the satisfaction of everybody no one would want to reveal his rooted frustrations. As a result, both the Fuga and the Wäyto have been victims of both the localized traditional laws and the ones decreed by the state. Even the members of the dominant groups amongst whom both the Fuga and the Wäyto live the names of Fuga and Wäyto have come to be used in connection with mean and clever persons who know to live beyond the law or custom.

In the past, it seems that in the Gurage, Hadiya and Kambata zones the *qalicha* institution had become the center of Fuga religious worship and identity. Various

localities had their own localized spirits that possessed local *qalichas*. In Kambata, with its centre at Hambaricho, was Auzon. Masmasa had Giwo as its supreme spirit, the centre of worship being at Amboro. Ennär have Otad, Asar have Sammär, the Ezha and Zänabär shared the spirit called Eraz, and the Ennemour have Omar. It is admitted that all those who shared these spirits recognized one among them as the chief or high spirit so that they had one as a supreme head of all the spirits recognized by all people who endorsed the *qalicha* institution.

In Yämma each Bera Fuga *gossa* or clan had its own *qalicha*. The *qalicha* assisted by the community elders handled individual and group conflicts and brought about solutions. Similar to the *qalicha* institution in Guragé, Hadiya and Kämbara, the Bera Fuga of Yämma have one recognized *qalicha*, as a supreme head of all the *qalichas* all possessed by different spirits and followed by all people who recognize the institution.

At present, the pagan Fuga, those converted members of the Orthodox Church and some Muslims from different corners of the Gurage and Hadiya zones frequently visit the house of *qalicha* Dammo and his shrine which is dedicated to his spirit, Boza. To this *Qalicha* and his shrine gifts and tributes are offered. Formerly, at least until the 1970s, the traditional seat of the head *qalicha* of the Fuga was at Amboro.³⁴ After the death of head *qalicha* Abba Womalo of Ambaricho, who was possessed by the spirit called Womalo the center of worship shifted from Kambata to Duré in Oromia, a distance of some kilometers to the east of the town of Woliso, where we find a large

Fuga community. In the environs of Woliso the dominant spirit is Bozo who has possessed the *qalicha* Dammo, who himself originally from Mäsmäsa. In reference to the Fuga social structure Lebel says “at least in the western area of Guragelands there is a local chief to whom [whom] the Fuga pay tribute.”³⁵ Lebel does not mention the name of the chief.

The chief is also said to have been residing to the east of the town of Woliso. The report of Lebel may refer to the same *Qalicha* Dammo or to a different *qalicha* or to a chief with a different title and position. His influence seems to have extended up to Jimma where some Fuga immigrants live. Recently Alula Pankhurst has also collected similar tradition that the religious head of the Fuga is Damo who lives in Woliso. Here, the same Damo is also portrayed as an administrator of the Fuga living in the various Guragélands.³⁶

When the *qalicha* institution is compared with that of the *moét*,³⁷ a traditional ordinary Guragé religious leader, one finds a lot of similarities. When Bernardin visited the Guragélands, the head of the *moéts* was known as Joé Demam. His office was hereditary. “Leur chef ou roi reçoit tribut, il hérite de ses sujets; certains païens lui consentent une redevance dans l’espoir de palmiers formant monceau.”³⁸ In the same manner as the *qalicha* does today, the *moet* collected tribute from his followers in cash and kind during some special holidays. Among the items brought annually to him were honey in ox horns, butter, flour and grain.³⁹ At the time when I visited *Qalicha* Damo, I saw him receiving more or less similar items from his clients. Damo offered me a few *birr* and a plastic-cup full of honey from what he had collected in my presence. I

received the offers thankfully and gave it back to him. Besides the money and food stuff which people often brought to Dammo, they also regularly contributed money in order to buy a bull to be slaughtered under the holy tree outside the shrine and his main compound.

The followers of the *qalicha* institution are in most instances submissive to the spiritual power of the *qalicha* and they never attempt to negate or oppose his orders and directives. Apparently, the Hebo cult centered at Amboro played a dominant role in the spiritual life of the neighbouring traditional society of Hadiya in general and the Amboro communities in particular. It seems that there was no shrine built for the spirit Hebo other than the big *zegba* trees that served as shrines. Before the re-introduction of Christianity in the nineteenth century through the agency of Shāwan conquerors it is more likely that Islam was introduced to Amboro through the agency of Harari or northern merchants who frequently visited the town.

Before the introduction of Christianity in the late nineteenth century to south-central Ethiopia through the agency of the Šāwan army the entire population of some parts of the western Guragélands, Hadiya and Kāmbata followed their traditional religions. Like any traditional society the Fuga, together with some of the members of the dominant societies frequented the *qalicha* institution, in their ideology, three important spiritual cosmologies that governed the whole society. The minor of the three deities is the *jara (zar)* which is very active which is actively involved in the *zar* cults spirit possesses. The second one is the *qalicha* who is a medium of one or more deities and at the same time is empowered to solve the day-to-day social problems,

both minor and serious ones. This is in addition to his power of forecasting and clarifying the mysteries of life. The *qalicha* who is the medium of this institution is a rich man. He collects tributes and receives gifts in the form of vows. The third is the supreme deity manifested and identified by different names in the various languages: to mention a few, *magano* in Kāmbata, *waq* or *wa'a* in Hadiya, and *bozo* or Bozhe (god of thunder) in the Guragélands.⁴⁰

It seems that, before 1944, the majority of the societies of Hadiya and Kāmbata, including the Fuga, had more or less similar food habits without religious restrictions or prohibitions. After the restoration of Ethiopian independence it was decreed that the traditional societies of Kāmbata and Hadiya to be converted to Christianity and to stop the custom of wearing cow hide.⁴¹ After their official conversion owing to the state policy in 1944 some Fuga communities alone came to be looked down upon for eating unclean food, unlike the converted ones. The principal religious intermediaries in this respect were the local Fuga *qalichas*.

Since the beginning of this century, the Fuga have adopted different religious identities. This in itself is threatening the strong religious and occupational bond that used to hold them together. The Fuga are now divided into two groups. The first group are those who have continued with the *qalicha* institution. The other group are those who have become Catholics and Protestants, mainly followers of the Qalä Hiwät Church. In place of their historical unity and closeness a new awareness is being created among the Catholics and Protestants. This has encouraged monthly meetings in

different villages that enabled them to discuss their social and political problems. As reported by the participants, the earlier meetings were held in the Kambata and Hadiya zones. The first organizers and the majority of their current members were from these two zones. The meetings also involved those Fuga who lived in the Oromo towns of Woliso and Shashämäné.⁴² The other Fuga in the Guragé country do not participate in the meetings so far held.

It seems that followers of the traditional religion do not actively participate in the general meetings. The Protestants dominate the meetings so far being held. Both the Catholic and Protestant Fuga are strongly opposed to the *qalicha* practices for the best reason that either they are completely reluctant to exhibit themselves as traditionalists or unwilling to be associated with such practices. The *qalichas* on their part call the Catholics and Protestants *missionoch* by associating them with the European missionaries. They see them as deviants who oppose and challenge traditional institutions and traditional deities and practices.⁴³ In the past the Fuga were strongly influenced by the *qalicha* in every aspect of their lives. Each clan had its own *qalicha* who worked under the most powerful *qalicha* whom they recognized as the head. The head of the *qalichas* has his own *mägabas*⁴⁴ appointed from amongst his relatives or best friends to serve in different areas by representing him as his deputies. Each clan *qalicha* has also his own *mägabas*, numerically up to three, in the area of his domain.⁴⁵ All the *qalichas* receive vows and tributes both in cash and in kind several times in the year. Among the offerings are oxen, fattened sheep, money and honey. There are special days in the week and special months in the year when people bring

them the tributes. Some time in October the clients of the *qalicha* contribute money to be offered to the *qalichas* through their respective *mägabas*. The tributes are usually presented on Tuesdays, Thursdays and on Sundays. According to the *qalicha* these days are considered as public holidays or blessed days. Täkiso Babiso's clan, for instance, has its own clan *qalicqha* Ashore who is medium for the spirit known as Jinawena. Several times in the year all clan members who need the blessing of the *qalicha* offer honey, butter, grain, chicken, moeny, sheep, cattle etc., depending upon their wealth and upon the assistance they receive.

At Kufano in Soro *wäräda* or sub-district the *qalichas* received flowers, two fresh maize cobs, wheat and barley on the Mäsqäl holiday held yearly on September 27. Members of the *qalichas*' own family are, however, expected to bring them honey, butter and animals. Moreover, every member of the village communities is not expected to go to them. Elderly representatives are elected to take the tribute to the *qalichas* yearly and particularly during the Mäsqäl holiday. On that particular day it is not regarded good for tributes to be given through the *mägabas*. Gifts have to be delivered directly in person.⁴⁶

The payment of tribute effected in September is considered to be part of the blessing extended for the new harvest. However, *rassa* (a term used by the Fuga community and in their own way taken a substitute for the Amharic military title of *ras*) Täkiso Babiso and his father Babiso Julamo were baptized some time in 1934 by a Catholic missionary priest and they, thus, abandoned the *qalicha* practices. Through

time, as a result of the gradual conversion to Catholicism and protestantism by members of the Fuga community, there is almost no *qalicha* affiliation in Kāmbata. In most instances, according to informants, the adherents of the *qalicha* institution nowadays are members of the traditional religion, Islam and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church who live in Hadiya, Guragé and Oromiya. All the currently operating *qalichas* are followers of these religious beliefs. Some *qalichas* were elected as Fuga *shemagelés* or elders in order to administer the community according to the traditions. The assumption is that when a *qalicha* or a *shemagelé* is acting as a *dañña* he treats all people equally and fairly.⁴⁷ Here, it is evident that some known and respected elders are able to hold both the offices of the *dañña* and at the same time that of the *qalicha* as well.

The *qalichas* whom I interviewed were (as they claim) either Muslims or followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, their head also being a member of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Whenever clients visit the head *qalicha* they come to him before they are allowed to explain their personal problems for which they are seeking spiritual solutions. The high spirit of the Mäsmäsa has been Hebo who is also known as Hebo Mikael centered at Amboro.⁴⁸ My observations reveal that the key secret to the ever-complex *qalicha* cosmology is that the *qalicha* mixes the established religious ideology and the material world. In my interview with the head *Qalicha* Damo Daniyo I did not see him make a distinction between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church beliefs in Angels and saints and the *qalicha* spirits. The *qalichas* were required to initiate certain things.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a well-known *qalicha*, Samärdam, originally from Endägañ, lived at the top of the Sacheduna hill of Hossana. He was highly revered and consulted for any problem. "No single person in Endägañäää and Hossana would have lit his torch on the Mäsqäl Holiday before *Qalicha* Samärdam had lit his own."⁴⁹ *Mäsqäl* is the day designated for the Holy Cross and celebrated each year from the 10th up to the 17th sometime even beyond, of more, Mäskäräm.⁵⁰

The tradition is that all-important persons consulted the *qalicha* for guidance and advice whenever they encountered serious personal or collective problems and wanted to take measures. As discussed elsewhere, however, important and respectable Samärdam was he was forced to leave Hossana and to go to Endägañ by *Ras* Abatä Boyalew, then governor of Hadiya and Kambata. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Shäwan army was on its way to occupy Hadiya and Kambata, Samärdam is believed to have been consulted regularly for an advice by some of the notables of Hadiya. They wanted to know whether they should submit peacefully to the conquerors or resist. And those people who received his advice emerged later as important chiefs who collaborated in the subjugation of their own peoples and later on still in the defense of Ethiopia against the Italian invaders.

The institution of the *qalicha* has remained an important outlet for the despised Fuga to gain respect and equality, even to be feared and revered by both their own people and others. Once a Fuga claims to be a spirit medium he exercises unlimited

spiritual power over the traditional societies irrespective of their ethnic background. It also helps the individual to amass wealth and to promote his economic status. Most of the *qalichas* I interviewed have a minimum of two wives. One among them, as a matter of curiosity, has reported that all in all he had about ten wives.

The diversity of religious beliefs, which has come about due to external influence, among the Fuga community has negatively affected their unity and belongingness to each other. An elder explains his anxiety about the Fuga community's disintegration when he says, "As there are two many religious beliefs among the Fuga the Fuga communities are in disintegration. For example marriage relationships between the Pentecostals and others are rarely taking taking place now." "*Bä'Fuga mähakäl haymanot seläbäza säw täbätatänä. Ahun bä'Pénténa bä'lélaw mähakäl gabecha eyäkärä näw.*"⁵¹ Elders believe *Qalicha* Damo to be a just person who treats all people equally. And his abode is also seen as a place of truth and the right path to God.⁵² The *qalicha* institution plays greater role in maintaining peace, unity and mutual respect among the Fuga and between the Fuga and the non-Fuga visitors. It harmonizes the relationship at least among those who visit the *qalicha*. Those who visit the *qalicha* expect solutions for all problems, including divorce cases, health problems, theft or robbery.

The closer assistants of the *qalichas*, the *mägabas*, whenever delegated by them handle cases and give decisions that they consider to be within their jurisdiction. However, serious cases like divorce need to get the approval of the head *qalicha*

himself. The *qalicha*, some times when requested would give through his assistants to the concerned people written documents to be used as evidence. When the *mägabas* feel that the case was difficult for decision they referred it to the *qalicha*. The *mägabas* some times collect the tribute and take them to the *qalichas*. On the fixed days people bring clothe, ox, cow, chicken, sheep, money, umbrella, coffee seeds, chat, honey, green leaves, flowers, etc., themselves and do not need the *mägabas*.⁵³

Chambard and Azais had observed similar offerings presented to the head of the *tänquway* who was seen as the king of the *moet*. The Guragé revered and respected the *moet* side by side with the god of thunder, Boza. Because of his spiritual responsibilities the *qalicha* like the *moet*, medium of the god of thunder, observed certain prohibitions, like eating any food prepared by a woman outside of his house. When receiving clients the *moet* usually sits under the shade of a tree. His clients address him after bowing three times and kissing the ground he is standing on.⁵⁴ This is precisely what I saw people doing when they met *Qalicha* Damo Daneyo in his house on Dec. 19, 1998. I also personally observed similar practices in *Qalicha* Taddässä's house.

When cattle and households are struck by lightning the remnants are taken by the *moet*. The king of the *moet*, in lieu of his services to the sick or others received gifts of "an ox, some honey, some thalers...butter, sheep, etc."⁵⁵ When receiving offerings both the *moet* and the *qalicha* demonstrate and create similar behaviour. There is a clear resemblance between the institutions of the *moet* and the *qalicha*. As the case is



Qalicha Dammo and the Moet



Qalicha Dammo's Qorqor (Shrine) at Duré, East of Wäliso Town

with the Fuga *qalicha*, the *moet* honours the feast of St. Mikael.⁵⁶ In the *qalicha* institution the office is inherited only when one is possessed by the father's spirit. Here, both the male and female offspring of the *qalicha* could compete for the office until it is determined as to which of the children is possessed by the spirit of their father. The same tradition is also maintained in the *moet* institution. The office is held through hereditary principles.

THE QALICHA SHRINE:

Each *qalicha* has his own *qonqor* or shrine constructed by his men inside the external compound of his house. During construction they do not leave any internal entrance from the central main compound to the *qonqor*. The *qonqor* is a small hut under a big tree amidst the various trees. The garden around the *qonqor* is known as *gärära*. It is considered as a holy place into which no one goes except the *qalicha* himself. Any one who is not clean, such as a person who had sex, a woman in her menstruation period, or any one who has eaten onion or goat's meat is not allowed to enter into the *gärära* for a period of five days after the event. In their discussion of 'the Fuga religion', Alula Pankhurst and Worku Nida have mentioned Dammo as the title of the Fuga religious leader who heads a shrine found in a place called gorara.⁵⁷ On both points, it appears that the researchers were mis-informed by Menjiye, their Fuga informant. The reality is that Dammo is the name of the *qalicha*, and not a title and the

compound in which the *qonqor* is located is known as *gärära*, not *gorara*. Even then, *gorara* is not a specific place name.

People who come to see the *qalicha* and to tell him their personal problems will first visit the *gärära* and stand inside or outside depending on their cleanliness. If the problem involves relationship with another person and if the client does not want to identify the person, he asks the *qalicha* “*Egeziabher bisämawot yesdäbuliñ, yergämuleñ-lä'Egeziabher yassämuleñ.*”⁵⁸ The literal translation is “If God listens to you, insult and curse him and make it so that is heard by God”. The *qalicha* would respond “*Egeziabher eshi kaläñ haqehen awteto mäftehé ageñ.*”⁵⁹ The literal translation “If God listens to me, may He reveal the truth of your problem so that your problem is resolved.” It is after this that the client makes a vow standing near the *gärära*. The Fuga *qalicha* feels and tells that he is not powerful enough to control events. But he mediates as priests do, like the case with “traditional African mediums who are often priests in a tribal religion rather than magicians, for they are believed to mediate between the spirit world and men, and so to convey to their congregations the beneficent power of the gods.”⁶⁰

The visit to the *qalicha* has two purposes. The first is to get solution by approaching him in the hope that he will be able to solve all kinds of problems. The second is that people who have no problems desire to get the blessing of the *qalicha*. *Qalicha* Damo has his *mägabas* in different places. To mention a few Qumbi (Jimma), Aboso (Shashämäné), Uduma (Chäha), Abosho (Wälqité), Dura (Guro and



Qalicha Dammo Receiving Tribute Both in Cash and Kind.

Gurura), and Sefer (Goncheré). The belief is that if the culprit confesses to the *qalicha* it is believed strongly that he will either be afflicted with some kind of disease or die. As a result, of this no one takes the risk of being punished. So in most cases people confess either to the *mägabas* or to the *qalicha* himself and ask for pardon.

In spite of the fact that people in Kambata and Hadiya pay similar tribute to the *qalicha*, informants tell me that there is a minor difference in kind and the way the tribute is presented. For example, *Qalicha* Makébo Kamburé, the former head of the Kambata and Hadiya Fuga, received, cattle, sheep, honey and fresh maize cobs. The last two are meant for the blessing of the seasonal new harvest. The amount of honey may be about one kilo or two or even more, depending on the wealth of doner and seriousness of the problem brought to the *qalicha*. Usually between 20 to 100 fresh maize cobs were offered. It was only after the *qalicha* blessing had given blessing that the others from their fresh harvest. There are specific days after the harvest of other cereals designated for the offering of tribute. The most popular days are *Buzalo* held on the 12 *Hedar* or 21 November every year, *Bulo* or *Astäreyo Maryam* held on 21 *Ter* or 21 January and *Eno* held on *Mägabit* 12 or 22 March. Here, parallels can be drawn between chiefs of the dominant societies and the Fuga *qalichas*. The chiefs have political power and land ownership right to exploit the peasantry. They also command high social status. As the chiefs dominate and exploit the peasantry the *qalichas* have gained spiritual power and a social status of being revered which equally exposes the peasantry to unlimited material and spiritual exploitation by the latter. The *qalichas* have served as advisers and provided guidance to the important men in the region.

They have provided advice on political, social and economic affairs and guidance for future actions to be taken by the client chiefs.⁶¹

The *qalichas* like their counterparts, the ordinary chiefs, have been collecting tributes of all kinds and spiritually mobilizing their clients whenever the need has arisen. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the *qalichas* were and still are more or less the chiefs of the Fuga community and of the others from among non-Fuga who frequently visit them. In effect anything the *qalichas* order is, out of fear, respectfully obeyed and fulfilled. The subordinate *qalichas* have been paying tribute to the head *qalichas*. On the other hand, the ordinary chief's order may sometimes be prudently challenged unless accompanied by threat of use of force. During the Italian occupation of 1936-1941 some Fuga *qalichas* occupied important political posts with the title of *daññas* of the Fuga communities. The Italian governors who resided at Hossana, being advised by collaborating Kambata and Hadiya chiefs, appointed Fuga *daññas* who acted over the Fuga in the whole Italian administrative unit with its capital at Hossana. Their jurisdiction extended over Kambata, Gudella, Silti, Maräqo and southern Gurage land. "Residenza di Hossana ha giurisdizione sul Cambatta, sul Gudella, sul Silti, sul Marécò, sul Guraghe meridionale."⁶²

Some *qalichas* claim that they are mediums for more than one spirit. *Qalicha* Hassän Saní claims that he is for three spirits, named Abuko, Maryam (probably he means St. Mary) and Jäjo. Abuko is reported to be the son of Maryam. Hassän also claims to be a medicine man and rainmaker when guided by Abuko, his god of

medicine and rain. In order to effectively give service to his clients Hassän abstains from the eating of goats, chicken, eggs, onions, linseed and vetch.⁶³

The *buzalo* ceremony is meant for the offering of cereals and cucumber. The *bulo* ceremony takes place within a single day assigned for the offering of food prepared from the mixture of barley flour and butter. And the *eno*, also called *edurgafu*, is a day for the offering of wheat bread. Besides, there are other holidays like the *jachifädu* ceremony held on Genbot 12 on which the clients carry seven selected small stones from the riverside to be given to the *qalicha*. At this time they also carry *bashiko*, bread broken into pieces and soaked in butter. There is also the *samuta* ceremony which coincides with the Mäsqäl holiday for which village representatives are selected and sent to the house of the *qalicha* carrying the community's contribution of fresh maize cobs and fresh, ripe legume seeds.⁶⁴ In the houses of the *qalichas* all the offerings are handed over to the *magabas* of the concerned *qalicha*. This may be way of thanksgiving to the spirits for the human and animal fertility and satisfactory harvest obtained by the people. After receiving the offerings the *qalicha* performs his prayers, explaining the wishes and demands of the spirits who are taken as guardians of the community. Some of the *qalichas* claim to be rainmakers and become vital in the life of the farmers.

This institution, being the dominant one among the traditional Fuga, was probably interrupted with the introduction of Christianity and Islam. According to elder informants it was in 1932 that some Fuga families were converted due to the influence

of the Shāwan conquerors. They were baptized first at the St. Mary Church in Hossana. The first among the converts were the tenants of *Bälambäbras* Nagašh. He became instrumental for the conversion of many of his slaves and the Fuga. Such practice was followed by Fuga individuals like Wonchito Jarso and Wazäm Ufayä who became members of the Protestant church at the Busha Saleta Church.⁶⁵ The two churches played a central role in the conversion of the Fuga, and others followed their examples. A large number of Fuga were converted to Christianity in general during the five years of Italian occupation. This trend continued after independence.

The process of conversion increased greatly after the Fuga started to go to the schools. It was in the early 1950s that *Ato* Abeyo Dabelo, a young male Fuga from Mäsmäsa became interested enough in education as to teach himself without attending any formal classes. He learned how to read and write Amharic while living at his village of Vätarra. Following his example, Éleyas Grañ joined the elementary mission school at Babecho in 1954. Yohannes Dabelo followed suit. In 1957, Yohannes Hundesa, Tameru Takiso (both are school teachers now), Negatu Wäyässä, Käbädä Mulun, Šefäraw Abéyo, Buzunäš Grañ (a girl) and Mängäša Awano who later became corporal in the army started schooling at the Babecho mission school and the Ras Abatä government school both in Hossana.⁶⁶ All of them accepted Christianity after they began attending classes. Some became members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church while others joined the Qalä Hiwät Protestant Church.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

¹ Oral Informants: Wäldä Sänbät Béna and Abba Rago Chewchu.

² Oral Informants: Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo and Wäyzäro Saraté Ajäjo.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The information about the Fuga's *gudda* conflict resolution ceremony has been collected from different Fuga elders in both Kambata and Hadiya. For further information on conflict resolution among the dominant Kambata one may refer to an article by Norman J. Singer, "The Relevance of Traditional Legal Systems to Modernization and Reform: A Consideration of Cambata legal Structure", Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian studies. Nice 19-22 December 1977 (AA. Balkema/Rotterdam 1980).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The preliminary work of this sub-title was presented for the Eighth Departmental Seminar held between 25 and 28 February 1999 at Zuway.

⁷ Tibebe Teshale, "The Making of Modern Ethiopia 1900-1975: An Inquiry in Historical Sociology" (Ph.D Dissertation in Sociology, State University of New York, 1989), p.35.

⁸ Oral Informant: Murgat Hayt.

⁹ My personal observation over a long period of potters in Tegray and Eritrea.

¹⁰ Wolf Leslau, Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background, Chaha Ennomor. Part V. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1983, p.35.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 37.

¹² Tsehai Berhane Selassie, "Gender and Occupational Potters in Wälayta: Imposed Femininity and 'Mysterious Survival' in Ethiopia", Gender Issues in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1991), p. 20.

¹³ Oral Informants: Geselé Kamburé, Dabaro Hébon, Merehuri Tirarigo and Kimamé Te'ég.

¹⁴ Oral Informants: Liramo Wayeso and Badänga Maru.

¹⁵ Tsehai berhane Selassie, "Gender and Occupational Potters in Wälayta....", p. 27.

¹⁶ Oral Informants: Siratè Sojiya and Alämnäsh Najen.

¹⁷ Oral Informants: Mohamäd Babongo, Zäwdé Abäbä and Gisa Wonchito.

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- ¹⁸ Oral Informant: Mulunäsh Abba Waji.
- ¹⁹ Oral Informant: Dawit Grañ.
- ²⁰ Oral Informant: Sheguṭé Bayu and Gäbrä Mäsqäl Légebo.
- ²¹ Oral Informants: Dawit Grañ and *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo.
- ²² Oral Informant: Mulunäsh Abba Waji.
- ²³ Oral Informants: Alämnäsh Näjen, Dabaro Hèbom and Dässaläñ Tulano.
- ²⁴ Oral Informant: Mulunäsh Abba Waji.
- ²⁵ Tsehai Berhane Selassie, "Gender and Occupational Potters in Wälayta...", 1991, p. 23.
- ²⁶ Oral Informants: *Qalicha* Damo Daneyo, and Abiyo Dabalo.
- ²⁷ Oral Informants: Yohannes Hundesa and Tameru Takiso.
- ²⁸ Oral Informant: Abba Rago Bäguero.
- ²⁹ Oral Informants: Zäwdé Abäbä and Geselé Qumburëä.
- ³⁰ Oral Informants: *Rasa* Täkëso Babiso, *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo, *Telahun* Bkulo and *Élyas* Grañ.
- ³¹ Oral Informants: Elyas Grañ, *Telahun* Bukulo, Yohannes Dabelo and Yohannes Hélémo. I am grateful to Dr. Bāyānā Doilicho, Geography Department at Addis Abāba University, who assisted me in translating the statements in Kambata language into English.
- ³² Oral Informants: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo,
- ³³ Teclé Haimanot G. Selassie, "The Wayto of Lake Tana...", p. 81.
- ³⁴ Oral Informants: *Qalicha* Abbo Chāwaso, Ergécho Delébo and *Qalicha* Damo Daneyo.
- ³⁵ Phillip Lebel, "Oral Traditional and Chronicles on Guragé Immigration", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (Addis Ababa, 1974), p. 96.
- ³⁶ Alula Pankhurst and Worku Nida, "Mänjiyé: Artist and Actor; A Fuga Craftsman Among the Guragé," a draft of an article. N:D. p.7.. Alula has called the *qalicha* shrine gorara instead of *gärära* which still is not the case. He was probably misinformed. *Gärära* is not the name of the shrine but of its compound. The shrine is called *qonqor*.
- ³⁷ Worku Nida in his "The reivalist Movemnt of Hassen Enjamo" (BA. Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1984), p. 18, and in his Amharic book *Jäbedu Yäguragé Bahel'en Tarik* (Addis Ababa, 1983 E.C.), p.62, has written a note on the moët. Moët, is the ritual representative of the single universal high spirit called Bozha or god of thunder. The female deity Damuamuit (goddess) also existed among the Guragé and had its human ritual head or reperesentative called moyats who served as sub-agents of the Moët.

³⁸ P. Bernardin de St. Pons. Mois, "Le Paganisme en Pays Gouraghe," Études Franciscaines: (Paris: Société et Libraire Saint François D'Assise, XXXVIII. 1926), p.308.

³⁹ P. Bernardin de St. Pons. Mois, "Le Paganisme en Pays Gouraghe," Études Franciscaines: (Paris: Société et Libraire Saint François D'Assise, XXXVIII. 1926), p. 308.

⁴⁰ Gabreyesus Hailemariam, The Guragé and Their Culture..., p. 139.

⁴¹ All elders interviewed say that the imperial order of 1944, which was aimed at religious conversion and change of the traditional clothes has affected them. Though it is still fresh in their memories it was not possible for the researcher to get any written archival evidence concerning the event.

⁴² Oral Informants: Abgaz Yohannes Dabelo, Élyas Grañ. I, personally have attended two of their meetings at Watto and Bushana. When they held their meeting at Bushana I spent the night with them.

⁴³ Oral Informants: Qalicha Dammo Daneyo and Qalicha Abbo Chawaso.

⁴⁴ According to my colleague Ato Yacob Arsano, mägaba in his birth-place Tämbaro has been used as a traditional title accorded to a democratically elected person in order to be an active administrator. In the political hierarchy of Tämbaro he was a second person to the wama. The wama acted as a symbolic political and religious leader. Both offices were held for life long.

⁴⁵ Oral Informant: Rasa Täkiso Babiso.

⁴⁶ Oral Informant: Abosé Tuéso.

⁴⁷ Oral Informant: Abosé Tuéso.

⁴⁸ Oral Informant: Aläqa Luelsägäd Godé.

⁴⁹ Oral Informant: Gäbrä Sadeq Lasé Barumbo.

⁵⁰ (Bairu Tafla (edit.) Asma Giyorgis and His Works: History of the Galla and the Kingdom of Sawā (Stuttgart, 1987), p. 879.

⁵¹ Oral Informant: Damās Tuléro Daneyo Afajo.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Oral Informant: Geselé Kamburé.

⁵⁴ Azais, R. P. et Chambard A. Cinq Années de Recherches en Ethiopie, (Paris: 1931), p.191.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p.189.

⁵⁷ Alula Pankhurst and Worku Nida, "Menjiye Tabeta-Artist and Actor: The Life and Work of a Fuga Woodworker", *Ethiopian Traditions of Creativity*, Raymond A. Silverman ed. (East Lansing:Michigan State University Museum, 1999), 118.

⁵⁸ Oral Informant: *Qalicha* Damo Daneyo.

⁵⁹ Oral Informant: *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo.

⁶⁰ John Beattie Elizabeth Colson, editor. *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa*. (New York: African Publishing Corporation , 1969), p. XXII.

⁶¹ Oral Informant: Shifäraw Nägash.

⁶² (ASMAI, OAI Africa II Etiopia, Posizione 181/52, File No. 244 Notiziario politico, letter number 5454 dated 26 Maggio 1937, p.124).

⁶³ Oral Informant: *Qalicha* Hassän Sani.

⁶⁴ Oral Informant: Yohannes Helamo.

⁶⁵ Oral Informants: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo, Mässälä Mälkamu and Dawit Grañ.

⁶⁶ Oral Informants: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo, Yohannes Hundesa, Tameru Takiso, and Negatu Wäyäsa.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUGA'S RESPONSE TO DIFFERENT POLITICAL SYSTEMS

One of the most complex aspects of Ethiopian history is the incessant mobility and interaction of peoples since time immemorial. Wars, famine, economic and other demographic factors might have caused such population movements, which have taken place over a long period of time. Due to the length of time which has elapsed the identification of the origin of the minority ethnic groups, their composition, the cause for their movements, and the origin of their movements in their early migrations have become much more difficult to trace. In the past, there were different ethnic groups in south-central Ethiopia enjoying independence by establishing their respective political centers. Their administrative centers might as well have served as market places. In those centers some of the ethnic groups might have suffered from inequality and degradation even to the extent of being regarded as untouchables. Such was the case with the depised Fuga of the Hadiya, Guragé and Kämpata zones and of the Yamma. The Manna, living among the Ari of south-western Ethiopia, have experienced similar if not worse treatment. There is a general understanding that some of the peoples, now living in south-central Ethiopia, had come from the north.

Part of the Gurage people claim to have settled at Aymäläl before Emperor Amdä Seyon (r.1314-1344) campaigned in the area.¹ This is to show that the migration of people's had started earlier than the territorial expansion of the Ethiopian Christian

Empire. In spite of the absence of documentary evidence oral tradition has it that the ancestors of the Mäsmäsa in western Hadiya, the Ennär and Endägañña in western Guragé, the Oyeta, the Yamma and the Fuga artisan groups had come from the north, long before the military campaigns of Amdä Seyon. The arrival of the various peoples to the south-central parts of Ethiopia is assumed to have taken place during the Zagwe period (1140-1270) or before. The belief of the elders is that this event had taken place before the southward territorial expansion of the "Solomonic Dynasty."²

From a time perspective, it seems that the initial vigorous southward movement of the northern Ethiopian Christian state might have taken place after the fall of the Aksumite kingdom, sometime in the twelfth century.³ Among the various views is Conti Rossini's that the "Sidama" peoples had occupied large parts of the highlands of central Ethiopia. Their strong ruler "Queen Gudit" might have contributed to the fall of the Aksumite Kingdom.⁴ Here, one may speculate that there could have been a strong social and political interaction between the Ethio-Semitic and Cushitic peoples of the North and the Sidama of the South. Referring to Zena Marqos, Säyfu Debabé has to say that the Guragé people started to settle in their present location some time before the thirteenth century. He adds that they might have come in different waves, in different directions and from different places of origin.⁵

The traditions of the descendants of the early northern emigrant settlers in south-central Ethiopia claim that they initially established themselves at the Ambaricho massif eight hundred years ago.⁶ Ambaricho, "the fortress (*amba*) of the son (*aricho*),

is a significant massif between Duramé and Hosanna.”⁷ At Ambaricho the various people who came from Gondär, Sidamo, Arsi, Boräna, Jimma or Bosha and Wälayta settled for some time. This idea gets support from Ulrich Braukamper who writes that a complete set of ethnic groups did not arrive at one time, but migration of “ethnogenesis from heterogenous groups or waves of immigrants only took place in the Sidama country before.”⁸

It was from this centre that the various groups moved to settle in different places in the same region. Among others, the Oyeta clan of Kambata alone are believed to have settled in the neighborhood of the Ambaricho massif under their legendary leader Amanuel. The rest advanced in the north-western direction to western Hadiya and to today’s western Guragé, close to the Gibe River or beyond.⁹ According to Braukämper the ancient nomadic Hadiya inhabited the lowland area between Lake Abbaya and the Omo Valley.¹⁰

There is also an oral tradition, which says that the Hadiya people were the captives of Emperor Zära Yaqob and were brought from the Balé area and settled in Hadiya as suppliers of cattle to the imperial palace located at Hambaricho Hossas.¹¹ Säyfu has it that the Hadiya when compared with the Gudélla (also currently known as Hadiya) were latecomers to the place of their present settlement.¹²

It is more likely that the various Hadiya clans who have been living as nomadic livestock managers were latecomers. This was a new trend of east-west direction of

migration of people to Hadiya. It was probably before the arrival of the Hadiya people at the then Mäsmäsa area that the Alaba dominated the region until they were ousted by the Mäsmäsa and Fuga warriors. It is a common story repeatedly told by elders that there have been subsequent migrations in the north-south direction into the three zones of Guragé, Hadiya, Kämbata and the special district of Yämma.

To exclude the Fuga from this tradition Azais and Chambard speculate that the Fuga are closely related to the ancient inhabitants of the Horn of Africa. Based on this speculation, they are also of the opinion that the Fuga might have been the first inhabitants of the Gurage area.¹³ However, Fuga oral tradition and research findings by scholars indicate that in particular the Fuga of the Gurage lands were latecomers to the place. "The most frequently offered explanation of the emergence of the Fuga was that they came with immigrant groups such as the Boz, Saga, and Mogämänä."¹⁴

Similarly, some of the dominant Gurage claim to have come through the Sidama country, along the direction of the Fuga route. The Fuga of Ezha who claim to be the descendants of an ancestor called Gamäs, are said to have come through Alaba. Gamäs had four children, namely Gashtä, Aro, Go and Täräd. The four Fuga clans in Ezha now represent these. On their arrival in Ezha they were patronized by four Guragé clans. The Fuga Gashtä clan was patronized by the Guragé clan of Qotär, the Aro by Shäfar, the Go by Nägéra, and the Täräd by Qonchacha. By the time the Fuga clans' founding father, Gamäs, arrived the Guragé had already settled in the area.¹⁵ In connexion with this an Italian report indicates that "*alcune frazioni di Guraghe*

meridionali (Ennecor, Asserenet) hanno ormai rinnegato la loro comunanza di origini con gli altri Guraghe, e si son polarizzate sull'antica Husseina (oggi Hosanna) nell Cambatta."¹⁶ When converted to the English language reads, "Some villages of southern Guragé (Enneqor, Azernet) have already denied their common origin with the other Guragé and they associate themselves with ancient Hosseina (now Hossana) in Kämpata." The Fuga and non-Fuga elders have repeatedly told that the ancestors of all the Fuga occupational groups had come from the north.

In the course of their migration from the north, the Fuga accompanying others passed through some identifiable places until they arrived in their present settlement areas. The common tradition is that the Fuga ancestral fathers had come from Dälgi at the western banks of the Lake Tana. If this holds true, the Fuga can be a branch of the Wayto.¹⁷ It has been asserted that there is one clan among the Wayto of Lake Tana, which identifies itself with the name of Fuga since early times.¹⁸ Among other things the different dominant groups who claim to have brought the Fuga had themselves either originally come from or passed through places like Gerarweha, Dälgi (both in Gondär), Gojjam, and Bosha in Kafa before arriving at Ambaricho mountain in Kämpata. It was from this mountain in Kämpata that they gradually moved to Hadiya, Guragé and, in modern times, to some Oromo areas.¹⁹

It seems that the first arrivals were too few and insecure to freely settle among the indigenous people. Wherever they went to settle in the newly occupied places they selected strategic areas suitable for fortification. Among the major settlement places

Ambaricho was the only one of the oldest and first settlements where they did not bother to construct fortifications. This happened because Ambaricho being a mountain, naturally fortified, there was no need for the settlers to construct fortification. The Mäsmäsa group with the Ennär and the Endägañ settled at Herman (later known as Sächeduna, but now as Bä'alä Wäld Church) in the vicinity of present day Hossana and Hebrama at the southern side of the Kontoma mountain where they established the Oda Gäbaya or Oda market. Two generations later, the Mäsmäsa people alone moved to Amboro to settle where they gradually established a well-fortified market and administrative centre which survived until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Ennär and Endägañ separately moved further the north-west direction of Hebrama and settled in western Guragé, in the neighbourhood of present day Ennär Amanuel church and Asar respectively. During their migration the two groups took two different routes to the places of their respective settlements. The Ennär stayed for a short period at Mätäné in the deep Gibe River Valley, to the west of their later settlement at Ennär Amanuél. The Asar who migrated to Endägañ established a fortified settlement at present day Asar.²⁰

Among the three groups who left Ambaricho massif the Mäsmäsa controlled vast territory and later established Amboro as their administrative center and market place, at the center of their domain. The other two, namely Ennär and Asar, had their own respective small administrative and market places within their fortifications which also served as satellite markets of Amboro. Throughout the period of migration, all of the

immigrant groups were accompanied by different Fuga communities who later became the founding fathers of the Fuga clans, particularly of Ennär and Endägañ.

It is a common tradition that the famous Fuga hunters were capable of identifying and responsible for the selection of the then new settlement places. The Mäsmäsa tradition has it that the settlement took place long before the settlement of the non-Muslim Hadiya nomadic herdsmen who are supposed to have come to the area some time in the fifteenth century as captives of Emperor Zära Yaqob.²¹

For the elders, the Muslim of Hadiya mean those people who controlled the medieval state of Hadiya as indicated in Emperor Zära Yaqob's chronicle. To them the Muslims of Hadiya are known as Gudella and not as Hadiya. When they say Hadiya it signifies the nomadic herdsmen of the place of Hadiya.

Ancient Mäsmäsa with its capital at Amboro extended from the Gibe River in the west to western Gurage in north-east. There is a strong oral tradition that the Hadiya people were an extension of the Raya clan of the Oromo.²² The early settlers who were agriculturalists and who also kept cattle were known as Gudéla.²³ The Gudéla seem to have been those who had founded the medieval Hadiya state. But, it has been difficult to identify the exact location and limits of the medieval state of Hadiya. The nomadic herdsmen later called Hadiya were captives of Emperor Zara Yaqob (r.1434-1468) who, it is said, had established his capital at Ambaricho Hossa.²⁴ The story of the Hadiya starts with the first captive, their founding father Boyä. Elders say that during

the reign of Zara Yacob, there was a cattle epidemic, which wiped out the cattle in the region. As a result the royal family could not get sufficient meat supply. To find more meat supply the emperor campaigned in the south-eastern direction towards Balé and found a very rich group of herdsmen under their leader called Boyä whom the emperor captured with his people and cattle and brought to the neighbourhood of Hmbaricho Hossa.

Boyä was assigned as his sole responsibility to provide the emperor's court with fattened cattle. Boyä had four wives. He settled his first wife at Shashägo, the second at Maräqo, the third at Badäwacho and the fourth at Soro. "Soro" in Hadiya language means four. All Boyä's wives gave birth to their first four male children in their respective areas.

The names of the first four children of Boyä begotten of these four different wives were Shashägo, Maräqo, Badowacho and Soro. Agewise, according to elders, "Soro" meant the youngest fourth son. All of them were later considered as the founding fathers of the four Hadiya clans to whom they lent their names.²⁵ They were most of the time at peace with each other. After the descendants of Boyä had lived in Hadiya for generations an Oromo clan came to the region and settled as their neighbour. This Oromo branch was the Limu clan. *Dañña* Mokoro, the head *dañña* of all the Limu clan says that the Limu came from Harar and settled in Hadiya sometime before twelve generations.²⁶

The Limu initially came as nomadic herdsmen and first rested at Fonqo under a Zigba tree. While they were at Fonqo they were approached by the Endägañña who had serious political problems with the Hadiya clans of Soro and Shashägo. The Endägañña people warned the new comer Limu to be careful of the dangerous Soro and Shashägo clans. They advised the Limu to settle at the elevated areas of Chamäta in Léra so that they became neighbours of the Endägañña and were able to defend themselves from the attacks of the Hadiya clans. The Limu clan gradually extended their area of occupation as far as Fonqo, the place of their first settlement. As a result of their expansion they came to be later known as the upper Limu of Anna and the lower Limu of Kontom. The upper Limu consisted of four subclans and the lower of two. Since then they have become known as the six Limu.²⁷

The migration initiated with Boyä and his people as captives from the Balé region may be considered to be the pre-Oromo Cushitic migration, which had taken place during the reign of Emperor Zara Yaqob. It might have taken a long time for Boyä and his people to be politically significant in the region. Before Boyä's people were established in present day Hadiya others like the Mäsmäsa and the Alaba seem to have been politically influential.

The Mäsmäsa and the Alaba were frequently in conflict with each other. Some elders say that the Alaba had controlled the area before the coming of Boyä with his followers (who would be later known as the Hadiya people) and after, until they were forced to leave the place. In all the wars fought between the Mäsmäsa and the Alaba the

male adult Fuga actively participated. The Alaba people were driven out of Mäsmäsa, by the Mäsmäsa warriors, after they fought under their leader Alajano and were defeated at Jilo near Amboro. In the fighting Alajano was killed by a Fuga brave, Sodo Kusharé, who thus came to be regarded as a hero by both the Fuga and the Mäsmäsa.²⁸ *Azmach* Élé, then leader of the Mäsmäsa, is believed to have granted Awi Bär, part of Ambäro, to the Fuga brave, Sodo Kusharé, for his heroic achievement.²⁹ Since then the Fuga descendants of Sodo Kusharé have owned it as their *rest* land.

When the pastoralist Hadiya came to Mäsmäsa they found only the Mäsmäsa people including the Fuga and the indigenous people who had assimilated by the latter.³⁰ According to *Dañña* Gueboro the indigenous people were Gun, Ér, Masauwiy, Érär and Gubech. Among them only the Gun have still retained their identity. The rest have been totally assimilated by the Mäsmäsa, the Fuga, and the Hadiya of later period (which comprises the former Gudélla, Boyä's people and the Limu Oromo). No matter who settled first in the region it seems that the Fuga were designated to occupy the lowest social status. The Fuga who claim to be one among the early settlers of the region were denied the ownership right to land outside of Amboro while the latecomer Hadiya clans of Soro, Limu and Badowacho controlled it. The Fuga were no longer contained in the small areas they had initially acquired at Hambaricho near the Ambaricho massif, Amboro in Mäsmäsa, Ennär and Asar both in western Guragé. They later moved out of these places, due to shortage of land, in order to find new settlement places among the neighbouring peoples of Kambata, Hadiya, and Gurage. Once they were out of Ambaricho, Amboro, Ennär and Asar they were treated as landless social

minorities. It was from these places that they again continued their further migration or expansion to other new areas in Oromiya. The early migration of the Fuga to the Oromo areas, particularly to Ambo in Šäwa, seems to have started some time in the last decade of the nineteenth century.³¹ Wherever they went the Fuga remained social minorities, a landless and despised occupational groups.

The Šäwa Conquest of South-central Ethiopia

South-central Ethiopia has been known for its accommodation or housing of many linguistic and ethnic groups. In the same area one finds several distinct outcast occupational groups who, however, share similar life conditions in times of peace or war. The Fuga, one among them, were directly and fully involved in locally ignited or externally initiated wars. The Fuga have retained a strong tradition that their ancestors were extraordinarily famous hunters who even at times captured dangerous wild game with their bare hands and were at the same time much more daring warriors than the non-Fuga. The Fuga are also known for their accuracy in shooting at targets with their poisoned arrows. In the whole region the use of arrows has been their own unique specialty. It is a common saying among the Fuga elders of Hadiya and Kāmbata that there are no wild and dangerous beasts that their ancestors did not kill.

As among other hunters, among the Fuga too, the prestigious game to kill were elephants, lions, leopards, buffaloes and giraffe. It is said that there has been an agreement among some ethnic groups including the Fuga, that a person, who in war,

received a spear thrust or an arrow on the back would be denied proper burial ceremony and attendance as a member of the society.³² The following are examples of the Fuga songs composed in the Mäsmäsa language to praise their successful heroes who killed leopards. Initially it was obtained in the Mäsmäsa language and then translated into Amharic by the same informants so that the researcher would be able to understand it. Below, the researcher has given a liberal translation into English.

“Azäguer Berentè,	A spotted leopard,
Otoho Ozjoronte	Look how it glistens.
Zägär Bädongoye,	The leopard is at the cliff,
Goncho Be’uguyé,	And the Hyena in its bush,
Etoho Yiguenkuye.. ³³	Wo! listen how it shouts.

Such songs were meant to incite and motivate young Fuga hunters to go hunting. The young hunters responded in their boasting songs how dangerous and difficult it was to hunt for a leopard.

Azägran Bota,	A leopard is like a spark,
Menuham Berota,	Look how beautifully it glitters,
Gädé Guwändu.	It howls like thunder.
Zäguer Bädängäwo,	The leopard at the cliff,
Hogueman Arwad.. ³⁴	Is, however, the supper of the brave.

Their admirers used to encourage the hunters by singing the following song of support.

Unzewon tod,	Hold him a torch,
Nohoré Nohoré,	Let us go, let us go,
Nohor Baryom,	He insisted that we go,
Bädäd Dergiyom,	Beat him with your feather (for good luck),
Hadant Bunaré.. ³⁵	You early rising dove.

It seems to be in an attempt to demonstrate a hunting event that the people sung the following song.

Han'an afor kot fons at'egid,	The cry (screaming) at the upper land makes one wear a "gildim" (loose skirt),
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Hogued afor kot enba'ad atnävä,...The cry at the lower land makes one run nude,

Higir'éd shorod be'azget qeter,.....The contribution of the girls could be noted with "be'azget" waist belt,

Echuné échun,	He is his son, he is his son,
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Basqéqotosh, basqämätosh,	Because she brought him up and cared for him.
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Echu hamané hitiqamoné asambatoné.³⁶ Whose son is he? He is the son of Tiqamo and Senbäto.

There is also a group song sung for the successful heroes during the *Mäsqäl* holy day. The common practice was for two men and two women to sing it by turns.

Ozonu eger sa'ar ajaguré,	The feet of the youth dries the grasses,
Bunod atonuré,	It also blows the dust,
Munoga worumé,	When did he go?
Munoga mu'umé,	And when did he come?
Wäreyé wäreyé,	It is false, it is false,
Waré'yä man awedé'yé,	Who would tell me the news?
Hébéro wäreyé,	There is a rumour in the Yebéro country.
Ébélam wäreyé,	There is also rumour at Yebélam.
Hagadé wäräjo,	He is the son of the fast people,
Hadugbu bäräjo. ³⁷	Like a falling hail.

With such concepts of valour and a background of strong hunting and warring capacity, during moments of crisis in their history, the Fuga have remained a component part of all the dominant groups with whom they have lived. A feeling centered around Fuga family values has dominated them to inculcate loyalty, docility and discipline in the Fuga while forcing them to identify fully and sincerely with the interest of their respective patrons. The relationship has many features linking Fuga subordinates and their patrons and a set of reciprocal obligations is implied.

These obligations dwell mainly, however, upon the client Fuga being essentially at the continuous disposal of his patron so as to labour and support the patron with all the Fuga's capacities, siding with him in both peaceful and difficult times. The

reciprocal response and commitment of the patron has been to help fully his client in times of difficulty in economic, social, political and legal matters. If he failed to do so and to remunerate the Fuga for the way the latter defended his interests, he would not be able to stand the public humiliation that would follow. He would not, at the same time, get any Fuga to serve under his protection.³⁸ It is mainly for self-esteem and prestige that the patron protects his clients at the most of his ability.

Being efficient in the use of their bows and arrows, the Fuga warriors were even used as *bārāñña* or vanguards in the local wars their patron fought.³⁹ During the Šāwan conquest the Fuga were directly involved in one way or another. When the forces of Emperor Menelik II invaded the Guragé, Hadiya and Kāmbata areas in the last quarter of the nineteenth century they shared in both the protracted wars of resistance and the peaceful submission of their patrons.

The rare available documents indicate that the Šāwan army started its early campaigns towards southern Šāwa sometime in the early 1870s. In 1873, Menelik had sent his army as far as Zeway and the Soddo frontier in eastern Guragé.⁴⁰ In early December of 1875 Menelik seems to have been either planning to conquer people to the south or had difficulty in his campaigns against the various peoples in the southern part of his kingdom. This can be learned from the letter Menelik wrote to the Roman Pope Pius IX asking blessing for himself, his army and his people in order to succeed in his campaigns against the Muslims and infidels and to bring them to glorify and honour the name of Jesus Christ. The Amharic letter reads “Eslamoch ena

Arämaweyanen yä'läsus Kerstosen sem lämakebär del endadärg bäsälätewo Aayersuñ."⁴¹
(lit. translation, "do not forget me in your prayers in order to win and make the Muslims and the pagans honour the name of Jesus Christ".) From this letter one may be tempted to say that Menelik had developed missionary motives to convert the Muslims and the traditional religionists in the early period of his conquest.

Nevertheless, we do not have any satisfactory information concerning the outcome of the two above-mentioned campaigns. Local sources are silent about these early military activities. Elders in Eastern Guragé remark that the Mäsqañ were historically limited to the highland and the Maroqo to the lowland. When the highland Mäsqañ grew in number they needed more land for their settlement. In order to get enough additional land they fought against the lowland Maroqo so as to secure a sizable area for their permanent settlement. Whenever they acquired new lands they usually demarcated them with artificial trenches so as to be able defend their new acquisitions.⁴² It was in this way that the Mäsqañ migrated to the lowland plains and foothills of the current domains.

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the general territorial frontier of the disunited Guragé principalities extended as far as the Awash in the east, Lake Zeway in the south and the Gibe River in the west. It seems that they were united to establish a common front when they faced the Shäwan attack, which they took as a common threat. Menelik's serious move to the Guragé lands was probably started in May 1874.⁴³

Until 1878, the Hadiya of Qabéna and the Guragé shared the famous political and religious leader Omar Baksa who led the resistance against the Shāwan army. To strengthen his position he allied with the neighbouring Muslim Oromo of the Gibé states, namely, Enarya, Jimma, Goma and Guma.⁴⁴ In 1878, he was succeeded by the Muslim Hadiya leader Hassän Enjamo (1878-1789)⁴⁵ who organized a strong fighting force and persistently challenged the Shāwan conquering army. Hassän Enjamo led a protracted religious and military resistance, challenging Menelik's war generals, among them the famous *Ras* Gobäna whom he defeated thrice.⁴⁶ In appreciation of Hassän's heroic military activities his admirers composed in his honour an Amharic praise war song.

“Hassän Enjamo the sturdy *gäbar* (tenant),

He confronted Gobäna face to face.

Hassän Enjamo the medicine of war,

Let alone in the daylight he fights well even at night”⁴⁷

This song might have been sung after “the soldiers of the holy war leader exterminated the people of *Räs* Gobäna...*Räs* Gobäna decided to escape to the Soddo, and withdrew to Woliso.”⁴⁸ As a leader of the religious war Hassän Enjamo boasted after his victory saying “Slave of my father (I am).”⁴⁹ In spite of the stiff resistance on the part of the Guragé and the Qebéna of Hadiya, Habte Giyorgis destroyed the

Guragé-Hadiya coalition in March 1889 and brought an end to the protracted resistance.⁵⁰

Having frustrated the initial attempts of the Shāwan conquering army Hassän Injamo governed the area between the Awash and the Gibe rivers as a sovereign ruler.⁵¹ Out of desperation Menelik sent his famous war generals, namely Darge, Habte Giyorges, Wäldé and Gobäna among others, against Hassän Injamo. Before the full submission of the Guragé, Menelik appointed *Dejazmach* Wäldé Ashagari as its governor.⁵² In the successive campaigns there seem to have been harsh plundering of cattle and slaves from the Guragé country.⁵³ After desperate attempts Menelik also dispatched a strong force under *Ras* Gobäna which again suffered similar defeat.⁵⁴ As a result of their stubborn and protracted resistance the conquered Guragé people were harshly punished. Fitawrari Habtä Giyorgis and his followers confiscated their lands.⁵⁵

During the course of the Shāwan successive campaigns there was a Hadiya man called Hemacho Säqeto who had an interesting career. He was born at Qächa Mikael in Kambata and belonged to the Olecho clan. Unlike Hassen Enjamo, Hemacho, having accepted the advice of a known *Qalicha* Aydar Mancho, peacefully submitted to and collaborated with the Shāwan conquerors.⁵⁶ He always consulted Aydar Mancho as his personal mentor in his social and political life. Hemacho and his friend Sädébo Gumushé succeeded in winning the favour of the Shāwans. Having secured their friendly relations, they even served as mediators between the Shāwan conquerors and

Hadiya chiefs, Bar Feriṭo and Abba Gäda Orsé, who were contemplating rebellion. He was instrumental in the process of peaceful incorporation of the Hadiya people.

It was not only the Hadiya *balabats* who peacefully submitted to the Shāwan conquerors, there were also others elsewhere. The cause for the submission of the Hadiya chiefs was thus explained by Conti Rossini, "The Hadiya submitted peacefully to Menelik II, obtaining in exchange special favours."⁵⁷

Oral tradition and some documentary sources indicate that in the pre-Menelik period there was Shāwan influence on some parts of western Guragé and Yämma. Some time in the 1840s Yämma was under the authority of the king of Shāwa. While the country was under Shāwan political influence it had a few Christians and a few Muslims. Similarly all the Oromo, living in eastern and southern Shāwa, were entirely dependent on the politics of Christian Ethiopia in general and the Shāwan kings in particular.⁵⁸ There is similar oral tradition, as *Abba Témsas Abba Jober* heard it from his father, that when *Abba Jifar* of Jimma attacked Yämma the then king of Yämma was advised by the chief of Énnär in western Guragé, probably by *Abba Gäda Gallo*, to seek assistance from the king of Shāwa. Having accepted his advice the king of Yämma went to Shāwa and submitted with rich gifts as a symbol of loyalty. In return he was encouraged and given a letter of warning, carried on a bamboo tree, to be given to the aggressor *Abba Jifar* ordering him to go back. Along with the letter the Shāwan king gave him the *tabot* of Mädehané Aläm or the Saviour of the World to be taken to Yämma.⁵⁹ It seems that, in order to defend themselves from their neighbouring

stronger kings or chiefs, the rulers of Énnär and Yämma had found an alternative in submitting to the then stronger Shäwan kings before the latter came as conquerors.

Among others, a “Christian,” Abba Gäda Gallo, the ruler of Ennär in western Guragé, had already established friendly relationship, with a subservient status, with the kings of Shäwa whose capital at that time was Ankobär. Abba Gäda Galo and his people claimed to be descendants of early Christian immigrants. Like the Endägañ and Mäsmäsa, the people of Ennär had been living within their fortifications to defend themselves from the neighbouring rival principalities in western Guragé and from some of the Hadiya clans. It was, therefore, after Abba Gäda Galo heard about the strength of the Shäwan Kings, probably from merchants, that he went to Ankobär to get priests to serve in the old church of Ennär Amanuéel and firearms which he brought in order to defend his people from neighbouring enemies.

The fact that Hassän Injamo had an anti Christian stand, which he demonstrated by burning some churches in western Gurage, alienated some Christian chiefs. As a Christian chief, Abba Gäda Galo, was scared by the political and religious activities of Hassän Injamo. Consistent with this, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Abba Gäda Gallo realized the risk of challenging the Muslim forces under Hassän Injamo while at Ennär and his inability to join the conquering force of Menelik. He, therefore, decided to leave his chieftdom and to take asylum in Yämma.

In contrast to the stiff resistance of the Muslim Guragé and Qäbéna against the conquering Shäwan army, the Yämma kings (because of their claim of Amhara origin and Christian background) sympathized with the Shäwan Christian conquerors. Abba Gäda Gallo crossed the Gibe River into the neighbouring friendly kingdom of Yämma and remained there in exile until the victory of the Shäwan army.⁶⁰ It seems that the leaders of Ennär and Yämma maintained a good relationship even before the arrival of the Shäwan army. The official Shäwan conquest took place in 1894 under the leadership of Wäldä Giyorges. During the conquest the king of Yämma, Abba Bogibo, fled to the Guragé in order to make his final submission to Emperor Menelik at Addis Ababa which he did.⁶¹ He might have hoped to be retained in subordinate status by paying tribute to the central government. Unless he wanted this status he had no reason to go to Menelik after his kingdom was incorporated by Menelik's war general. It was the policy of Menelik that "When tribes yielded without resistance, unlike some Gurage tribes, the Chaha Gurage for example, he left them a measure of local autonomy and promised fair treatment, as in the case of the Jimma Galla."⁶²

Why did the Fuga, who were invariably hunters, woodworkers and potters, welcome the Shäwan army who arrived in south-central Ethiopia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century? Were the other submerged ethnic groups elsewhere similar? Among others, the Fuga Manna and the Misha or Dongor Manna who have been living among the Ari people seem to have received better treatment at the hands of the Shäwan conquerors. It seems that it was most likely from the Amhara's previous experiences of the Fuga who had been living under the domination of the Gurage, Hadiya and Kambata

that they also called by the same name of Fuga a similar occupational group, the Manna, whom they found among the Ari.

Menilik's process of incorporation, pacification and consolidation of the Ethiopian empire, to a great extent negatively affected the life of the peasants of south-central Ethiopia. To some extent there was improvement in the socio-political life of some of the Fuga society who entered into the service of the commanders and their officers. Due to the newly created Shāwan-Fuga relations and with a pretext of some activities a few Fuga families got *rest* lands of their own. A certain Wäldä Yohannes, a Fuga, presented the wooden frame for a *nägarit* or a large drum to *Fitawrari* Habte Giyorgis. In return he was granted a *gasha* of land at Fänchir in Goro District.⁶³ Likewise, another Fuga hunter presented by way of trophy the skin of a lion to the same *fitawrari* for which he also obtained a *gasha* of land in the Guragé Zone.⁶⁴ It seems that there were no other land owning Fuga families in the whole Guragé lands except a few at Endägañ and at Ennär, both in western Guragé.

These Fuga families and a few others like them were the only Fuga to become landowners in the Guragé country until the outbreak of the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. In both cases the descendants of the recipients held the two *gashas* until the 1975 decree which nationalized rural land. It was immediately after the 1975 decree, which nationalized rural land that some descendants of the former Fuga brave men got a better opportunity to explain their historical exclusion from land ownership to the representatives of the *Därg*. As landless people they were entitled to receive small plots like all the other landless tenants.

After the Guragé area was fully incorporated, the Shāwan army under their leader *Ras Wäldé Ashagari* controlled Kāmbata and Hadiya in 1884 E.C or (c.1891-1892). Having effectively controlled most parts of Kāmbata and Limu, Badāgo and Shashāgo all in Hadiya, Wäldé's force was joined by the force of *Ras Tässäma Nadāw* and advanced to annex Soro and Tembaro.⁶⁵

After the subjugation of the Guragé people and the Qābēna of Hadiya the incorporation of Hadiya, Kāmbata and Yamma did not take much time. The chiefs of these three regions realized their military limitations and submitted to Menelik's army peacefully. Menelik's policy of incorporation encouraged some leaders of the chiefdoms to submit peacefully and to be reinvested in their positions without losing their local economic and political privileges. The ruler of Ennär, Abba Gäda Galo, the Hadiya chiefs abba Gäda Orsé, Bar Feriṭo, Sedebo Gunushé, and those of Kāmbata *Wama Dilbäto Oso* (ruled 1845-1892 E.C.) and *Qäññazmach Moli'eso* (ruled 1885-1912 E.C.) can be cited as a good example of the officials who submitted peacefully to be confirmed, unchecked, in their political power over their respective domains as long as they remained loyal to the central government. *Wama Delbato* did not attempt to resist the Shāwan army. Immediately after his submission, he died in 1892, leaving his chiefdom at the mercy of the conquerors who controlled it effectively.⁶⁶ Peaceful submission was not exceptional to the Kāmbata, Hadiya and Ennär chiefs, but also applied to others elsewhere like Morāda, the chief of Wälāga, who benefited from Menelik's policy.⁶⁷

Until the arrival of the Shāwans, the autonomous small principalities in south-central Ethiopia, because of the conflicts with each other, remained disunited. The Shāwan warlords were appointed as governors of these principalities. It was not their main concern to create a large unified and centralized administration over the chiefdoms in south-central Ethiopia. The inclusion of the local chiefs as administrators at a lower level helped the new lords as middlemen to convey information from the ruling elite to the masses. These indigenous chiefs also maintained peace and order, by compromising with the new bureaucracy and the traditional institutions, in the same way they had done before the arrival of the conquerors. For this purpose some of the indigenous *balabats* who submitted peacefully during the conquest by the Shāwans were also granted *madärya* lands and administrative responsibilities in their respective areas.

The Fuga, however, did not have such opportunities for the simple reason that in the pre-conquest times the occupational outcast groups lacked any possibility to occupy traditional administrative posts which would be noticeable to the Shāwan conquerors. Therefore, the Fuga were not given any administrative responsibility to administer even their own people.

Except the land owning Fuga families who had been living outside of Mäsmäsa, Ennär, Hambaricho and Endägañ the rest were landless who resided on the lands of the dominant group families. When the Shāwans and their collaborator local chiefs got

madärya lands the landless Fuga were freed from the relationship of bondage to the former landowners. By virtue of the transfer of land ownership right from the local people to the conquerors and to the local chiefs some Fuga families obtained the status of tenancy under the new owners of the *madärya* lands who usually lived in the towns. For the Fuga, even to have land as tenants and equally working like the former land owning ordinary Kämbara, Hadiya and Guragé by providing the two-days a week free labour service and paying the annual tax might have been considered as a privilege. This does not mean that the Fuga were free of exploitation and oppression, but they were satisfied for the simple reason that they were treated equally with their former patrons.

During the Governorship of *Däjazmach* Abatä Bwayaläw Fuga braves like Ufamo entered into service in the Shäwan army and obtained two *gashas* of land at Qäbär Buya.⁶⁸ When such opportunities were created some Fuga families were able to escape from the direct domination of the former indigenous land owning *balabats* and the land owning peasants who themselves became subordinates and tenants of the Shäwan ruling elite.

The Fuga land ownership and tenancy slowly led to conversion to Christianity. Many Fuga individuals accepted Christianity. The exploitation, which the Fuga had suffered under the local land owning class was aggravated by the newly created relation with the Christian priests. However, the gradual process of Fuga land ownership and tenancy led to the process of gradual self-emanicipation from the traditional bondage.⁶⁹

The new political structure was designed in such a way that the Shāwans controlled the highest administrative posts. To some extent they recruited some minor officials from among the local people. Just as the Shāwan warlords had divided among themselves and their local allies the rural agricultural lands they also shared the lands of the already existing or newly created towns. Hossana town after it was founded in 1908 by *Dājzmach* (later *Ras*) Abatä Bwayaläw was partitioned among the 12000 soldiers who made up the 24 *shambäls* or companies under his command. There is also another version, which says that the soldiers were organized under their respective 32 commanders or *shambäls*⁷⁰ and not 24 as indicated above. As a town Hossana rested on 80 *gashas* of land.⁷¹ However, documentary evidence of later period indicates that Hossana town has the size of about 60 *gashas* of land. Immediately below the *ras* there were nine *Dājzmaches*, namely, Wäldä Sämayat, Tachbälé, Ambärber, Abärä, Täklä Giyorges, Yäsuf Maru, Ergäté, Shibäshi Wändäya (from Gondär) and Shibäshi (from Wollo).⁷²

The rough estimation of one important family's share of urban land in Hossanna seems to have been about 10,000 sq. m. The Amhara residents of Hossana in the late 1940s complained that the additional one *gasha* (400000 sq.m) of land they got in the rural area was not enough to sustain them.⁷³ In the allocation of urban land the *ras* selected the Sächeduna site at the top of a hill where a rich person named Samärdam had constructed his house. Another version has it that the person evicted from Sächeduna was a rich cattleman called Wachamo. Whoever the person might have been

he was evicted and given land at Gofär Méda to the north of Hossana town where we have now the Wachamo High School. Simultaneously, the Fuga community was settled in an area at Aqemura, around Bobucho to the west of Gofär Meda.

Abatä constructed his *gibi* or palace on the very location where Samärdam had his residence. From then on Sächeduna was known as Abatä Gibi. When Abatä planned Hossana town he left free spaces known in Amharic as *zärägé* in order to serve as roads and squares.⁷⁴

At this historical juncture the indigenous tenants were made to share their products with the *maderia* landowners. Besides, they were expected to pay many unspecified additional contributions and labour services to their patrons. Among others, they paid large sums for the construction of the newly founded churches. The skilled Fuga artisans constructed most of the churches. The grains and money collected from the *gäbars* or tenants and from free peasants was spent on the construction of the churches. In the early years of the history of Hossana two Fuga men, Grañ Ufamo and Genawo Sänyo with other Fuga workers, were hired by the then governor of Hossana, *Däjazmach* Mäshäsha Wäldé, to undertake the construction of the Saint Mary and Abuna Täklä Haymanot Churches.

These Fuga labourers and their men received regular payment in the form of grains and meat from Amhara lords like *Däjazmach* Mäshäsha Wäldé who sponsored the construction. Informants tell that bulls were slaughtered weekly to be consumed by

those involved in the construction and that the contractors were given twelve *dawelas* of grain monthly.⁷⁵

Some lucky Fuga men were inducted into military service by the Amhara nobility in the region. The first Fuga child from Mäsmäsa who was given to an Amhara soldier by his mother Gifo was Ufamo Tiqamo. Ufamo was adopted and brought up as an Amhara child and became one among the first converted Fuga Christians.⁷⁶

It was with these converted Fuga artisans and those who came into the service of the Amhara soldiers that the proselytization, by the priests of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, started in Hadiya and Kambata.⁷⁷ The descendants of these convertees unanimously say that neither their parents nor themselves benefited from their conversion to the Orthodox Church. Rather, they were economically affected because they had to give gifts to their respective godfathers and godmothers from what they produced on holidays, besides the free labour services they offered on other days. It was a regular practice that the Fuga and other convertees regularly gave a sheep each year to their respective godparents on one of the important religious holidays.

After conversion some of them reverted to their traditional beliefs or reconverted mainly to the Qalä Hiwät Protestant Church. As nominal Christians many of the Fuga population still continue with their traditional practices. However, since their initial conversion the relationship between the Amhara and the Fuga remained

friendly. It was in this condition that Ethiopia was invaded by fascist Italy in 1935/36.

Gädecho Rebellion (“Gädecho Mekemekato” or “Ulbiçh Qäsha”)⁷⁸

Following the Italian invasion Emperor Haylä Selassé mobilized Ethiopian traditional soldiers and those few trained at the Holeta Military Academy to the three war fronts. The male Fuga who had already established good relationship with the Shäwans and who had entered their service marched with their patrons. To mention a few examples, among the Fuga campaigners were Ajajo Dadewo, Bunésé Zjoto, Ginawo Sänyo, Gätiso Késhamo, Terfu Ajajo, Senbani Yehresh, Yämbori and others.⁷⁹ While some of the Fuga fought at May Chäw and the rest remained peaceful, the non-Fuga Kambata and Hadiya took advantage of the Italian occupation to rebel against their Shäwan rulers. They staged an uprising in which they victimized the families of the Amhara campaigners of May Chäw and other Amhara soldiers who were left behind to keep peace and order in Kambata and Hadiya.⁸⁰

In fact, the leader of the rebellion was a Hadiya man called *Abägaz* Gädicho Hemacho who himself was a campaigner to May Chäw. After his return to Addis Abäba, following the escape of the emperor to Europe, Gädicho immediately went to Hadiya by way of Wälqité to inform his people that the Amhara were defeated and destroyed. On his way from Maycäw he raided the market places of Gädzé and Denqula in western Guragé to achieve his political ambition.⁸¹ He incited the Hadiya

and Kāmbata telling them that it was high time for them to revolt and to assert their social and political rights. The Hadiya and Kāmbata men accepted his call and carried out a rebellion with him as their leader.⁸²

The rebellion started on a Friday *Genbot* first or May 9, 1936. They began confiscating Amhara property and burning their houses. Both women and children were massacred and their houses burned down to ashes. The male Amhara including infants were emasculated by the rebels who wanted to prove their manhood by doing so.⁸³ Some of the Amhara soldiers who did not march to May Chāw were able, with difficulty, to protect a few important Amhara families from the rebel attacks. In spite of the Amhara resistance some Amhara women like *Wäyzäro* Lomita, the sister of a certain *Fitawrari* Bäqälä Bishaw who had campaigned, were taken captive.⁸⁴ The assault took place before the Amhara campaigners returned.

In this anti-Amhara rebellion the men of the Fuga communities were not willing to participate, because many of them had established good relationship with the Amhara. The rebel leaders, Gädecho Hemacho and his brother Grazmach Märsha Hemacho did not mobilize the Fuga hunters and warriors, for the Kāmbata and Hadiya usually tell that the Fuga are unreliable.⁸⁵ This common negative feeling and saying might have influenced the rebel leaders. Some non-Fuga communities also refused to join the rebels. Though they claimed to have been approached by the rebel leaders, the Mäsmäsa *Azmach* and his advisors refused to participate in the rebellion to attack any family of the Shāwan conquerors who resided in Hadiya and Kāmbata.⁸⁶ This attitude

developed among the Mäsmäsa because they claimed Amhara origin and sympathized with the Amhara.

As soon as *Däjazmach* Wäldä Maryam, the governor of Gamo, and his followers returned from Maychäw they became engaged in a very serious fighting against the rebels in both Hadiya and Kämbata. The *Däjazmach* was able to save many Amhara from Gädecho's atrocities. *Däjazmach* Mäshäsha Wäldé the former governor of Hadiya and Kämbata arrived in Hadiya with his followers after the sad events had taken place. However, the followers of *Däjazmach* Mäshäsha resumed the fighting on Monday at the Baténa River. Gädecho was defeated in this encounter. He fled to his village of Aboshera. From here he moved to the Gibe Valley and remained there until the arrival of the Italian army at Hossana.⁸⁷ To mention a few of the Fuga fighters, who participated in the fighting against Gädecho, there were Awano Késhamo Abäbä Késhamo, Takiso Fitosé, Zäläqä Ginawo, Gätiso Késhamo and Däbälo Éya.⁸⁸

Because the Fuga had not taken part in this rebellion the Amhara military leaders ordered their army not to attack the Fuga communities. To help in distinguishing the Fuga from the Hadiya and Kämbata people in general, they were asked to wear pieces of red cloth on their heads. After fierce fighting the Amhara defeated the rebels. Many of the Hadiya and Kämbata were killed and their properties either destroyed or confiscated. Those of the rebels who were not captured ran to the bushes. However, the Amhara were unable to control the region for long as the Italian victors arrived. The fighting was conducted only as a vendetta against the atrocities caused by

Gädecho. Most of the Amhara soldiers left the town to join the war of patriotic resistance. Here, it may be necessary to mention that some individual Fuga heroes joined the patriots in southern Ethiopia.⁸⁹

By March 1937 Hossana became the seat of the Italian administration. In response to the call of the Italian commissioner at Hossana for peaceful submission by the "bandits" or patriots, Gädecho Hemacho and his brother Märsha Hemacho submitted to the Italian commissioner in the hope that they would be pardoned for the rebellion they had raised against the Amhara. In fact it seems they thought that the Italian administrator would appreciate their anti Amhara movement. When the commissioner asked Gädecho why his eyes were red, he replied that they were always red from seeing the Amhara. To his surprise the commissioner angrily commented "If your eyes have become red due to seeing the Amhara who have been living with you what would happen to them when they see us, alien Italians". Gädecho and his brother *Grazmach* Märsha were executed by a firing squad at the Sachiduna hill where the Hossana Hospital stands at present⁹⁰.

In reference to the pre-Italian existence of the Fuga *dañña* institution and its continuity during the occupation, elders say that it was a reality. Before the occupation the role of the *dañña* was only to mediate conflicts among the Fuga communities and convey messages from the local chiefs. His responsibility was limited to small villages. Some elders are of the opinion that Fuga *dañña* institution was established for the first time, before the Italian occupation) during the chieftainship of *Wama* Moliso

(ruled 1895-1919) of Kambata ⁹¹. The first Fuga *dañña* was Shalémo Washe to be succeeded by *Dañña* Sälato.⁹²

The Italian commissioners, to maintain the loyalty of the Fuga communities exploited this institution. Local tradition indicates that Fuga appointed by the commissioners over the Fuga communities as *daññas* were living within the “*Residenza di Hosanna*” from the time of the occupation in March 1937. The first Italian commissioner *Tenente* Aimoni, with his centre at Hossana, exercised jurisdiction over “Marequò, Guraghe, Gudella, Cambatta e Tambaro, Galla Soddo, Uolisò etc.”⁹³

Local chiefs like *Fitawrari* Bärghano collaborated with the Italian rulers in recruiting and recommending the Fuga *daññas*. Through the recommendation of *Fitawrari* Bärghano, some Fuga hunting and warring braves were presented to the Italian commissioner for appointment as Fuga *daññas* or chiefs. Local tradition remembers some three Italian officials, namely “*Telinti*”(for *Tenente*) Aimoni, “*Telinti*” Borgone and “*Telinti*” Seda, who occupied the office of the commissariat at Hossana one after the other.⁹⁴ My informants were not able to pronounce the Italian title and names properly. But, the Italian documentary source provides us only with two names, *Tenente* Manlio Borgianelle Spina and his successor *Tenente* Luigi Sedda.⁹⁵

The Fuga chiefs appointed were *Dañña* Shamago and *Dañña* La'emango. *Dañña* Shamago was among some of the Fuga who were given a *gasha* of land and a gun by

the Italian commissioner at Hossana.⁹⁶ Another informant also tells that Shamago represented all the Fuga living in Alaba, Kāmbata, Hadiya, Guragé and Wālayta. But none-of the available Italian documents tell about Wālayta's being part of the Hossana Residente's jurisdiction.⁹⁷ The last Fuga *dañña* who survived up to the Derg period was *Dañña* La'emango.⁹⁸ After the Italian evacuation the role of the Fuga *dañña* was limited to certain villages and he acted in an unofficial way in alliance with other elders. He participated in solving minor and major conflicts among the Fuga of some parts of Kāmbata only. He had no political power recognized by the state officials. The elders remember about seven Fuga *daññas*, namely, Hajano, Shamago Hajano, Sälato, La'emango, Madébo, Mānamo and Shalémo.⁹⁹

Informants do not know under whose jurisdiction the Fuga of Yamma were. The Fuga *däññas* served as a bridge between the Italian administration and the Fuga people. The collaborating indigenous chiefs and the Italian Administrators worked together in the appointment and use of the service of the Fuga *daññas*. The Fuga had power and administrative responsibility only over the Fuga communities who replaced the responsibility and power of the pre-Italian local landlords who had power over each Fuga family, which settled on their respective lands. The Italian period could be taken as a landmark in Fuga history for it recognized Fuga self administration. Prior to the Italian occupation there has never been any precedence in Fuga history that all the Fuga were under one administration by having their own chiefs.

To minimize the burden of administrative responsibilities the Fuga *daññas* appointed their Fuga *täwäkays* or representatives who shared power at the lower level. Some among the *täwäkay daññas* were Sälato from Qäjäma, Laemango from Mässana and Hajano from Gayota, all in Kämбата. The representative *daññas* handled conflicts and other social problems that developed among members of the Fuga society within their respective domains.¹⁰⁰ Dañña Shamago, among others, was a renowned hunter when he was young and a warrior who had proved his bravery in the local wars fought between the Kämбата and the Walayta before the Shäwan conquest. In addition to his fighting ability he is remembered for carrying messages of arbitration from the rulers of Kämбата to the *kawos* or kings of Walayta.¹⁰¹ It seems that the office of the Fuga *daññas* worked well during the whole Italian period. However, after the 1941 liberation socio-political conditions and economic relations returned to their former status.

After the liberation in 1941, Ato Shanqo Gobäna, a Fuga, was employed by the Ethiopian Police Force in Hossana with a monthly salary of twenty birr. On top of his salary he was granted a *gaša* of undeveloped land at a village called Muläta in Kontom district. He had ten *gäbars* under him, living in his land. From each *gäbar* Shanqo collected ten birr yearly by being their *mälkäñña* and landlord. Shanqo says that, “had the Hadiya *gäbars* known that I was a *säratäñña* or [Fuga artisan] they would not have even kept me near them. They thought that I was a *näftäñña* [an Amhara soldier]. After I used the land for four years I lost it on the pretext that the non-campaigners of Maychäw were not entitled to own a *gasha* of land. Thereafter, I started to live only on

my salary. Having served only for five years as a policeman I was dismissed from the police force, with the same pretext of being a non-campaigner of Maychāw, and continued to live as a carpenter.”¹⁰² He also remarks that this was how the government institutions discriminated against the occupational groups.

With the restoration of Emperor Haile Selassé to power the *balabat* and *gabar* relations were re-instituted. Here, I would like to take an example of a Fuga *gabar* and a Hadiya *balabat* for their economic and political relationship during Haile Selassé's period. Ato Leramo Wayiso Oshoro and his patron a Hadiya *balabat* and landlord *Grazmach* Lapiso Abiyo are taken as a model to explain the relationship between a landlord and a Fuga *gäbar*. Liramo starts to narrate his painful early story, beginning with the relationship between his father Wayiso Oshoro and *Grazmach* Lapiso Abiyo who lived in Bushana. After the formation of the “Farmers Association”, at a national level soon after the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution, the area where Liramo and his Wayiso lived came to be known as “Shomana Arara Farmers Association.” From the narration one observes the unflinching determination of a Fuga *gäbar* Liramo to assert his right in spite of the prevalence of a harsh feudal system which favoured only the landlords.

This is a literal translation of Liramo's own words into English. It was a regular practice that my father rendered two days free labour service weekly to the *Grazmach* who was the ruler of the day. He worked on the latter's farm land or in the homestead splitting firewood or repairing fences and houses depending on the desire and order of *Grazmach* Lapiso. In addition to these, my father regularly performed

labour services. Moreover, the *Grazmach* made my father pay a *geber* or tax of eighty cents yearly which was not a small amount at the time”.

After I had grown up, I succeeded my deceased father, Wayiso, using the same land as a young *gäbar* or tenant of *Grazmach* Lapiso Abiyo and offered the *Grazmach* the regular services expected of me as a *gäbar*. My experience was only under the patronage of *Grazmach* Lapiso so that, although I found it to be bitter, I could not compare my experience under Lapiso with that of another *gäbar*. When I recall my experiences I feel very bad. In addition to the two days weekly free labour service which was common to all *gabars*, I was expected to fell a big tree every year and produce all the necessary commodities for the house of the *Grazmach*. When carving the wooden commodities I was not given any food or drink. Rendering such additional free labour service was a common obligation on all Fuga families.

One day, during the harvesting season of 1961, *Grazmach* Lapiso sent me a message with a strict order to drive my gray bull-calf, with a white blaze on the forehead, to the house of the *Grazmach*. As part of the message, I was told that the *grazmach* needed it for a religious sacrifice mainly because of its desired colour. Having received the message, I replied politely that I totally depended on the same bull-calf for my farm and it was impossible to do as he wished. The *Grazmach* sent me a second message with a serious warning that I had to bring the bull-calf without delay. Hoping that I might escape from the problem I exchanged the bull-calf for a heifer with another Hadiya farmer of the name *Ato* Agago Anicho, who lived in a nearby village.

A non-Fuga Hadiya man told *Grazmach* Lapiso Abiyo what I had done with the bull-calf. Having received the report, *Grazmach* Lapiso, accompanied by his servants, rode on his mule and went to the house of Agago Anicho and drove the bull-calf to his house to include with his cattle. *Grazmach* Lapiso told Agago Anicho to take back his heifer from me if he wanted it. The next day, Agago Anicho came to my house and took his heifer, which I had no power to prevent. The bull-calf was not sacrificed as the servants of *Grazmach* Lapiso told me. But it was simply included with the *Grazmach*'s cattle. In this way, I lost the bull-calf for good, without any compensation.

My observation is that the unprotected Fuga could neither have the chance to ignore orders given by the dominant groups nor had the time and capacity to satisfy all who expected services from them. Gabreyesus makes a similar observation, "As the Fuga cannot satisfy everybody at the same time, many people blamed them for not respecting their promises."¹⁰³ In Hadiya and Kambata, I also heard people saying, 'Why do you break your promise like a Fuga?' Or, "He breaks promises like a Fuga". Gabreyesus writes the same thing as he heard it from the Guragé people. They say "Oh! You promise like the Fuga, but you never fulfil your promise."¹⁰⁴ Thus, for not fulfilling promises the Fuga were punished. For the problems the Fuga encountered the following incident could be a good example. Léramo continues:

In the same year and in the same month both *Grazmach* Lapiso Abiyo and his wife, *Wäyezäro* Bälätäch Doqamo, sent me two different orders simultaneously through different servants to be executed on the same day. *Grazmach* Lapiso

expected me to fell a tree and split it to make a door, whereas *Wäyezäro* Bälätäch Doqamo ordered me to prepare a threshing ground and paste it with dung so that I could thresh her barley. I was in a very difficult situation to weigh the orders and to decide on which was a priority between them. It was a must that I had to give priority to one of them. Having weighed the two orders I decided to execute the *Grazmach's* order first. As a result of his order I spent the whole day splitting the wood for free.

The next morning *Grazmach* Lapiso Abiyo left for Addis Ababa for his own business affairs. Though I served the same family, *Wäyezäro* Bälätäch Doqamo became very angry at me and sent her servants to my house to take my cattle away by way of punishment, as I had failed to execute her order immediately. Early in the morning her servants came and tried to untie my cattle in my house. When I realized that my cattle would be driven away I started screaming and calling for assistance. Let alone neighbours who knew the servants very well even my two neighbouring brothers did not come to my help. When I realized that no one would come to help I became desperate. Out of desperation I picked up my own sharp lance and stroke my head causing severe damage and bleeding. This act of resistance shocked the servants and made them run away to inform their mistress about the incident. Being encouraged by their escape I pursued the fugitives bleeding to the house of *Wäyezäro* Bälätäch. I prostrated myself in front of *Wäyezäro* Bälätäch to win her sympathy asking her for pardon by saying, "Let God reveal it to you! Had it not been for the order of my lord [her husband] I could have given priority to your order. However, my intention was not to ignore your order at all. I had made it my program that I would execute your

order today. Why did you send your servants early in the morning to kill me?" Her answer was, "Let them kill you! Go out of my house".

Finally, I decided to go to the *awraja* or district administration soaked with blood to appeal pretending that I was terribly beaten by the servants of *Wäyezäro* Bälätäch Doqoma. When I left our village she sent one of her servants to warn me that if I went to the court, my family, including my brothers, would never survive or exist in the future. In spite of the warning I continued my journey without paying any attention to the warning. Soon, however, my elder brother, Erifo Wayiso, caught me and told me that it would be deadly risky for our lives if I sued her servants. Then I had no alternative other than accepting my brother's advice. Finally I returned home with my brother. And the servants never showed up to bother me any more.¹⁰⁵

In the final analysis Liramo saved his cattle and achieved his main objective.

During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie there were several orally reported incidents from which individual Fuga families suffered. Whenever the Fuga challenged their patrons or others among the dominant groups over their legal rights they were at times beaten and their properties taken away or even their houses burned down to ashes. Such illegal actions continued up to the 1990s.

There is another sad experience in which the property of an artisan Fuga was robbed by a Hadiya landlord. *Ato* Budego Ansébo was living in Hadiya before 1947 under the patronage of a landlord *Qänñazmach* Érboro. On the land allotted to Budego

Ansébo, he had grown several thousands of eucalyptus trees. In 1947 *Qāññazmach* Érboro wanted to construct a house for his son. The *Qāññazmach* needed 180 trees which he cut from Budego's property without asking permission or paying a single coin to the owner. Budego was forced to accuse his landlord, the *Qāññazmach*, for his illegal act. The court could not help Budego for it was in favour of the culprit. Budego tells from his memory that:

When I realised that I was totally disfavoured by law I sold my house and left the eucalyptus to the landlord and migrated to Arsi Nāgälé following the footsteps of another Fuga Abiyo, nicknamed Abba Dolango. On my arrival, I was lucky to clear and settle on the land of the then Queen Empress Mänän and thus continued to pay the regular tribute and thereafter lived as a tenant. After the outbreak of the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974 to be followed by the land proclamation of 1975, I freely owned the land until it was taken by the Arsi Nāgälé town municipality in 1994.¹⁰⁶

When the unceasing harassment was beyond the tolerance of the Fuga communities tolerance a large number of families from Hadiya and Kambata decided to migrate to the Oromo lands at Duré and Duläti near the town of Woliso. In the 1950s over a hundred and sixty families were received according to the regulation of the *moggaasa*¹⁰⁷ institution and were given land to settle upon. Following the first immigrants many Fuga families came to settle at Duré and Duläti which they later found comfortable. As of the late 1950s some Fuga settlers became rich farmers so that they began to buy land from the Oromo landowners.

A Fuga *Ato* Jämal Abägaz originally from the Gurage area bought two hectares of land at Dulé from a landlady *Wäyzäro* Asädä Serté for 4500 *birr*. He reported the problem he encountered in the last 20 years. After 1975 part of his land was given to other neighbouring peasants. The neighbouring Oromos burnt his house during the Derg period. Jämal Abägaz was a successful peasant until 1991. He sued the entire community of villagers and accused Tolëra Qälbésa, Leké Lämu, Hirpa Leké and Täräfa Bogalä at the council of elders as his principal enemies. The Oromo council of elders ignored Jämal. He took the case to the Duré Duläti sub district. He still could not get legal assistance from the court to recover his property. As his final resort, Jämal went to the Fuga *Qalicha* Damo who advised him to stop accusing anyone and mind his own personal business. He accepted the *qalicha*'s advice and left everything to Allah.

Until 1991 Jämal had no problem with the Oromo. After the EPRDF leadership took over power the Oromo of Dulé living in three *gashas* of land told him to leave the area and go to his original place in Guragé. He kept quiet until they had beaten him and his family. He was forced to appeal to Abba Qaqesa, an Oromo chairman of the peasants' association. The peasant association's chairman told Jämal that he had better run away in order to save his life and that Abba Qaqesa was not in a position to help him in any way. Finally Jämal narrowly escaped with his life with his family and went to Wälqité, leaving his property behind. Now he leads a very poor life in Wälqité town where I interviewed him.¹⁰⁸ The Fuga were denied the basic right to work like any

ordinary peasant. Similar treatment is also observed among the untouchables of India. "The untouchables were condemned to illiteracy, even to sub-humanity, and were violently denied the common rights of man."¹⁰⁹

What have been discussed above are problems that were experienced by individual Fuga at the hands of the dominant groups. In some towns of Qosé in Hadiya and Wolqité of Guragé there is group victimization where several Fuga families were segregated and ousted from the town *iddirs* or the voluntary mutual help associations, in which they had been members for decades, merely because of their Fuga ethnic background.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

¹ Tadesse Tamrat, Church and State in Ethiopia 1270- 1527 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 41. and Säyfä Debaba, Azmach: Yäguragé Hezb Acher Tarik (Addis Ababa: Täsfa Selassé Printing Press), 1974, p.21.

² Säyfä Debaba, 1974, p.20. and oral informant: Mämeré Gäbra Mikaél Qatiso.

³ See also Tadesse Tamrat, Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527, 1972 and Sergew Hable Selassie, Ancient and Medieval Ethiopia to 1270, (Addis Ababa, 1972).

⁴ C. Conti Rossini, Storia d’Etiopia, Parte prima dall’origini all’avvento della dinastia Salomonide (Bergamo, 1928), p. 28.

⁵ Säyfä Debaba, Azmach: Yäguragé Acher Tarik, p. 15.

⁶ Oral Informants: Gäbrä Mikaél Takiso, Betamo Bonteré and Geselé Kamburé.

⁷ Staffan Grenstedt, Ambaricho: A Remarkable Venture in Ethiopian Solidarity (Uppsala: The Faculty of Theology Uppsala University), 1995, p. 10.

⁸ U. Braukamper, “The Ethnogenesis of the Sidama”, Abbay, Cahier no. 9, 1978, p.124.

⁹ Oral Informants: Ergecho Mogoré and GarkaboUrgébo.

¹⁰ U. Braukamper, “The Ethnogenesis of the Sidama”, 1978, p. 124.

¹¹ Oral Informant: Shefäraw Nägash.

¹² Säyfä Debaba, Azmach: Yäguragé Achir Tarik, p.46.

¹³ R. P. Azais et R. Chambard, Cinq années de recherches en Éthiopie (Paris: 1931), p. 312.

¹⁴ Phillip Lebel, “Oral Traditional and Chronicles on Gurage Immigration”, Journal of Ethiopian Studies, vol. XII, No. 2. (Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University, 1972), pp. 95-96.

¹⁵ Oral Informant: Egziabher Abbo.

¹⁶ ASMAI, Africa II, Etiopia, Pos. 181/52. File no 244, Marzo 1937 CKVII: 3.

¹⁷ R. P. Azias et R. Chambard, Cinq années de recherches en Éthiopie, .p.312.

¹⁸ Tecllehaimanot G. Selassie, “The Wayto of Lake Tana: An Ethno-History” (MA.Theses in History, Addis Ababa University, 1984), p. 48.

¹⁹ Oral Informants. Gäbrä Giyorges Amānu and Wäyzäro Ayäläch Haylu. Sergew Hable Selassie in his book Ancient and Medieval Ethiopia to 1270 (Addis Ababa: Tesfa Gebre Selassie

Printing Press, 1972), pp. 230-231 has one relevant tradition. The tradition tells about an expedition undertaken by an Aksumite king Dagnajan who campaigned westwards from his capital Aksum to the land of the Arabs accompanied by a large army, priests and Tabernacles. He is said to have perished in an alien land and never returned. If one wants to establish relation with the Fuga and others migration to south-central Ethiopia it is possible that the emigrants who passed through Gerarweha and Dälgi to the west and south-west of Gondär might have been an extension of the perished king's army with the priests and Tabernacles who followed him.

²⁰ Oral Informants: *Mäla'akä Sähay* Negusé Kinfa Mikaél, Gäbrä Giyorges Amänu and Woldä Giyorges Täsfayä..

²¹ U. Braukämper, *Abbay*, 1978, p. 124) and Oral Informant: Shefäraw Nägash.

²² Oral Informants: *Dañña* Gadäro Boté, *Dañña* Mokoro Toné and *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgebo.

²³ C.F.Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford (trans.), Some records of Ethiopia 1593-1646 (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint Company, 1967), p.lxv.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Oral Informant: *Dañña* Mokoro Toné.

²⁷ Beckingham and Huntingford, Some Records of Ethiopia 1593-1646, P. LXV.

²⁸ Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo, Éliyas Grañ and Yohannes Dabelo.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Oral Informant: *Dañña* Gueboro Ajamo.

³¹ Legese Letta, "The Fuga Community of Ambo" (BA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1984), p.5.

³² Oral Informants: Gäbrä Giyorges Amänu and Taddässä Bädoré.

³³ Oral Informants: Élyas Grañ and Bétamo Bonteré

³⁴ Ibid. and Oral Informant: Yohannes Dabelo.

³⁵ Oral Informants: Bétamo Bonteré and Abba Wari Ufamo.

³⁶ Oral Informant: Élyas Grañ.

³⁷ Oral Informants: Yohannes Dabelo, Bétamo Bonteré and Elias Gragn.

³⁸ Oral Informants: *Dañña* Gueboro Ajamo, *Dañña* Mokoro and Shanqo Gubäna.

³⁹ Oral Informants: Gashy Ejäta and *Qalicha* Abbo Chäwaso.

⁴⁰ A letter written from Fr. Gugliumo Massaja to Antoine d'Abbadie, at Liche on June 9,

1873. Istituto Storico Del Cappuccini in Rome under the title of Guglielmo Messaja Lettere E Scritti Minori IV. Anni 1867-1878 ,pages 236- 237.

⁴¹ Menlik's Amharic letter to Pope Pius IX of the Roman Catholic Church, Lechä Town, 1 Tahesas 1868 (1 December 1875).

⁴² Oral Informants: Ergécho Delébo and *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgebo.

⁴³ As quoted in Dilebo Getahun, "Emperor Menelik's Ethiopia, 1865-1916: National Unification or Amhara domination", PhD. Dissertation at Howard University, 1974 p. 97, Gebre Selassie, Chronique de Menelik II 2 Vols.(Paris 1930), I. p.124.

⁴⁴ Getahun Dilebo, "Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia...", p. 98.

⁴⁵ Enrico Cerulli, Note su alcune popolazioni Sidama dell'Abissinia Meridionale I. I Sidama Orientali. (Roma: 1925), p. 601 and Oral Informant: Wäldä Sänbät Wärqenäh. He said that the father of Hassän Injamo was a local chief called Walga Moché. He also told me that the River Walga was named after the father of Hassän.

⁴⁶ Getahun Dilebo, "Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia...", p.100.

⁴⁷ Oral Informant: Luel Sägäd Gudé and Wärqü Neda, Jäbdu: Yäguragé Bahelena Tarik, (Addis Ababa, 1983 E.C.), pp.129 and 136. The Amharic poem reads,

•• ሀሰን ለገንጾ ደገጻናው ገባር ፡
ገቡን ገመው ገንባር ለገጾባር ፡፡
ሀሰን ለገንጾ የጠር መድኃኒት ፡
ለገቡን ቀገና ይዋጋል ለሊት ፡፡ ••

"Hassen Enjamo dāndanaw gäbar
Gobén [Gobāna] Gätāmāw genbar lä'genbar.
Hassen Enjamo yātor mädehanit
Enquanes bä'qān yewagal lälit."

⁴⁸ Ernesta Cerulli, 1922, p. 163.

⁴⁹ Ibid. or Ernesta Cerulli, 1922, p.163.

⁵⁰ Getahun Dilebo 1974, p. 102.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 99.

⁵² R. Borelli, Ethiopie Meridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama (Septembre 1885 à Novembre 1888) (Paris: 1890), p. 135.

⁵³ Ibid. pp. 254-256.

⁵⁴ Ibid. P.88.

⁵⁵ Shack, The Gurage: A People of the Enset Culture, p. 23.

- ⁵⁶ Oral Informant: Shefärw Nägash.
- ⁵⁷ Conti Rossini, *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia* (Florence, 1937), p. 388. See also Ernesta Cerulli, Peoples of south-central Ethiopia and its Borderland, Part III, (London: International african Institute, 1956), p. 123.
- ⁵⁸ A 17 pages report written on 31 August 1850 by Fr. Guglielmo Massaja on "the Galla in Abyssinia and Irealensa dei Musulmani fra I Galla. Filio 299-308 on page16; and available at the Archivo Propaganda Fide. Scrittura Riferite nei Congressi Etiopia Arabia Dal 1848 al 1857. 5, 1-687.
- ⁵⁹ Oral Informant: Abba Témsas Abba Jober.
- ⁶⁰ Oral Informant: *Emahoy* Mulatwa Damtjäw.
- ⁶¹ G.W.B. Huntingford, The Galla of Ethiopia: The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero, reprinted (London: International African Institute, 1969), p. 137.
- ⁶² Shack, Gurage: The People of Enset Culture, p: 18.
- ⁶³ Oral Informant: Gashu Ejäta. A *nägarit* is a large drum or musical instrument usually used by the church, the kings and other top military officials.
- ⁶⁴ Oral Informant: Jämal Abägaz. The informant does not remember the name of the Fuga. He only tells that the Fuga died immediately after he tanned the lion's hide for it usually kills the tanner. The land was given to the family of the deceased.
- ⁶⁵ Täsfayä Habiso, "Kämbata and Hadiya: Yä'astädadär Akababi ena Yäbhërä Säboch Tarik Andand Gästsawoch," mimographed, Amhara," (Amharic) (Addis Abäba, 1990-1991), 1984 E.C. p. 154.
- ⁶⁶ Norman J. Singer, "the Relevance of Traditional Lega Systems, Modernization and Reform: A Consideration of Cambata Legal Structure." Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies; Nice 19-22 December 1977. (Rotterdam 1980), p.540.
- ⁶⁷ Tassama Ta'a, "Administration of Leq Neqemte Between 1850-1923" (MA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University), 1976, p. 18 and N. G. Singer, 1980, p. 540.
- ⁶⁸ Oral Informant: Dawit Grañ.
- ⁶⁹ Oral Informants: Yohannes Dabalo and Shefärw Nägash tell that in the late 1920s some Fuga individuals from Bobecho, namely Ayälä Genawo, Biçoro Ayälä and Bogändo Ayälä were converted to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Ayälä Genawo reports that there were others who were already converted to the faith of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, towards the end of the nineteenth century, immediately after the arrival of the Šäwan army.
- ⁷⁰ Oral Informant. Wärqu Kassa and Abägaz and Mokoro Gadiso.
- ⁷¹ Oral Informant: Bäqälä Habtä Maryam.
- ⁷² An Amharic letter from the Hossana Municipality to the Ministry of Interior, Addis Ababa number 13/ 158, dated 24 Hedär 1942 E.C. Oral informant Worqu Kassa. also says the same thing. He

also says that the share of land of one soldier in the town was about one *temad* of land equivalent to the plot that a farmer could plow in a day. He also tries to recall Abatā's shambāls all with their military title of *fitawrari* as follows: Yemār, Bāzabeh, Gobāna, Bishaw, Samuél, Gezaw Bāyānā, Tekesé, Abba Éré, Mākureya, Wāldā Mikaél, Wāndem Agāññ, Wāldā Sadeq, Kābādā Ali (Guragé), Rāshid (Guragé), Aytānfesu Cārāru, Zālāqā, Sāmunegus, Bāqālā Bishaw, Wāldā Mareyam Tālila, Esāyā, Alāfā, Anbāsē, Amarā, Bālachāw, Tamrat, Sugato (Guragé), Safo (Guragé), Gānzāzā (Guragé), Gājja (hadiya), Bushera (Alaba), Wubé Kātāma (Gondaré), Garādé (Hadiya) Bārgāno (Kambata), Bāqālā Adāra, and Wubé. These officials got plots in the town larger than the rest.

⁷³ An application letter written by Anbāsē Fālāqā, an Amhara resident of Hossana, to the Arsi Awraja district court. Here, it is by mistake that he calls Arsi a district when it was an administrative region of many districts including the Hadiya and Kambata. In his letter of application he complained that the residents of Hossana were prohibited, by the municipality, from keeping animals like cattle, goats and sheep. This letter of application found in the Hossana municipality archive bears only the Ethiopian year 1942 without a specific date.

⁷⁴ Letter from Hossana municipality to the *Tālalaki* or watchman of the Andāñña sāfār Ato Abāgaz Ali. No. 160/7, Ethiopian month 7 Nāhasé 1942 E.C. Oral Informants: Alāmayāhu Kassa, Worqu Kassa and Bāqālā Mandāfero. Some of the quarters of Hossana were identified by the profession of the camp followers. For example there was the Balā Māwal Sāfār, Nāgarit Māchi Sāfār, Zābāñña Sāfār, Cinca or Encāt Fālac (wood splitters) Sāfār, Eqabét Ssāfār, Selkañña Sāfār, Gasha Zageré Sāfār (all in the north-western side of the town), Nāgadé Sāfār and Lēbashay Sāfār (both in the southern part). The Arab merchants, Hussén Mohammād, Yasin Mohammād and Mohammād Gāmaz; and The Indian merchants, Geta Mānji and Ber Mohammād lived at the nāgadé sāfār. Among the Ethiopian merchants were Dābābā Mamo, Māmo -Woldā Mikaél, Wāndem Agāññ Woldā Sānbāt, Argaw Tāsāma, Bāqālā Wato. Some *sāfārs* or quarters were later identified after the *fitawraris*, for example Fitawrari Mākureya Sāfār.

⁷⁵ Oral Informants: Élyas Grañ, Ayālā Genawo and Saraté Ajajo. The measurement of dawela differs from place to place, but the general understanding is that it measures liquid as well as grain. To explain the difference Richard Pankhurst has done exhaustive research. For further and better understanding see, Richard Pankhurst, "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures Weights & Values (part 2)", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 2, (Addis Ababa: Haile Sellasie I University, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1969), pp135-137.

⁷⁶ Oral Informants: Dawit Grañ and Élyas Grañ.

⁷⁷ Oral Informant: Shefāraw Nāgash.

⁷⁸ The meaning of rebellion as indicated here, in Hadiya language, was obtained from my colleague Doctor Habtamu Wondemu of the Psychology Department, Faculty of Education, and Ato Yacob Arsano of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Addis Abāba University.

⁷⁹ Oral Informants: Dawit Grañ, Ayālā Genawo, Abāgaz Yohannes Dābelo, Mulunāsh Abba Waji and Érsado Boqato.

⁸⁰ Oral Informants: Bāqālā Habtā Maryam, Luel Sāgād Guedé, Marta Qājāla and Shefāw Nāgash.

⁸¹ Oral Informant: Luel Sāgād Guedé.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Oral Informants: Bāqälā Habtä Maryam, Shefāraw Nāgash and Luel Säḡād Guedé.

⁸⁵ Oral Informants: Bāqälā Habtä Maryam, Shefāraw Nāgash and Luel Säḡād Guedé. When members of the dominant group ask a Fuga for any favour or order him for any task, out of fear or not to irritate the person the Fuga accepts all orders and never say no. It is possible that different orders may overlap. Here, the Fuga may be able to execute only one of the orders. The others who were promised but not served by the Fuga, without understanding the problem, may develop a feeling that a Fuga is unreliable.

⁸⁶ Oral Informant: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo

⁸⁷ Oral Informant: Luel Säḡād Guedé.

⁸⁸ Oral Informants: *Abāgaz* Yohannes Dabelo, Dawit Grañ Domboba Dato, Kumamé Te'eqa and Ufayo Maréno.

⁸⁹ Oral Informant: Ayälā Nāḡāwo. This informant's brother was one of the patriots who went to join the army of *Ras* Dästa Damtjé.

⁹⁰ Oral Informants: Shefāraw Nāgash, *Bālabāras* Gezaw Dameté, Etalāmahu Bäyan and Bāqälā Habtä Mareyam.

⁹¹ Täsfayä Habiso, "Kāmbata ena Hadiya," p.14.

⁹² Oral Informant: Bāqälā Habtä Maryam, Akabo Chenqiso and Asfaw Wäldä Maryam.

⁹³ ASMAI AOI-Etiopia, Pos. 181/52, no. 244, available in the archive of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Oral Informants: Bāqälā Habtä Mariam and Luel Säḡād Guedé.

⁹⁴ Oral Informant: Bāqälā Habtä Maryam, Benunāsh Kéroto and Badanga Maru..

⁹⁵ ASMAI, AOI, Etiopia, Pos. 181/52 File nos. 243 and 244.

⁹⁶ Oral Informants: Takiso Babiso, and Érsado Boqato.

⁹⁷ ASMAI, AOI, Africa, Etiopia II, Pos. 181/52, File nos. 243 and 244.

⁹⁸ Oral Informants: Takiso Babiso.

⁹⁹ Oral Informants: Sugébo Bushango *Dañña* Shamago, Shefāraw Nāgash, Bāqälā Habtä Maryam and Yohannes Hélémo.

¹⁰⁰ Oral Informant: Sugébo Bushango.

¹⁰¹ Oral Informant: Sugébo Bushango.

¹⁰² Oral Informant: Shanqo Gobāna Abba Wari Tiqamo-.

¹⁰³ Gabreyesus Hailemariam, The Guragé and Their Culture (New York: Vantage Press, 1991), p. 64.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Oral Informant: Léraamo Wayiso. Narration of his personal terrible experiences under his patron.

¹⁰⁶ Oral Informant: Budégo Ansébo.

¹⁰⁷ Mohammed Hassen, The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.21. He describes the *moggaasa* as an Oromo institution, which adopts an individual or group of Oromo or non-Oromo into a clan or tribe by an oath. The *Moggaasa* was inspired by political, military, and economic considerations on both sides. Thus, the Fuga immigrants from Hadiya and Kāmbata were accepted by an Oromo clan of Duré Dulāti in this way. At times, if the newly accepted society is not believed to an equal, as an outcast, intermarriage with the patron clan may not be permissible. This was precisely what happened with the Fuga.

¹⁰⁸ Oral Informants: Jāmal Abāgaz, *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo, Abiyo Dabelo, Ahmād Abdāta and Dawit Grañ.

¹⁰⁹ Dewan Ram Parkash, How to Erase Untouchability (New Delhi: R.P. Books Wala & W, 1979), p.22.

TRADITIONAL WISDOM IN THE POLICING OF A MARKET: THE CASE
OF AMBORO

The history of Amboro may not be the kernel for the study of the Fuga communities, but as part of Fuga history it is essential to explain the role of the Fuga urban centre of Amboro. Amboro is one of the main, early Fuga settlements where they assumed specific responsibilities in different capacities for generating services necessary for their survival and that of their neighbours. It was here at Amboro that the Fuga owned lands of their own in the new settlement. It was also at Amboro that they acquired different skills of pottery production from the indigenous communities who had already developed craftsmanship. However, the Fuga of Amboro are best remembered for their services in guarding the town of Amboro and in defending it from enemies whenever there were political crises. The relevance of Amboro to Fuga history can, therefore, be understood better from this point of view.

Until the successful control of the region by the Shāwan army towards the end of the nineteenth century political conditions in the Guragé and Hadiya regions were not always stable. Skirmishes and wars, though localised, were fought frequently. The predominantly Christian Guragé fought sometimes against each other and at other times against the Marāqo and Hadiya or against the neighbouring Muslim Selti and Alaba. Similarly the Soro and Limmu clans of Hadiya had serious conflicts amongst themselves.

Before the Hadiya clans came into the political scene of the region in the seventeenth century the Alaba ethnic group had a dominant political position and fought at one time against both the Guragés and at other times against the Mäsmäsa (their political centre being at Amboro).¹ According to one of my informants *mäs* means “enemy” and *mäsmäs* an “uncompromising enemy.”² This may suggest that the indigenous people might have taken the newcomers who were later identified or Mäsmäsa or as uncompromising enemies. Conflicts seem to have arisen when the Mäsmäsa sought new lands to settle upon and to exercise power over the indigenous people.

Despite the prevalent wars in the region and also natural obstacles like heavy rains and overflowing rivers, trade was conducted with fewer problems. For a long period the practice of marketing and exchanging of goods and services has been a common practice in the Horn of Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular. Through time and because of the long trade in the Horn of Africa several places were created as market places and replaced by others, probably for geographical or military advantages or for both.

Though the reliability of the oral tradition could be questioned, in south-central Ethiopia, the most famous among the market places was Hambaricho Hossiso in present day Lémmu. It is said to have been founded, as an administrative centre, by Emperor Zära Yaqob (1434-1468).³ Local tradition indicates that it also served as an important commercial centre where non-indigenous merchant's communities had settled.⁴

Merchants from Balé, Harär, Sidamo, Gämu and Enarya frequented it for commercial purposes.⁵ Merchants from the northern and eastern parts of Ethiopia frequently visited the Hadiya region mainly during the dry season. Hadiya's "geographical position tends to make it a natural trade route between the Omo and Shäwa people."⁶ Among the Kämbata, Wälayta, Yämma, Kullo, Konta, Western Guragé and Hadiya societies there were indigenous itinerant merchants who were responsible for the supply of needed trade goods to the long distance traders. They also supplied goods to satisfy local demands. They were the ones who provided products of south-central Ethiopia like ivory, wild animal skins, coffee, slaves, wax, etc., to the long distance merchants, particularly, until the nineteenth century. The long distance merchants at the same time enjoyed the protection of the chiefs who controlled big markets like Säqa in south-western⁷ and Amboro in south-central Ethiopia.

There was a direct route across the Gibe River linking Amboro with both Yämma and Jimma (particularly after the foundation of Jimma as an important commercial centre) to its west. Endägañ and Ennämor in western Garagé had a long-standing tradition of strong socio-economic relations with the Mäsmäsa.⁸ A tradition collected in Mäsmäsa has it that the area of Amboro was settled by newcomers from northern Ethiopia who arrived before the emergence of the "Solomonic" Dynasty.

It is also reported that there were people prior to the arrival of the immigrants who settled in the present day Mäsmäs area. It is said that about a thousand years ago indigenous people like the Dawa, Digälla, Erär and the Massawa had been living in the north-western part of present day Hadiya which was formerly known as Mäsmäsa.⁹ The

Alaba are also mentioned as ancient settlers of the same region.¹⁰ Among others there were artisans engaged in different occupations. The agricultural surplus generated from the Mäsmäsa area seems to have favoured the growth of a politico-religious elite and attracted various artisan groups who specialised in different activities. A significant number of the Amboro community were engaged in various crafts like weaving, tanning, metallurgy, carpentry, embroidery and pottery production. The availability of surplus and a market for their products attracted the craftsmen to concentrate around the Amboro market. The craftsmen or artisans were locally known as the *Mäshärät* (smiths), *Qewo* (tanners), *Shämané* (weavers) and potters.¹¹ Among them the *Qewo* or tanners were considered by the ordinary Mäsmäsa as *buda* or having the evil-eye¹² Another Hadiya elder also identifies the various artisans with different names like Fuga, *weqach* or smith, *shämané* or weaver, and *wancha* or tanner.¹³

A similar report is made in the Guragé Zone where the tanners were considered as *buda* or possessed with the evil-eye. All the artisans were considered and treated as outcasts. Like other outcasts elsewhere the Amboro artisans have been "sharing many of the traits of the lower class, they are socially distinct,...reinforced by their ecological segregation from both the elite and the lower class."¹⁴ However, all elder informants agreed that the Amboro smiths and weavers were not at all stigmatised and despised by others. They intermarried with the Hadiya.¹⁵ Particularly at Amboro, weaving has been a profession to be picked up by any individual interested merely for its economic advantages.

The descendants of the Semitic immigrants from the north say that their

ancestors migrated from their original homeland somewhere in northern Ethiopia sometime about seven hundred years or more ago. One cannot fully rely on the dating, for it is obvious that oral tradition may have been adulterated through the passage of time. However, (as discussed in chapter ii) an elder priest and informant counted his genealogy up to 23 generations and tried to link it with the first immigrants, which makes it about 700 years.¹⁶ Some informants also persistently tell that the first immigrants came to the place some 790 years ago.¹⁷ It is also possible that the market of Amboro existed before the arrival of the Semitic immigrants (later known as Mäsmäsa) and their companions the Fuga from the northern parts of Ethiopia and it might have attracted one branch of the Mäsmäsa people. The name Mäsmäsa was probably acquired later after their settlement so as to serve as the name of the place and of the Semitic immigrants from northern Ethiopia.

Similarly, another informant counts the lineage of the Mäsmäsa priesthood since the arrival of priest called Endalä (the first priest who is believed to have brought the ark of St. Mikael) at Amboro. At Amboro alone, they claim to have lived for 19 generations. The first four generations of the immigrants are believed to have lived in the same region but at different places.¹⁸ There are also elders who feel that their ancestral migration took place some time during the reign of Emperor Lalibela of the Zagwé Dynasty. Still others say that it was some thirty generations ago that the Mäsmäsa migrated from northern Ethiopia.¹⁹

According to the Mäsmäsa elders there are two traditions about the route of migration. One group of informants claim to have come by way of the Silté and that

they initially settled at the Ambaricho massif until they moved later to Hebrama near present day Hossana.²⁰ The second group of informants are of the opinion that the same Semitic people or at least some of them came by way of Kafa to settle at the Ambaricho massif, before migrating to Hebrama.²¹ From Hebrama they again moved to Lencho where they established the Oda market on the upper hills of the Kontom massif. After a stay of about two generations, they decided to transfer their seat to Amboro, in the lower western plains of the Kontom area, near the Gibe Valley, which they found a convenient place for settlement.²²

At Amboro alone they are supposed to have lived for 22 generations.²³ Amboro elders have preserved a common tradition, which says that their history was summarised on the marginalia of the liturgical book or prayer book, which belonged to the Mäsmäsa Mikael Church. The book does not exist now because the Italian administrators took it during the period of occupation.²⁴ According to the information in the marginalia they migrated during the reign of a king called Gigar. Unless they are referring to a local chief, the only Gigar in Ethiopian history was the Gonderine king who reigned from 1821 to 1826.

Informants of all classes similarly tell that the Fuga who were renowned hunters and warriors had the responsibility of identifying the economically and strategically important places for the settlement by the newcomers. It was four generations after their initial migration that the Mäsmäsa ruling elite and the priesthood and their retinue came to Amboro for their final settlement. There is no uniformity when it comes to the number of generations obtained from different elder informants. Such discrepancies are

to be expected because of the problems in the relay of oral information from father to son or from one generation to the other.

Among the first settlers was one Zomo, the founding father of the dominant Zomo clan which is nowadays claimed to be the non-artisan Mäsmäsa. The others were Angodo and Egero. Traditions regarding medieval Hadiya say that the first two kings were Ango and his son Ada.²⁵ When the two names are combined together they read Ango-Ada. Angodo may be a mispronunciation of the two. Egero might have an Semetic word in origin to indicate the direction of settlement of these groups who might have occupied the lowest part of the settlement land. It was commonly used until recently in reference to the settlement of Fuga families on the land of the landlords.²⁶ Both Angodo and Egero were the founding fathers of the whole Fuga community initially living at Amboro and who later dispersed throughout the whole of south-central Ethiopia and to some Oromo areas. The Angodo and Egero clan members were known for their fighting and hunting abilities. The Egero clan besides their fighting and hunting abilities specialised in the making of poison particularly used by the Fuga for their arrows, both for warring with other people and for hunting.²⁷ There is a strong tradition among both the Fuga and non-Fuga which says that a Fuga brave called Soddo Kusharé saved Amboro town from destruction by killing the aggressive king of the Alaba, Alaquéro, with a poisoned arrow. As they were hunters and warriors, the Angodo and Egero take the credit for the initial identification of the Amboro settlement area.

The Mäsmäsa grew powerful, having chosen Amboro as their centre. Their territory was large, bounded by the Alaba people in the east and by the Gudära River

and Kāmbata in the south and south-east. On the north it was delimited by the Dagosa river which separated the Māsmāsa lands from the Gurage country, and on the west by the Gibe, and on the south by the Gomana River.²⁸

Based on linguistic analysis Haberland classifies Māsmāsñña, the language of the Māsmāsa people as a branch of the Semitic language groups much more related to the western Guragé languages. It is also frequently reported by elders that the Māsmāsa claim to be one of those early immigrants who settled in western Guragé and the Yamma who have been living on the other side of the Gibe River. All those people who claim Semitic origin had strong cultural and marriage relations among themselves. The Māsmāsa saw the Guragé, the ruling family of Yamma and the family of Jimma Abba Jifar as kinsmen and friends who belonged to the Egero clan of Māsmāsa.²⁹ When one of my informants Taddässä counts his descent on the paternal side he stops after mentioning Haykäl and Baherä Māsmäs. Though he does not make a direct line of connection with them he mentions them as places by which the immigrants passed. Both seem to be indicating the places of their origin, for Haykäl is today the capital of Chelga district in western Gondar and Baherä Māsmäs may refer to Lake Tana.

Tradition is unable to provide a precise date as to when Amboro started to serve as a settlement area for a large population and as a market place. There is the Portuguese Antonio Fernandez's report which suggests that Amboro existed at least in the first half of the seventeenth century, though with a different name, Iangara. Iangara as described by Antonio Fernandez, a Portuguese missionary, was a place where many people gathered for a fair.³⁰ Fernandez, who visited it does not give any description

about the Amboro market, probably because he did not observe the Amboro market activities. However, his description of the place in relation to the location of western Gurage and the proximity of the passage on the River Gibe fits for the location of Amboro.

It seems that Amboro's importance had grown very high since the settlement of the Mäsmäsa. In the period following their settlement the Mäsmäsa pushed out the Alaba people, who by then were politically strong in the region, from the neighbourhood. The conflict which resulted in the process of pushing out the Alaba from the present day Hadiya is said to have taken place towards the end of the sixteenth century.³¹ According to the oral tradition of the Mäsmäsa, Amboro became much more important after their settlement, both as a religious centre and as the biggest market place in the entire region. They provided Amboro market with the necessary protection for maintaining law and order and for the security of the merchants. This was made possible probably because of their previous experience in having a peaceful market for good economic transactions.

According to some informants Mäsmäsa was initially neither the people's original name nor the place name. It was acquired later after their settlement at Amboro from the Amharic word "*mas-mas*" (dig-dig).³² When the immigrants were digging the trenches around their settlement at Amboro the indigenous people whom they saw as enemy heard them saying, "*mas*" (dig), repeatedly. Those who heard them say this thought that the name of the new comers was "*Mas-Mas*". Thus, thereafter, the indigenous people identified them by the name of Mäsmäsa. Since then even the

newcomers identified themselves ethnically as Mäsmäsa and their church as Mäsmäsa Mikael or Hebo Mikael of Mäsmäsa. From then on Amboro indicated the name of the place around the Mäsmäsa Mikael Church, together with the market places and the residential neighbourhood.³³

The time when Amboro emerged as an important market place in relation to the north-south direction long distance trade route cannot be established. What one can assume is that from the time of its existence until the beginning of our century Amboro remained and served as a large and very important market place. People from the neighbouring areas of western Guragé, Hadiya, Kämbata, Walayta, Kullo, Konta, Gamo, Gofa and Yämma visited it weekly on Saturdays for economic and social interactions. It was at Amboro market place that the above mentioned peoples met the long distance trade merchants from the north and east, who visited it generally during the dry season. Amboro town was, however, typical of the general development of a traditional town and of the fortified villages throughout the region.

It seems that Amboro served as a local as well as regional market. The neighbouring peoples of the region brought different commodities to the market at Amboro. In addition to the hunting of trophies which were brought by all hunters, at least until the last century, the various peoples who produced some specialised agricultural products in the region brought their surplus to the Amboro market to be exchanged for the local iron currency then used or to be bartered for items of equal value which they did not produce. In the same region, but contemporary with Amboro town, there were small feeder markets like Damboya in Kämbata, Fofa in Yämma, and

Egäzé in Ennämor whose markets were held on different days of the week other than Saturdays.

Amboro is approximately located in the centre so as to serve the above mentioned areas. It is situated on the western side of the Kontob massif, at some distance from its foothills. It is located on the north-western side of Hadiya and about six hours walk from the town of Hossana, the former administrative centre of Kämpata and Hadiya and the present capital of the Hadiya Zone. Amboro is elevated above the surrounding areas and its good drainage seems to have been of great importance for its initial selection as a market place.

It seems that Amboro was chosen for settlement principally because of its commanding topography and the two perennial rivers which surrounded it. All the roads which led the neighbouring peoples to Amboro passed through its six official *bärs* or entrances and then extended to the two market places. Inside Amboro, the roads also branched out to the St. Mikael Church and to the different residential areas. At the centre of Amboro we find St. Mikael Church which occupies relatively the highest altitude. The terrain is such that from the church it descends gently towards its eastern, western and southern sides. Particularly, the gradients in the northern and western ends of Amboro were so steep that it was difficult for any one who wanted to enter, unless he used the official *bärs* or entrances.

Elders report that according to the tradition of their elders it was only six generations ago (c. 180 years ago) that the Badogo clan of Hadiya branch attacked the

Amboro settlement and killed many of its men. The conflict was initially ignited by the accidental murder of a Mäsmäsa monk, *Abba Bonäya*, at the hands of an unmarried Badogo young man who, according to Hadiya tradition, wanted to mutilate and carry the victim's genitals and to prove his manhood in order to be initiated for marriage. The murderer was immediately caught and killed on the spot by the people of Amboro in order to avoid any further conflict and feud with the Badogo clan of Hadiya. The latter were not satisfied even though the young man who initiated the murder was killed. Some Badogo warriors broke into Amboro by disguising themselves as peaceful visitors and then killed the Fuga guards at the Awi *bär* or entrance, after which more Badogo warriors who were waiting outside poured into the town. As a result of the incident, the Badogo warriors, kinsmen of the young Badogo man who was killed, broke through the Amboro Awi *bär* and killed the Fuga guards in order to attack the Mäsmäsa settlers. During the attack, between 700 and 800 Mäsmäsa men are assumed to have been massacred or killed at the hands of the Badogo warriors.³⁴ This figure may just mean that many people were killed in the incident.

From this tradition one can imagine how densely populated ancient Amboro town might have been. It was able to lose such a large number of its male members for its defence. To save themselves from similar attack in the future the important families of Amboro are believed to have evacuated or left the site to settle in different places. The Éléko clan migrated to Jimma and the family of Abba Jiffar is assumed to have been descended from it. The Du'ö clan migrated to Chäha and the well-known Shaik family of Chaha claim to be descendants of this clan. After they left Amboro both the Éléko and Du'ö clan members provided religio-political leadership in their respective

areas of settlement. Some branches of other clans like the Ilgo moved to Wäläyta, Bāshkoshem migrated to Yamma and Damot to a place unknown to my informants.³⁵ Until the time when the Māsmāsa-Badogo incident took place Amboro had been at peace with the neighbouring Hadiya because the Māsmāsa knew how to handle others peacefully. They did not risk fighting, but made others fight against each other so that they could remain in peace.³⁶

One can imagine how the Amboro area would have been very full with a large population. Even at present we find about 200 households which constitute one peasant association within the former enclosure of Amboro.³⁷ The present size of the population with its scattered settlement pattern clearly suggests that the peaceful market place of old Amboro with its clustered huts could have supported a much larger population.

During its heyday as an important market place, Amboro was completely enclosed by an impregnable defence of perennial rivers accompanied or completely covered with thick natural forest whose remnants can still be observed. If one wants to hazard an etymology, the name Amboro might have been derived from a combination of the Semitic word *amba* which means mountain or hill fortification and the Cushitic word “*oroo*” (in Hadiya language) which means a zone of conflicts. The different Hadiya clans who lived around Amboro were fighting against each other.

When Amboro served as an important market its forests were always reinforced by the Māsmāsa people who frequently planted additional trees in order to protect themselves from any external attack. The irregularities of the nature of the landscape,

its encirclement by rivers and the absence of enough stones in the neighbourhood do not seem to have favoured the construction of stone walls like that of the city of Harar in eastern Ethiopia. However, the woods of the surrounding forest, the pits and the twin rivers provided the necessary protection for the people of Amboro.

The area of ancient Amboro is roughly estimated to have been about 25 *gashas* or about 1000 hectares of land. In addition to the well preserved thick forest enclosing the Amboro settlement area, the Mäsmäsa people dug ditches and pits along the internal borders of the enclosure. To assure their safety, they planted three *zogads* or sharpened stakes of *zegeba* or, as some say, of wild olive trees inside each pit. Each pit was about one meter square in surface and two meters deep, in order to trap intruding enemies.³⁸

It seems that the construction of the fortification became necessary after the Mäsmäsa people were threatened by both the neighbouring Alaba and the Hadiya clans, namely the Soro, the Shashägo and the Badowacho, on their arrival from the direction of the Bali areas during the reign of Emperor Zära Yacob. This threat continued even after the settlement of the Hadiya. The six official man-made entrances or *bärs* of Amboro were immediately followed by the *wa'ad* or inward leading trenches. Adult warrior Fuga always guarded these. The Fuga were organized so as to give services as watchmen turn by turn. There are informants who say that guarding was the sole responsibility of the adult male Fuga.³⁹

The extended *wa'ad* were meant to serve as controlled inlets and outlets. The main purpose of the *wa'ad* was to help the guards check or supervise from above and to

prevent unwanted strangers from entering and to admit only peaceful and lawful guests and residents. The same entrances were also meant to serve as entrances and exits for the various neighbouring ethnic groups coming into Amboro from different directions, mainly on the Saturday market days for transactions and entertainments of *shameta* or home brewed drinks. It was mainly the cattlemen of the Badäwacho Hadiya clan who frequented Amboro for its *Shameta*.

At Amboro the *bärs* or gates were designed for security purposes. At each *bär* or gate four *enficha* or doorposts were erected to provide an entrance wide enough for many people at a time. The two *enficha* or doorposts were put at opposite sides of the *bär* or entrance and another two at the centre close together; dividing the entrance into two parts. On each of the four erected *enfichas* or doorposts four *fur* or holes almost equidistant from each other were dug. The opposite *enficha* or doorposts were of equal height so that the *fur* or holes corresponded with each other. At a level to the *fur* or holes *uma* or timber bars were inserted horizontally so that they closed the entrances when required so as to prevent free access at night into the Amboro enclosure. Skilled male Fuga woodworkers usually constructed the gates.⁴⁰

Until the turn of the twentieth century Amboro was divided into various residential quarters with the church of Mäsmäsa Mikael at its centre. The famous *qalichas* sheltered under the majestic *zegeba* (*Podocarpus gracilior*) trees, which are still found standing in the direction of the Awi *bär* then serving as shrines. Amboro's different residential quarters were settled by people of different trades or occupations. In the quarter along the Egända entrance there lived only the elite of Amboro, namely

the administrative officials and the priesthood. The artisan Fuga lived in the quarter that controlled the Awi *bär*, to the northern side of the Amboro market. There were also other quarters occupied or settled by the *qätqach* or smiths, and the *gewo* or tanners and weavers.⁴¹ Among the occupational groups the weavers were not considered as outcasts. Anyone interested to acquire the skill could train himself to become a weaver and still maintain his previous social status.

Though people are not certain whether there has been any restrictions on living within any quarter without crossing the boundary, the common understanding is that the various occupational groups had at least dominated specific living quarters at the administrative and political center of Amboro. Among others the priesthood lived at Gämäsha, peasants at Gefé, smiths at Hoqé and Gémbara, and the Fuga mainly at Ototo, Jelo, Shombra, Awi Färüz and at Ferfera *bär*.⁴² The smiths were not identified as occupational outcasts. Anyone who learned the skill in ironwork could become a smith and remained without any social stigma. It seems that the Fuga were all over Amboro settlement quarters mainly for their services as guards of the *bärs*.

Elders report that near each *bär* there were very tall *zegeba* or *podocarpus* trees on whose branches the people constructed small roosts or booths for the Fuga guards. The guards sat inside the booths in order to be protected from the sun's heat and from rain while on duty, watching for any oncoming or advancing enemy to attack Amboro. *Zegeba* trees grew also in a large number in the centre of Amboro settlement. A few among the large *zegeba* trees were selected to serve as sanctuaries or shrines and were patronized by the known *qalichas* of the region. Among other things Hebo is believed

to have been the head of all the *adbars* or spiritual centers.⁴³ At present Hébo is well remembered, but in association with the church of Hebo Mikael.⁴⁴ This is a clear indication of the fusion of traditional religion with Christianity in that the spirit is identified with the church.

Any person who wanted to enter the guarded enclosure of Amboro for any purpose had to get the permission of the *zäbäññoch* or watchmen. As confirmed by elders and observed by the researcher from the material relics there existed six known entrances. They were Mäsorona *bär* (in the eastern direction which served mainly the Limmu clan of Hadiya), Shewäta or Hoqé *bär* (in the southern direction, used by the Soro clan of Hadiya, the Kullo, Konta and the Wälayta peoples), Awi *bär* (in the western direction for the Badägo clan of Hadiya and the Yämma), Mätära *bär* (in the western direction which served the Badägo clan of Hadiya), Shäbara *bär* (in the northern direction which served the Guragé and the Limmu clan of Hadiya) and Gémbära or Haräga *bär* (eastern which served the Soro clan of Hadiya).⁴⁵ Some of the *bärs* obtained their names from the clans who were settled nearby and who were responsible for guarding them. The Hoqé clan lent its name to the Hoqé *bär*, the Mäsorana clan to the Mäsorana *bär* and the Gém clan to the Gémbära *bär*. (Here, the word *bär* seems to have been used twice, first as part of the name Gémbära and then as *bär* or gate). These names and the currently observable remains of trenches of those *bärs* can be taken as the best evidence for their existence. No Fuga or Mäsmäsa elders were able to explain the origin of the names of the remaining *bärs* or entrances which are not related to clan names. One cannot establish whether the rest were simple place names or named after some clans or individual personalities.

Though it seems far-fetched and difficult to prove, the name of the Fuga who guarded Awi *bär*, may correspond with the name of the Awi Agäw of southern Gojjam.⁴⁶ It is to be remembered that the Mäsmäsa and Fuga immigrants claim to have passed this region during their initial migration into south-central Ethiopia. My informants are not certain whether any members of the Awi ethnic group had joined their ancestors during the migration. Until the abandonment of Amboro as an important Mäsmäsa political center and market place, all of the gates were well guarded by the watchmen stationed by the chiefs. The Fuga warriors armed with their *bagädo* and *agera* or spear and shield respectively and with their bows and poisoned arrows, were the main participants in the guarding of the gates. The last Fuga warrior who was in charge of guarding the Awi gate until the arrival of the Shäwan army was Ufamo Tiqamo.⁴⁷

The administrative structure of the Amboro center of the Mäsmäsa was a clan based hierarchical authority. The *dañña* or judge of the Zomo clan, which is still believed to be the eldest clan, occupied the highest chair of justice. Zomo is believed to be the founding father of all the Mäsmäsa, but not of the Fuga clans. He usually chaired his assembly of elders and the general assembly of all *daññas* and elders representing each clan though Waryo and Ille are considered to have been the son and the grandson of Zomo respectively. At the same time, the non-Fuga Waryo and Ille are taken to be the founding fathers of the Waryo and Ille clans, which are different from those who identify themselves as members of the Zomo clan. If the Waryo and the Ille clan are different and excluded from the Zomo clan, it is more likely that they were not descendants of Zomo.

Here, it seems that Waryo and Ille were probably Zomo's subordinates, being dependants giving military services to Zomo. If they were the son and grandson or descendants of Zomo they could have claimed and established the same right to membership of the Zomo clan, as they would have been related by blood. If one wanted to maintain membership in the Zomo clan it could have been retained only through Zomo's children, including Waryo, Ille and others if they had existed as direct descendants. Though Zomo is claimed to be the father of both Waryo and Ille there is a clan which is named after Zomo and excludes them. It is also possible that Waryo and Ille might have been his followers who occupied a lower status than Zomo their leader.⁴⁸ Zomo has been mentioned elsewhere as the king of the Māsmāsa people when they defeated their Alaba neighbours.

At Amboro, conflict that arose between two individuals or groups belonging to the same clan was handled by their own clan *dañña* assisted by his clan elders. When any conflict arose between two groups or individuals from different clans a *dañña* from a neutral clan and his assistant elders handled the case. From the Ille court an appeal could be made to the Waryo and then to the Zomo court. From the Waryo court an appeal could be made only to the Zomo court. In both cases an appeal from the Zomo court could be made only to the general assembly. The general assembly always terminated cases, no matter how serious they might be. The Fuga *dañña* and elders took care of any conflict that arose amongst the Fuga. Among the Māsmāsa, in cases where the Fuga *dañña* and the elders did not settle a litigation an appeal could be made to the three non-Fuga *daññas* and their respective assistant elders. The hierarchy was such that first a case was taken to the Ille clan *dañña* and, if not satisfied, then to the Waryo clan

dañña and his assistants and beyond this, if need be, to the Zomo clan *dañña* and his elder assistants. If one party was not satisfied it was taken further high, for a final decision, to the general assembly of all the clan *daññas* and elders to be chaired by the Zomo clan *dañña*. If two Fuga litigants agreed they could as well appeal directly to either Waryo or Zomo. In case one of the parties did not accept the final decision made by the general assembly, first that party would be ostracized and then the case would be immediately referred to the ordinary government court, particularly after the introduction of the Shäwan rule.

As repeatedly told to me by Mäsmäsa elders in the early political organization that they had the chief of both the Mäsmäsa and Fuga used the title of *azmach*. The *azmach* used to wear a *gondär* or bracelet or armlet made of gold or silver or copper on the right arm, which served, as a symbol of kingship. The *gondär* armlet was also worn by the *azmaches* of the Gurage.⁴⁹ With the same meaning the Guragé still commonly use the same ancient title of *azmach* and its ceremony but without the authority it traditionally entailed. Whenever they had reliable strength the powerful *azmaches* of the Mäsmäsa ruled even beyond the enclosed territory of Amboro. During political crisis some *azmaches* were limited to the confines of the Amboro enclosure or settlement area. The Mäsmäsa chiefs have, long ago, stopped using the title of *azmach*.⁵⁰ Now the chiefs are limited to the use of the title of *dañña* which is inferior to that of *azmach*.

Under the *azmaches* there were various offices used by different traditional officers who assumed different military titles. The honorific titles adopted by the

Mäsmäsa nobility before the twentieth century were *azmach*, *aysä'ar*, *abägaz*, *bärkäfä*, *dañña* and *zäbäñña*. Currently, the highest office of the Mäsmäsa chiefs is that of the *dañña*. There are a few *daññas* who still serve the Mäsmäsa people.

Similar titles are known among the neighbouring Guragé people. Informants remarked that the above titles were used according to hierarchy, from high to low, starting from *azmach*. For a long time now, the Mäsmäsa have been relatively weak and their influence limited only to within the Amboro area. Through time, their power has declined so much so that they do not even use the title of *azmach*. Nowadays, the highest title they have retained is *dañña*.

The *zäbäññas* were many in number and assumed different responsibilities. The Amboro *zäbäññas* maintained peace and order during ordinary days and with special attention to market days. Amboro had a regular weekly market day held at two different places. When the Mäsmäsa initially planned to establish two market places they decided that “Ésäro Gäyä, Élémo Gäyä ajaj esägäbä.”⁵¹ When the Mäsmäsa language is translated to English, it literally means, “let the Soro and Lemmo market places be established separately.” The first market place was situated adjacent to and west of Amboro Mikaél Church. The second was located to the west of the first market place.

The two separate market places were purposely created by the chiefs of Mäsmäsa, who assumed conflict containment or conflict management responsibilities, mainly so as to avoid clashes between the two rival Limmu and Soro clans of the

Hadiya, but only when both (Limmu and Soro) stayed within Amboro market. This was the usual practice for there was no another market to serve the Lemmu or the Soro. This mechanism was not intended to resolve their differences permanently but only to create a temporary solution on the market days.⁵²

The market place near the Mikael church was established to serve the Limmu clan while the second was meant for the Soro clan. Other clans do not seem to have had any serious problem with their neighbouring societies. Other than the Limmu and Soro clans, the rest were free to go to any of the two markets according to their preference and convenience, since they had no serious feuds be it among themselves or with the Limmu and Soro clans.

The two markets were held on a weekly basis, simultaneously and regularly on Saturdays. The market activities were closely watched and supervised by the Mäsmäsa *zäbännās* or guards, maintaining peaceful market interactions. The first market place was named "*Yä'Limmu Gäbäya*" after the Limmu clan of Hadiya while the second one "*Yä'Soro Gäbäya*" named after the Soro clan of the same Hadiya people. The separation of the markets by locating them at two different sites was found necessary for the host Mäsmäsa society in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts mainly between the two rival clans and so as to maintain harmonious market relations. Elders confirm that the decision of their chiefs was appropriate and its administration successful.⁵³

Amboro, besides its system of market policing, is remembered for the flourishing of traditional small-scale local industries during its heyday. The artisans of

Amboro, including the Fuga, the *Weqacha*, *Shümané* and *Wancha* produced large quantities of ceramic objects, wooden utensils, both tanned leather and cotton clothes, ornaments, iron tools and iron weapons

To facilitate transaction at the Amboro market, the Mäsmäsa chiefs ordered local smiths to strike iron coins at Amboro itself. The locally made coins, known as *marcho*, had full acceptance by the neighbouring peoples who frequently visited the Amboro market. *Marcho* coins were shaped flat and circular with a hole in the middle. The existence of similar iron currency in the Omo area in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been reported.⁵⁴ For easy carriage the coins were put on strings, leather strips or threads. The *marcho* coin had as its fractions in the *tibtara* coins. In the nineteenth century the *amole* salt bars were also used as currency but lesser than the *marcho*.⁵⁵ Though the *tibtara* coins, also made from iron, had a similar shape to the *marcho* they were smaller in size and thus lower in value. During the *Zämänä Mäsfent* the *amole* salt bars were used everywhere. The *amole* salt bar had penetrated as far as the Gibe region and was also commonly used in the important markets.⁵⁶ Such mediums of exchange were in use at Amboro until the Maria Theresa thaler was introduced by the Shāwan conquerors during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ After the *marcho* and *tibtara* were replaced by the Maria Theresa thaler at Amboro and the surrounding region as currency they came to be used only for neck decoration by children.

In order to produce the iron currency the Amboro smiths obtained iron which was extracted and smelted at Homo in Yämma, one and half days journey from

Amboro. The Mächa Oromo also extracted iron at Machi in Kāfa, beyond Yämma. In both cases the Hadiya merchants were the suppliers of iron to the Amboro smiths who obtained it from the producers in exchange for *amole* salt and other objects which were brought by the long distance merchants from northern Ethiopia. The imported materials brought to Amboro included beads, armlets, iron, anklets, earrings, cloaks, silk, *jano* or togas with red embroidery from Shäwa, etc.⁵⁸ Elders say that in Kafa iron was produced by using traditional methods of smelting.⁵⁹ Some informants assert that additional iron was obtained from northern Ethiopia through the agency of the Jäbärti or northern Muslim merchants.

From the imported iron the same smiths made various tools and weapons which were sold at Amboro market. The Walayta made iron money called *dorma* which was used as a raw material in the production of tools and weapons at Amboro and the surrounding area.⁶⁰ Similar information is obtained from Ernesta Cerulli who writes, "Hadya and Tämbaro use the iron currency (*dorma*) of the Walamo to make spears and knives, both for their own use and for sale."⁶¹ At Amboro the *marcho* coins and the *amole* salt blocks were used to buy cotton and coffee from the Yämma merchants. Yämma was known for its production of cotton.⁶²

Probably before the spread of *enset* cultivation as a staple food in some places in south-central Ethiopia or before some communities were able to produce surplus *enset* for market, the Kämbata people produced *enset* and sold it at the Amboro market.⁶³ Similarly, the Guragé people have a tradition that their ancestors used to import *enset* from Domboya, a small market place in Kämbata, from where they learned how to

cultivate the same plant as their source of food.⁶⁴ However, both the Mäsmäsa and the Guragé cultivated *enset* as their staple food after both learnt it from the Kāmbata. From this one may be at liberty to assume that the ancient immigrants who initially settled at Ambaricho mountain or the aborigines of Kāmbata might well have been responsible for the initial cultivation of *enset* and its spread to the neighbouring region. If one takes the first alternative it requires further research to think of the probability that the immigrants had it as a domesticated food plant in their original home place in northern Ethiopia.

In addition to the *marcho* and *amole* salt currency the Yamma merchants bartered their cotton and coffee for *quanta* (dried meat), barley, peas, cattle, mules, horses and slaves which were sufficiently available at Amboro. The people of Yamma are reported to have only eaten the meat of oxen, and “not sheep, goat, fowl or other animals.”⁶⁵ In the past, the surrounding areas of Amboro being very rich in cattle, the Amboro tanners could easily obtain the required hides to manufacture tanned leather clothes which were in very high demand in the whole region. In Hadiya, Guragé, Kāmbata, Mäsmäsa, Kullo, Konta, Yamma, it was mainly the female members of the societies who wore tanned leather clothes. All families also used tanned leather as bedding and as blankets. Though leather clothings were common to both the Gurage, Kāmbata and Hadiya untill the 1940s, Ernesta Cerulli wrote that Kāmbata women wore rather low skin skirts which left the breasts uncovered.⁶⁶ The leather clothes were commonly used in the region in spite the fact that cotton clothes were woven, at least, at Amboro. Conti Rossini has something to say about the ancient Ethiopian weavers and writes, “*La conoscenza del cotone è assai antica in Abissinia.*”⁶⁷

Until the beginning of the twentieth century the Amboro-based long distance trade route passed through the following minor and major market places.

1) Amboro, Endagañ, Ennamor, Walqité, Bocho and Addis Ababa, Ankobär, Aliyu Amba, Harar, Ausa, Obock or Jibouti, or Harar in the Zeila direction.

2) Amboro, Endagañ, Ennamor, Agäna, Butajera, Bu'i, Aged Grar, Alämgäna, Säbäta, Addis Abäba, Ankobär, Aliyu Amba, Harar and Zeila; or from Ausa to Obock.⁶⁸

3) Amboro, Fonqo, Ulbaräg, Silté, Butajira (after Butajira as seen above).

4) Amboro, Fofa and Jimma, along the northwestern long distance trade route or in the Jimma-Amboro direction. The Bonga-Basso trade in western Ethiopia does not seem to have directly influenced the Kulo and Konta trade activities. Though the trade route served all the south-western regions it excluded Kulo.⁶⁹ The possible reason for this may be Kulo's earlier established trade relation with Amboro and the surrounding region. However, politically Kulo was part of the Kafa kingdom. The states of Kulo, Konta and others paid tax in cattle to the Kafa kings.⁷⁰

The merchants and the marketers crossed the Gibe River at Langé, a wide but shallow passage between Amboro and Fofa. Langé could be crossed on foot during the dry season and by using hide-bags filled with straw during the rainy season when the river swells. This was trade route was used before and after the appearance of Jimma as an important political and commercial centre. To the north of Langé, but at a long distance, there was at Magacho another narrow and deep therefore risky, passage. The

Magacho ford was mainly used by thieves and bandits who might have committed crime on one side of the river and crossed to the opposite side to escape capture by the *dañña* of the area where the crime was committed.⁷¹

The Amboro smiths were good at manufacturing ornaments mainly for the decoration of the female sector of the society. They made *tazabi* (a pectoral cross made of silver or iron to be worn by women, *gutecha* (silver or iron earrings), *gondär* (silver armlets), *albo* (silver beads worn on the ankles), *muqär* or silver head scratchers with three teeth and *tofo* or finger-rings, all of which were made by the smiths for sale and were mainly bought and used by the wealthy upper class families. Similar objects were also made by the same smiths from iron for the female members of the lower classes.⁷²

The Amboro women had well developed hair styles of various fashions. The fashions in hair style included *guto* (loosely braided), *gaména* (long hair grown and braided on the middle of the skull), *gamé* (long hair grown and braided around the lower end of the head), *sadulla kuteya* (a circular patch of the size of a Maria Theresa thaler shaved at the centre of the hair while the rest of the head is braided), *dilbo* (thick braiding), *shuruba* (very thinly or finely braided) and *combaba* (a style combining alternately thick and thin braids).⁷³ As explained by elders and according to my personal observation, there is no similarity between the hair dressing styles of Amboro women and those of the Oromo women living in the Gibe states as sketched by Cecchi and Borelli in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁷⁴

Amboro women also used to decorate their fingers and feet in red and black colours by the use of the bark of the *timira* tree and *ensosela* or henna type of natural ingredients prepared from locally available roots and barks of trees. Moreover, the Amboro upper class women used to perfume themselves by smoking their bodies (in a sort of smoke bath) by burning the roots of an *unäma* tree. For this purpose, a hole was dug and filled with the roots of the *unäma* tree ready for burning. The whole body of the lady would be heavily smeared with fresh butter when she was ready for the smoke treatment. Then the lady, covered in a loose garment, was made to sit on the top of the smoking hole. The selection of the special *unäma* root was for its desired odour. The whole exercise was to make the lady sweat until her skin became clean and red in colour and also to help her get relief from minor diseases like rheumatism.

The above indicated cultural practices were familiar to most of the immigrants who came from the north. By comparison and observation one can clearly see much more similarity between the Mäsmäsa women's hair style, hand and foot decoration and body smoke treatment with the traditional body decoration and beautification of northern Ethiopian women, particularly in Tegray and Eritrea, and probably in some parts of the Amhara region.

The cultural manifestations explained above concerning Amboro women's body decorations indicate aspects of urbanisation of women of high class who had free time which ordinary peasant women could not afford. It is more likely that, even within Amboro, the women of the upper classes and those women involved in commercial activities like inn-keeping and the selling of *bordé* or *shaméta* could afford these beautification processes.

The traditional drink *shaméta* was prepared mainly from barley. For flavouring and for fast fermentation the brewers added mashed or ground spices of *zinjebel* or ginger (*Zingiber officinale*), *abesh* or fenugreek (*Trigonella foenumgraecum*), *korärima* or coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*), *azmud* or cumin (*cuminium*) and garlic (*Allium cepa*).⁷⁵

To maintain the comfort and security of guests, marketers and traders, the chiefs of Amboro constructed *gotoro* or caravanserais (rest houses or accommodations). The *gotoros*, as they were called in Mäsmäsa language, were meant to serve marketers or strangers who would pass the night free of payment, particularly those who had no relatives at Amboro. Marketers who came from the neighbouring areas and who got drunk on the market day also used the *gotoro* to pass the night. This could happen only when the *zäbännñas* approved that the marketers would be unable to go back to their homes and ascertained that the drunken men could neither control themselves nor look after their properties properly.⁷⁶

Despite their political differences and their autonomous existence within their respective areas the various ethnic groups maintained harmonious socio-economic interactions at Amboro. They were governed by the market rules and regulations set by the Mäsmäsa chiefs.

At Amboro it was a common practice that women prepared *sowor* or *bordé*, a very strong and highly spiced beer locally made from barley, to be sold on the market day, usually held on *Loméra* (Saturday). In the two Soro and Limmu markets the *sowor*

or *bordé* vendors had their large jars or wooden bowls filled with *sowor* or *bordé* so that interested marketers might buy and drink. To the *shaméta* likewise made from barley was added spices when it was to be sold on market days. The marketers were served turn by turn until sunset or until the *sowor* or *bordé* and *shaméta* were finished. *Zäbäññas* acted as overseers during such consumption of the beverages. Elders were unanimous in telling me that the nomadic herdsmen of the Badägo clan of the Hadiya used to come on every market day just to drink *sowor* or *shaméta* even when they did not have anything to sell or buy.

Similarly, the people of Mäsmäsa knew how to prepare *täj* (mead or honey wine) and *shaméta* for household consumption or for sale. The name *täj* and the knowledge of its preparation is said to have been introduced and kept as a monopoly by the Mäsmäsa and the Fuga who came from northern Ethiopia.⁷⁷

In the areas occupied and controlled by the Mäsmäsa the elders tell that farmers grew an indigenous potato commonly known as "Hadiya-potato" which resembled the *godäre*. They also grew sorghum and barley. Among the Guragé too a similar potato is grown and called *yä'guragé denech* or the potato of the Guragé. Similar cereals and root crops were grown in the Guragé country, in which "*ogni casa ha il suo orto dove si coltiva tabacco, una specie di patata e poi sempre splendidi boschi di Muse.*"⁷⁸ The English translation is "each house has its own garden where it grows tobacco, a species potato and always splendid *ensete* plants." *Ensete* (*musa ensete*) was mainly grown in Kämpata for which the Kämpata peasants were known at Amboro market. From Kullo, Konta, Gamo and Gofa merchants brought large numbers of slaves. Some of the slaves

were also sold to merchants who came from the direction of Ankobär or by way of Yämma and Jimma. According to elders, the extensive cultivation wheat and *téf* were introduced to Amboro and the surrounding region by the Shāwan conquerors towards the end of the nineteenth century.

If one considers Mäsmäsa, Guragé, Kāmbata, Yämma and Hadiya traditions, it is hard to believe what the elders say that the Mäsmäsa were ignorant of the cultivation of both wheat and *téf* especially in view of their claim that they had originally come from northern Ethiopia where both wheat and *téf* were grown and eaten as staple food by the Semitic people. It is probable that through time the descendants of the first immigrants might have stopped their practice of cultivating and using of wheat and *téf*, gradually replacing them with sorghum, barley, *ensete*, peas, indigenous potato, maize, etc., which they found in their new settlement areas and retained persistently as staple foodstuffs. Or, they might have also come as poverty-stricken immigrants pushed by famine so that it was impossible for them to carry and preserve wheat and *téf* seeds to be grown in their new settlement places. It seems plausible that the indigenous people had already developed various plants and cereals before the arrival of the Shāwans. Some time in the 1880s the Italian Geographical Society reported in an elaborate manner that the Guragé had domesticated food sources. In their words, in addition to the “Muse ‘Nsete,” *“Ogni casa ha il suo orticello, ove si coltiva una specie di patata, cavoli bellissimi; una buona specie di tabacco e una specie di peperoni rossi piccolissimi.”*⁷⁹ Its English translation is, “Each house has its horticulture, where it grows a species of potato, beautiful cabbage, a good species of tobacco and a species of very small red pepper.”

Thus, finally they became totally dependent on the locally available plants and grain that they found in the new settlement areas in south-central Ethiopia and thus partially changed their former food habits. It is also said that the preparation of *doro wät* or chicken stew and the habit of eating eggs were unknown in Mäsmäsa and the surrounding region until the arrival of the Shāwan army. Along with the grains of *téf* and wheat, *doro wät*, it is said, was introduced during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁸⁰

Amboro market place had existed at least before the second half of the seventeenth century. While travelling through Janjero (Yämma) and Mäsmäsa to Kāmbata in 1612, Father Antonio Fernandez, the Jesuit missionary, stayed at Amboro for two days. In his report he identifies Mäsmäsa as Iangara, expecting the arrival of many people at the fair.⁸¹ Some writers have confused Iangara with the old capital of Kambata. A fair in medieval Europe was defined as a periodic and regular meeting for transactions "held usually once a week". Its "essential business was in commodities of distant origin and between merchants from remote places."⁸² Iangara fits this definition.

As seen earlier, Amboro lay along the long distance trade route, if not at the end of the route, which linked south-western and southern Ethiopia with Zeila via the Shāwa-Harar route or with Massawa via the Jimma-Adua trade route or another shortcut route that is not known to us now. The products from the Guragé and Kāmbata areas and to some extent from Wālayta found their way along the long distance trade route via Jimma, Boshā and Yämma or Janjero to Saqa.⁸³ The reverse could also have happened. Trade items from Jimma, Kullo, Konta, Wālayta, Yämma, Guragé and Kāmbata were

brought to the Amboro market to be sold to the long distance trade merchants who came by way of Shāwa, be it from northern or eastern Ethiopia. The trade items which were sold to the long distance merchants included ivory, animal skins, wax, slaves, etc. Particular in Guragé, Hadiya and Kāmbata the main suppliers of game-trophies like ivory and skins of wild animals were the famous hunters, the Fuga and other warriors.⁸⁴

Until the turn of the twentieth century Amboro survived as an important place for its services in the inter-ethnic interactions in south-central Ethiopia. During most of its existence Amboro was an area of consecrated peace. It was a peaceful place and an area of active commerce where only the gatekeepers and the *zābāññas*, who preserved order in the name of public authority, were allowed to carry arms. Amboro thus presents an interesting situation to scholars interested in pre-industrial urban society. Until the end of the nineteenth century it was intact pagan, yet nominally Christian and probably also a Muslim centre, before the family of Abba Jifar and the Chāha Sheikhs abandoned it. Now, because of the continuity of the Mikael Church in the Amboro site, Christian culture and tradition is dominant. Although little is known of the archaeological background of Amboro there are many fortified settlements in the region.

After the fertile areas of Guragé, Hadiya and Kāmbata were incorporated into the Ethiopian state towards the end of the nineteenth century radical political changes were introduced. The rivalry between various ethnic groups, which also involved the Fuga to a great extent, was either drastically reduced or completely eliminated. The Shāwan conquerors established their control over the overall political life in the whole region and changed the land tenure, the local administration and the traditional

relationship. Amboro's military defence strategy established by the Mäsmäsa chiefs and by their people had no value for Menelik's generals. The Shāwans do not at all seem to have been interested in the economic importance of Amboro as a market place, lying as it did along the long distance trade route. Thus the long standing Amboro market had to give up its position to the newly created neighbouring town of Hossana the site of which was selected by *Ras* Abate Bwayalew for its strategic importance. "This could be an already existing settlement, if the site were of some strategic and economic importance, or an altogether fresh site."⁸⁵ Because of its economic and strategic importance Hossana might have fulfilled the requirements to succeed both Amboro, an important market place, and Angacha, until then *Ras* Abatä's garrison and administrative centre in Kāmbata and Hadiya. Being on the long distance trade route lying between Amboro and Ulbaräg, Hossana might have at the same time enabled the *Ras* to control the already existing trade route. During Menelik's expansion of the empire, if the garrison was established in a new site " the nearby weekly market was, more often than not, moved into the garrison by royal and/or the governor's decree."⁸⁶ This is precisely what happened to Amboro.

Unlike Amboro, which was a centre of the Mäsmäsa and the Fuga communities, Hossana was located in the area of the Limmu clan of the Hadiya people, but heavily dominated by the Shāwan garrison. The newly founded settlement of Hossana was gradually transformed into an urban establishment. Though he was not aware of modern urban planning, the descendants of his followers say that *Ras* Abate tried his best to develop Hossana by using Addis Ababa as model. He opened a wide road linking his *gibi* or palace situated at the top of Hébrama Hills (where we have now the

Hossana hospital and the Abbo Church) with the town at its eastern foot. Other roads were opened to separate the plots given to people. Moreover, land or *zorägé* (Amharic) was intentionally left in the midst of the town of Hossana to enable future engineers to create wide roads and spacious squares.⁸⁷

It is more probable that Abate did not find Amboro's location to be an appropriate place to serve the Shäwan idea of strategic stronghold and that he thus founded Hossana. Immediately after Ras Abatä's decision was made in 1908 Amboro ceased to serve as an important marketplace and a political centre of the Mäsmäsa. To this effect Abatä passed a decree to be implemented immediately. From that time on Amboro was abandoned, serving only as an ordinary village with the Saint Mikael Church at its centre. Amboro's fate was similar to that of many a European medieval town which "praised for its vigour and commercial activity ... disappeared from the records... vanished also from the face of the land, abandoned and never again inhabited."⁸⁸ Though the large *zegeba* trees, which were formerly *qalicha* shelters, have survived up to now, their importance as shrines or religious centre having gradually disappeared. At present one can only find some of the old big trees still serving as shrines.

Grazmach Fäläqä Bogalä, the principal secretary of Ras Abatä Bwayaläw, initially carried on with the whole administration of Hossana.⁸⁹ The indigenous Kambata and Hadiya continued to call the newly founded administrative centre and market place Wòsana Kätama.⁹⁰ Formerly, the site was known as Wachamo and afterwards as Wachamo Gäböya or Wachamo Market. This name survived side by side

with that of Hossana at least until the period of the Italian occupation. Ras Abate founded this administrative centre and market place and named it Hossana because this event took place on the religious holiday of Hossana or Palm Sunday, held at that time on the fourth of April.⁹¹ According to Giovanni Chiomi “*Wacchamo*” *é un gran mercato cosi detto in antico. Poi Ras Abbàta vi mutò il nome in Wosan significa limite frontiera, e difatti esso é sulla frontiera Kambata/Gurage.*⁹² The English translation is “Wachamo in ancient time was a great market. Later, Ras Abate changed its name to Wäsana which signifies the limit of a frontier and indeed it was a frontier between Kāmbata and Guragé.”

The reality is that there was no great market place in the region other than Amboro. Having succeeded Amboro, “*Wacchamo Gabà o Wosana*”⁹³ came to be frequently visited by caravan merchants.

Informants say that it did not take much time for Amboro's economic activity to die completely and for Amboro to decline physically into an ordinary village. The Bä'ema Monday market in the same region was also transferred to Morsito, on the north east of Amboro, by the decision of *Fitawrari Aytānfesu*, Ras Abatā's general.⁹⁴ Morsito was strategically better situated and not far from Amboro. Currently Morsito serves as the administrative capital of Kontoma *wärāda*. To make matters worse after the abandonment of Amboro, a new town developed at Badowacho, a couple of hours walk from Amboro and on its western side. Thus, the development of the three towns in the region discouraged the possibility of Amboro's revival as a town.

Hossana's population grew rapidly owing to the settlement of the Shāwan garrison, accompanied by clergymen and Ethiopian merchants, to be followed later by other merchants of foreign nationalities. After its foundation the population of Hossana came to include Greeks, Armenians and Arabs.⁹⁵ Churches of the Ethiopian Orthodox were constructed, shops opened and *tāj bets* or mead houses began to flourish.⁹⁶ Hossana served as a residence of the Italian administration, which included the various zones of Guragé, Hadiya and Kāmbata with a population of 91,000 Muslims, 49,000 Christians and 290,000 followers of traditional religions.⁹⁷

The active artisans of Amboro including the Fuga, suffered from this development. The trade routes that led to the Amboro market had served as a loose linking thread to bring the scattered peoples of south-western Ethiopia together and to exchange their goods peacefully, despite their local conflicts. This in itself had created a new setting of ethnic interaction. As a result of the change of the economic centre from Amboro to Hossana the magnitude and direction of trade and trade routes was slightly changed. Until the time of Menelik's reign (1889-1913) the northern merchants including the Jābarti and the Wārji do not seem to have gone beyond the Amboro market. Indeed, sometime in the nineteenth century, the local wars between the Māsmāsa and the Hadiya clan of Badāgo caused some important Māsmāsa families, like the Abba Jiffar and the Chāha Sheikhs, to migrate to Jimma and to Western Guragé respectively.⁹⁸ It is also assumed that in the early days there might have existed small local market places, particularly in areas where there were organised kingdoms, like Wālayta, which served as emporiums of the southern region and later grew to big markets.

Why did Amboro survive for so long until the beginning of the twentieth century? Amboro and its neighbourhood seem to have been an important and strategic place for the various ethnic groups in the whole region, and of its geographical location favoured its growth as a centre. The indigenous societies who had been living in the area before the arrival of the Mäsmäsa from the north might have been responsible for its initial creation as a market place. There is a strong tradition that says that the pre-Mäsmäsa indigenous people were known for their tanning and pottery production. The Fuga communities of Mäsmäsa claim to have learned tanning and pottery production from them. The physical movement of the Semitic immigrants from the Kontoma massif to Amboro had been gradual after a stay of two generations in the former. Their shift from Oda Gäbäya on the Kontom hills to Amboro was probably to control the already existing settlement and local market place of Amboro. The likelihood is that their first choice of settlement at the Kontäma massif was for military considerations.

The Mämäsa newcomers claim to have carried *tabots* with them wherever they went. As mentioned earlier, at the centre of Amboro settlement they established the church of the Archangel Saint Mikael. The same area of Amboro had been known for the concentration of several shrines presided over by several *qalichas* who dispensed their services under the big *zegeba* trees. It is possible that the *qalicha*-dominated shrines had prior existence in the area. It may be as a result of this that the clergymen of the Ethiopian Orthodox coexisted with them by tolerating them within the Amboro settlement even after the establishment of the Church of St. Mikael. The *adbar* of the spirit known as Hebo was identified as a subordinate to the archangel Mikael and was

later called Hebo Mikael of Mäsmäsa. The origin of the name Hebo is not known to any of my informants. However, there is a place called Hebo in Akälä Guzay in Eritrea, which in the past served as a Catholic Missionary centre. We are not certain whether the name Hebo can be related to this centre of Catholicism. If one relates the two names one might assume that the *tabot* of the Amboro Mikael might have been brought from the Hebo of Akälä Guzay if it existed there at all. The likelihood is that the similarity of the name of the two places may only be a mere coincidence.

It was a common practice that the followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church constructed churches in areas where societies had formerly established shrines for their guardian spirits. This might have helped the churchmen to attract and convert the indigenous societies who might have come occasionally for consultation of their spirit possessed *qalichas*. It is probably for this reason that the Amboro marketplace, dominated by the *qalichas*, might have existed from before the foundation of the church of Saint Mikael by the Mäsmäsa Christian newcomers. It continued to be important until 1908 when Hossana succeeded it.

NOTE

CHAPTER V

¹ Oral Informants. *Dañña* Garkäbo Ugébo. *Abägaz* Élišo Budolé and *Mämeré* Gäbrä Mikael Qatiso .

² Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkébo Urgebo and Élyas Grañ.

³ Oral Informant: Shefäraw Nägash had read this in a manuscript that he got from his father. He also reported that his former friend took the manuscript. In this same place there is a sort of rock well-carved cave which is believed to have been a palace.

⁴ Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo, *Dañña* Mokoro Toné and Ergécho Mogoré. Though oral informants suggested that in the medieval period there were expatriate communities at Hambaricho Hossiso one cannot rely on this information. The informants might have been influenced by the presence in later periods of those foreign communities in Hossana.

⁵ Säyfä Debaba, *Azmach*, 1974, p. 32; and Oral Informant: Shefäraw Nägash as he heard it from elders.

⁶ Ernesta Cerulli, *Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia and its Borderland* (London: International African Institute, 1956), p. 118.

⁷ For further information see Guluma Gameda, "Gomma and Limmu: The Process of State Formation Among the Oromo in Gibe Region, c. 1750-1889," MA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1984.

⁸ Oral Informants: *Mämeré* Gäbrä Mikael and *Dañña* Garkébo Ugébo.

⁹ Oral Informants: *Mämeré* Gäbrä Mikael and *Mämeré* Fäqadu Suléto. According to tradition the Mäsmäsa migrants started their migration sometime before nine and half century and arrived at Amboro after about one and half century.

¹⁰ Oral Informant: Taddässä Bädoré.

¹¹ Oral Informant: *Abba* Wari Masäro.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Oral Informant: *Dañña* Guboro Ajamo.

¹⁴ Gideon Sjoberg, 1960, p. 133.

¹⁵ Oral Informant: Gueboro Ajamo.

¹⁶ Oral Informant: Sirmolo Ombé.

¹⁷ Oral Informants: *Mämeré* Gäbrä Mikael Qatiso and *Mämeré* Fäkdü Suléto

¹⁸ Oral Informant: *Mämeré Gäbrä Mikael Qatiso*

¹⁹ Oral Informant: *Dañña Gueboro Ajamo*.

²⁰ Oral Informant: Awi Masäro.

²¹ Oral Informants: . *Dañña Garkebo Urgebo* and *Dañña Gueboro Ajamo*

²² Oral Informant: *Mämeré Gäbrä Mikael Qatiso*

²³ Oral Informant: Garkäbo Urgébo .

²⁴ Oral Informants: *Mämeré Gäbrä Mikael Qatiso*, *Abägaz Éliso Budälé* and *Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo*.

²⁵ C.F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford, Some Records of Ethiopia 1593-1646, 1954, p.

lxiv.

²⁶ As it was a common practice in the later period any Fuga family was supposed to be given land to construct his tukul "bästä egregé" at the lower and if possible southern part of the land's area.

²⁷ Oral Informant: *Abba Wari Masoré*.

²⁸ Oral Informants: *Dañña GarKébo Urgébo* and *Dañña Gueboro Ajamo*.

²⁹ Oral Informant: Taddässä Bädoré.

³⁰ Huntingford, Some Records of Ethiopia, 1954, p. 155.

³¹ Oral Informant: *Säyed Mäki Ali* from the Alaba side.

³² Oral Informants: *Mämeré Gäbrä Mikael* and *Dañña Garkbo Urgebo*.

³³ Oral Informant: . *Dañña Garkäbo Urgebo*.

³⁴ Oral Infromants: *Dañña Gueboro Ajamo*, *Mämeré Gäbrä Mikael Qatisso*, *Dañña Garkäbo Urgebo*

³⁵ Oral Informants: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo* and *Abägaz Éliso Budolé*.

³⁶ Oral Informant: *Dañña Gueboro Ajamo*.

³⁷ Oral Informant: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo*.

³⁸ Oral Informants: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo* and *Mämeré Gäbrä Mikael Qatiso*.

³⁹ Oral Informants: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo* and *Shefäraw Nägash*.

⁴⁰ Oral Informants: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo* and *Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo*.

⁴¹ Oral Informant: *Dañña Gueboro Ajamo*. Though the locally used term *qewo* substitutes the word tanner my informant could not establish its etymology as well as the language it belongs to.

⁴² Oral Informant: Taddäsä Masoré.

⁴³ Oral Informant: *Qalicha* Abbo Chäwaso.

⁴⁴ Hebo is a place name in Eritrea which has been a Catholic Mission center, but we are not certain whether there is any relation between the two names.

⁴⁵ Oral Informants: *Mämeré* Gäbrä Mikaél Qatiso and Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo.

⁴⁶ Donald N. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multiple Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; 1974) p. 188.

⁴⁷ Oral Informant: Dawit Grañ.

⁴⁸ Zomo has been mentioned elsewhere as the king of the Mäsmäsa people when they won the Alaba neighbours.

⁴⁹ Säyfu Debabé, *Azmach: Yäguragé Hezb Achir Tarik*, Amharic (Addis Abäba, 1974:), p. ??.

⁵⁰ Oral Informant: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo.

⁵¹ Oral Informant: *Abägaz* Éliso Budolé.

⁵² Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo and *Mämeré* Yohannes Qatiso.

⁵³ Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo and *Mämeré* bäbrä Mikaél Qatiso.

⁵⁴ Richard Pankhurst, "Primitive Money in Ethiopia," *Journal de la Société des Africanists*, (1963), p. 237.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Abir Mordcai, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea* (London: Frank Cass, 1980), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁷ Oral Informants: *Dañña* Gueboro Ajamo and *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo.

⁵⁸ Oral Informant: *Qalicha* Abba Chäwaso.

⁵⁹ Oral Informant: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo.

⁶⁰ Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo and *Dañña* Gueboro Ajamo.

⁶¹ Ernesta Cerulli, *Peoples of South-Western Ethiopia*, 1956, p.128.

⁶² Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgébo, *Qalicha* Abbo Chäwaso *Mämeré* Gäbrä Mikaél Takiso.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Rahmmeto Hussein, "The History of Azernet-berbere until the Expansion of Shoa During MenelikII, "B.A. Thesis in History, A.A. University, 1984), p. 22.

G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Galla of Ethiopia: The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero* (London: International African Institute, 1969), p. 138.

⁶⁶ Ernesta Cerulli, *Peoples of South-west Ethiopia*, 1956, p.126.

⁶⁷ Carlo conti Rossini, "Sul'artigianato in Abyssinia," *Rassegna Economica Delle Colonie*. Anno 25,N 5, (1937), p.638.

⁶⁸ Oral Informant: Serur Säyed.

⁶⁹ Kochito Wolde Mikael, "The History of Kafa"(BA Thesis in History at Addis Ababa University, 1979), p.13.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 12.

⁷¹ Oral Informant: Dañña Gadäro Boté.

⁷² Oral Informants: *Abba Wari Mäsoré, Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo and Mämeré Gäbrä Mikaél Qatiso.*

⁷³ Oral Informant: Élyas Grañ.

⁷⁴ Huntingford, *The Galla of Ethiopia:*, 1955, p.70. See also Jules Borelli, 1890.

⁷⁵ Oral Informants: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo, Mämeré Gäbrä Mikaél Qatiso and Qalicha Abbo Chäwaso.*

⁷⁶ Oral Informant: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgébo.*

⁷⁷ Oral Informant: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgebo.*

⁷⁸ Leopoldo Traversi, "Viaggi Negli Arussi, Guraghi etc." *Bolletino Della Società Geografica Italiana* (Memorie e relazioni) Vol.1, 1887), p. 267.

⁷⁹ Bollitino della SocietaGeografica Italiana. Anno XXI-Volume XXIV, Serie II-Volume XII. (Roma: 1887), p. 279. The stem of the *Guragé denech* does not creep, but it grows up straight. Its leaves are different and its potato roots are not round in shape, but a bit cylindrical and relatively smaller than the New World potato.

⁸⁰ Oral Informants: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgebo and Mämeré Gäbrä Mikaél Qatiso.*

⁸¹ Huntingford, 1954, p.162. According to the description of the writer about the location of Iangara in relation to the Lange passage on the River Gibe and that of western Guragé it fits with the location of Amboro. Ulrich Braukamper, *Die Kambata*, 1983, p. 43. The author shows the sixteenth century route that Antonio Fernandez followed on his way to Kambata, on which Iangarâ is indicated. On the map Iangarâ is placed in Mäsmäsa where exactly Amboro is located.

⁸² N.I.G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, second edit. (London: Longman, 1994), p.358.

⁸³ Guluma Gameda, "Gomma and Limmu:", 1984, p. 78.

⁸⁴ Oral Informants: *Dañña Garkäbo Urgebo and Mämeré Gäbrä Mikael Qatiso.*

⁸⁵ Akalu Wolde Mikael, "Urban Development in Ethiopia (1889-1925) Early Phase," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, VOL. XI, No. 1, 1973, p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.5.

⁸⁷ Oral Informant: Alämayähu Kassa.

⁸⁸ N.J.G. Pounds, An Economic History of Medieval Europe, 1994, p. 65.

⁸⁹ Oral Informant: Captain Solomon Fäläqä.

⁹⁰ P. Giovanni Chiomi, 1928, p. 6.

⁹¹ Oral Informant: Ato Fescha H. Mariyam.

⁹² P. Giovanni Chiomi, Dalle Note di Viaggio Nel Sud Etiopico 1927-28 (November 1928), p.:9.

⁹³ P. Giovanni Chiomio, Dalle Note di Viaggio Nel Sud Etiopico 1927-28, (1928), p .8.

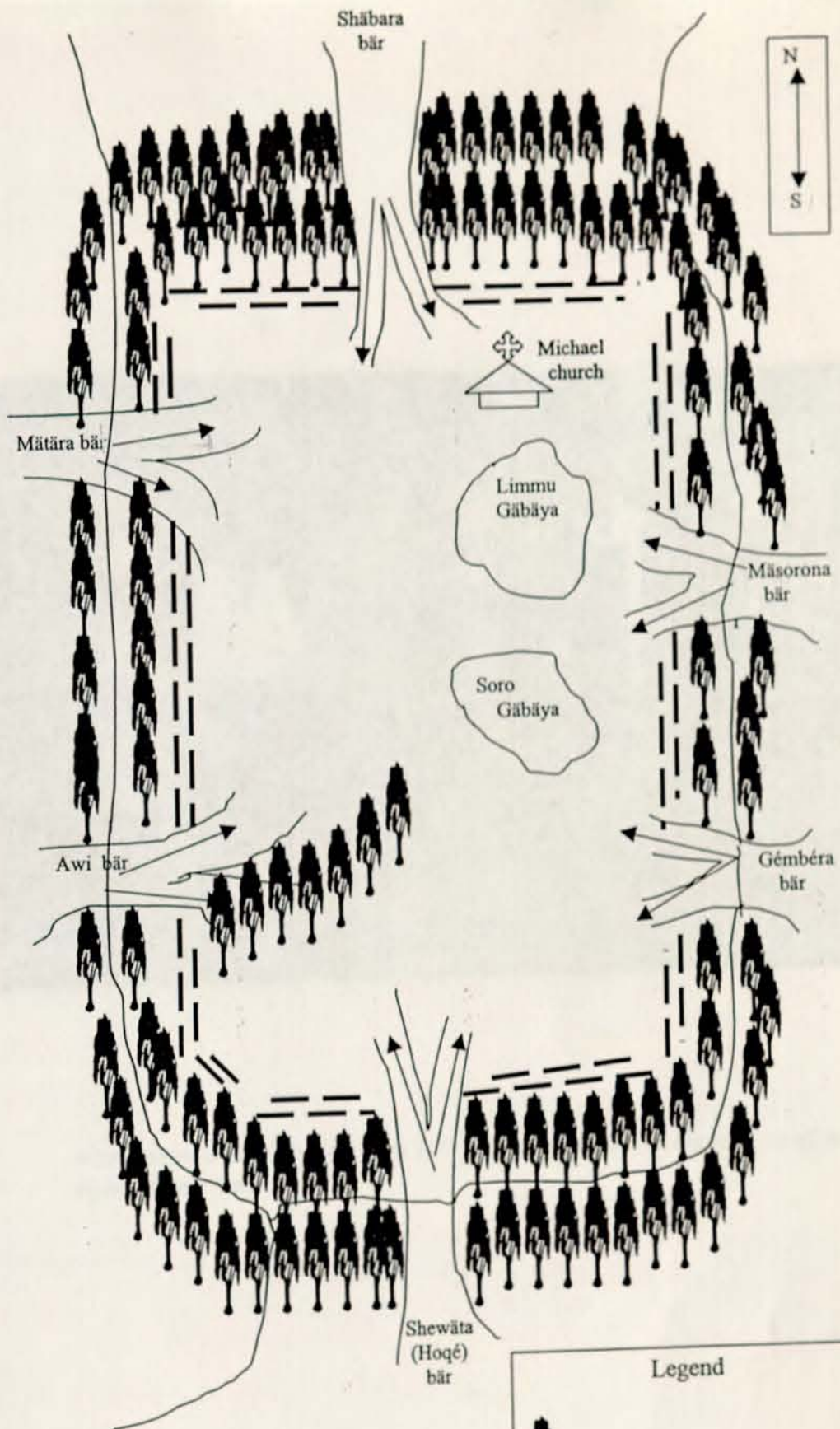
⁹⁴ Oral Informant: Élyas Grañ.

⁹⁵ Oral Informants: Alämayähu Kassa, Bäqälä Habtä Maryam, and Luel sägäd guedé.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

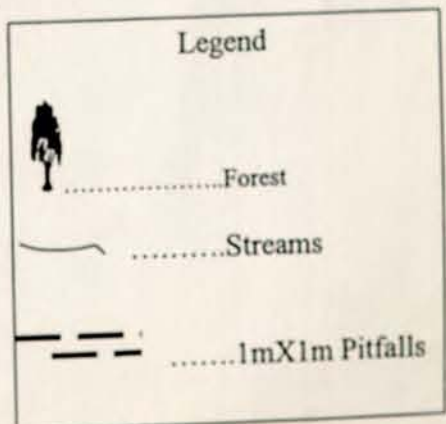
⁹⁷ ASMAI AOI Africa II Etiopia Position 181/52, File no. 245, letter no. 105979. 27 May 1939 Anno XVII:1.

⁹⁸ Oral Informants: *Dañña* Garkäbo Urgebo and *Dañña* Gadäro Boté.



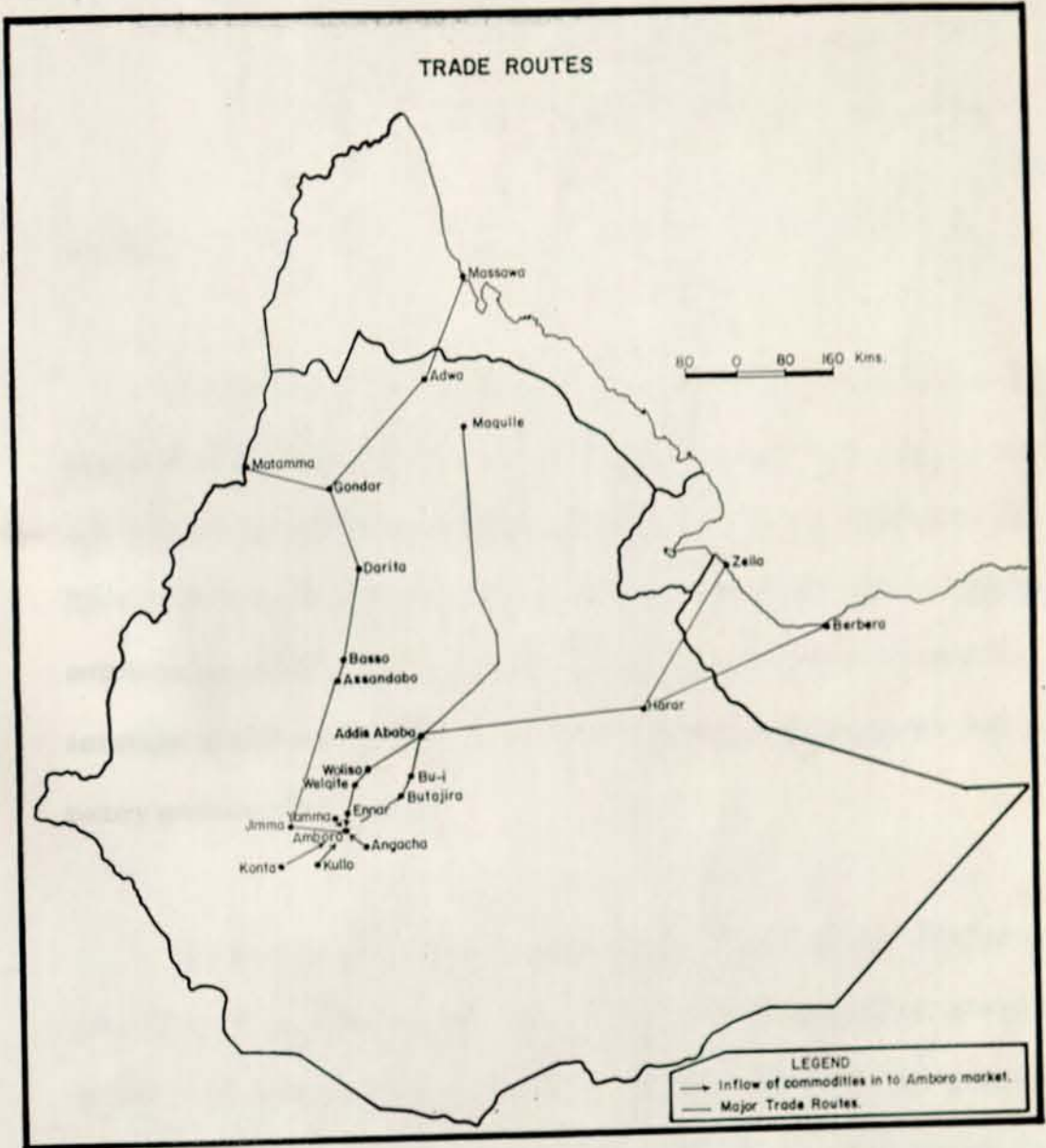
Amboro Market Place

(Not to scale)





Mäsmäsa men indicating the sites of the former pitfalls with the remains of the forest at their back.



Source: A partially adopted map from Bahru Zewde, A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1974, London: James Currey, 1991, p. 23.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATION

Hunting

Fuga tradition has it that the Fuga communities who claim to have come from northwestern Ethiopia were initially identified as hunters. The elders also say that the non-Fuga communities who came along with them wanted the Fuga for their hunting skills and used them to kill dangerous wild animals and to identify settlement places during the process of their migrations. It was not until after their settlement in south-central Ethiopia that the Fuga communities learned the skill of pottery production from others.

The early Fuga relied mainly on hunting for their supply of meat. This can be learned from the expression in their daily greetings with members of the dominant groups. When a Guragé and a Fuga meet, at a Guragé's house, the Fuga addresses saying "*Abye*," while standing outside the door. This form of greeting conveys the message, "I acknowledge your mastership" and he gets the common reply, "*Wugam bra*" or "kill and eat."¹ This is commonly said in reference to their hunting ability and to the main source of their livelihood. Though such greetings, related to hunting, have continued to be practiced up to the present day, currently the Fuga do not seem to be benefiting much from hunting activities.

An elderly Fuga informant, Geselé Kamburé, gave me his account about the early Fuga immigrants who came through Bosha and of their relationship with the other non-Fuga immigrants who are said to have come together from the northern part of the country. The Fuga as renowned hunters accompanied the rest to provide guidance through unknown lands. This story that the first Fuga immigrants were best known for their hunting ability is fully accepted and maintained by all elders. From the time of their arrival the Fuga frequently hunted *golja* (warthog), *boké* (pig), *giliba* (bushbuck), and *dämalicho* (antelope) mainly for their supply of meat. The Fuga also hunted big game for both economic gains and prestige. The general feeling of the elders is that the Fuga had respect and similar social status with others when they initially arrived in south-central Ethiopia.²

Both my Christian and Muslim informants attribute the present social degradation of the Fuga to their food habits. To be specific, in order to satisfy their need for meat, they say that the Fuga are used to eating *golja* and *boké* which they got by hunting, and the carcass of dead animals freely available, which the dominant group abhorred.

It seems that both Christians and Muslims might have been influenced by the Old Testament teachings to abhor swine for it says, "Of their flesh you shall not eat and their carcasses you shall not touch; they are unclean to you...everyone who touches them shall be unclean."³ It is not only for their habit of eating swine flesh

that the Fuga are despised but because they also eat the carcasses of dead animals. Marvin Harris explains the reason why the Christians and Muslims abhor pork according to their religious law in the following way. "The principal reason why the law forbids swine-flesh is to be found in the circumstance that its habits and food are very filthy and loathsome."⁴ The author also sees it from the point of view of cleanliness and says, "Anyone who has seen the filthy habits of the swine will not ask why it is prohibited."⁵ Let alone the Fuga who most of the time do not own cattle, even the dominant groups who owned cattle were used to eating various animals which they later came to abhor after they were converted to Christianity or Islam. A Hadiya person, Tamru Abamo, has written what he had learned from his grandmother that some time before the introduction of Christianity to south-central Ethiopia, the people revered snakes and other animals and invisible spirits and ate what was available to them.⁶ I am skeptical of Tamru's assertion to the effect that spiders were also objects of veneration. For a society like the landless Fuga, who therefore did not own cattle, it was therefore unwise and irrational for them, before they accepted Christianity and Islam to discriminate between the scarce meat supply they obtained by hunting.

In historical Ethiopia, hunting of wild animals was a hobby of the nobility and the soldiery. Honour was bestowed on successful hunters and even high posts at court and in society.⁷ Their confidence and their strength enabled them to kill game with traditional weapons, spears and swords, even before the introduction of guns.⁸ If a hunter killed an elephant he would wear a gold earring. If the same person killed

six elephants he is said to have broken the *elka*, the highest status in hunting. This suggests that until the 1890s there were herds of elephants in the border areas of Marāqo and Alaba.⁹ In 1898, Emperor Menelik proclaimed a decree concerning elephant hunting to the effect that whenever a hunter killed an elephant only one tusk could be kept by the hunter for himself and that the second tusk had to be given to the lower government officials by way of tribute. At the same time the hunter was also obliged to sell his own tusk to the government at the market price.¹⁰ In other words, the ivory trade was a monopoly of the state.

Hunting in Ethiopia was considered as a profession of the soldiery and nobility who required a license from the government.¹¹ The big game, which enabled their killers to obtain high status, included elephants, buffaloes, giraffes and lions.¹² According to Mahtāmā Sclassé officially licensed hunting was allowed mainly to the members of the military elite. He writes that "*yä'awré adañ bä' Itiyopia yächäwa lejoch wanna moya hono kebrem dārājam yasgāñ nābārā*".¹³ The literal English translation is as follows. "In Ethiopia wild game hunting was the task of the nobility which enabled the hunters to earn promotion and higher status."

However, for the minority communities hunting was a profession which enabled them to earn their living and to obtain status within own communities. It was the only viable economic activity from which the minority fully benefited without the intervention of the dominant groups. The Fuga never shared the meat of the game with their patrons or other members of the dominant groups because the

latter never ate any meat or food killed or prepared by the Fuga. Though there seems to be an element of exaggeration here former Fuga hunters say that they were able to get up to one thousand five hundred Ethiopian *birr* from selling a single leopard's skin.¹⁴

When the population of game was threatened in the country Menelik decreed a prohibition of free hunting in October 1908.¹⁵ To safeguard the remaining game a similar decree was proclaimed by Emperor Haylä Selassé in 1931.¹⁶ The decree might have affected the Fuga more than the others for the simple reason that hunting was one of their major sources of livelihood.

As seen above, a renowned brave hunter in the dominant society obtained status and privilege. He would be able to get an office in the court or receive an administrative post. He was also rewarded materially through land grants or honoured with a title. However, he was not left free to acquire unlimited popularity and high status to the extent of undermining his superiors. Rather they allowed him to retain relatively high status so that they could exploit his potential as a warrior when the need arose. Though the Fuga brave hunters did not expect any reward from the central government they were rewarded with high respect within their own community. If a Fuga killed big game or an enemy, with the exception of a *faqi* or a tanner, he was smeared with butter.¹⁷ Any person who killed a woman or a *faqi* a member of a rival or unknown community was not honoured and respected for a *faqi* or tanner was considered to be weak and helpless like a woman.

After the introduction of the gun as a weapon for hunting, the Fuga hunter, like a successful Wayto hunter of Lake Tana, announced the news of his success in killing dangerous game by firing repeatedly into the air with his gun. The mass introduction of guns to south-central Ethiopia is said to have occurred with the coming of the Shāwan army in the late nineteenth century. If there were Fuga gun owners therefore, it must have been during or after this period.

When a hunter killed an elephant he cut a circular hole on the lower flat part of his own left ear with an empty cartridge. To prevent infection and to bring about a quick cure of the wound he used lemon or kerosene after the introduction of the cartridge. To keep the hole open he inserted a small piece of a wood from *degta* or *Calpurina aurea* until it was replaced by a silver *loti* or earring.¹⁸ Having killed game or an enemy the successful Fuga hunter warrior entered his village with his trophy (like meat or tusk or skin or human genitals obtained in war) boasting and singing in front of his companions and thereby informing his community. All women and young men in the village including his relatives from distant places would wait for him at his house to welcome him back and to smear his head with fresh butter. It was a common practice that the women received the hunter with ululation. One of his female relatives would offer him a large bowl of *qenchā* or gruel with a lot of butter. Then the hunter soaked his hand in the butter up to his wrist. He was also provided with fresh *mead* and *bordé* or local beer. Food and drinks were served to the participants. It was then that his male relatives rewarded

him with a horse and a heifer.¹⁹ The songs of joy would continue for a few days. If he were unmarried he could get the best choice from among the girls and he could thus take a bride with dignity.

Among the minority occupational outcasts, the traditional ceremony of initiation of a brave hunter, no matter how big his achievement might have been, would be celebrated only within his own community. Though some members of the dominant groups might, to a certain degree, recognize the achievement of the brave Fuga hunter, no one would be willing to participate in the initiation ceremony. If the hunter had a generous patron he might receive a bull for the initiation ceremony. He did not even expect to acquire high status and respect among the dominant groups. He was always considered lower than the hunters of the dominant groups.

There are awakening songs in the Mäsmäsa language that are sung for the brave Fuga hunters in order to encourage them go hunting wild game so that they might provide their community with fresh meat. The following is a literal English translation of one of the songs in the Mäsmäsa language.

Gädäyë! Gädäyë!	It is fast; it is fast!
Wereyä! Wereyä!	It is a lion! It is a lion!
Zäguer bädängäwo!	A leopard is at the edge of a cliff,
Goncho bä'ooguwo	And the hyena in its hole
Hu chan harquta yunmayä	The leopard is like a water boatman ,

Yunmayä	Why don't you tell him so?
Hi'éngan ékésa	It is like a basket made of hooked burrs, (That no one can go close to it or carries it).
hizigäzun Boräto	It is like a splinter of wood
Hasamén bura'é	It is like a thunder of the sky.
Hi'esadun totona	It is like a spark of a fire.
Gädäyé! Gädäyé!	It is fast! It is fast!
Déngo'ho, déngoè'ho hurwa hurwa. ²⁰	Brave men, brave men, you go, you go [to capture it].

Here is another song mainly sung for war heroes in the Mäsmäsa language, with its literal translation.

Muroga Wärumé	When did he go?
Munog mu'oomé	When did come?
Gädäyé! Gädäyé!	He is fast! He is fast!
Gueshä Bägraho	A shield in his left hand,
Gäsha Bäqonuho	A spear in his right hand.
Wäréyé wäréyé, wäréman Uduné?	Who is the teller of the news of the war?
Nupamon Dénga	It is the fearless boy
Otoro Yewä'anka	Who killed and came.
Hanchufa hamanuné	To whom does the genital belong?
Chiyo Hamanuné	To whom does the hump belong?
Gäkode'do hamanuné	To whom does the brisket belong?

Gäzo horon échuné²¹. To the brave man who campaigned.

This song was usually sung when the victorious Fuga braves returned from war. The fighting prowess of the Fuga, traditionally assumed to have arrived first in the highland Chäha of Guragé, is explained in a Guragé song. It is well acknowledged that the male Fuga always participated in wars alongside with the Guragé. The following is a poem composed about a Fuga hero, Webajeye, which is still sung by the Guragé.

“Yednye Webaje Webaje, the son of Dnye
Taanesh Teyatwache Without you or without discussing it with you
werejem awece No one goes out to fight”²²

In view of the overall political structure of the Ethiopian government in general and the Hadiya-Kambata, Guragé and the Yämma in particular, the political role of the brave Fuga hunters seems to have been of no significance. The hunters were only potential reserves for the supply of meat to the Fuga communities. Among the Fuga, as in the case of the Wayto *asadañ* or hunting leader, they had a *yä'adāñ märi* or *bär käfüt* (a hunting leader) who was accorded titles like *agaz* and *abägaz*. His main task was to hunt in order to provide his community with meat and to train and lead inexperienced young hunters.

Among the Fuga of Yamma there were hunting leaders recognized by the whole Fuga community. Among the famous *yä'adañ märiwoch* or hunting leaders were Abba Rasa and Gudu. Hunting leadership was a criterion for the election of a leader of the Fuga community. The office of leadership required an active participation of the Fuga community in the election of their leader and the approval of the Yamma *balabats* or chiefs. After one of the Bera Fuga families established itself it became well known in its production of a succession of leaders to the extent that it gradually claimed the office on a hereditary basis. The first Bera Fuga leader was Zuni. Like the dominant society, the Zuni family followed the principle of primogeniture in the transfer of power or leadership. If by chance the leader lacked a son, the office would be transferred to the most capable of his brothers.²³

It has been an established tradition among the Fuga of Hadiya that two hunters could at the same time be initiated to be honoured for hunting and killing one animal. If one hunter accurately pierced the animal first the companion would be expected to finish it by shooting with his arrow. When ranking the two hunters as first and second, observers would be expected to judge whose arrow had been more effective in the killing. But this tradition does not seem to hold water in the Guragé country.

The hunting experience of a Guragé, *Basha* Asfaw, may be a good example to illustrate this practice. One day in 1942, a leopard, which is locally identified as a *näber* or tiger killed Bashay Asfaw's *wäyfän* or bull. Angered by the loss of his bull

Bashay Asfaw and his Fuga client Alebes, went out to seek and kill the leopard. They found the leopard at which *Bashay* Asfaw shot first and he hit it at the flank. The leopard was wounded and so provoked that it jumped upon Asfaw. Instantly, Asfaw's Fuga, Alebes, shot the leopard with his *wäjegra*²⁴ in the forehead and killed it. When they returned with the trophy to their village, conflict arose as to who would be recognized as the killer. In this case it would be only one of them who would qualify for the initiation. Non-Fuga Guragé elders were involved in the solution of the problem, whereby the Fuga won the case and was given the honour of being the principal killer. However, the *Bashay* was given the skin, which he has kept in his house for the last fifty years. He showed it to me when I interviewed him.²⁵ Here, one can clearly see that the Fuga challenged his patron for his right and won the case, and it was non-Fuga elders who acted as judges. When hunting was a common practice a Fuga hunter usually kept his records of trophy by making knots on a rope in the hope of a title being accorded to him sometime in the future by his own community.²⁶

For the renowned Fuga hunters the Fuga community elders accorded them hunters' titles. A hunter who successfully killed about seven wild animals was called *bärkäfät*. A hunter who killed between seven and ten would be accorded the title of *abägaz*. Anyone who killed above ten would be accorded *agaz*, the highest title given to hunters.²⁷ The wife of a brave hero was highly respected. She was given a new name of *ajät* or mistress. She would not go out of her house for five days after the initiation ceremony began. After five days, when she went to fetch

water, priority was given to her.²⁸ When there were wild animals to be hunted and capable hunters able to kill them, hunting provided the Fuga respect and recognition, which extended beyond the individual hunter to his wife.

Even among the non-Fuga communities, the status and privilege of the known hunters and warriors became important when the communities organized ceremonies accompanied by feasts. After the food and drinks were ready for the guests it was a common practice that the *azmach* or the highest chief stood up to give his blessing. After the introduction of Christianity an Orthodox priest did the blessing but the chief led the ceremony. After the blessing was over the highest authority stood and asked the participants who among them would be the appropriate person to open the jars full of mead or *bordé*. The tradition invited the renowned heroes to compete for this honour. The question here would be who among them deserved the highest recognition and status in rank. The accepted rule was that the top hero would be the right person to open the cloth covering the jars. The next step was that those heroes who had confidence in their hunting achievements would stand one by one to boast in front of the other heroes and to be judged by them. For every story of successful hunting they told they needed the approval of the other heroes who would give their testimony. Thus finally the heroes and elders decided that one among them had won the leading position in heroic achievements. Then, once approved by the concerned body, the highest official rose and invited the top hero or hero number one to uncover the container of the *tāj* (mead) or *bordé*.

The same ceremony was made when the meat was prepared for consumption, but before the guests began to consume it. For the meat ceremony, in south-central Ethiopia, in theory like what the Christians do, the boiled hump accompanied by the brisket was put before the priest for blessing. Then, with the approval and consent of the other heroes after demonstrating their deeds one by one as in the case of the drinks the top hero was selected. Once the top hero was identified, the *azmach* in most cases gave him the knife with which the hero cut pieces from both the hump and the brisket to eat. Then, starting with the *azmach*, the officials and elders, according to their status, they stood up and cut small portions of the hump and brisket to eat. It was here, in such ceremonial occasions, that the heroes enjoyed the highest prestige and got admiration and recognition by celebrating their achievements in hunting and war.²⁹ However, no matter how much of a hero a Fuga might be the members of the dominant group would not include him in any competition for prestige.

The Fuga and their patron groups possessed already accepted ranking criteria for their heroes, according to their achievements. Amongst both the dominant groups and the Fuga the top hero was taken to be the one who had rescued a colleague taken captive in war or who had rustled cattle. No one came closer to him. Second in rank was the one who killed a man, an enemy of course. Third was one who killed a lion, and fourth was one who killed a *näber* or leopard. The fifth in line could be the hunter who had killed a buffalo. The last prestigious game, according to the informants was an elephant, which they considered less dangerous. At the

bottom, and with much less respect, came the killer of a *deb* locally known or *mochäka*³⁰ or bear.³¹

When members of the Fuga community prepared feasts they would only allow the top Fuga hero to preside over the ceremonial acts and at other times to act as their top *dañña* or elder. It was only here within their own community that the Fuga heroes could win respect and prestige. As explained earlier the top Fuga hero would be invited to cut pieces of meat from both the hump and the brisket so that other might follow. Then the guests would be invited by the waiters to cut and to eat from both the hump and brisket according to their status and hierarchy. The separation of the dominant group from the Fuga was done because they did not eat any food together. It also was tactical because the dominant groups knew very well that they would not be able to compete in hunting deeds with the renowned Fuga hunters. The Fuga hunters and warriors being professional hunters, had there been free competition no one among the dominant group heroes would have come closer to them in achievement.³² Despite their brave participation and better performances in hunting and fighting the male Fuga received hardly any words of praise from the their patrons in recognition of their skill. When I asked individually elder members of both the dominant group and the Fuga, they gave their testimony that no one among the former could be equated with the brave male Fuga both in hunting and in war.

Only the Guragé people still give full recognition to the hunting skills and ability of the Fuga. In spite of the absence of big game in the Guragé zone, there are small wild animals, which destroy the harvest every year. The Guragé depend on the Fuga to kill these animals in order to save their harvest. The local peasant elders and the descendants of the traditional chiefs usually approach the Fuga elders for the elimination of the small wild animals, like wild pig, porcupine, fox, hyena, etc. which either destroy harvests or kill domestic animals. Though some wild animals like the wild pig and the porcupine were allowed to be eaten by the traditional Fuga communities a fox, a hyena, a leopard and a lion were forbidden to be eaten. At times, the elders and the others go to the Fuga villages or approach the Fuga in the market places officially to convey the message to them that the neighbourhood peasants need their services. It is a common practice that the Fuga elders accept the appeal and arrange a specific date for the hunting campaign, after discussing the issue with their group. Having fixed a day, the Guragé elders return to inform their community about the date so that the peasants may prepare food for the Fuga hunters.³³ It seems that the Fuga accept the invitation for some important reasons. The first is to satisfy the request of the dominant group so that good relationship may be maintained between them in the future. The second is because they are paid in food and other forms by the peasants in addition to the meat supply they get by hunting the animals, if they happen to be edible. Besides, the Fuga may want to maintain their historical superiority in hunting and to keep the others dependent on them, at least, in this respect.

The Fuga hunting may be seen from two points of view. The first and immediate concern of hunting is its economic benefit to the Fuga community. The sharing aspect of the trophy is explained in Mäsmäsa language.

“E’enz shäräd bo’azgat agedé,

Teyari shakedé.”³⁴

Its literal English translation is, “He keeps the food tied in his *māqänät* or cummerbund, and he shares it [the trophy] as he goes.”

WOODWORK

The second aspect is its social advantage enabling the Fuga to prove their manhood in their ability at hunting and warring, showing themselves superior in this respect to most males of the dominant group. For the Fuga and the dominant groups had developed ranking systems based on both hunting and fighting achievements.

Until the nineteenth century, there were Fuga herbalists in Hadiya who belonged to the family of Kadush among the Egero clan, and who usually prepared poison from roots and leaves of trees and painted the Fuga *tiya* or arrow for effective killing of a game or an enemy.³⁵ The researcher was interested to ask the Fuga and other elders whether there had been any relation between the Fuga weapon *tiya* and the place name *Tiya* and an archaeological site about 88 kilometers to the south-west of Addis Ababa on the road to Butajira.³⁶

Among the Fuga communities hunting for the search for meat of wild animals had stopped for not less than half a century. Hunting for meat as whole was

discouraged by law for it was forbidden to kill wild game and at the same time by the general deforestation which has been taking place in south-central Ethiopia. Moreover, the conversion of the Fuga communities to the Christian and Muslim religions restricted them from eating the meat of various wild games. These restrictions forced the Fuga hunters to divert their economic activities to non-hunting occupations like farming, woodwork and pottery production.

WOODWORK

Among the Fuga communities of the Guragé, Hadiya, Kambata and Yamma economic activities related with wood work and wood products has been a monopolistic domain of the male Fuga. When there were ample forestlands, the Fuga woodworkers had a free access to the woods. Wherever they happened to live the Fuga were understood as the only skilled woodworkers. They produced the best and refined big chairs for the families of chiefs, for which they received no payment. They also produced smaller and less expensive chairs and stools for sale to the ordinary people.

POTTERY

Among the various clans of the Fuga members of the Wayeso clan were the first to learn tanning from the indigenous Awacho who had lived in the region before the coming of the Fuga from the north. When the Fuga lived with the Awacho both

had a common leader, Abba Garo from the Kambata Wāsanaso clan. The informants could not establish a date for the period of learning tanning. At the time the Fuga learned tanning they had no knowledge of pottery. At that time, there was an indigenous people called Sāga who specialized in pottery. However, the Fuga of Kāmbata did not learn pottery from the Sāga potters. According to Geselé it was Samāgānu or Kitosa³⁷ and Maryam who allowed and taught them pottery production.

This is how they tell the story of their learning the art of pottery. One day their father Fuga invited his friend Samāgānu to his house. Fuga killed a bull and prepared *bordé* and bread so as to put before his friend Samāgānu, without knowing that he was Kitosa or a god. On the eve of the arranged date of dinner, Samāgānu came to the house of the Fuga unnoticed and took the meat of the bull without slaughtering it and leaving the hide on the spot. He also took the *bordé* and left the jar where it was; and he took the bread leaving the *enset* leaves behind. Then, on the appointed day Samāgānu came to the house of the Fuga. But Fuga had nothing to offer to his guest. He asked for an excuse and arranged another day for the dinner. For the second day the Fuga killed a bull and prepared *bordé* and bread as before to place before his friend. Samāgānu came again on the eve of the arranged date and took everything prepared without being noticed in the same manner he had done before. As if he had done nothing Samāgānu came the next day to the house of Fuga, respecting the invitation. But the Fuga discovered that he had nothing left to place before his friend. Being ashamed the Fuga asked his friend to excuse him, saying that he was very sorry for what was happening.

It was then that Samägänu told his friend the Fuga that he was Kitosa who had come to help him. Immediately, Kitosa ordered the Fuga to pick his *tiya* (spear) and to poke or prod the ground in order to take some soil. The Fuga did the way he was told to do and got first black soil. Then Kitosa ordered him to do the same thing again until he got red soil. When he got the red soil the Fuga was told to smell it. The Fuga smelt it and went on to say that it smelt like fire. Finally, Kitosa told the Fuga to live on working the red soil. It was at that time that Maryam, the wife of Kitosa, came and showed the Fuga male and female the skill of making pottery objects from the red soil. From then on Fuga and his family started to produce pottery.³⁸ This story seems to have been created to give importance and sanctity to pottery making, showing that it was a god who allowed them to earn their living as potters. The involvement of Maryam and the withdrawal of Kitosa from the training in the skill of pottery making would probably suggest that it was Kitosa who decided pottery to be the occupation of women.

According to my personal observation there is great similarity between the pottery produced by the potters in the Amhara area and the Fuga. The variety of ceramic objects manufactured by the potters in the Amhara area and the Fuga, and the art of their making, resemble each other. This can be learnt from the description made by some scholars who have studied them. The pottery products made by the Betä Israel (Fälasha) of north-western Ethiopia and that of the Tābiban in northern Shāwa are mentioned in the chronicle of *Abeto Iyasu* and Empress Zāwditu.³⁹ Tax

was imposed on the artisans in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The chronicler has recorded that a craftsman "must pay as tax what has been specified by law that he shall pay from his products each year."⁴⁰

Though I am not certain whether it applied to all artisans or not, during the reign of Menelik II the Wayto of Lake Tana were made to pay the *asrat* and the tax called *yä'cheqa qollo*. It was however, those Wayto who owned oxen who were subjected to the payment of tax.⁴¹

During the Italian occupation the Italian officials introduced a tax system known as an "artisans' tax" which included most of the occupational groups. The amount fixed for each occupational group was as follows: "*ieberet serri*" or smith's tax 2 T.M.T., "*iefachi*" or tanner's tax 5 T.M.T., "*iescemanië*" or weaver's tax 2 T.M.T. and "*iescehla serri*" or potter's tax 1 T.M.T.⁴² It seems that all artisans were subjected to such taxes.

Since the 1974 Revolution the Fuga women potters and the male woodworkers are officially recognized farmers who pay tax for the land they cultivate and for their agricultural products. They are not legally expected to pay income tax for home made commodities, which they sell. It is only on rare occasions when they display them in the market for sale that they are asked to pay nominal tax for their commodities. In most instances they sell the pots and wooden utensils in the market place like any agricultural products without paying any tax. During the

derg period they were encouraged to improve their artisanship and to continue with pot and woodwork production.

FUGA LAND OWNING PEASANTS

Before the 1975 "land to the tiller" proclamation some Fuga families had already given up their frequent migratory practices or migration from place to place looking for farming land and a better patron. Such a phenomenon was a gradual process that began along with the coming Shāwan conquerors in the 19th century. Even after the arrival of the Shāwans among the Fuga communities only few families were to a certain extent economically self-sufficient. The exploitation these families experienced under the indigenous landlords was largely minimized after the Shāwans came. The Shāwan warlords hired some of the skilled adult male Fuga in order to construct private houses, churches and local palaces. Such activities generated them meaningful income to support their families. All in all assessment their living conditions improved soon after they obtained the status of a tenant. They were also considered as tenants who held their own plots of land on which they settled to farm. Besides, when they got land as tenants of the absentee Shāwan landlords they became relatively free from the daily interaction as the case was with the former indigenous landowners on whose land the landless Fuga had been living. When they lived as neighbours of those landowners the Fuga had suffered from the day to day humiliation and unlimited labour exploitation. The fact that the new landlords lived in far away places mainly in the towns made their labour exploitation of the tenants

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minimal. It was only when the tenants went to visit the landlords that they were expected to work in the houses of the latter. Here, the activity included firewood splitting, fencing, house construction etc. The Shāwan lords accorded the Fuga with better treatment than the indigenous chiefs whose traditional chieftain-ship was approved even after the conquest. Such improved treatment some Fuga families the opportunity to accumulate wealth which enabled them to buy cattle and other animals. The accumulation of wealth, at least, improved the social status of some Fuga families, mainly among their own communities.

In the eyes of the new conquerors and officials the Fuga and the non-Fuga tenants were equal and deserved similar treatment. The landless Fuga tenants for the first time got the privilege to pay land tax to the government in their names. Thus, this practice gave them the feeling of equality with the tenants of the former dominant groups. This is believed to be, at least by the Fuga, a social transformation with possibilities of upward economic and social mobility. As long as the Fuga tenants were obedient to their respective landlords they were given the security to live on the lands allotted to them until they decided to leave. After the Fuga came under the Shāwan landlords they became relatively free from their harsh exploitation and got enough time to mind their private business which generated them better income. The bondage of the landlords and tenants including the Fuga tenants relationship was broken by the 1975 “land to the tiller” proclamation which nationalized the rural land.

There was, however, a large Fuga community from Hadiya and Kāmbata whose members did not continue to live as tenants and did not wait until the 1975 proclamation to get land. They migrated to some Oromo places and obtained land of their own by purchase from some Oromo landlords. To cite an example, many Fuga families settled at Dulāti to the east of Woliso town. It was here that the landless Fuga were able to buy plots of land for the first time in their history.

The Fuga peasants, like any other peasants, paid land tax whenever they owned land. Particularly, for the last four decades of this century many families migrated and occupied land initially by renting and then permanently by purchase; and they paid the regular land tax to the government. Here, I use the word migration because the Fuga had to migrate in order to obtain land, as it was not possible for them to buy land in the areas where their ancestors had lived. "An out-migrant is a person who departs from a defined area and crosses its boundaries to a point outside it, but within the same country."⁴³ There are several factors suggested which might have caused the Fuga to migrate. The factors seem to have included the search for paid work, search for enough farm land and other resources, search for a peaceful neighbourhood and better social acceptance by others. They also hoped to escape from harsh oppression and exploitation at the hands of the former landlords, hoping for better treatment under different new landlords after they learned it from the experience of others. This was made

possible by following the footsteps of some clan or family members which had left earlier.⁴⁴

The initial Fuga migration to Duläti near Wäliso was started after serious negotiation was conducted between the Fuga representatives, *Qalicha* Abbo Chäwaso and *Bärkäfät* Daneyo, both from Anjama or Dagécho in Hadiya and those of the Oromo *Qännāzmach* Jerata, *Grazmach* Borja and *Ato* Abiyo Dawato, in the late 1950s. The male Fuga had several meetings held in different villages in Hadiya and Kambata to discuss the merit of migration to Duré Duläti. It has been a common practice among the Fuga that in serious cases the elders have always been determined to take firm action and have handled these cases carefully after exhaustive discussion. They had their first meeting at Basu Uma in Hadiya in the house of *Ato* Grañ Ufamo. After that they held successive meetings at Bätara in Omo Chera, at Delba, at Wasgäbäta in the house of *Ato* Gumbul, at Bushana in the house of *Ato* Wäzamo Ufayä, then at Wato, at Bobecho in the house of Awäno Fiṭosé and finally at Lisana in the house of Oshäné Laemango. It was after those meetings that many Fuga house heads became convinced enough to volunteer to migrate and settle in Duré Duläti.⁴⁵ *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo paid the expenses of the Fuga representatives who discussed the matter with the Oromo clans.⁴⁶ For the second round of discussions two men were added on the Fuga side. Then the group constituted of *Bärkäfät* Daneyo, Abbo Chäwaso, Aysaharu Tässäma and *Aäbägaz* Ékéso Färäja. After an agreement was arrived at between the Oromo landlords and the Fuga representatives about 160 households came from Kambata and Hadiya

alone to Duré Duläti to settle there. They were introduced to two Oromo landowners, Nämära Biratu who lived at Qondala and Sardo Yadésa who lived at Aṭäbäla. Nämära Biratu and Sardo Yadésa gave the Fuga land to settle in their respective villages for which each of them received seventy *bir* for the first year and agreed to reduce it to thirty *bir* yearly thereafter for some time to come. Other late-coming Fuga families were charged fifty *birr* each every year for pieces of land they rented until the outbreak of the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. Some time in the late 1960s, *Qalicha* Dammo alone bought half a *gasha* of land at Qondala from Saredo Yadésa for 1000 *birr*.⁴⁷ From then and until the 1974 Revolution many Fuga families were able to buy agricultural land by saving some money after they started to live a settled life both as farmers and artisans. Some Fuga families made arrangements with the Oromo *balabats* or local chiefs and asked for unoccupied land to be given to them (see Appendices IX, XI and XVII).

Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo and his group bought land from the Oromo for seven hundred *birr*. Similarly, *Ato* Käbädä Täfäri sold a tract of land to Dästa Jikamo and his group for one thousand five hundred *birr*.⁴⁸ Moreover, four Fuga heads of families, namely, Amdino Kitara, Abba Gissa *Chäbesa*, Dawit Grañ and *Abba* Bora Fandisa (*Hundésa*) bought land at a place called Gagura in Dulé from Käbädä Täfäri, Bäfäkadu Täsäma, Alämu Täsäma, Berqé Täsäma and Bezu Täsäma which they had inherited from their grandfather *Ato* Gezaw Tershi.⁴⁹ The Fuga migrants grew in number for they took this as liberation from landlessness and from the oppression of centuries under Kämбата and Hadiya landlords. Those who bought

rural land and those who rented land in Duré Duläti became landowners after the 1975 proclamation nationalizing rural land. At least as of 1969 *Qalicha* Abbo *Chäwaso* and others started to buy urban land in Woliso town. Abbo *Chäwaso* bought a piece of urban land (10X10 = 100 sq.m.) for 310 *Birs* at the Ghion quarter in Woliso town, from *Fitawrari* Amdeyehun.⁵⁰ (See Appendices VI and XIII). As I was able to learn from the documents the Fuga were buying lands until 1974. During my field research I was able to meet rich land owning Fuga families at Duré and the surrounding areas. Some of the rich Fuga farmers have abandoned woodwork and pottery production.

The Fuga community established its own independent Qalä Hiwät Protestant Church at Duré in 1961. It was due to the effort of *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo and Dawit Grañ who organized the community for whom the church was constructed. Three years later a small community school was constructed by the same community, which was inaugurated and opened on 28 November 1964. It had the capacity to serve about 120 students. The students were made to pay fifty cents each monthly to the schoolteachers Élyas Grañ and *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo whom the community employed.⁵¹

When local government officials realized that the Fuga community members living at Dulati were skilled and productive they selected them at a national level to display artifacts they made at the International Asmara EXPO. It was from among these relatively rich Fuga peasants that *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo and *Qalicha* Abbo

Chäwaso were chosen by government officials to participate in and to represent the craft class at the International Asmara EXPO held in early December 1971 and to exhibit their handicraft products. Among the objects they produced and took to Asmara were different decorative woodwork and wooden utensils like chairs, stools etc.⁵² (See appendices xv and xvi). The *Därg* Government also invited *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo and one Fuga woman to participate at seminars and to display their craft products at the Small Scale Industrial Production Organization center near the Wabishäbälé Hotel.⁵³

In some places the rich Fuga farmers entered the main economic stream in agriculture like the other ordinary peasants. Their children had also started to join the mission or government schools in limited numbers. Such communities realised the importance of establishing their own religious and educational centres. The *Qalä Hiwät* Church Protestant denomination can be a good example. They embraced this religion willingly to avoid religious persecution and to attain better status in the society. In spite of their conversion to the *Qalä Hiwät* denomination the converted Fuga still were placed at the lowest stratum of Protestant society and were denied the right of equality to give services and to preach in the common church. As a result, the Fuga established their own private parishes, which excluded others and in which they evinced success without the assistance of others. Such independent parishes where they performed all the necessary church services provided the Fuga with an opportunity to prove that they were self-sufficient. Here, the active Fuga members got social recognition and importance with full acceptance among their own people, which also served as a ladder to get acceptance by the dominant groups

who accorded them community responsibilities. The adults learned how to lead and they acquired experience in leadership to enable them to assume political and social leadership within their own communities. Amongst the church and Fuga community leaders was Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo who was repeatedly elected as a member of the Duré and Duläti Farmers Association which included different communities, namely the Oromo, the Guragé, Amara and the Fuga.

The *Qalä Hiwät* Church members had given up most of their traditional religious and cultural practices. As a result, they do not currently practice polygamy. They do not go to the *Qalicha* even when they encounter problems. They do not eat any "taboo food" anymore.

Some Fuga men organised their community to contribute money for the construction of private churches and schools. They worked hard to furnish them with the necessary materials. Both the elders and the youth worked together to provide the weekly church services. It is mainly here that the Fuga now give religious education to those who need it. This has also served as a forum to discuss local politics and to cultivate their future leaders.

After the outbreak of the Ethiopian Revolution the Derg government had launched an important scheme to give the Fuga communities a share in political power and to enable them to participate in the Peasant Associations of their respective areas. The male Fuga participated in the running of the Peasant Associations by occupying different posts. They

seem to have benefited from their political participation and were able to assume different posts and to carry out their responsibilities. A certain quota of Peasant Association posts was reserved for the Fuga minority. The posts were reserved as the quota where minority groups would be represented. When the Derg government recruited militia to serve in the northern war fronts against the EPLF (Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front) and TPLF (Tegray Peoples Liberation Front) forces Fuga young men were also recruited. Some other Fuga men were conscripted to serve as revolutionary guards of the Peasant Associations.

The Fuga young men's conscription into the national army is considered as an achievement and an advancement on the part of the Fuga communities. The main thing the Fuga admire is that they were recognized as important citizens by the central government to be recruited as soldiers. This recognition by the government gave them the feeling of importance, as citizens equal with the members of the dominant groups. No matter how much risk there was in the war front the Fuga did not manifest any opposition towards recruitment because it was a rare opportunity for them to be employed by the government. They considered this as an attitudinal change on the part of the dominant groups. They also saw this phenomenon as social transformation in their history.

The Fuga communities saw the land ownership and the payment of tax in their own names as a revolution in their history. The lack of land did not only signify dispossession, it also had subjected the landless Fuga to inferior social status as the case had been for some for generations. Before the Rural Land Proclamation, as previously mentioned, some Fuga families have been farming their own plots. However, since 1975 all Fuga families living

in the rural areas were given lands to settle upon and touse. In most instances the recipient families say that they were given relatively smaller lands than the ordinary non-Fuga farmers. Yet, despite the small size of the plots the Fuga farmers are relatively satisfied. Land ownership among the Fuga is believed to have promoted their social status more than the economic advantages it has generated. Most hard working Fuga farmers became self-sufficient and even stopped buying food crops from the market. Some were able to produce surplus, which they sold in the markets. It was by then that they claimed to have broken the bondage of their hereditary occupational specialization, and were thus able to regard themselves as full-fledged farmers. The spearhead of the Fuga immigrants to the Oromo areas and some villages in Hadiya and Kāmbata could be taken as good examples for such social transformation among the Fuga communities.

EDUCATION AMONG THE FUGA COMMUNITIES

The process of conversion to Christianity increased greatly after the Fuga started to go to the schools. It was in the early 1950s that *Ato* Abeyo Dabelo, a young male Fuga from Māsmāsa became interested enough in education as to teach himself without attending any formal classes. He learned how to read and write Amharic leaving at his village of Vātarra. Following his example, Éleyas Grañ joined the elementary mission school at Babecho in 1954. Yohannes Dabelo followed suit. In 1957 Yohannes Hundesa, Tameru Takiso (both are school teachers now), Negatu Wāyāssa, Kābādā Mulun, Shefāraw Abéyo, Buzunāš Grañ (a girl) and Māngāša Awano, who later became a corporal in the

army, started schooling at the Babecho mission school and the Ras Abatā government school, both in Hossana.⁵⁴ All of them accepted Christianity after they began attending classes some became members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church while others joined the Qalā Hiwāt Protestant Church.

Education was not appreciated for the individual improvement it brought about, rather it was considered as one of the important passports for all round development of the Fuga community as a whole. As the Fuga community was not allowed to enter private houses they were not also allowed to participate in any social gatherings freely. It is obvious that because of ritual and social deprivations the Fuga communities of south-central Ethiopia were neglected in education, economic matters and in the politics of the societies they lived with. Because of this oppressive relationship a psychology of fear and isolation had developed in the minds of the Fuga. These Fuga communities sometimes deliberately on their part and sometimes under the compulsion of the dominant Guragé, Hadiya, Kämbata and Yämma, kept themselves aloof and segregated from participation in major activities.⁵⁵

Most of the Fuga communities had been subjected to sundry social disabilities of extreme forms and were economically exploited. They were kept subservient and defenceless mainly because they were both illiterate and disorganised. The Fuga children were not allowed to sit along with the children of the dominant societies in both the church and Koran or mosque schools. Even after the arrival of the European missionaries who established churches and clinics and opened modern schools the Fuga children were not at

all encouraged to enrol. It was, however, in the 1950s that a handful of Fuga children underwent radical attitudinal change. For the first time in the history of the minority communities, they joined the then Ras Abate Bawayalew Elementary School located at Hossana town. Those young Fuga children seemed to have realised the importance of modern education as “a dynamic agent of social change and social mobility”.⁵⁶ The pioneer educated Fuga succeeded in improving their economic and social status as they had anticipated earlier. Since then the Fuga have acquired awareness of the advantages of education and they have made significant progress in some rural settings. However, the great majority of them were unable to take the educational opportunities even when they had schools in their neighbourhood. Therefore, the barriers to Fuga equality have not been removed fully.

It was mainly after the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution that the Fuga were encouraged to send their children to modern school. Though those Fuga families who were able to support their children sent them to school and succeeded in educating them the gap between the level of their educational development and that of their patrons remained very wide. Even though the principle that education was free for all and the verbal encouragement was given to the Fuga their children could not benefit from education because of their endemic poverty. In spite of their knowledge that education was one of the tools which could offer equality by eliminating social and economic segregation the poor Fuga children failed to learn. Educationally the Fuga could not make significant progress.

Though there were female Fuga children who went to school in the 1950s, illiteracy among the female is still very high and no single educated female could be found, even in

1997, as a government employee. Even the educated and employed Fuga families who had better awareness and who had been living in the towns gave away their female children in marriage before they were able to complete their high school education. This happened mainly because of uncertainty about their future employment.⁵⁷ The female Fuga children, no matter where they lived, could not derive any significant educational advantage. It seems that there had been relatively high female participation in those villages where there were elementary schools and in the towns where there were both elementary and high schools. The dominant feeling of parents in the rural areas is that parents wanted their female children in particular to help them in domestic activities. Serving in the hearth and home was what was expected from females. They do not seem to have understood that educated girls could help their families better because their education could have enabled them to earn more. As a result, no family would bother itself to send its children to far away places for education.

The Fuga communities lacked motivation in education. There was less motivation for education even for boys because the parents knew that their educated young men were discriminated against in their competition for job opportunities.⁵⁸ Almost all the school drop outs themselves reported that economic handicap had been the major problem when they quitted schooling and that there was nobody to assist them. Yet, they are aware that education alone is the only remedy for their centuries-old social inequalities. According to my research findings it seems that the majority of the Fuga have realised that education is vitally required in society for their progress, secure life and solving problems of equality in society.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

¹ Gabre Yesus Hailemariam, The Guragué and Their Culture (New York: Vantage press, 1991), p. 63.

² Oral Informant: Geselé Kamburé.

³ Lev. 11: 24.

⁴ Marvin Harris, Good to Think or Good to Eat? (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc. 1985), p. 68.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Tamru Abamo, Betä Kerestian ena Yälemat Enqesqasé, (Amharic) (N.P, 1976), p. 6.

⁷ Mahtämä Selassé Wäldä Mäsqäl, Zekerä Nägär (Amharic), (Addis Abäba, 1970), p. 341.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. p. 347.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. ,pp. 341 and 866.

¹² Ibid., p. 341.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Oral Informants: Abba Rago Bäguero, Hussén Kéréta and Bétamo Bonṭerä. Hussén Kéréta himself had killed a leopard being assisted by his nephew for which both were initiated. The skin was sold for seven hundred *bir*. The next day after it was sold other merchants came and offered him one thousand and five hundred *bir*, but it was too late. The assistant hunter took only one-third of the selling price as his share.

¹⁵ Mahtämä Selassé Wäldä Mäsqäl, Zekrä Nägär, p. 349.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Oral Informant: Hussén Ali.

¹⁸ Oral Informant: Hussén Ali.

¹⁹ Oral Informants: Hussén Ali and Bäsher Aterfo.

²⁰ Oral Informant: Élyas Grañ.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Gabreyesus Hailemariam, The Guragé and Their Culture (New York: Vantage Press, 1991), p.62.

- ²³ Oral Informants: Abba Rago Bäguro, Wäldä Sänbät and Abba Tämsas Abba Jobber.
- ²⁴ The name *wäjegra* is a corruption of the Gras rifles, the Fusil Gas.
- ²⁵ Oral Informant: Bashay Asfaw Wäldä Maryam.
- ²⁶ Oral Informants: Damo Daneyo, *Bälambāras* Asfaw Wäldä Maryam.
- ²⁷ Oral Informants: Abägaz Yohannes Dabelo, Qalicha Damo Abeyo, and Bälambāras Asfaw Wäldä Maryam.
- ²⁸ Oral Informants: Damo Daneyo
- ²⁹ Oral Informants: Täka Kāfāné and Abägaz Nuru Säyd.
- ³⁰ Oral Informants: *Qalicha* Damo Daneyo, *Qalicha* Abbo Chāwaso and Ufayä Maréno. The word *mochāka* is believed to have the same meaning with the locally known *deb* as explained by my colleague Dr. Yonas Admasu, Department of Ethiopian Languages, Addis Abāba University.
- ³¹ Amsalu Aklilu, *Amharic-English Dictionary* (Addis Ababa: Kuraz Printing Agency, 1988).
- ³² Oral Informants: Qalicha Damo Daneyo, Abägaz Yohannes Dābelo and Aba Wari Mäsoré.
- ³³ Oral Informant: Wäldä geyorge Täsfayä. It happened that when I was at the Bolé market place in Chāha on a market day I observed that the Guragé elders were addressing the Fuga, announcing in public, to help them hunt the wild animals which had destroyed their harvest. It was there that I got the whole idea of Fuga mass hunting to help others.
- ³⁴ Oral Informant: Gunbul Kétāra.
- ³⁵ Oral Informants: *Abägaz* Yohannes Dabelo and Elyas Grañ. They also tell that the chemist usually lived in the forest for the rest of his life. He never got his hair and nails cut. When he prepared the poison his clan provided him with regular supply of food and fresh cowhide to wear in order to protect his body from the drops of the poison. Because of the hardship in the preparation of the poison the use of arrows ceased during the time of the renowned brave Fuga hunters and warriors, *Tiqamo* and *Afajo*. The war among the neighbouring ethnic groups was also ended with the conquest of the Shāwan army. The Fuga could be compared with the Maya of Medieval Ethiopia who were known archers. The same Maya are assumed to have lived on the edge of the Medieval state of Dawaro and Ebnat beyond the Samén mountains. Information about the Maya is obtained from C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford ((trans.) *Some Records of Ethiopia 1593-1646* (Nendeln, 1967), 120.
- ³⁶ On the surface of the standing megalithic remains at *Tiya* one observes different pictures among which one seems to be either the iron tips of arrows or daggers. These pictures can be seen on the covering page of the book entitled *Tiya-L'Éthiopie Des Mégalithes: Du biface à l'art rupestre dans la Corne de l'Afrique* (U.N.E.S.C.O.1995)
- ³⁷ *Kitosa* in *Kāmbata* language stands for Christ and Maryam for Mary. Even now *Kitosa* is mentioned as the supreme spirit in the region.
- ³⁸ Oral Informant: Geselé Kamburé.

³⁹ Reidulf k. Molvaer (Edited and translated), Prowess, Piety and Politics: The Chronicle of Abeto Iyasu and Empress Sewditu of Ethiopia 1909-1930. Recorded by Gebre Igziabher Elyas. (Germany: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag Köln, 1994), p. 460.

⁴⁰ Reidulf K. Molvaer, Edit. and Trans.; 1994, p. 520.

⁴¹ Tecele Haimanot G. Selassie, 1984, p. 44.

⁴² ASMAI, AOI Etiopia, Busta 181/ 78, File 395, Gondar, li 29 marzo 1939-XVII, Report from the Governor of Eritrea to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs of political affairs with the object of Tributi indigini No. Eritrea 175087), p. 3.

⁴³ Uday Jain Girishwar Misra, "Deprivation: A Social-Psychological Analysis:" Changing Status of Depressed Castes of Contemporary India (New Delhi: Duya Publishing House, 1988), p.29.

⁴⁴ Oral Informants: *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo, *Abāgaz* Yohannes Dabelo, *Qalicha* Abbo Chāwaso and Dawit Grañ.

⁴⁵ Oral Informant: Gumbul Kétéra.

⁴⁶ Oral Informants: *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo and *Qalicha* Abbo Chāwaso.

⁴⁷ Oral Informants: *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo and *Qalicha* Abbo Chāwaso.

⁴⁸ Oral Informant: *Abāgaz* Yohannes Dabelo.

⁴⁹ Such practice could be learned from sample letters. A letter from the Woliso sub-district, April 1970. Model 30, Serie A-2nd, No. 9061. In the possession of *Ato* Dawit Grañ; and *Yä'* Ethiopia Dems (Amharic News Paper), 28 March 1970, p.5, colon 3.

⁵⁰ Land sale contract form provided by the Woliso Town Municipality, 12th, page no. 119, an agreement made between Abbo Chāwaso (buyer) and Fiṭa Amdiyehun (seller) on 3 August 1969. The contract form is in the possession of Abbo Chāwaso.

⁵¹ Oral Informants: *Abāgaz* Yohannes Dabelo, Dawit Grañ, Éleyas Grañ. and Yohannes Hundésa.

⁵² An Amharic letter from the Guro *wārāda* and *Tadalé mikel* *wārāda* or sub-sub-district to the *mālkāññoch* or local lower officials written on 2 December 1971, letter No. 110/ 64. The letter is in the possession of *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo.

⁵³ Oral Informant: *Abāgaz* Yohannes Dabelo.

⁵⁴ Oral Informants: *Abāgaz* Yohannes Dabelo, Yohannes Hundesa, Tameru Takiso, and Negatu Wāyāsa.

⁵⁵ Oral Informants: Elyas Grañ and *Abāgaz* Yohannes Dabelo.

⁵⁶ Mumtaz Ali Khan, Scheduled Castes and Their Status in India (New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House. 980), p. 45.

⁵⁷ Oral Informants: *Abāgaz* Yohannes Dabelo, Yohannes Hundé and Elyas Grañ.

⁵⁸ Oral Informants: Gashu Ejāta, Elyas Grañ and Abiyo Dabelo.

CONCLUSION

Travelers and many western scholars seem to have a common generalization that the Fuga, like the Watta and Wayto, were remnants of the primitive hunters of the Horn of Africa and who represent them in south-central Ethiopia. In relation to this issue all Fuga community elders have never accepted the idea that they belonged to the remnants of the primitive hunters. Rather the Fuga and the non-Fuga elders tell with confidence that their ancestors had come from the north several centuries before to settle in south-central Ethiopia. All informants agree that the emigrant ancestors had come by way of western Gondar through western Gojjam to Bosha in Kafa and then to their present areas. The only exception is that some indigenous communities of hunters and craftsmen who practiced pottery and tanning joined the Fuga. Through the process of assimilation they were later on identified as part of the Fuga communities. The Fuga on their arrival, like the Wayto, were identified only as hunters and woodworkers.

The Fuga communities with those who joined them were seen as inferior and of low status. They had endured harsh and oppressive treatments for centuries at the hands of various dominant groups. The same Fuga communities have been masters of diversified skills in different economic and socio-political activities throughout their history. In the traditions of the dominant societies of Hadiya and Kāmbata, the Fuga have been associated with hunting in their initial identification as early immigrants

from northwestern Ethiopia and later as hunters, woodworkers, tanners and potters. This hunting tradition enabled them to be the best warriors and accurate marksmen in defending themselves and the dominant societies from enemies.

Though they seem to have been initially landowning as well as hunting members of the larger groups they have probably been gradually pushed aside from land ownership rights. As a result, they were forced to take up, in order to supplement their income, other economic activities like tanning, pottery and woodwork which they claim to have learnt from other occupational groups who were indigenous to the areas of settlement. Their gradual alienation from agricultural lands has subjected or exposed them to less rewarding manual work. Thus they became finally economically weak and politically defenseless.

Being dependent on the Fuga's cheap or free labour some societies probably consciously forced them to lead a low socio-economic life and to occupy a low status so that they might continue to provide them ready services. The recent Fuga persecution, like expulsion from *idirs*, burning of Fuga houses and the robbery and confiscation of their properties is a good example of the deliberate action which has been taken by the dominant groups to keep them at a low level in order to extract from them the usual cheap or free labour.

However, the Fuga were never simply passive towards such repressive social unfairness. They have been struggling in different forms to assert their rights though

the society's customary law and the state law were never in their favour. The antagonistic class struggle had continued until they were partially emancipated by the 1975 "land to the tiller" proclamation which enabled the landless Fuga to regain the land ownership rights which their ancestors had lost. The robbery of the Fuga property and the burning or evicting of them from their houses is also another form of denying them opportunities of economic improvement, which discouraged the Fuga's desire for social mobility.

It is apparent that these skilled and hard working Fuga communities could have been easily transformed provided they had had been set free from the long-continued social bondages they suffered and been given equal opportunities with the rest. This can be learnt from the last twenty-five years of experience since they obtained land. Some of them have become rich peasants and are able to send their children to school. Some of the educated Fuga young men who were employed as soldiers and teachers have become pioneers in breaking the centuries old social segregation like endogamous marriage by intermarrying with members of the dominant groups. They have been also able to serve the larger society or the nation as a whole by being recruited in the armies or elected as members of some social organizations. From this fact we can learn that there would not have been as such any inflexible or rigid boundaries for societal and group identities that kept the Fuga always low and despised had it not been for deliberate social motives of exploitation.

Given equal opportunities of access to resources the Fuga could have broken their oppressive bondages long ago. What has happened was simply a historical process that lacked profound causes, which the dominant societies preserved for their own socio-economic and political advantages.

Currently, both the Fuga communities and the non-Fuga societies live together and have verbally expressed their common feelings that there is equality and fraternity between the Fuga and the non-Fuga neighbouring peoples. Through there seems to be only the feeling of equality a lot remains to be attained by the Fuga communities. They tend to be behind the others in education, political participation and in free marriage interaction. The fact that the Fuga were able to obtain farmlands many families among them were not able to use it properly. They could even get oxen to till their plots and access to buy fertilizers and selected seeds. As minorities, no one gave them attention and special treatment to enable them solve their fundamental economic and social problems. They still lack the potential to compete and to improve their life conditions like their neighbouring societies.

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- A letter concerning government land claim by the first Fuga settler Bärkäfät Daneyo, the brother of *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo, at Deré Duläti; addressed to the Yä'agämja sub-district office. Dated 1 *Mägabit* 1964 E.C. (1 March 1972), letter no. 14/64. Found in the possession of the family of Bärkäfät.
- A sample application letter to the Chäbo and Guragé *Awraja* (province) governor that indicates the opposition of the Oromo peasants to allowing the Fuga to get government land. Dated 21 October 1973. This letter is in the possession of *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo.
- A sample of an urban land sale contract letter (12th Registry book, page no.119) agreed between an Oromo land seller *Ato* Fiṣa Amdehun and a Fuga Abbo Chäwaso in the town of Geyon or Woliso. Dated 27 *Hamlé* 1961 E.C. (3 August 1969).
- A letter from the Goro district addressed to the Agämja sub-district governor, *Ato* Shefära Täshomä, to order and assist the two Fuga woodworkers, Dammo Daneyo and Abbo Chäwaso, to prepare wooden artefacts for the Asmara Expo

of January 1972. Letter No. 8/ 9 / 64, date 2 December 1971. Letter in the possession of *Qalicha* Dammo Daneyo.

A sample letter written on 1 December 1971, no. 110/64 by the *Yägoro Wäräda Gezat* (District office) ordering the *Agämja* Sub-District governor to assist the two *Fuga* woodworkers, namely *Dammo Daneyo* and *Abbo Chäwaso*. *Dammo* and *Daneyo* were ordered to prepare wooden artefacts and to participate the the then forthcoming National Expo to be held in *Asmara* in January 1972.

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A letter from the *Bäqälä Habtä Maryam*, the then Mayor of *Hossana Municipality*, to *Ato Abägaz Ali*, the *tälalaki* or police guard, ordering him to guard the use of the *särägé botawoch* or the squares, unoccupied fields, and roads in the town. Folder no. 1, letter no. 106/7, dated 9 August 1950. *Hossana Municipality Archive*.

A letter from *Bäqälä Habtä Maryam* to the Ministry of Interior concerning the municipality's urban land tax collection and the size of the town of *Hossana*. Folder no. 1, letter no 13/ 158, dated 3 December 1949. *Hossana Municipality Archive*.

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ORAL INFORMANT

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
1.	Abäbäch Sälato (Wäyzäro)	70	Kuyära	31. 8. 96	Well experienced Fuga potter.
2.	Abära Ēga	68	Woliso	10. 1. 95	
3.	Abatä Bachago	55	Ennä,	24.12. 95	
4.	Ababu Näri	46	Bolé	14. 1. 95	
5.	Abba Rago Baguro	90	Fofa,	9. 12. 96	Well informed about the history of the Yämma people and the Bera Fuga..
6.	Abba Tämsas Abba Jober	68	Fofa	9/12/96	He belongs to the royal family of Yämma. Knowledgeable about the political history of Yämma.
7.	Abba Wari Masäro	78	Wäliso,	14/07/96	He is good at cultural history
8.	Abba Wari Tiqamo	75	Bushana	10/11/ 95 .	He knows Mäsmäsa songs and Mäsmäsa language.
9.	Abbo Chäwaso (qalicha)	75	Durè,	23/07/95	He is second in rank among the qalichas, below Qalicha Dammo.
10.	Abiyo Dabelo	55	Amacho Woto	15. 1. 95	The First Fuga to learn and be able to write. He is a rich Fuga peasant.
11.	Abosè Tueso	76	Wasära	27.8.96	A good informant on the Kämata.
12.	Admasu Worqé	73	Léra	19. 1.95	Very good informant about the Endägañ.
13.	Agizé Grañ	54	Woliso	11. 1. 95	A rich Fuga peasanat.
14.	Ahmäd Adäbta	70	.	27. 7. 96	
15.	Ahmäd Anqäshäqa	65	Goncheré	13. 1. 95.	Known Fuga worker in the area.
16.	Akabo Chenqiso	68	Hadaro	28. 8. 96	A Fuga tanner and woodworker.
17.	Alämayähu Kassa	73	Hossana	6. 6. 89	He was an employee of the Hossan municipality and served for 26 years. He knows the history of Hossana very well.
18.	Alämnäsh Näjen	56	Woliso	11.1.95.	A Fuga peasant woman who is well informed about the Fuga culture.

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
19.	Alämu Wäldé	60	Woliso	9.1. 95	One of my best informants about the social problems that the Fuga had in the past.
20.	Amlako Tésabo	77	Wasära	26. 8. 96	
21.	Assän Sani (qalicha)	55	Goro,	27. 8. 95.	A Guragé Fuga <i>qalicha</i> whose family had their own lands.
22.	Asfaw Wäldä Maryam(<i>bashay</i>), Non-Fuga	80	Wäliso,	26.097. 96	Well informed about the Fuga in the Guragélands and himself had a Fuga family under him.
23.	Awando Késhamo	80	Hossana	6.7.89	Well informed about Hossana.
24.	Ayälä Genawo	55	Hossan	6. 6. 89	His father was serving as a soldier under the Shāwan traditional military officers.
25.	Ayäläch Hailu (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	77	Bushana	10.11.95	She is a good potter.
26.	Aysar Ateref	80	Agäna	29.07.96	His family had land in the Guragélands.
27.	Badanga Maru	50	Bushana	10. 11.95	Well informed about the Fuga in the Guragélands and himself had a Fuga family under him.
28.	Bäqälä Bänti	85	Woliso	10. 1. 95	An Oromo balabat who gave land to the Fuga immigrants from Hadiya and Kambata.
29.	Bäqälä Habtä Maryam	78	Hossana	22.12.95	His family had land in the Guragélands.
30.	Bäqälä Mandäfero	82	Hossana	9. 12. 95	Knowledgeable about the Shāwan conquests and Hossana.
31.	Bäsher Ateref	70	Qosé	1. 8.96	
32.	Basrago Ashamteya	65	Qosé	1. 8. 96	
33.	Belecho Aliyā (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	70	Qebät	22. 1. 95	He is well oriented about the social history of the Fuga of Selti.
34.	Bétamo Bontoré	55	Mäsmäsa	12.11.95	

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
35.	Bezunäsh Kéroto	49	Hossana,	18. 12. 95	She knows the family of <i>Grazmach</i> Lapiso Abiyo and the feudal system.
36.	Bogaläch Taddässä (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	42	Hossana,	13. 12.95.	She knows about the <i>Mäsmäsa</i> hair style
37.	Budégo Ansébo	81	Amacho Wato	8.1.89	Knowledgeable about the Fuga and ordinary <i>Kämbata</i> relationship.
38.	Dabero Hébon	69	Hossana	15. 1. 95	He is well informed about the development of Hossana town.
39.	Dächasa Dama	50	Woliso	21. 11. 97	A tanner at Qelé originally from the Guragéländs. He knows how the various occupational groups came.
40.	Dammo Daneyo (<i>Qalicha</i>)	82	Duré .	14. 12. 96 and 22. 11. 96.	He is currently the head of all the Fuga <i>Qalichas</i> . He is frequently visited by his clients besides the three officially known holidays. He gives decisions on all matters when presented to him. Before 1974 <i>Qalicha</i> Dammo had his own body guards and about 12 guns.
41.	Dammo Wäldé	65	Agäna	29. 7. 96.	A woodworker Fuga.
42.	Daneyo Siko	90	Qosé		Bera Fuga brought by Abba Gäda Gallo from from Fofa to Ennär.
43.	Daññä Bäqälä	24	Hossana		Twelfth grade completes now working as a smith. His family is originally from the Guragéländs.
44.	Dässalän Tulano	60	Hossana	13. 1. 95	
45.	Dawit Grañ	63	Woliso	22. 7. 96	A rich Fuga peasant.
46.	Delgu Shefa	29	Hossana	13. 12. 95	He is able to tell the history of the Selti people and the Fuga in there.
47.	Domboba Dato	70	Woliso	10. 1. 95	Tanner.
48.	Egziabher Abbo	70	Woliso	27. 1.96	A well known Fuga singer from Agäna.

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
49.	Éliso Budaté (Abägaz)	74	Mäsmäsa	1. 8. 1996	A Badägo well known oral historian.
50.	Élyas grañ	48	Hossana & Bushana	18.12. 95 and 10.11.95.	He is one of the first educated Fuga and among the first to be employed.
51.	Emäbét Haji Belcho (Wäyzäro)	70	Selṭi	22. 1. 95	She is well informed about the social history of Guragé.
52.	Érgecho Magoro (Delébo)	81	Homacho Wato	8.1.89	He was one of my best informants on the history of Kāmbata and Fuga.
53.	Ersado Bogato	72	Hossana	7.6.89	Knows about the former landowning Fuga families.
54.	Estifanos Gäbriel	67	Hossana	18.1. 95.	He is a pensioned school teacher and belongs to the Oyeta ruling clan of Kambata.
55.	Etalāmahu Bäyan	50	Hossana	7. 6. 89	She knows about Fuga social history in Hadiya.
56.	Feseha Haylä Maryam	69	Agäna	12.1.95	He knows about the Fuga and the Jära Guragé relationships.
57.	Gäbrä Giyorges Amänu	65	Morsito	21. 12. 95.	A very informant about the Mäsmäsa history in general and Amboro in particular.
58.	Gäbrä Hanna Mulasa	70	Agäna	12. 1. 95	
59.	Gäbrä Mikael Ligabo	80	Kuyära	31. 8 96	The first Fuga immigrant from Mäsmäsa to Kuyära.
60.	Gäbrä Mikael Qaṭiso (Mämer)	52	Mäsmäsa	12: 11. 95	He is a good informant about the history of Mäsmäsa people
61.	Gäbrä Ṣadiq Lasé	57	Hossana	19.12.95	A good Informant.
62.	Gäbrä Ṣadiq Täklä Wäld	82	Qosé	31. 7. 95.	He knows much about the early Ennär people migration and the Fuga who went to Yamma.
63.	Gäbra Yohannes Keremoää	60	Endeber	14. 1. 95	
64.	Gachimo Gajémo (Dañña)	66	Hachacho Wato	26. 8. 96	A good informant about the Fuga administration.
65.	Gadäro Bolé	83	Amacho Wato	26.8.96	A rich Fuga peasant and a good informant on the Fuga
66.	Gämal Shequr	41	Selṭi	22. 1. 95	

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
67.	Garkäbo Urgébo (<i>Dañña</i>)	85	Mäsmäsa	20. 8. 96	He is the best informant on the Mäsmäsa history and the town of Amboro.
68.	Gashu Ejäta	65	Woliso	13. 7. 96	He is among the early settlers of Duré after their migration from Hadiya and Kambata.
69.	Germa Jäbésa	85	Woliso	12. 7. 95	
70.	Geselé Kamburé	98	Wato	8. 1. 89	Known Fuga oral historian. He knows more about the Kambata Qalicha institution.
71.	Gisa Wanchito	56	Woliso	11. 1. 95	A Fuga peasant.
72.	Gizaw Damte (<i>Bälambäras</i>)	78	Hossana	19. 12. 95	He has been the head of the Hossana Municipality.
73.	Gizaw Täklä	80	Qelé	10.1. 95	A rich Guragé origin smith priest at Qelé.
74.	Gueboro Ajamo(<i>Dañña</i>)	87	Homacho	2. 8. 96	He is among the best informants about the relations between the Mäsmäsa and Badowacho.
75.	Gulé Nunamo	100	Hossana	19.8.96	A Hadiya man, the first to be converted to the Qalä Hiwät Protestant religion.
76.	Gumbul Kétara	54	Woliso	22. 7. 96	A Fuga who is knowledgeable in war boasting.
77.	Getégo Hassän	80	Selji	21.1.96	
78.	Guté Nunamo	80	Selji	21. 1. 96	
79.	Habuqo Shalémo	80	Amacho Wato	7. 6. 89	His Fuga ancestors had land at Shamba in Kambata. He is a rich peasant and potter.
80.	Hassän Ali	79	Wolqité	27.7.96	A good informant on circumcision.
81.	Hassän Kéräta	60	Wolqité	28. 7. 96	His great grand father a Fuga Sodédiya was a guard at the Asar <i>bär</i> or gate. At Asar there was fortified settlement with two <i>bärs</i> .
82.	Hedwat Ahmääd (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	65	Agäna	12. 1. 95	An ordinary Guragé woman potter.
83.	Hirpasa Ejäta	34	Woliso	22. 7. 96	
84.	Hussein Ali	75	Butajera	15. 12. 95	From a merchant family.
85.	Hussein Mustäfa	50	Bolè	14. 1. 95	

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
86.	Jämal Abägaz	47	Wolqité	28. 7. 96	A Guragé Fuga who was robbed his property and persecuted by an Orom Nägasa Dinsa at Duré. He was rich peasant and know leads destitute life at Wolqité town.
87.	Kumamé Te'eqa	52	Adilo	16. 1. 95	Fuga potters in Adilo got a house from a non-government organi-zation in which they produce pottery during the rainy season.
88.	Léramo Wayiso	75	Bushana	10. 11. 95	He suffered from the evils of feudalism at the hands of <i>Grazmach</i> Lapiso and his wife.
89.	Leul Sägäd Guedé	96	Hossana	20. 12. 95	He is a pensioned Amara who knows the history of Hossana very well.
90.	Mäki Ali (<i>Säyed</i>)	82	Alaba Qulito	29.8.96	He is the religious and political leader of the Alaba. He is one of the best oral informants I had.
91.	Mäññaqa Terfata	60	Goro	26. 7.96	
92.	Märhuri Tirariga	50	Goncheré	13.2. 95	A known woodworker Fuga. Kownedgeable about the <i>qalicha</i> institution.
93.	Märsha Wäldä Selassé (<i>Mämeré</i>)	78	Morsiṭo	21. 12. 95	He had served at the St. Mikael Church at Amboro. He is and eye-witness when the Italians took the liturgy of the church.
94.	Marta Qäjäla (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	72	Wasra	28. 8.96	She is an Oyeta clan member and well informed about the Oyeta history and the Gädecho Rebellion.
95.	Mäsälä Mälkamu	75	Hossana	20. 12. 95	He is highly refined artist in woodwork. He practices circumcision and works as wägèsha for the Ministry of Culture and Information branch at Hossana. He also claims to be a famous bone specialist in the whole area.

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
96.	Masräsha Ejäta	40	Woliso	15. 7. 95	An Oromo retailer of The Fuga made wooden artefacts in the town of Woliso.
97.	Mokoro Gadiso (Abägaz)	62	Hossana	21. 8.96	
98.	Mokoro Toné (Dañña)	75	Fonqo	20. 1. 95	He is the head of all the danñas in Limu. He is one of the knowledgeable informants about the Limu clan of Hadiya.
99.	Muhammäd Babongo.	40	Qäbul	14. 1. 95	
100.	Muhammäd Muktar	73	Butajera	15. 4.96	He is well informed about the long distance trade which passed through Butajer to Amboro which was later diverted to the Soddo market of Wälayta.
101.	Mulunäsh Abba Wajo (Wäyzäro)	55	Woliso	25. 7. 96	
102.	Mulu Wärq Sulé	75	Wasära	26..8.96	She knows about the Fuga in Kāmbata
103.	Mulatwa Damtāw (Emahoy)	82	Ennär	26. 12. 95	She is a nun and a good oral historian, and the grand daughter of Abba Gäda Galo the former chief of Énnär.
104.	Murgat Haylä	20	Agäna	25.7. 96	Elventh grade female Fuga student who also is a potter.
105.	Nafino Kuesheya	80	Qosé	1.8. 96	
106.	Negatu Wäyäsa	77	Bushana	10.11.95	He knows about the minority and dominant group relations.
107.	Negusè Kinfä Mikael (Mäla'ekä Sähay)	39	Qosé	26. 12 95	Oral historian priest and knows more about the early migration of the Fuga and others.
108.	Nekerya Adeguer	70	Chäha	13. 1.95	His family earns its income by making bamboo baskets.
109.	Nisqat Baché	50	Agäna	29. 1. 95	
110.	Nunamo Selaté	61.	Déyägona	24. 8. 96	A tanner and woodworker
111.	Nuru Säyed (Aäbägaz)	78	Butajera	14. 12. 95	He is a son of a long distance merchant and was a famous hunter and warrior.
112.	Rago Bäquro	88	Bushana	10.12.95	He knows about Mäsmäsa

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
113.	Seraté Ajajo (Wäyzäro)	90	Duré	25. 7. 96	She knows Mäsmäsa folklore and Fuga traditions.
114.	Sermälo Orbé	65	Mäsmäsa	12.4. 95	He known Mäsmäsa language. He remembers some hunting songs.
115.	Serur Säyed (Abägaz)	75	Butajera	12. 8. 96	He is a merchant and his father was a long distance merchant.
116.	Shanqo Gubäna	70	Hossana	6. 11. 96	The first Fuga to be employed as a policeman in Hossana immediately after 1941. He had received one gasha of land for his service on top of the 20 <i>birr</i> monthly salary.
117.	Shefäraw Nägash	72	Hossana	22. 12. 95 and 7. 11. 96	He is now working as a smith. He campaigned to Maychäw at the age of 12. He is among the best oral informants.
118.	Shobiso Gäbrä Mäsqäl	50	Mäsmäsa	12. 4. 95	
119.	Sida Anango (Abägaz)	74	Hossana	25.12.95	
120.	Siraté Sojiya (Wäyzäro)	60	Agäna	12. 1. 95	An ordinary Guragé potter.
121.	Solomon Fäläqä	74	Hossana	22.12.95	He knows about the Fuga-Amhara relationship.
122.	Sorè Jijo	68	Woliso	10. 1. 95	An ordinary Oromo informant.
123.	Sugèbo Bushango	55	Wasära	26. 8. 96	A Fuga peasant and tanner.
124.	Taddässä Bädoré	38	Morsito	21. 12. 95	
125.	Taddässä Gutu (Qalicha)	56	Goro	27. 7.96	All in all he had about ten Fuga and ordinary Guragé wives.
126.	Takiso Babiso (Rassa)	81	Wasära	28. 96	He knows about the Fuga daññas of Kämbata and the qalicha institution.
127.	Tameru Takiso	45	Woliso	13. 7. 96	A Fuga school teacher teaching in Woliso town. He suffere from the persecution of the Hadiya students while he was in his elementary school.
128.	Täsfayä Molla	65	Hossana	6. 7. 89	An Amara who told me that the Fuga had <i>asmä rest</i> .
129.	Tasfayä Munta	50	Woliso	10. 1. 95	A Guragé originn smith in Woliso.

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
130.	Täshalä Grañ	45	Woliso	23. 7. 96	A rich peasant and well informed about the Mäsmäsa people.
131.	Te'eget Girma	25	Hossana	7. 6. 89	She told me that if non-Fuga children in a family die frequently the new born ones are fed Fuga women's breast so that they may not die.
132.	Te'eget Täbraté (Wäyzäro)	60	Woliso	27. 7.96	A Good informant on Fuga traditions.
133.	Telahun Bukulo	70	Qachabär	4. 8. 96	He is a rich farmer. His son who is a teacher has married to a Oyeta woman and was persecuted. He was forced to leave his birthplace for the security of his family.
134.	Telahun Bushiso	42	Shashicho	16. 1. 95	
135.	Téqa Halala	82	Shoné	27. 8.96	A Fuga farmer and woodworker.
136.	Tuléro Daneyo	68	Woliso	21.11.97	He is the brother of <i>Qalicha</i> Dammo. He knows about the <i>qalicha</i> institution.
137.	Ufamo Marémo	60	Woliso	23.7.96	He is among those Fuga individuals who bought land before 1974.
138.	Wäldä Giyorges Amänu	65	Morsito	21. 12. 95	
139.	Wäldä Giyorges Matewos	54.	Hossana	21.8. 96	
140.	Wäldä Giyorges Täsfayä	78	Hossana	18. 1. 95	
141.	Wäldä Şadiq Daneyo	75	Woliso	21. 11. 97	
142.	Wäldä Sänbät Bëñña	69	Bushanna	11.12.95	He knows about the Mäsmäsa people.
143.	Wäldä Sänbät worqenäh	69	Endeber	13. 1. 95	
144.	Wänd Aferash Salato	71	Hossana	6. 7. 89	He is among the best oral informants about the ancient Hadiya and the rock hewn cave palace of Zära Yacob.
145.	Waqbéka Abedi	45	Selti	23. 1. 95	

No.	Name	Age	Place	Date	Remarks
146.	Wari Massäre	78	Woliso	14. 7. 96	He is well informed about the Mäsmäsa based smiths and Qëwo or tanners.
147.	Worqu Kassa	78	Hossana	19.8. 96	He is well informed about Ras Abatä's soldiers who took land in Hossana because he was working at the Hossana municipality before he was pensioned.
148.	Yerga Gäbré	34	Agäna	12. 1. 95	
149.	Yohannes Dabelo (Abägaz)	50	Hossana and Woliso	15. 1. 95 & 14. 7. 96.	He is well informed about the Mäsmäsa people and Fuga. He knows the cultural history of the Fuga society. He has been my assistant and knows Amharic well. He has been a teacher at the Duré Fuga school. Now he is a rich Fuga farmer and an elected cashier of the Farmers Association.
150.	Yohannes Hélam	45	Amacho Wato	4. 8. 96	
151.	Yohannes Hundé	48	Woliso	13. 7. 96	He is a schoolteacher in Hossana. As a Fuga student in the elementary school he had bad treatment from the ordinary Hadiya students in Hossana.
152.	Zägäyā Mogo	82	Hossana	8.8.89	He is a good informant on the Hossana town.
153.	Zälqäqä Genawo	80	Hossana	9. 8. 89	He is the son of a Fuga soldier and carpenter who constructed churches in Hossana. Genawo was given urban land in Hossana by <i>Fitawrari</i> Tamrat his boss for his service.
154.	Zäwdé Abäbä	37	Hossana	15. 1. 95	

APPENDIX I



Qalicha Dammo and His Family

APPENDIX II



Qalicha Holiday Ceremony Held on Hidar 12, 1990 (23 November 1997).

APPENDIX III



Qalicha Holiday Ceremony Held on Hidar 12, 1990 (23 November 1997).

Fuga Settlement Places in Hadiya and Kambata Zones

'Abushira
 Achamo
 Adilo
 Ajora
 Alaba
 Alage Gimbicho
 Ambicho
 Ameqa
 Anje
 Arara
 Arara
 Arde
 Arsho
 Ashengora
 Ashohala
 Asté
 Aweya
 Ayamo
 Azedebo'o
 Badoyé
 Balam
 Banqorea
 Baqo
 Barewa
 Be'anara
 Be'anara
 Becha
 Bekafa
 Bekina
 Benarabezer
 Bendeliyo
 Benqor'a
 Benqor'a
 Beraba
 Berkuta?
 Betara
 Birabcho
 Bobito
 Bodena
 Bohé
 Bo'ima
 Bondena
 Bonesha
 Bonochora
 Bosena
 Bugé
 Bula'é
 Bultuma
 Bumé
 Buqena

Buqirona Saleta
Buré'é
Chingo
Danatora
Danatora
Darsha
Debiyago
Decho
Denbeya
Dené
Dengagura
Dersha
Digiba
Dilbara
Dinbé
Dodeba
Doesha
Doesha
Doreba
Dubancho
Duna
Durame
Durgi
Ebita
Echo
Eréramo
Fandide
Fandide
Fanta
Farsuma
Ferzano
Fonqo
Funja
Galmo
Gana
Garora
Gédira
Ge'echa
Ge'emamo
Gema
Gemsha
Gendero
Génésa
Géro
Getema
Géyota
Gidensenga
Gimbicho
Godé
Goloba
Golonja
Gora

Gorta
Gudiru
Guejemé
Guelonja
Guetamo
Gurguado
Hadero
Hadiya Zone
Hagé
Hanje
Harché
Haro
Hawara
Hayis
Heba
Hébicho
Heque
Héto
Hobchihaqa
Hoda
Homa
Homochera
Homocho
Homocho
Honena
Hormé
Jajura
Jato
Jeba
Jefera
Kebécho
Kodé
Ko'eto
Kontom
Lade
Legé
Lembuda
Léréba
Lesho
Lisana
Mato
Megacho
Megenagna
Mesafé
Mesmesa
Messena
Meténcheso
Mino
Molé

muda
Mudula
Muleta
Mulunja
Muma
Murasa
Obémecha?
Olé
Omosheleqo
Omoshera
Ordé
Oroma?
Otoro
Qachabira
Qalata
Qamé
Qebela
Qosé
Qosha
Réja
Reramo
Roma
S/Bedicho
Salé
Salleta
Saro
Setera
Sheno
Sheraka
Shinshino
Shodira
Shomena
Shoné
Shurimo
Shurmo
Sico
Sodda
Sonda
Sundusa
Suta
Talota
Tinqa
Tinticho
Tunto
Udamé
Wadolé
Wagebeta
Wasgebeta
Wassera

Waya
Weleqa
Wema
Werérama
Werja
Wesheba
Weyramo
Zato
Zenbocho

'Fuga Settlement Place names in the Gurage and Other Areas

Aggena
Ambo
Ameya
Arsi Negellé
Betera
Chirecha Wonber
'Dinqula
Egézé
Endibir
Enner
Ezza
Geto
Gichin
Goro
Gorta
Gubré
Gunchiré
Jimma
Kuta Dimsa
Kuyera
Maféd
Meger
Muhur
Nazret
Qentéro
Qubul
Shashemené
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Suku
Tiqur
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ቀን 8/7/64

ሃይማኖት: ክርስቲያን

→ አዲስ አበባ

ዓለም አቀፍ የሥነ ምግባር ማኅበር

ግብር

አዲስ አበባ

ግብር

ገ/

1964 ዓ.ም. ግብር = 1170.00 = 3000.00 ለአዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር = 900.00

ግብር = 700.00 ግብር = 11

490. 2399. 27. 2298 = 97767 = 925. 10697 = አዲስ አበባ

ግብር ግብር: 2ጠ. 2ጠፍ = 28 ዓመት ግብር = 10000. 90000 ግብር = 10000. 23

ግብር ግብር: አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000 ግብር = 10000. 23

ግብር ግብር: 2, 9773. አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

ግብር ግብር: አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

ግብር ግብር: አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

ግብር ግብር: አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

ግብር ግብር: አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

ግብር ግብር: አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23

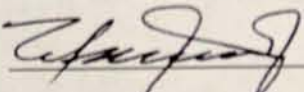
ግብር ግብር: አዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ግብር = 10000. 23



DECLARATION

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

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Signature: 

Place: College of Social Sciences,

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Date of submission: January 2000