

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

***THE OROMO OF SALAALEE  
A HISTORY (c. 1840-1936)***

***BY  
TSEGAYE ZELEKE***

***JUNE 2002***

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**THE OROMO OF SALAALEE  
A HISTORY (c. 1840-1936)**

**BY: TSEGAYE ZELEKE**

***A Thesis  
Presented to  
The School of Graduate Studies  
of Addis Ababa University  
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Masters of Arts  
in History***

**JUNE 2002**

## DECLARATION

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

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***DATE OF SUBMISSION:*** JUNE 2002

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From the beginning to the end I have received assistance and encouragement from several individuals. Before all, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my thesis advisor, Dr. Tesema Ta'a, who, despite his hectic programmes devoted his time to correct my paper. I appreciate his genuine advice, persistent correction and patience from the conception of my thesis until its completion.

My deepest gratitude also goes to Dr. Tekalign Wolde Mariam for his invaluable suggestions, especially at the beginning of the research. Abebe Keno also deserves my appreciation for his comment on the language.

My deepest gratitude extends also to my family and friends who helped me morally and materially during my stay in the university. Among them Aynalem Beyene, Zeleke Tufaa and Eliyas Admasu deserve special thanks.

My thanks also go to all my informants without whom the thesis would have been unthinkable. Last but not least, I am also thankful to Wro. Yezeshewal Eshete for typing the manuscript of the thesis.

# TRANSLITERATION

Most (if not all) of the proverbs, lyrics, and place - names, personal - names, etc. are from Oromo and Amharic languages. We have used the recently introduced Oromo alphabet for the Oromo proverbs, songs, place names, personal - names and the like. Meanwhile, most of the place - names, titles, and so on whose origins are Amharic and used in the thesis are well known and written in many materials and we used them in a way many writers preferred to write them (eg. Dabra Libanos, Ras, Dajjazmach, and Ankobar). Yet the writers and well know figures personal names (most of whom are Amharic in origin) create the greatest discrepancies as most of them chose to spell their names in print or in every day usage in Latin Script in ways which do not conform to a single system (e.g. Tesema and Tasamma, Tafari and Teferi). Where an individual has already used a preferred English spelling, we have used that. In cases where certain spellings are in common or official usage (e.g. Haile Selassie rather than Hayla Sellase) we have accepted those conventions for those individuals.

## 1. The Oromo Vowels

| Short | Long | English Equivalent: Long Vowels |
|-------|------|---------------------------------|
| a     | aa   | a - are                         |
| e     | ee   | e - were                        |
| i     | ii   | i - he                          |
| o     | oo   | o - for                         |
| u     | uu   | u - you                         |

## 2. Consonants

Oromo consonantal phonemes are gemminated by doubling the phonemes. For example, 'm' in **damma** 'honey' is gemminated.

There are six phonemes used in the thesis which are represented by paired alphabets. These are ch, dh, ny, ph, sh and ts.

- ch - palatal, affricate, voiceless, example in **Kachoo** 'basket'
- dh - alveolar, implosive, example in **dhaamsa** 'message'.
- ny - palatal, nasal, example in **nyaata** 'food'.
- ph - bilabial, voiceless, ejective, example in **buuphaa** 'egg'.
- sh - palatal fricative voiceless, example in **shan** 'five'
- ts - alveolar, affricate, voiceless, example in '**Gohatsion**' (place name)

The consonantal phonemes of Oromo include the following ejectives in addition to ph:

- c - palatal, voiceless, affricate example in **Macca** 'Oromo sub-group name'.
- q - velar, voiceless, example in **qaldhaa** 'thin'.
- x - alveolar, voiceless, example in **Qilxuu** 'personal name'.

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## PREFACE

Salaalee is one of the **Awrajjas** which formerly constituted the province of Shawaa (**Shawaa Kifla Hager**). Most of the boundaries of Salaalee are encribed by the Abbay River and its tributaries like the Jamaa and Mugar Rivers. The capital of the **Awrajjja**, Fiche, is located about 112 kms North-west of Addis Ababa, on the way to Gojjam (see map I).

We now know that the majority of the inhabitants of Salaalee, at least since the last quarter of the sixteenth century or the turn of the seventeenth century are the Oromo who speak a language which belong to the Lowland East Cushitic group of the Afroasiatic family.

Although one can not boast about the availability of written sources on the region under the study, there are certain primary as well as secondary materials which directly or indirectly touch upon the region and are pertinent to reconstruct the history of Salaalee in the period under study (c1840 - 1936). However, to a large extent we have depened on the rich corpus of the traditions of the Tuulama Oromo, the thesis is therefore, to a large degree, is shaped by the traditions as they are recited by the folk.

Although the study can not claim to be exhaustive, it is hoped that it will make a modest contribution to the understanding of the history of the Tuulama Oromo in general and those found in Salaalee region in particular, which in turn adds something to our wisdom of the history of Ethiopia in general and that of the Oromo people in particular.

### 3. LIST OF INFORMANTS

| NO | NAME OF INFORMANTS                       | AGE | DATE OF INTERVIEW | PLACE OF INTERVIEW   | R E M A R K S                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----|------------------------------------------|-----|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Abate Sammuu<br>( <b>Ato</b> )           | 72  | 23/6/2001         | Garba<br>Gurrachaa   | He is a resourceful informant on the land tenure system in Kuyyuu area during the period of <b>Ras</b> Kassa.                                                                                                    |
| 2  | Abbaa Machaal Borja<br>( <b>Ato</b> )    | 76  | 24/6/2001         | Garba<br>Gurrachaa   | He is one of the descendants of the notable of Kuyyuu, Gammadaa Bonayyaa. He is one of our key informants about this family as well as the history of the region.                                                |
| 3  | Abrahaam Tesemma<br>( <b>Ato</b> )       | 76  | 10/6/2001         | Fiche                | He is the relative of the nineteenth century Oromo notable, Gabruu Goobee of Saggo. Well informed how this notable came to prominence and interacted with other chiefs in Salaalee.                              |
| 4  | Addunyaa Sanbataa<br>(Ato)               | 56  | 15/6/2001         | Gullaallee<br>Beeroo | He was brought up by one of the landlords in Salaalee and has fresh memory about the land tenure system.                                                                                                         |
| 5  | Alemayehu Zegeye<br>( <b>Ato</b> )       | 71  | 27/6/2001         | Gohatsion            | His knowledge about the Oromo-Amhara relations in Warra Jaarsoo district is valuable.                                                                                                                            |
| 6  | Araddoo Ayyanee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )        | 91  | 6/7/2001          | Muka<br>Xuurii       | His knowledge about the traditions of Warjih and Warjih's relations with the Oromo is impressive.                                                                                                                |
| 7  | Asraat Beqele<br>( <b>Ato</b> )          | 65  | 22/6/2001         | Garba<br>Gurrachaa   | He is the descendent of a Shawaan Amhara who had come to Salaalee accompanying <b>Ras</b> Darge as a <b>nafxanyaa</b> . He has valuable information on how the Shawaans occupied and then administered Salaalee. |
| 8  | Ayyele Qanaanii<br>( <b>Ato</b> )        | 64  | 21/6/2001         | Garba<br>Gurrachaa   | He is one of the descendants of Jaalee Maasoo, notable of Kuyyuu and he is a resourceful person concerning this family.                                                                                          |
| 9  | Belaachoo Guyyee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )       | 81  | 7/7/2001          | Muka<br>Xuurii       | His information about how <b>Ras</b> Goobana subjugated Wuccalee is advantageous                                                                                                                                 |
| 10 | Belaynesh Qorichaa<br>( <b>Weizaro</b> ) | 88  | 27/6/2001         | Gohatsion            | She has a good knowledge on how the Shawaans incorporated Salaalee into the kingdom of Shawaa.                                                                                                                   |
| 11 | Beqele Dammuu                            | 71  | 09/6/2001         | Fiche                | One of the magnificent informants                                                                                                                                                                                |

|    |                                         |     |           |                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----|-----------------------------------------|-----|-----------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    | (Ato)                                   |     |           |                            | on the history of Salaalee in general and Graar Jaarsoo area in particular.                                                                                                                                     |
| 12 | Beqele Simee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )          | 81  | 8/6/2001  | Saggoo<br>Gandaa<br>Ujubaa | A distant relative of Abbaa Maallee of 1840s. Key informant about the history of the period of Abbaa Maallee and Gabruu Goobee i.e. how they rose to prominence and interacted with other notables in Salaalee. |
| 13 | Boggala Waaqjira<br>(Ato)               | 89  | May 1997  | Warxuu<br>(Graar)          | Interviewed by the North Shawaa Culture and Information Department                                                                                                                                              |
| 14 | Charree Zewalda<br>Mariam               | 84  | 13/6/2001 | Fiche                      | His information about the Oromo - Amhara relations in the Jamaa valley below Fiche is useful.                                                                                                                   |
| 15 | Damee Guddataa<br>(Ato)                 | 76  | 7/5/2000  | Dabra Zayit                | A good informant on the Tuulama Oromo gadaa system.                                                                                                                                                             |
| 16 | Dinqqee Jamamaa<br>( <b>Weizaro</b> )   | 70  | 17/6/2001 | Gullaallee<br>Beeroo       | Her father was a <i>malkanyaa</i> during the period of Ras Kassa and she heard from him a lot about the land tenure system in the region.                                                                       |
| 17 | Dumeecha Tulluu<br>(Ato)                | 80  | 6/5/2000  | Dabra Zayit                | Well informed on the Tuulama gadaa system.                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 18 | Fayyee Dabalee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )        | 69  | 18/6/2001 | Ambisoo                    | He served as a <i>ciqa shum</i> during the reign of H.S.I. and has reliable information on the land tenure system in Dagam district.                                                                            |
| 19 | Fayyisaa Birruu<br>( <b>Ato</b> )       | 63  | 19/6/2001 | Ambisoo                    | He had migrated to Arsi in the 1960s but returned after the eruption of the 1974 Revolution. Knowledgeable informant on factors that forced or attracted the Salaalee Oromo to migrate to Arsi and other areas. |
| 20 | Fayyisaa Jimaa<br>( <b>Asir alaqa</b> ) | 67  | 14/6/2001 | Fiche                      | Useful informant on the history of Graar Jaarsoo district.                                                                                                                                                      |
| 21 | Gabra Hiwot Gabre<br>( <b>Abba</b> )    | 104 | 21/7/95   | Ambisoo                    | He was the servant of <b>Ras</b> Kassa and participated in the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935/36. Invaluable informant on how Ras Darge subjugated Salaalee.                                                       |
| 22 | Gadaa Tolaa<br>( <b>Ato</b> )           | 78  | 5/7/2001  | Jaatee<br>(Wuccalee)       | Well informed on the Oromo gadaa system. He participated in several                                                                                                                                             |

|    |                                           |    |            |                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----|-------------------------------------------|----|------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    |                                           |    |            |                    | gadaa ceremonies at Odaa Nabee.                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 23 | Goonfaa Adduuyaa<br>( <b>Ato</b> )        | 73 | 25/06/2001 | Garba<br>Gurrachaa | A good informant on the land tenure system in Hidhaabuu Abootee district.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 24 | Habtaamuu Simee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )         | 39 | 02/07/2001 | Fiche              | He is one of the descendants of Asheer Ruufoo, notable of the present day Fiche area. Despite his age, he is well informed about how Asheer Ruufoo had come to prominence and later on resisted the Shawaan encroachment into Salaalee. |
| 25 | Haila Mariam Morodaa<br>( <b>Mamhre</b> ) | 75 | 7/6/2001   | Fiche              | He is a great grandson of Gabruu Goobee. Very important informant on the traditions how notables like Abbaa Maallee and Gabruu Goobee came to prominence.                                                                               |
| 26 | Ijaaraa Gammadaa<br>( <b>Ato</b> )        | 65 | 24/06/2001 | Garba<br>Gurrachaa | Well informed on the traditions of Salaalee in general and that of Kuyyuu and Hidhaabuu Abootee in particular.                                                                                                                          |
| 27 | Imiru Mekonnin<br>( <b>Abba</b> )         | 81 | 27/06/2001 | Gohatsion          | A very distinguished informant on the introduction and expansion of Christianity in Warraa Jaarsoo area.                                                                                                                                |
| 28 | Kadir Mohammed<br>( <b>Ato</b> )          | 70 | 9/7/2001   | Muka<br>Xuurii     | He is a Warjih by ethnicity and useful informant on the Warjih and their interaction with the Oromo.                                                                                                                                    |
| 29 | Kormee Galataa<br>( <b>Ato</b> )          | 70 | 15/6/2001  | Dagam              | A resourceful informant on the land-tenure system in Dagam district.                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 30 | Leggese Aradoo                            | 36 | 3/10/2001  | Addis<br>Ababa     | Although he seems too young to be an informant, he is well informed about how the family of Shaashii Badhaasaa of Dagam came to prominence. He himself is the descendant of this family.                                                |
| 31 | Lemma Destaa<br>( <b>Ato</b> )            | 85 | 23/6/2001  | Garba<br>Gurrachaa | He was one of the servants of <b>Dajjach</b> Abarra Kassa. He is a magnificent informant on how the Shawaans incorporated Salaalee into their kingdom as well as the introduction and expansion of Christianity in the area.            |
| 32 | Mabree Goofee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )           | 74 | 13/2/2002  | Addis<br>Ababa     | Well informed about the Tuulama gadaa system and how <b>Ras</b> Darge subdued the people of Salaalee and expropriated their lands.                                                                                                      |

|    |                                        |    |                                 |                                 |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|----|----------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 33 | Mammoo Kebede<br>( <b>Ato</b> )        | 68 | 11/06/2001                      | Fiche                           | Helpful informant on the traditions of the Graar Jaarsoo area.                                                                                                      |
| 34 | Mangistuu Ambassee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )   | 77 | 29/6/2001                       | Gohatsion                       | His information on the land tenure system in Warra Jaarsoo is solid.                                                                                                |
| 35 | Marso Hiruy<br>( <b>Dabtara</b> )      | 71 | 28/6/2001                       | Gohatsion                       | A magnificent informant about the introduction and expansion of Christianity in Warra Jaarsoo and how <b>Dajjach</b> Layyeh administered Warra Jaarsoo.,            |
| 36 | Mootii Wayyeessa<br>( <b>Ato</b> )     | 83 | 22/6/2001                       | Garba<br>Gurrachaa              | Interviewed on the land tenure system in Kuyyuu district.                                                                                                           |
| 37 | Qilxuu Tulluu<br>( <b>Ato</b> )        | 94 | 7/7/2001                        | Muuka<br>Xuurii                 | Well informed on the traditions of Wucaalee and Dabra Libanos district.                                                                                             |
| 38 | Shawa Nagash<br>( <b>Major</b> )       | 73 | 3/7/2001                        | Fiche                           | Has invaluable information on the traditions of Salaalee.                                                                                                           |
| 39 | Shawaluul Sanyii<br>( <b>Ato</b> )     | 60 | 24/6/2001                       | Garba<br>Gurrachaa              | A very resourceful informant on the early history of the Salaalee Oromo, i.e. how they settled in Salaalee and how chiefs emerged.                                  |
| 40 | Simee Wadaajoo<br>( <b>Ato</b> )       | 65 | 20/6/2001                       | Garba<br>Gurrachaa              | He is a distant relative of Jankaa Nagawoo of Oborii. A resourceful informant on how the family of Jaankaa rose to prominence.                                      |
| 41 | Seyoum Taddese<br>( <b>Ato</b> )       | 68 | 30/06/2001                      | Gohatsion                       | A good informant on the land tenure system in Warra Jaarsoo during <b>Ras</b> Kassa's period.                                                                       |
| 42 | Seyoum Tolaa<br>( <b>Ato</b> )         | 63 | 18/6/95                         | Fiche                           | Knowledgeable about the history of Graar Jaarsoo district.                                                                                                          |
| 43 | Taddese Moggaa<br>( <b>Ato</b> )       | 76 | 3/7/2001                        | Saggoo<br>Gandaa<br>Ujubaa      | Provided us with information on how Abbaa Maallee and Gabruu Goobee rose to prominence.                                                                             |
| 44 | Tafarraa Ayyele<br>( <b>Ato</b> )      | 94 | 21/7/95                         | Ambisoo                         | He participated in the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935/36. He was a resourceful informant on the period of <b>Ras</b> Kassa.                                            |
| 45 | TakeYemane Berhan<br>( <b>Mamhre</b> ) | 62 | 27/8/95                         | Arata<br>Maryam                 | A Priest at Arata Maryam Church near Fiche. Invaluable informant about the introduction and expansion of Christianity as well as Oromo Amhara relation in Salaalee. |
| 46 | Tolaa Jabanuu<br>( <b>Ato</b> )        | 83 | 28/06/2001                      | Gohatsion                       | A valuable informant on the land tenure system of the region.                                                                                                       |
| 47 | Tufaa Washaaree<br>( <b>Ato</b> )      | 81 | July 2000<br>(several<br>times) | Kootichoo<br>(Graar<br>Jaarsoo) | A resourceful n the history of Graar Jaarsoo district in general and about the family of Bashaa Waaqee                                                              |

|    |                                                   |    |           |                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|----|---------------------------------------------------|----|-----------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    |                                                   |    |           |                           | in particular.                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 48 | Wadaajoo Badhaanee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )              | 84 | 14/6/2001 | Gullallee                 | He has valuable information on the land tenure system in Salaalee during the period of <b>Ras</b> Kassa.                                                                                                                 |
| 49 | Wadaajoo Beqele<br>( <b>Ato</b> )                 | 41 | 10/6/2001 | Hillammuu                 | He is the only direct male descendant of Gumbichuu Shaashii of Illaamuu ( <b>angafa</b> of Salaalee). Despite his age he is one of the resourceful informants on the history of Gumbichuu Shaashii and his predecessors. |
| 50 | Waaqshumee<br>Badhaanee<br>( <b>Ato</b> )         | 78 | 16/6/2001 | Ambisoo                   | He was knowledgeable about the traditions of the Oromo of Salaalee inspite of some understandable distortion of the facts.                                                                                               |
| 51 | Waaqtolaa Balchaa<br>and others<br>( <b>Ato</b> ) | 78 | 25/6/2001 | Garba<br>Gurrachaa        | We have interviewed them in group on various issues relevant to the thesis and got helpful information.                                                                                                                  |
| 52 | Warquu Gammadaa<br>(Ato)                          | 68 | 8./7/2001 | Muka<br>Xuurii            | A valuable informant on the traditions of the Jiddaa and the Oborii Oromo sub-groups.                                                                                                                                    |
| 53 | Tirunesh Badhaanee<br>( <b>Weizaro</b> )          | 77 | 28/6/2001 | Gohatsion                 | She is the direct descendant of the Warra Jaarsoo notable, Fuursaa Dabboo on her mother's side and a notable of Hidhaauu Abootee, Daadhii Maanyuu on her father's side.                                                  |
| 54 | Yeshi Badhikkee<br>( <b>Weizaro</b> )             | 75 | 3/7/2001  | Saggoo<br>Gandaa<br>Ujuba | A magnificent informant about Abbaa Maallee and Gabruu Goobee.                                                                                                                                                           |

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is entitled "The Oromo of Salaalee: A History (C.1840 -1936)." and attempts to explore the history of the Oromo found in the region known as Salaalee during the said period.

The thesis begins with a description and analysis of the traditions of the Oromo in the region by taking into account the sixteenth century Oromo movement and the resulting contacts of the people with other ethnic groups in the region. It also discusses the pattern of settlement of the Tuulama Oromo on the present day Shawaan plateau in general and the Salaalee region in particular.

Furthermore, the thesis attempts to unearth the socio-political and economic history of the people of Salaalee during a few decades before its incorporation into the kingdom of Shawa in the 1870s. Those decades were the time when the Tuulama Oromo started to experience the transformation of their socio-economic and political systems, i.e. the Tuulama gadaa system increasingly became ineffective and failed to check ambitious individuals who defied the existing gadaa rules and regulations. By the time the Shawan Kingdom's territorial expansion towards the Tuulama land also reached its climax.

The paper also sheds light on the unsuccessful resistance of the Tuulama Oromo in general and those found in Salaalee in particular against the Shawan forces led by **Ras** Darge and **Ras** Goobana.

The discussion of the period after Salaalee's incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire highlights the impact of the incorporation on the socio-economic and political systems of the Oromo and the changes and continuities that occurred. And finally, it pinpoints the reactions and /or adaptations that the people of Salaalee made against the changing socio-political and economic systems in the early twentieth century.

## Chapter One

<sup>1</sup> C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford (ed and trans), ***Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593 - 1646*** (London, 1954), pp.111-112; Eike Haberland, ***Galla - Sud Athiopiens*** (Stuttgart, 1963), p.772; H.S. Lewis, "The Origin of the Galla and the Samali", ***Journal of African History*** VII, I (1966), pp.27-26; Yilma Deressa, ***Ya Ityophiya Tarik Ba Asra Siddistanyaw Kifla Zaman*** (Addis Ababa, 1959 E.C), pp. 214-15; ***Alaqa*** Taye Gabra Maryam, ***Ya Ityophiya Hizb Tarik (Addis Ababa, 1958 E.C)***, pp.38-9; Takla Tsadiq Makuriya, ***Ya Ityophiya Tarik Ka Atse Lebna Dengel Eska Atse Tewodros*** (Addis Ababa, 1965 E.C), pp. 94-95; U. Braukamper, "Oromo Country of Origin: A Reconsideration of Hypothesis", ***Proceedings of the Six International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*** (Tel Aviv, 1980), pp.25-40; Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Survey to 1910" (M.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1980), pp.1-2; Negaso Gidada, "History of the Sayyoo Oromo of South-western Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730-1886" (Ph.D. Dissertation, John Wolfgang Goethe Universitat, 1984), pp. 32-34. Mohammed Hassen, ***The Oromo of Ethiopia, A History 1570-1860*** (Cambridge, 1990, p.4-5; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Pre-sixteenth Century Oromo Presence within the Medieval Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia," David Bronkesha (ed), ***A River of Blessings: Essays in Honour of Paul Baxter*** (New York, 1994), pp.43-65.

<sup>2</sup> Haberland, p.772; Lewis, "The Origin of the Galla", pp.27-26; Braukamper, pp.25-40; Tesema "The Oromo of Wallaga", pp.1-2, Mohammed, ***The Oromo of Ethiopia***, pp.4-5.

<sup>3</sup> ***Informants:*** Dinqee Jamamaa, Fayyee Dabalee and Beqele Simee.

<sup>4</sup> Mohammed, ***The Oromo of Ethiopia***, pp.18-19.

<sup>5</sup> Beckingham and Huntingford, pp.115-16; See also Mohammed Hassen, ***The Oromo of Ethiopia***, pp.18-22. According to the age-old gadaa rules and regulations, officials of the gadaa stay in power for eight years only. For instance the peirod of Malbaa gadaa (1522-1530).

<sup>6</sup> Mohammed, ***The Oromo of Ethiopia***, pp.24-25.

<sup>7</sup> Beckingham and Huntingford, pp.116-17.

<sup>8</sup> Mohammed, ***The Oromo of Ethiopia***, pp.24-25, 33-4.

<sup>9</sup> ***Ibid.***, pp.25-26.

<sup>10</sup> ***Ibid.***, p.34. This round of conflict was started when the Muslim forces from Harar invaded Bali in 1576. See map 4, for the locaiton of Waj.

<sup>11</sup> Cited in ***Ibid.***

<sup>12</sup> Cited in ***Ibid.***

<sup>13</sup> ***Ibid.***

<sup>14</sup> Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, Opposite p. XCVII.

<sup>15</sup> F. Alvarez, *The Prester John of the Indies* Vol. II, (Cambridge, 1961), p.458.

<sup>16</sup> Bairu Tafla (ed. and trans), *Asma Gyorgis and His Works: History of the Galla and the Kingdom of Sawa* (Stuttgart, 1986), p.673.

<sup>17</sup> Alaqa Taye, p.37. This seems to be similar to what Tadesse Tamrat, "Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The case of Gafat", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, XXI, No.2, (1988), p.124, called Bar Gafat (Gafat Pass) - a Parish which is found in the district of Ensaro - closer to Dabra Libanos.

<sup>18</sup> Tadesse, "Ethnic Interaction", pp.139, 141-42; Bairu, *Asma Gyorgis*, pp.197-99, 209; Taye, p.37.

<sup>19</sup> **Informants:** Alemayehu Zegeye, Marso Hiruy, Imiruu Mekonnin and Tirunesh Badhaanee; see also Bairu, *Asma Gyorgis*, p.37; Alaqa Taye, p.38 which corroborates that the major occupation of the Gaafat people were weaving, tannery, metal works, etc. similarly informants like Beqele Simee confirm that non-Oromo weavers were also left in the Jamaa valley and gave clothes to the Oromo notables in Graar Jaarsoo area.

<sup>20</sup> Svein Ege, *Class, State and Power in Africa: A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shawa* (Ethiopia) about 1840 (Weishaden, 1996), p.74. It is also said that weaving is common among the Mullo-Falda - the branch of the Tuulama Oromo who are found around today's Muloo district.

<sup>21</sup> Beckingham and Huntingford, see the map opposite p.xcvii.

<sup>22</sup> Merid Wolde Aregay, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", *Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, IV Congress Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, 1976, p.622. Grarya is the name given to the region which was found in the present day Salaalee, see Tadesse Tamarat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527* (London, 1972), pp.168-73.

<sup>23</sup> **Informants:** Araddoo Ayyanee and Kadir Mohammed. Our informants indicate, the only difference between the Warjih and the Oromo in Salaalee is religion where the former is Muslim and the latter is Christian otherwise they speak the same language and even sometimes intermarry.

<sup>24</sup> **Informants:** Damee Guddataa, Dumeecha Tulluu, Beqele Simee and Gadaa Tolaa..

<sup>25</sup> Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*, p.18.

<sup>26</sup> Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega," p.1-2.

<sup>27</sup> Asmarom Legesse, *Oromo Democracy: An Indigenous African Political System* (Lawrenceville, N.J., 2000), pp.148-49.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150; see also Negaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo of South-western Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730 to 1886* (Addis Ababa, 2001), pp.257-259. Negaso seems to have agreed with Asmarom's view because he indicates that the Sayyoo clans were scattered among the other Maccaa and among Tuulama and vice versa..

<sup>29</sup> Asmarom, p.150.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.165 see also Beckingham and Huntingford, pp.111-12. see the table which is adopted from Asmarom, p.150 that indicates the concordance between Abba Bahrey's Borana/Barentu with Borana's Gona/Sabbo.

| Pan Oromo (Bahrey)    |                                                                      | Borana South     |                                                                           |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 16th Century Moietics |                                                                      | Today's Moieties |                                                                           |
|                       | Clans and Lineages                                                   |                  | Clans & Lineages                                                          |
| Borana                |                                                                      | Gona             |                                                                           |
|                       | Macch'a<br>Jidda<br>Dacch<br>Galan<br>Konno<br>Bacho                 |                  | Macch'itu<br>Warra Jidda<br>Dacch'itu<br>Galantu<br>Konnetu<br>Bacchitu   |
| Barrentuma            |                                                                      | Sabbo            |                                                                           |
|                       | Karraayyu<br>Obo<br>Suba<br>Liban<br>Digalu<br>Nole-Illu<br>Itu<br>? |                  | Karrayyuu<br>Obbole<br>Sibu<br>Libano<br>Digalu<br>Ilu<br>Itu<br>Mat'arri |

<sup>31</sup> Here I have depended on the already held view, i.e, on the view which indicates the separation of Maccaa and Tuulama because we do not have conclusive information in order to speak with certainty that there were Tuulama groups that are found in the supposedly Maccaa territory and vice versa.

<sup>32</sup> Beckingham and Huntingford, pp.112-13.

<sup>33</sup> Yilma, p. 236, see also Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*, p.42.

<sup>34</sup> E. Cerulli, *Ethiopia Occidentale*, vol.II (Rome, 1933), p.170, cited in Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*, p.42. **Bokku** was a scepter which served as an emblem of authority in the gadaa system. Yilma, pp.238-39 on the other hand indicate that after their separation the Maccaa Stole the **Bokku** of Gumbichuu and when the later asked them to return the **Bokku** they refused and hence war broke out between them.

<sup>35</sup> Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega," pp.20-24.

<sup>36</sup> Gedeo is a town located about 180 kms West of Addis Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega," pp.21-24, Yilma, p.238; Oljira Tujuba, "Oromo-Amhara Relations in Horroo Guduru Awraja (Northeastern Wallagga), c 1840s - 1941" (M. A. Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University, 1994), p.28.

<sup>37</sup> Beckingham and Huntingford, p.112.

<sup>38</sup> **Informants:** Waaqshumee Badhanee, Damee Guddataa and Dumeecha Tulluu. Heap means in English - a group of things one on another; pile, a mass of people,

<sup>39</sup> Beckingham and Huntingford, p.112.

<sup>40</sup> Recently we do not have traditions concerning the Konno that are mentioned by Abba Bahrey, they must have merged with other sub-groups or Bahrey must have mistaken them with the Konno that are one of the Torban Obo. We do not also have groups that are listed under Jiillee.

<sup>41</sup> I am very much indebted to Ato Alemayehu Haile, expert at Oromia Culture and Information Bureau who gave me the oral tradition that he has gathered across most parts of the Tuuluma inhabited areas.

<sup>42</sup> **Informants:** Gadaa Tolaa, Mabree Goofee, Dumeecha Tulluu and Damee Guddataa and oral traditions collected by Alemayehu Haile.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Tesema, "The Political Economy of Western central Ethiopia: from the mid Sixteenth to early Twentieth Centuries" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1986), pp.45-46.

<sup>46</sup> See below, pp.14-15.

<sup>47</sup> Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega," pp.22-23.

<sup>48</sup> The genealogy of Saggoo Oromo, one of the nine sub-groups which constituted **saglaan iggu**, goes like this: Saggoo - Iggu - Aabuu - Kura - Jidda - Galaan - Daccii. **Informants:** Wadaajoo Beqelee; Waaqshume Badhaanee and Mabree Goofee (see the Tuulama genealogy).

<sup>49</sup> **Informants:** Beqelee Simee, Charee Za Walda Mariam and Beqelee Dammuu; Ateetee Waarka is found in the present day Merhabete.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, one of our key informants Beqelee Simee himself was the descendent of Odaa Abbayyii; Abba Maallee of 1840s was also the descendant of Odaa Abbaayyii. **Meedhicha** is a strip of leather cut from the skin of the animal.

<sup>51</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Tirunesh Badhaanee, Fayyisaa Jimma, Beqele Slmee, Abrahaam Tesemma, Haila Mariam Morodaa and Yeshii Badhikee. Informants are unhelpful concerning who actually came and tied the **meedhicha** in their respective localities. They simply remember the family as a whole the only exception is that of Odaa Abbayyii of Saggioo.

<sup>52</sup> Teferi Abate, "Land, Capital and Labour in the Social Organization of peasants: A Study of Village Level Dynamics in South-western Wollo, 1974-1993" (M.A. Thesis, Social Anthropology, Addis Aababa University, 1993), p.22. According to Teferi '**miticha**' is a leather rope tied on a tall tree to pronounce settlement in a given area after quiet a long journey.

<sup>53</sup> Teferi, p.22.

<sup>54</sup> **Informants:** Dumeecha Tulluu, Damee Guddataa, Gadaa Tolaa and Mabree Goofee see also Bizuwork Zewde, "The Jille Community and the Wonji Sugar Factory" (B.A. Thesis, History, Addis Aababa University, 1985), pp.iii, 1-2.

<sup>55</sup> Ahmed Hassen Omer, "Aspects of the History of Efrata Jiillee Warada (Shoa region) with particular Reference to Twentieth Century" (B.A. Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University, 1987), p.6-7.

<sup>56</sup> See the Tuulama genealogy. Odd Eirik Arnesen "The Becoming of Place a Tulama Oromo Region in North Shoa," J. Hultin and Triulizi (eds), **Being and Becoming Oromo, Historical and Anthropological Enquires**, (Uppsala, 1996), pp.218, 222-23; "Wakene Frew, "The Family of Ras Darge and the Church in Salalee 1870 - 1941" (B. A. Thesis, History, Haile Sillaasee I University, 1973), pp.23-24, Teferi, pp.21-22. The Oromo groups that inhabited Darra are Metta (Bachoo), Ada'a (Galaan) the Waajituu (Bachoo). According to tradition collected by Ato Alemayehu Haile both Boorana and Darra are inhabited by Ada'a, Meettaa and Waajituu. The tradition of the people of Boorana collected by Teferi Abate indicate that the Ada'a of Darra were their closet kin and when the conflict arose between the Boorana group over the **qabbiyee** right, the **Abba Bokkuu** (father of the scepter) of Ada'a mediated and dictated them how to share the land. But similar tradition further indicates that the people of Boorana called themselves, "we are the descendants of Tulem Boranticha."

<sup>57</sup> Yet again even in the Gindabarat area there were certain group of Tuulama and the areas upto the present day Kachisi, district town, is predominantly Tuulama area.

<sup>58</sup> See the Tuulama genealogy. This survey of the pattern of the Oromo settlement is by no means exhaustive. There must have been some pockets of one group within the other and its needs further investigation.

<sup>59</sup> Haberland, p.786. see the genealogy of Tuulama.

<sup>60</sup> See the Tuulama genealogy; i.e. Igguu - Aabuu - Kuraa - Jiddaa. Kuraa is said to have been in turn the **angafa** of Jiddaa.

<sup>61</sup> Saglan uru is the combination of Afran Diiramuu (found mainly in kuyyuu **Warada**) and Shanan Hidhabuu (found in Hidhabuu - Abote **Warada**).

<sup>62</sup> **Informants:** Qilxuu Tulluu, Tufaa Washaaree, Beqele Simee and Gadaa Tolaa.

<sup>63</sup> **Informants:** Tufaa Washaaree, Beqele Simee, Ijaaraa Gammadaa and Dinqee Jamamaa.

<sup>64</sup> E.W. Budge (ed. and trans), **The Life and Miracles of Takla Haymanot** (London, 1906), pp.94, 258 Tadesse, **Church and State**, pp.160-167. Tadesse, "Ethnic Interaction," p.139. Huntingford, **The Historical Geography of Ethiopia from the First Century to 1704** (London, 1989), pp.69, 79, 83, 154.

<sup>65</sup> Huntingford, **Historical Geography**, p. 69. Moreover the 1840s traveller Beke also wrote the present day Salaalee Mount as 'Mount Salala' Eke. It must be noted that the present day Salable is also found between Mugger and Jam Rivers.

<sup>66</sup> Tadesse, **Church and State**, p.160.

<sup>67</sup> Bairu, **Asma Gyorgis**, pp.235-37.

<sup>68</sup> Tadesse, "Ethnic Interaction," p.139.

<sup>69</sup> See above p. 3.

<sup>70</sup> Bairu, **Asma Gyorgis**, pp.178-197. Walaqa is a region north of Jamaa River around the present day Darraa and Boorana.

<sup>71</sup> **Ibid**; pp.188-191.

<sup>72</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Yashii Badhikee, Haile Mariam Morodaa and Abrehaam Tesemmaa. If we count the genealogy of Abbaa Maallee of 1840s who was the descendants of one of the pioneers who settled in Salaalee Odaa Abayyii; Maallee - Badhaasaa - Guddaa - Badhaasaa - Ochee - Oborii - Sawaa - Lafto - Odaa - Abbayii.  $1840 - 9 \times 25 = \underline{1615}$  or  $2000 - 1840 = 160$ ,  $160 \div 25 = 6.4$ ,  $9 + 6.4 = 15.4$  generation.

<sup>73</sup> Beckingham and Huntingford, p.19.

<sup>74</sup> Arnesen, pp.210-11.

<sup>75</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Damee Guddataa, Gadaa Tolaa and Mabree Goofee. According to the tradition collected by Tesema Ta'a in Wallaggaa, the pioneers were also known as **Daggal Saaqii** which literally means "the opener of forests."

<sup>76</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Tufaa Washaaree and Dumeecha Tulluu.

<sup>77</sup> Jan Hultin, *The Long Journey: Essays on History, Descent and Land Among the Macha Oromo* (Uppsala, 1987), p.17. It seems that this is why we find the Ada'a Sub-group in East Shawaa (Bushoofu area), west Shawaa (Ada'a Barga area) and in Darraa (North Shawaa).

<sup>78</sup> Jan Hultin, "Kinship and Property in Oromo Culture", *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (University of Lund, 26-29 April, 1982), pp.454-455; Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wollega," p.28; *Informants: Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Ayyele Qanaanii and Waaqshumee Badhaanee*.

<sup>79</sup> Hultin, "Kinship and property," p.455.

<sup>80</sup> Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega," p.28.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*; p.29; *Informants: Ijaaraa Gammadaa and Beqele Simee*.

<sup>82</sup> *Informants: Fayyee Dabaalee, Tufaa Washaaree, Mootii Wayyeessaa and Marso Hiruy*.

<sup>83</sup> Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*, p.88.

<sup>84</sup> Oral tradition collected by Alemayehu Haile of Oromia Culture and Information Bureau. *Fugug* means grassland. From the area known as Gumbichuu in east Shawaa up to the edge of Abbay gorge.

<sup>85</sup> Ege, p.71. He argues that there were strong elements of the Amhara Population which were absorbed by the Oromo, which is difficult to substantiate with oral tradition in Salaalee.

<sup>86</sup> Unlike other Oromo regions, for instance Wallagga, where the tradition about the dichotomy between the so-called 'pure Oromo' known as 'Boorana' and those alike, the oral tradition in Salaalee is silent about this dichotomy who were assimilated 'Gabra' or 'Gabaro' is still alive; see, Oljira, pp.12-13, who succinctly elaborates the Maccaa tradition about the pre-Oromo population in the region later occupied by the former

<sup>87</sup> C.T. Beke, "A Diary written During a Journey in Abessinia in the years 1840, 1841, 1842 and 1843", Vol. I (18/A/1), p.376 Ege, pp.47-48 see also Tekalign Wolde Mariam, p.106.

## Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup> H.S. Lewis, "A Reconsideration of socio-political system of Western Galla", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, ix, 1, (1964), pp.139-43; see also Alessandro Triulzi, "The Guduru Oromo and their Neighbours in the Two Generations Before the Battle of Embabo", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, xiii, 1 (1975), p.57; Tesema "The Oromo of Wollega," pp.32-34; Guluma Gameda, "Gomma and Limmu: the Process of state Formation Among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, 1750-1889" (M.A. Thesis in History, A.A.U., 1984), p.32; Oljira, pp.57-58.

<sup>2</sup> Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*, p.88; see also Zergaw Asfera, "Some Aspects of Historical Development in 'Amhara, Wollo' ca 1700-1815" (B.A. Thesis, History, H.S.I.U. 1973), pp. 10-16. It is said that the Arreloch was the first Oromo dynasty to flourish in Walloo in the last part of the Seventeenth century which later an absorbed by Warra Himanu, Mamadoch dynasty which came into being by the turn of the eighteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*, p.90.

<sup>4</sup> W.C. Harris, *The Highland of Ethiopia*, II (London, 1844), pp. 46-47. See also Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours During the Eighteen Years Residence in Eastern Africa*. (1968), pp.75-6. (Emphasis added).

<sup>5</sup> Isenberg and Krapf, *Journal of C.W. Isenberg of J.L. Krapf: Detailing their proceeding in the Kingdom of Shoa and Journey in Other Parts of Abyssinia in the Years 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842* (London, 1843), pp.197-98.

<sup>6</sup> **Informants:** Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Waaqshuume Badhaanee, Gadaa Tolaa and Shawaa Nagash. See also James Mc Cann, *People of the Plow: An Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800-1990* (Madison, 1995), pp.203-04; Tekalign Wolde Mariam, p.106.

<sup>7</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Ijaaraa Gammadaa and Waaqtolaa Balchaa; see also Krapf, pp.75-78; Daba Hunde, "A Portrait of social organization and Institutions of the Oromo of Jibat and Macha in the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the conquest of Menelike II" (B.A. Thesis in History, H.S.I.U., 1972), pp.34-35.

<sup>8</sup> Isenberg and Krapf, pp.27-28, 197-98; Krapf, pp.75-76 Harris Vol.II, pp.122-23; Tekalign Wolde Mariam, "A City and Its Hinterlands: The Political economy of Land Tenure, Agriculture and Food Supply for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1887-1974" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1995), pp.66-67.

<sup>9</sup> Isenberg and Krapf, pp.27-28, 197-98; Krapf, pp.75-76, on the other hand indicate others erected huts covered with roofs of grassland mostly inclosed by a low store wall for security against the Abyssinians Sudden attack.

<sup>10</sup> Beke, p.412.

<sup>11</sup> Isenberg and Krapf, pp.197-198, Ege, p.68.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p.256.

<sup>13</sup> Ege, pp.78-80; Arnesen, pp.223-24; see the Genealogy of Tuulama for the detail of the groups found within the Daccii, Torban Obo and Bachoo.

<sup>14</sup> Ege, pp.80-81; Arnesen, pp.223-24;H. Blackhurst "Continuity and Change in Shoa Galla Gada System," Baxter and Almagor (eds) ***Age Generation and Time: Some Features of East African Age organization*** (London, 1978), pp.257-58.

<sup>15</sup> Blackhurst, p.257.

<sup>16</sup> Harris, Vol. III, p.49; See also Isenberg and Krapf, pp.151-52; Krapf, pp.76-77.

<sup>17</sup> Krapf for instance indicates that those who were assembled pray: "O Wake [Waaq], give us tobacco, cows, sheep and oxen and ***help us to kill our enemies.***" (emphasis added).

<sup>18</sup> Ege, p.81.

<sup>19</sup> ***ibid.***

<sup>20</sup> Isenberg and Krapf, p.194.

<sup>21</sup> Maallee \_\_\_ Badhaasaa \_\_\_ Guddaa - Baddhaasaa - Ochee - Oborii - Sawa - Lafto - Odaa - Abbayyii. Informants: Beqele Simee and Haile Mariam Morodaa.

<sup>22</sup> ***Informants:*** Abate Sammuu, Ayyele Qanaanii, Fayyisaa Jimmaa, Abrahaam Tasammaa and Marso Hiruy.

<sup>23</sup> Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega," pp.35-36.

<sup>24</sup> ***Informants:*** Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Simee Wadajo and Waaqtolaa Balchaa.

<sup>25</sup> Beke, p. 377.

<sup>26</sup> ***Informants:*** Dumeecha Tuullu, Gadaa Tolaa and Waaqshumee Badhaanee. See also Ege, p.87; E. Knutsson, ***Authority and change. A Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*** (Goteborg, 1967), p.172. It is said that the Hayyuu had to be of Boorana descent and although among the Boorana there was no formal restriction, in practice the holding of office was also limited within those groups also.

<sup>27</sup> ***Informants:*** Abbaa Machal Borjja and Tirunesh Badhaanee.

<sup>28</sup> ***Informants:*** Tufaa Washaaree, Haile Mariam Morodaa and Abrahaam Tesemma.

<sup>29</sup> Oral tradition indicate that the adjective ***Abbaa*** which is added on the Maallee's name is the prestigious title which is equal to, in Oromo language, ***gooftaa*** which literally means 'lord.' Some of my informants use the term ***Abbaa*** and ***gooftaa*** interchangeably saying ***Abbaa/Gofttaa*** Maallee.

<sup>30</sup> See pp.27-28;; see also Beke, pp.369-370.

<sup>31</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Haile Mariam Moroodaa and Abrahaam Tesemma. One of the horses of Abbaa Maallee known as Booraa is still remembered in the oral tradition.

<sup>32</sup> Harris Vol.III, pp.40-41; see also Ege, p.93.

<sup>33</sup> I went to this place in July 2001 and I have seen the Odaa to which Odaa Abbayyii presumably said to have tied **Meedhichaa** and where Abba Maallee and Badhaasaa Guddaa built their residences.

<sup>34</sup> Beke, pp.369-70.

<sup>35</sup> Angorchaa is the place where the first church is said to have been established in Salaalee proper after Oromo settled there as we shall see below.

<sup>36</sup> Beke, pp.369-73. Waggiddi is a little bit south of Malkaa Odaa (where Odaa Abbayyiiis said to have rested during their trek in the sixteenth century as we have seen earlier.

<sup>37</sup> Beke, pp. 366, 368, 374-75, 382, 411.

<sup>38</sup> **ibid.**, p.411; see also Harris, vol.III, pp.40-41. Who also comments that Abbaa Maallee was little inferior to Sahla Sellassie in point of state.

<sup>39</sup> Harris Vol. III, pp.40-41.

<sup>40</sup> Beke, p.375; see also Ege, p.94 Our informants like Beqele Simee indicate that Gombol is located close to Waggiddi.

<sup>41</sup> According to oral tradition in Warra Jaarsoo there was a notable known as "Dooluu" Jillo. But how Abba Maallee reached there crossing Kuyyuu and Hidhaabuu is difficult to establish because the local tradition that I have gathered indicate that Kuyyuu and Abootee areas never feel under the hegemony of Abbaa Maallee. Meanwhile there was notable of Jaarsoo which is closer to Abbaa Maallee's strong hold, known as 'Duuloo' and perhaps Beke might have mistaken 'Duuloo' with 'Dolu.'

<sup>42</sup> Beke, p.412.

<sup>43</sup> **ibid.**

<sup>44</sup> See below how Gabruu Goobee came in to prominence.

<sup>45</sup> Harris Vol.III, pp.40-41.

<sup>46</sup> Beke, pp.410-11.

<sup>47</sup> **ibid**, p.412.

<sup>48</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Haile Mairam Morodaa and Abrahaam Tesemma.

<sup>49</sup> **Informants** Fayyisaa Jimaa, Beqele Dammuu, Shawaa Nagash and Fayyee Dabalee.

<sup>50</sup> Beke, pp.380,378 and 379.

<sup>51</sup> Gabruu Goobee was the relative of Abbaa Maallee and was also the descendant of Odaa Abbayyii. To express it in other way the genealogy of Gabruu and Abbaa Maallee becomes one after three and four generations. viz, Maallee - Badhaasaa - Guddaa - Badhaasaa} Ochee and Gabruu - Goobee - Ochee. **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Abrahaam Tesemma, Haile Mairam Morodaa and Tufaa Washaaree.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Yashii Badhiikkee and Taddese Mogga.

<sup>54</sup> **Informants:** Dinqee Jamamaa, Fayyee Dabalee and Tufaa Washaaree.

<sup>55</sup> **Informants:** Shawalul Sanyii, Waaqtolaa Balchaa, Simee Wadajoo and Beqele Simee; see also Wakene Frew, p.20.

<sup>56</sup> Bonayyaa was the grandfather of Nagawoo Gammadaa, i.e. Nagawoo - Gammadaa - Bonayyaa - **Achin Hafo** - the last one is not proper name but a phrase which literally means one who remained where he/she has been. This kind of story is spoken in secret and Bonayyaa was adopted by the Hillammuu Oromo sub-group in Kuyyuu. One of the descendants of this family Abba Machaal - Borja - Biiraatuu - Waaqee - Gammadaa - Bonayyaa, a septuagenarian concedes that his descendants came from Gojjam but they were not Amhara but the Oromo who crossed Abbay river during the Oromo expansion.

<sup>57</sup> **Informants:** Shawallul Sanyii, Abatea Sammu; Ijaara Gammadaa and Ayyalaa Qanaanii.

<sup>58</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja; Ayyele Qanaanii and Beqele Simee.

<sup>59</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Waaqshuume Badhaanee and Fayyisaa Jimaa. Wakene, p.20, gathers similar tradition 30 years back but he recorded that the number of cows who had calves on a day was fifty.

<sup>60</sup> Bazzu Abbaa Dikkiir was perhaps Bezzabeh of Shawaa who declared himself as a ruler in 1864. See for instance, Harlold Marcus, **The Life and Times of Menelik II 1844-1913** (Oxford, 1975), pp.23-27.

<sup>61</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Mootii Wayyeessa and Abate Sammuu.

<sup>62</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Lemma Dastaa and Beqele Dammuu.

<sup>63</sup> **Informants:** Abate Sammuu, Simee Wadajoo, Asrat Beqele and Waaqtolaa Balchaa.

- <sup>64</sup> **Informants:** Simee Wadajoo, Waaqtolaa Balchaa and Shawalul Sanyii.
- <sup>65</sup> Mohammed, ***The Oromo of Ethiopia***, pp. 119-120.
- <sup>66</sup> Hebert Lewis, "Wealth, Influence and prestige Among the Shawa Galla", 1970, p.2.
- <sup>67</sup> Guluma, p.68.
- <sup>68</sup> ***Ibid.***
- <sup>69</sup> Ege, p.95.
- <sup>70</sup> Bairu, ***Asma Gyorgis***, pp.494-97; Isenberg and Krapf, p.307; Ege, p.18.
- <sup>71</sup> Bairu, ***Asma Gyorgis***, pp.494-97. Heruy Walda Sellase, "Ya Ityophiya Tarik" IES Ms No., 3411, p.32 (1928 E.C.). See also Krapf, p.28.
- <sup>72</sup> V. Stitz, ***Studien Zur Kultugeographic Zentralathiopiens*** (Bonn, 1974), p.81; Ege, p.20.
- <sup>73</sup> D. Levine, ***Wax and Gold Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*** (Chicago, 1965), p.31; Ege, p.20.
- <sup>74</sup> ***Ibid.***, Isenberg and Krapf, p.209; Heruy, p.35. However the oral tradition gathered by Alemayehu Haile of Oromia Culture and Information Bureau indicate that names like Geeraa, Laaloo, Lataa, Maammaa are ***afaan*** Oromo names and that they were not Amhara notables but when the Amhara of Manz occupied the land of Oromo they named it after the ***angafa*** of the Oromo. See also K. Darkwah, ***Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813-1889*** (London, 1975), p.6. Among the Chieftains against whom Nagassi fought were Laaloo, Maammaa and Geeraa.
- <sup>75</sup> According Asma Gyorgis in ***Maskaram*** 1675, the year of St. Matthew, the Fifteenth year of the reign of Ase Iyasu. see Bairu, ***Ama Gyorigis***, pp.500-01.
- <sup>76</sup> ***Ibid.***, pp.502-505. Throughout the thesis we have replaced the pejorative term used by some writers to identify the Oromo with [Oromo] in direct quotations.
- <sup>77</sup> Hiruy Walda Sillaasee, pp.43-44; Harris Vol III, pp.8-9; Isenberg and Krapf, p.276, Tekalign Wolde Mariam, pp.62-62; Ege, pp.26-27. It is said that this does not seem to have been the deliberate policy of Amha Yesuys. It is described as the independent action of one of his lieutenants, Gome Goshuu, who sought revenge for allegedly a brother killed by the Oromos.
- <sup>78</sup> Harris vol.III, pp.36-37.
- <sup>79</sup> Dereje Nigussie, "Fiche Gannata Gyorgis Church, 1871-1974," B.A. Thesis in History, A.A.U., 1996, p.7.
- <sup>80</sup> Darkawah, ***Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire***, London, 1975, pp.13-14; see also Harris, Vol.III, p.36; Isenberg and Krapft, pp.244-45 and 300

indicate that Morat was incorporated into the Kingdom of Shawaa during the time of Hayiluu, son of Xidduu.

<sup>81</sup> Harris, Vol. III pp.36-37; Tadesse Tamrat, "Always some kernel of Historical Truth: Ase (ሕደ) Hezbanan (1430-1433) Resurrected in a Morat Folk Story," ***Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the 13th International Conference of Ethiopian studies***, vol.I, eds. Fukui et. al. (Kyoto, 1997), pp.297-298.

<sup>82</sup> Harris, Vol.III, pp.36-37; Wakene, p.36.

<sup>83</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Shawaa Nagash and Takle Yamane Berhan.

<sup>84</sup> Beke, p.369 see also Dereje, pp.8-9.

<sup>85</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Tufaa Washaaree, Shawaa Nagash and Waaqsuum Badhaanee.

<sup>86</sup> Volker Stitz, "The Amhara Resettlement of Northern Shawa During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, ***Rural African, Current Research in the Social Sciences*** (eds), H.G. Marcus and D.E. Crummey (East Lansing, Michigan State University, 1970), p.72.

<sup>87</sup> Isenberg and Krapf, p.300; Ege, p.27.

<sup>88</sup> Bairu, ***Asma Gyorgis***, pp.522-23; Hiruy Walda Sillaasee, pp.47-81, Mordechai Abir, ***Ethiopia: The Era of the Princes; The Challenge of Islam and the Reunification of the Christian Empire 1769-1855*** (London, 1968), pp.148-49; Tadesse Tamrat, "Always Some Kernel of Truth," p.298. Darkwah, pp.13-14.

<sup>89</sup> Heruy, p.47; Harris Vol III, pp.36-37; Tadesse, "Always some Kernel of Truth," p.300.

<sup>90</sup> Harris, vol, III, pp.36-37.

<sup>91</sup> Gabra Sellase, ***Tarika Zaman Ze Dagmawi Menelik Niguse Nagast Ze Ityophiya*** (Addis Ababa), 1959, E.c., p.38; Takla Sadik Makuria, ***ye Ityophiya Tarik Ka Atse Lebna Dengel Eska Atse Tewodros*** (A.A. 1965), p.365; Hiruy Walda Sillaasee, p.52.

<sup>92</sup> Bairu, ***Asma Gyorgis***, pp.527-29, see also Hiruy Walda Sillaasee, p.52.

<sup>93</sup> Volker Stitz "The Amhara Resettlement", p.80.

<sup>94</sup> Stitz, ***Asma Gyorgis***, pp.530-33; Hiruy Walda Sillaasee, p.54.

<sup>95</sup> Bairu, ***Asma Gyorgis***, pp.531-533. Isenberg and Krapf, p.27; Edward Simone, "The Amhara Military Expeditions Against the Shawa Galla (1800-1850): A Reappraisal," ***Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopia Studies*** (ed) Harold Marcus (Michigan State University, 1975), p.137; Ege, p.192.

<sup>96</sup> Harris, vol.II, p. 163

<sup>97</sup> Simone "The Amhara Military expeditions", p.139; Edward Simone, "The South Western military Campaigns of Sahla Selassie; A reappraisal." (Mimeographed), 1971, pp.1,6.

<sup>98</sup> Simone, "The South Western Military Campaigns, p. 6.

<sup>99</sup> Darkwah, p.29.

<sup>100</sup> Harris, Vol.III, pp.38-39.

<sup>101</sup> See p.30; See also Bairu, **Asma Gyorgis**, p.535.

<sup>102</sup> Beke, pp.410 -11.

<sup>103</sup> **Ibid.**

<sup>104</sup> Bayru, **Asma Gyorgis**, p.543; Bairu Tafla, "Ras Darge Sahla Selassie c 1827-1900," **Journal of Ethiopian Studies**, Vol. XIII, No.,2, 1975, pp.19-20; see also Tekalign Wolde Mariam, p.68.

<sup>105</sup> **Informants:** Takle Yemane Birhan, Gabra Hiwot Gabre and Abrahaam Tesemma.

<sup>106</sup> Abarra Zeleke "Fiche: Foundation, Growth and Development upto 1941," B.A. Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1986, p.4. Dereje Negussie, p.12; **Informant:** Tufaa Washaaree.

<sup>107</sup> **Informants:** Haile Mariam Moroodaa, Abrahaam Tesemma, Fayyisaa Jimaa and Tufaa Washaaree.

<sup>108</sup> **Ibid.**

<sup>109</sup> Bairu, **Asma Gyorgis**, pp.574-77; Tekalign Wolda Mariam, p.70.

<sup>110</sup> Bairu, "**Ras** Darge Sahla Selasse," pp.21-22; Wakene Frew, pp.9-10.

<sup>111</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja and Marso Hiruy.

<sup>112</sup> Darkwah, p.49.

<sup>113</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Lemma Destaa, Simee Wadajoo and Tufaa Washaaree; see also Gabra Selasse, p. 54.

<sup>114</sup> Gabra Selasse, pp.58-60.; Bairu, **Asma Gyorgis**, pp.590-91; Darkwah, p.54.

<sup>115</sup> **Informants:** Simee Wadajo, Lemma Destaa, Begele Simee and Gadaa Tolaa. Informants indicate that Maallee was well known by the name Abbaa Fardda because he was an excellent horseman. Abba Fardda was the father of the well known personalities, i.e. Zawde and Mekonnin Abba Fardda.

## Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup> Bairu, ***Asma Gyorgis***, p.593.

<sup>2</sup> ***Informants:*** Beqele Dammuu, Fayyisaa Jimaa, Haile Mariam Morodaa, Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Shawalul Sanyii and Dinqqee Jamamaa; see also Dereje, pp.13-14.

<sup>3</sup> ***Informants:*** Tufaa Washaaree, Beqele Simee and Beqele Dammuu; see also Tsegaye Zeleke, "A History of Gar Jarsoo (1800-1900)" (B.A. Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University, 1996), pp.32-33.

<sup>4</sup> ***Ibid.***

<sup>5</sup> ***Informants:*** Tufaa Washaaree, Waaqshumee Badhaanee, Siyyum Tolaa and Fayyisaa Jimaa.

<sup>6</sup> ***Informants:*** Gabra Hiwot Gabre, Fayyisaa Jimaa and Beqele Dammuu. The mountain was inaccessible, according to informants, as it was covered with dense forests.

<sup>7</sup> ***Ibid.***

<sup>8</sup> ***Informants:*** Siyyum Tolaa, Fayyee Dabalee and Tufaa Washaaree. Torbaan Ashee is their stronghold. Ashee had seven children and each one of them also had their own stream, i.e. there were also seven streams. Hence the saying 'Torba Tane Dhalane Torbaan Ashee ganna.'

<sup>9</sup> Abarra, p.6. ***Informants:*** Ijaara Gammadaa and Waaqshumee Badhaanee.

<sup>10</sup> Dereje, p.14.

<sup>11</sup> ***Ibid.***, Bairu, "Ras Darge," p.19.

<sup>12</sup> Dereje, p.14.

<sup>13</sup> Abarra, p.8, Abebech Afework, "A Biography of Dajjazmach Abarra Kassa 1906-1936" (B.A. Thesis, History, HSIU, 1973), p.1. Tsegaye Zeleke, p.35.

<sup>14</sup> W.C. Plowden, ***Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*** (London, 1868)p.313.

<sup>15</sup> ***Informants:*** Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Shawalul Sanyii and Abbaa Machal Borja; Wakene, pp.18-19. Tradition further indicates that after emasculating the Oromo of Kuyyuu and Hiidhabuu Abootee, Darge displayed their testicles for public show.

<sup>16</sup> ***Informants:*** Shawalul Sanyii, Abbaa Machal Borja, Mootii Wayyeessaa and Marso Hiruy. See the above Tuulama genealogy particularly which indicates the genealogy of the Kuyyuu.

<sup>17</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Mootii Wayyeessaa, Lemma Destaa and Simee Wadajoo.

<sup>18</sup> Wakene, p.19

<sup>19</sup> **ibid.**

<sup>20</sup> **ibid; Informants:** Mootii Wayyeessaa, Alemayehu Zegeye, Imiiruu Mekonnin, Tolaa Jabanuu and Ijaaraa Gammadaa.

<sup>21</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Tirunesh Badhaanee, Simee Wadajoo and Lemma Destaa.

<sup>22</sup> **ibid**, Shawalul Sanyii and Waaqshumee Badhaanee; Wakene Frew, pp.9-10.

<sup>23</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Birraatuu Waaqee is the grand father of Abba Machal. Waaqee Gammadaa was the brother of Nagawoo Gammadaa, notable of Kuyyuu.

<sup>24</sup> **ibid**, Mootii Wayyeessaa, Simee Wadajoo and Shawalul Sanyii.

<sup>25</sup> Wakene, pp.19-20.

<sup>26</sup> See the above diagram which indicates the marriages among the notables.

<sup>27</sup> **Informant:** Abba Machal Borja, Mootii Wayyeessaa and Ijaaraa Gammadaa, See also Wakene Frew who collected similar tradition, pp.20-21 the only difference being the name of Boruu's daughter according to Wakene is Yeshii.

<sup>28</sup> Cited in Wakene, p.21. Similarly tradition is diffused throughout the region. **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Lemma Destaa and Simee Wadajoo.

<sup>29</sup> Arnesen, pp.227-28.

<sup>30</sup> Wakene, p.22; Bairu, "Ras Darge," p.25-26. Informants: Abba Machal Borja and Lemma Destaa.

<sup>31</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Lemma Destaa and Ijaaraa Gammadaa. It was also cited in Wakene, p.22.

<sup>32</sup> Wakene, pp.22-23; Arnesen, pp.227-29.

<sup>33</sup> Enrico Cerulli, "Folk Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia", **Harvard African Studies** Vol.3 (Cambridge, 1922), p.23.

<sup>34</sup> **ibid.**, see also Arnesen, pp.228-29.

<sup>35</sup> Cited in Wakene, p.23.

<sup>36</sup> **ibid.**, pp.23-24. As early as 1840s when Beke visited the region he reported about the forces of Marie Saburo, one of the notables of Darra

*I am unable to form even the remotest idea. On asking the number of his people, the only answer I got was that they were "elf" - literally "ten thousand" - but meaning any indefinite large number - - - I was told that the number of his fire arms is twenty, but my servants, who were more likely than my self to learn the truth, said they heard he has only six or seven - - - Among his musketeers are a man from Gondar, and another from Tigre, who, from their superior knowledge of warfare appear to be held in no slight consideration. Beke, pp.385, 413.*

<sup>37</sup> Wakene, p.23; **Informants:** Lemma Destaa; Abbaa Machal Borja and Imiiruu Makonnen.

<sup>38</sup> **ibid.**

<sup>39</sup> Arnesen, p.229.

<sup>40</sup> It is said that Asanu had two wives, Sidiisuu and Walalaa and it was the later who took the responsibility of leadership. Informants: Abbaa Machal Borja; Lemma Destaa and Ijaaraa Gammadaa; see also Bairu Tafla, "Ras Darge," pp.25-26.

<sup>41</sup> Arnesen, p.229 foot note no.41; **Informants:** Lemma Destaa, Shawalul Sanyii, Fayyiisaa Jimaa and Charee Zewalda Mariam; Bairu Tafla, "Ras Darge," pp.25-26 says that Asanu's wife and other notables defended Darraa for 8 years after the death of Asanu.

<sup>42</sup> See Above p. 59.

<sup>43</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machaal Borja, Mootii Wayyeessaa, Simee Wadajoo and Shawalul Sanyii.

<sup>44</sup> **ibid.** see the above diagram which indicates the political marriages.

<sup>45</sup> Bariu, "Some Aspects of Land Tenure and Taxation in Salaalee under Ras Darge, 1871-1900," **Journal of Ethiopian Studies**, Vol.12. No.2, July 1974, p.5; "Ras Darge," p.26.

<sup>46</sup> Dereje, p.25.

<sup>47</sup> Solomon Taye, "A History of Washa Mikael Church" (B. A. Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University, 1989), p.7.

<sup>48</sup> Arnesen, p.229.

<sup>49</sup> See the above diagram, political marriages; also Wakene Frew, p.22.

<sup>50</sup> Wakene, p.22.

<sup>51</sup> Gabra Sellase, pp. 80-81. It says that Emperor Menilek appointed **Dajjach** Darge as governor of Marhabete and its environs on **Tahsas** 12, 1870 E.C.

<sup>52</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," p.5.

<sup>53</sup> **Ibid.**, Bairu Tafla, "Ras Darge," p.27.

<sup>54</sup> **Informants:** Gadaa Tolaa, Qilxuu Tulluu, Belaachoo Guyyee and Araddoo Ayyanee. Bairu Tafla, "Three portraits - Sahafe Tezaz Gabra Sellase, Ato Asma Gyorgis and Ras Gobana Daci, Abba Tegu," **Journal of Ethiopian Studies**, Vol. V. No.2, 1967, p.146. see also Cerulli, p.88.

<sup>55</sup> Bairu Tafla, "Three Portraits," p.146.

<sup>56</sup> **Ibid.**

<sup>57</sup> Cerulli, pp. 70-71; see also Bonnie Holcomb and Sisai Ibssa, **The Invention of Ethiopia: The Making of Dependent Colonial state in North East Africa**, (New Jersey, 1990), pp.287-89.

<sup>58</sup> **Informants:** Gadaa Tolaa, Qilxuu Tulluu, Belaachoo Guyyee; see also Asafa Jalata, **Oromia and Ethiopia: State Formation and Ethno-National Conflict, 1868-1992** (London, 1993, p.68). Richard Greenfield, **Ethiopia, A New Political History** (London, 1965), pp.96-97. The Stronghold of Tufaa Muna was around the Gorfoo mountains.

<sup>59</sup> Cerulli, p.96; see also Holcomb and Sisai, pp.287-89.

<sup>60</sup> Tekalign, p.70.

<sup>61</sup> **Informants:** Waaqshumee Badhaanee, Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Marsoo Hiruy, Abrahaam Tesemma, Gadaa Tolaa and Shawaa Nagash.

<sup>62</sup> Mohammed, **The Oromo of Ethiopia**, pp.197-98. See also Addis Hiwet, **Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution**, (London, 1975), pp.,3-4. Addis even went as far as saying that the arms that the Shawaans acquired enabled them to 'participate in the internal scramble for colonies'

<sup>63</sup> **Informants:** Gadaa Tolaa, Belaachoo Guyyee, Qilxuu Tulluu. Those informants maintains that the gadaa system started to disintegrate relatively early in the Western parts of Salaalee than eastern section. The informants of Jidda Gumbichuu, Oborii say that **Salaalee dur nu ganee** which literally means "Salaalee has left our union [of gadaa] many years ago." For them Salaalee proper includes the present day districts like Graar Jaarsoo, Dagam, Kuyyuu, Abootee and Warra Jaarsoo.

<sup>64</sup> See above p.65.

<sup>65</sup> Hector Blackhurst, "Continuity and change in Shoa Galla Gada System," P.T.W. Baxter and Uri Aumago, (eds), **Age Generation and Time: Some Features of East African Age Organizations**, (London, 1978), pp.259-61. Blackhurst considers those who were known as **Abbaa Lafa** or **Abbaa Biyyaa** 'Land owners.'

But as we have seen in chapter two the pioneers who settled in Salaalee were named by the name **Abbaa Lafa** and this does not mean that they were landowners in the strict sense of the term. Moreover, in most cases as indicated above these people also held position in the gadaa system.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, p.261

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>69</sup> Tesema, "The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia," pp.156-57.

<sup>70</sup> John Markakis, *Ethiopia, Anatomy of a Traditional Polity* (Addis Ababa 1974), pp.106-107; Richard Pankhurst, *State and Land in Ethiopia*, (Addis Ababa, 1966), p.135.

<sup>71</sup> Pankhurst, *State and Land*, p.136. see the next section of this chapter in detail.

<sup>72</sup> **Informants:** Lemma Destaa, Tirunesh Badhaanee, Marso Hiruy and Ijaara Gammadaa; see also Bairu Tafla, "**Ras** Darge," p.34; Solomon Taye, pp.8-9.

<sup>73</sup> **Informants:** Abate Sammu, Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Waaqshumee Badhaanee, Goonfaa Adunyaa and Ayyele Qanaanii

<sup>74</sup> Markakis, pp.106-07; Charles W. Mc Clellan, "Reaction to Ethiopian Expansionism: The Case of Darasa, 1895-1935" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan state university, 1978), pp.268-71; Donald Donham, "The Making of an Imperial State: Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History" *Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia* (Cambridge, 1986), p.39.

<sup>75</sup> **Informants:** Fayyee Dabalee, Wadajoo Badhaanee, Tufaa Washaaree, Wadajoo Beqele and Waaqshum Badhaanee. It is said commonly these notables were known by the title known as **malkkanyaa**.

<sup>76</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," p.5. **Informants:** Abate Sammuu, Beqele Simee and Qilxuu Tulluu.

<sup>77</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Yeshii Badhiikkee and Ayyele Qanaanii.

<sup>78</sup> Bairu, **Asma Gyorgis**, p.757.

<sup>79</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," p.5, Gebre Wold Ingida Worq, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", *Ethiopian Observer*, Vo.5, p.306, Indicates that the troops who were known as **Gondoore** came to Shawaa by accompanying Menilek when he fled the court of Tewordos in 1865.

<sup>80</sup> **Informants:** Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Fayyee Dabalee, Shawalul Sanyii and Abrahaam Tesemma.

<sup>81</sup> Gabra Sellase, p.123; Bairu Tafla, "Some Aspects," p.5.

<sup>82</sup> Bairu, "Ras Darge," p.34.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.34-35.

<sup>84</sup> **Informants:** Shawalul Sanyii, Beqele Simee, Waaqshumee Baadhanee and Tufaa Washaaree. They indicate, conflicts were usually resolved by the council of elders which were selected from different sub-groups.

<sup>85</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," p.9.

<sup>86</sup> Bairu, "Ras Darge," p.27; see above, p. 64.

<sup>87</sup> Darkwah, pp.126-27; Dereje Nigussie, pp.16-17.

<sup>88</sup> Bairu, "Ras Darge," pp.28-31; see also Dereje Nigussie, pp.16-17.

<sup>89</sup> Bahru Zewde, ***A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1974*** (London, 1991), pp.62-63.

<sup>90</sup> Dereje, p.17.

<sup>91</sup> See below p.85, for the meaning fo the term ***Chisanyaa***.

<sup>92</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Ijaaraa Gammadaa and Leggese - Aradoo - Waage - Daadhii - Shaashii told me that his great grandfather participated in the campaigns that were carried out to conquer Arsi and died there. Daadhi Shaashii was the brother of Gumbichuu Shaashii, the notable of Dagam.

<sup>93</sup> Wakene, pp.28-30; Dereje, pp. 20-21; Crummey, p.221; **Informants:** Haila Mariam Morodaa; Takle Yamene Birhan and Abrahaam Tesemma. It is said that Darge personally founded over twenty churches in Salaalee and other members of his immediate family brought the total to forty. In general about 85 church were founded in Salaalee in the last few decades of the nineteenth century.

<sup>94</sup> Gabra Sellase, p.38; Hiruy Walde Sillaasee, p.52.

<sup>95</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Tufaa Washaaree, Abrahaam Tesemma and Haila Mariam Morodaa.

<sup>96</sup> See above pp. 43-44.

<sup>97</sup> Crummey, p.220.

<sup>98</sup> Isenberg and Krapf, p.242; see also Wakene Frew, p.7. Sources do not help us what happened to Angorcaa Sillaasee by then probably after the death of Xiduu it might have been isolated and then weakened.

<sup>99</sup> Beke, pp.336-337.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*; see also Wakene, p.7.

<sup>101</sup> Beke, p.383.

<sup>102</sup> Wakene, p.28.

<sup>103</sup> cited in Harold G. Marcus, "Motives, Methods and some Results of the unification of Ethiopia During the Reign of Menilek II," *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Haile Selassie I University, 1969), p.274.

<sup>104</sup> "Zena Arata Maryam" Published by the Committee for the Renovation of the New church building, 1975 E.C., p.7.

<sup>105</sup> Dereje , p.4; Solomon, pp.9-10.

<sup>106</sup> *Informants*: Waaqshumee Badhaanee, Tufaa Washaaree and Shawaa Nagash; see also Dereje, pp.19-20.

<sup>107</sup> Wakene, p.30.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>109</sup> Cited in Marcus, "Motives, Methods and Some Results of the Unification of Ethiopia," p. 274.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, *Informants* like Ijaaraa Gammadaa and Shawalul Sanyii indicate that the Oromo of Salaalee were baptized in the same way.

<sup>111</sup> *Informants*: Seyoum Tolaa and Shawaa Nagash.

<sup>112</sup> Richard A. Caulk, "Religious Coercision and Political Authority in the Nineteenth Century Ethiopia," *Historical Society of Ethiopia*, Paper of the Annual Conference, 1971, p.3.

<sup>113</sup> *Informants*: Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Ayyele Qanaanii, Beqele Dammuu, Fayyisaa Jimaa.

<sup>114</sup> *Informants*: Ijaaraa Gammadaa. He maintains this event took place at a place known as Qare Sumboo in Hidhaabuu Abootee district.

<sup>115</sup> *Informants*: Waaqshumee Badhaanee, Abbaa Machal Borja, Beqele Dammuu and Wakene, p.35.

<sup>116</sup> Wakene, p.36; Arnesen, pp.229-30.

<sup>117</sup> Wakene, p.32.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*; *Informants*: Waaqshmee Badhaanee, Gadaa Tolaa and Tirunesh Badhaanee.

<sup>119</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borja, Abate Sammu, Marso Hiruy and Seyoum Taddese.

<sup>120</sup> Richard Pankhrust, **Economic History of Ethiopia 1800-1935** (Addis Ababa), P.135.

<sup>121</sup> See above pp. 19-21; see also Siegfried Pausewang, **Peasants, Land and Society: A Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia** (Munche, 1983), p.20.

<sup>122</sup> **Informants:** Lemma Destaa; Abrahaam Tesemma and Gadaa Tolaa; see also Mc Clellan, "Reaction to Ethiopian expansionism." pp.122-23.

<sup>123</sup> Gabra Sellase, p.123; Bairu Tafla, "Some Aspects", p.5.

<sup>124</sup> Mc Clellan, pp. 202-203; Crummey, p.224. See also Gabra Wold Ingida Warq, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", **Ethiopian Observer**, Vol. 5, p.303; Mahtama Sellase Walda Masqal, **Zikra Nagar** (Addis Ababa, 1962), p.105, It is said that the **qalad** was often a long thin thong of ox-hide called **mecanya**; alternatively it was also made up of plant fiber. One **qalad** is about 133 cubit or 66m and 75cm in length. Such kind of land was also known as **gashaa** land. After a **gashaa** (shiled) carried by soldiers.

<sup>125</sup> **Informants:** Lemma Destaa; Marso Hiruy; Ijaaraa Gammadaa and Abate Sammu.

<sup>126</sup> Gabra Sellase, p.99; በመላ ሸዋ ያለ መልክኝነት እንዳለ በሙሉ ገባሩም፣ ሰሞንኛውም እና ጢሰኛውም በወገን በወገን ይጻፍ ዘንድ በጸሐፊ ትእዛዝ አለቃ ገሐሥላሴ እጅ ትእዛዝ ወጣ።

<sup>127</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects of Land Tenure," p.5; Tekalign, p.76.

<sup>128</sup> Gabra Sellase, p.123; see also Tekalign, pp.72-73 where it was also cited.

<sup>129</sup> Tekalign, p.73.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> Mahteme Sellase, pp.133-138.

<sup>132</sup> See above note number 124.

<sup>133</sup> **Informants:** Marso Hiruy, Fayyee Dabaalee, Lemma Destaa and Ayyele Qanaanii. See also Gabra Wold Ingida Worq, **Ya Ityophiya Maretna Gibir Sim** (A.A., 1948), pp.13-14, Who enlighten us that in some places the share of the **balabbat** is known as **Faras Zabanyaa**.

<sup>134</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," pp.5-6.

<sup>135</sup> Mahteme Sellase, pp.107-8.

<sup>136</sup> Tekalign, p.80.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> Tesema, "The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia", pp.198-99.

<sup>139</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," pp.5-6. **Informants:** Shawalul Sanyii; Abrahaam Tesemma, Waqtoola Balchaa and Xiruunesh Badhaanee.

<sup>140</sup> **Informant:** Abbaa Machal Borjaa; Beqele Simee, Leggese Aradoo and Lemma Dastaa. Informants indicate that even the Oromo **balabbats** were deliberately mistreated in order to force/pressurize them to hand over their share.

<sup>141</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machal Borjaa, who indicate that his grandfather Biirratuu Waaqee Gammadaa took part in the Arsi campaigns as well as Adwa.

<sup>142</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," p.6.

<sup>143</sup> Solomon, p.24; Dereje, p.26.

<sup>144</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects", p.6.

<sup>145</sup> See Mantel Niecko, ***The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*** (Warszaw, 1980), pp.88-89, 125, 196-97 where the meaning of these system of land tenure were discussed in great detail.

<sup>146</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," p.6; **Informants:** Lemma Destaa, Abrahaam Tesemma.

<sup>147</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," pp.6-7.

<sup>148</sup> **Informants:** Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Ayyele Qanaanii, Merso Hiruy, Gadaa Tolaa and Balaachoo Guyyee. see also W. Weissleder, 'The Political Ecology of Amahara Domination', (Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago University, 1965), p.110.

<sup>149</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," pp.6-7.

<sup>150</sup> **Ibid., Informants:** Marso Hiruy, Waaqshumee Badhaanee and Abate Sammuu.

<sup>151</sup> Mc Cann, ***People of the Plow***, p.206; Tekalign, pp.124-25.

<sup>152</sup> Bairu, "Some Aspects," pp.7-8.

<sup>153</sup> Crummey, p.221.

## Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup> James Mc Cann, *From Poverty to Famine in Northeast Ethiopia: A Rural History 1900-1935* (Philadelphia, 1987), pp.4, 19; Addis, pp. 1-13; Crummey, p.221.

<sup>2</sup> Mc Cann, *From Poverty to Famine*, p.4.

<sup>3</sup> Addis, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> **Informants:** Marso Hiruy, Gadaa Tolaa, Ijaaraa Gammadaa and Beqele Simee.

<sup>5</sup> **Informants:** Marso Hiruy, Abbaa Machal Borjaa and Ijaaraa Gammadaa. They claim that **Dajjach** Layyeh was a king but not crowned. See above where the same person was made responsible for the suffering of the Oromo.

<sup>6</sup> Bairu Tafla, "Ras Darge," p.31; **Informants:** Abrahaam Tesemma, Haile Mariam Morodaa and Yeshii Badhiikkee.

<sup>7</sup> **Ibid;** pp.36-47; Mersi'ee Hazen Walda Qirqoos, "Be Dagmawi Menilek Zaman Kayehutna Kesammahut" (Addis Ababa, 1935 E.C), p.16 (IES Mss No. 2062.2).

<sup>8</sup> **Yalul Ras Kassa Haylu Iraftna ya Hiwot Tarik** n.d, n.p, (I.E.S. Amharic Section).

<sup>9</sup> Haile Selassie I, *Heywatena ya Ityoophiyaa Irmja*. Vol. I (Addis Ababa, 1965), pp.12-13.

<sup>10</sup> **Yalul Ras Kassa Haylu Iraft**; see also Bairu Tafla, "Marriage as a Political Device." an appraisal of a socio-political aspects of the Menilek's period, 1889-1916. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, X, 1 (1972), p.13; Abebech Afework, p.2; Mc Cann, *From Poverty to Famine*, p.113.

<sup>11</sup> **Yalul Ras Kassa Haylu Iraft**; Abebech Afework, pp.2-4; Mc Cann, *From Poverty to Famine*, p.113.

<sup>12</sup> Mc Cann, *From Poverty to Famine*, pp.113-14.

<sup>13</sup> **Yalul Ras Kassa Haylu Iraft**; Abebech Afework, pp.3-4.

<sup>14</sup> **Ibid.**

<sup>15</sup> Ras Kassa is well remembered up until our own days and informally he was identified not as an administrator of the region but as 'owner' of it. Both Amharic and Oromo speakers emphatically say 'ሰላሌ የራስ ካህ አገር' and "Salaalee Biyyaa Raas Kaasaa" respectively which means 'Salaalee is the country of Ras Kassa.'

<sup>16</sup> Mc Cann, *From Poverty to Famine*, p.40.

<sup>17</sup> Gabra Sellase, p.179; see also Mahtama Sellase Walda Masqal, **Zikra Nagar** (Addis Ababa, 1962), p.70.

<sup>18</sup> Gabra Sellase, p. 179; see also Richard Pankhurst, **Economic History of Ethiopia 1800-1935**, (Addis Ababa, 1965), pp.161-62.

<sup>19</sup> **Informants:** Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Beqele Simee, Abrahaam Tesemma and Tufaa Washaaree; see also 'Ya Ras Kassa Astadadar Damb,' Document No. 460 which indicates the participation of the Darraa notables in the battle of Adwa.

<sup>20</sup> **Informants:** Marso Hiruy, Abate Sammuu and Shawalul Sanyii; Tekalign, pp.81-82.

<sup>21</sup> **Informants:** Fayee Dabaalee, Wadajoo Badhaanee, Lemma Destaa, Belaachoo Guuyyee and Ayyele Qanaanii; see also Abbas Haji; "The History of Arsi (1880-1935)", (B.A. Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1982), p.45.

<sup>22</sup> **Informants:** Dinqee Jamamaa, Haile Mariam Morodaa, Abate Sammuu and Beqele Simee.

<sup>23</sup> Mahtama Sellase, pp.107-109.

<sup>24</sup> **Ibid**, see also Mantel Niecko, pp.114-16, 136; Crummey, p.222.

<sup>25</sup> Crummey, p.222.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Pankhurst, "The Great Ethiopian Famine of 1888-'92" **Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences** XXI, 2 (1966), p.103, pp.8-10; Mc Cann, **People of the Plow**, p.203-04; Tekalign, pp.104-105.

<sup>27</sup> Pankhurst, "The Great Ethiopian Famine", p.10

<sup>28</sup> **Informants:** Dinqee Jamamaa, Fayyee Dabaalee, Mabree Goofee and Gadaa Tolaa.

<sup>29</sup> Crummey, p.230; see also Bahru Zewde, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia (1916-1935), **Journal of Ethiopian Studies** *Xvii* (1984), pp.1-29 which treats somehow in detail how the regent and then Emperor Haile Selassie eroded the power of the local nobility's; Mc Clellan, "Reaction to Ethiopian Expansionism," pp.202-203.

<sup>30</sup> Mc Cann, **From Poverty to Famine**, p.117.

<sup>31</sup> see "Ya Ras Kassa Astadadar Damb," (Ras Kassa's Administrative Procedure) whose copy is preserved in the I.E.S. by J.Mc Cann, (Mss No. 1792).

<sup>32</sup> Mc Cann, **From Poverty to Famine**, p.117; Informants: Abrahaam Tesemma, Lemma Destaa and Marso Hiruy.

<sup>33</sup> Mc Cann, **From Poverty to Famine**, pp.129-130.

<sup>34</sup> "Ya Ras Kassa Astadadar Damb," Document No. 256.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, Document No. 459, *Hidar* 1927 [?], p.309.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, *Maskaram* 30, 1911 E.C.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 1914 E.C. [?].

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, 1920 E.C.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, according to the procedure there were different *Kellas* (Custom Stations) in Salaalee about nine at which the guards check those who left and entered Salaalee.

<sup>41</sup> Mc Cann, *From Poverty to Famine*, p.165; see also Addis, p.62, who points out that during the period he calls dyarchy (1916-1928) there took place bitter struggle between the provincial 'feudal barons' and the court. Manifestations of such contradiction were like *Ras* Hailu's attempt to organize the escape of the imprisoned Emperor, *Lij* Iyyasu; the disarming of the distant provincial ruler *Dajjasmach* Balcha Abba Nafso; the rebellion of Gugsa Walee and so on. Moreover, the political contradiction within the Shawaan nobility were also reached a stalemate. The traditionalists who were represented by Empress Zawditu in the dyarchy were against 'reforms,' modernization and 'innovation' and preferred the perpetuation of the *status quo*.

<sup>42</sup> Abarra, p.29; *Informants*, Mabree Goofee, Fayyee Dabaalee and Ayyele Qanaanii.

<sup>43</sup> Mc Cann, *From Poverty to Famine*, p.137.

<sup>44</sup> *Informants*: Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Fayyee Dabalee, Gadaa Tolaa and Shawaa Nagash.

<sup>45</sup> Mc Clellan, "Reaction to Ethiopian Expansionism," pp.202-203.

<sup>46</sup> Mahtama Sellase, pp.133-138.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*; p.137 which indicates the amounts of lands measured by *gashaa* in Guullallee district of Salaalee as well as other places in Salaalee like Gordooma.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*. pp.118-19; Tekalign, foot note, no.34, p.189.

<sup>49</sup> *Informants*: Fayyee Dabaalee, Adunyaa Sanbataa, Tufaa Washaaree and Shawalul Sanyii. See also Fekadu Begna, "Land and the Peasantry in Northern Wollo 1941-1974: Yajju and Rayya and Qobbo Awrajjas" (M.A. Thesis in History, A.A.U., 1990), pp.76-77; Cohen and Weintraub, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopian: The Social Background to a Revolution* (The Netherlands, 1975), p.53,

According to these writers the major rental forms were often known as **Siso arash**, **irbo arash** and **ekul arash**; Weissleder, p.10.

<sup>50</sup> Mantel Niecko, p.117.

<sup>51</sup> **Ibid.**

<sup>52</sup> **Informants:** Fayyisaa Birruu, Tirunesh Badhaanee Ayyele Qanaanii and Heruy Marso; see also "Ya Ras Kassa Astadadar Damb," Document No. 147, **Maskaram** 1, 1917; see also Markakis, p.114.

<sup>53</sup> **Informants:** Abate Sammuu, Abbaa Machal Borja and Abrahaam Tesemma; see also Markakis, p.114.

<sup>54</sup> **Informants:** Ijaaraa Gammadaa, Fayyee Dabalee, Haila Mariam Morodaa; see Pankhurst, **State and Land**, p.174.

<sup>55</sup> Crummey, pp.223-24.

<sup>56</sup> **Berhanena Selam**, May 16, 1929 cited and translated in Tekalign, pp.180-81.

<sup>57</sup> Mc Clellan, p.271.

<sup>58</sup> **Ibid.**

<sup>59</sup> **Ibid.**, pp. 273-74.

<sup>60</sup> Arnold W. Hodson, **Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia** (London, 1927), p.19.

<sup>61</sup> Mc Clellan, p.274.

<sup>62</sup> **Ibid**, p.275.

<sup>63</sup> Haberland, p.776; R.J. Horvath, "Around Addis Ababa: A Geographical Study of the Impact of a City on its Surrounding" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1966), pp.119-120; Alice L. Morton, "Mystical Advocates: Explanation and Spiritual Sanctioned Adjudication in the Shoan Galla Ayana Cult", **Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies** (Michigan State University, 2-5 May 1973), p.74. A. Morton maintains that Although the Ada'a Oromo found around the town of Buushoofu (Dabra Zayt) are part of the Oromo often dubbed as "Oromo Speaking Amhara" it is important to notice that the Ada'a retained many of their pre-conquest forms of organization and that, in the countryside, they conform to the Oromo rather than to Amhara norms and values. Moreover, according to Morton, it is noticeable that on average their knowledge of Amharic is either insignificant or none.

<sup>64</sup> Knutsson, **Authority and Change, A Study of Qallu Institution Among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia** (Goteberg, 1967), p.38; Temam Haji - Adam, "A History of Amigna, 1887-1941" (B.A. Thesis, History, A.A.U, 1996), p.15.

<sup>65</sup> **Informant:** Chare Zewalda Mariam. He is one of those who were affected by acculturation. He told us that the name of his father was Badhaasaa and christened Zewalda Mariam and his father spoke Oromo language well. But our informant who is octagenarian speaks Oromo not very well but his children can not.

<sup>66</sup> **Informants:** Marso Hiruy, Imiiruu Mekonnin. Formely the name of the town of Filiqiq (or the area around it was called Qaliimoo.

<sup>67</sup> **Informants:** Marso Hiruy, Beqele Simee, Qilxuu Tulluu, Warquu Gamadaa and Tolaa Jabanuu.

<sup>68</sup> "Ya Ras Kassa Astadadar Danb," Document No. 147, Maskaram 1, 1917 E.C.

<sup>69</sup> **ibid.**

<sup>70</sup> **Informants:** Fayyisaa Birruu, Fayyisaa Jimaa, Beqele Dammuu and Shawalul Sanyii; see also Abbas Haji, pp.48-49; Temam Haji-Adam, p.14.

<sup>71</sup> Temam, p.14.

<sup>72</sup> **Informants:** Tolaa Jabanuu, Waaqshumee Badhanee, Kormee Galataa and Mangistuu Ambassee.

<sup>73</sup> **Informants:** Dinqee Jamamaa, Seyoum Taddese, Tolaa Jabanuu and Fayyisaa Jimaa.

<sup>74</sup> **Informants:** Fayyisaa Jimaa, Fayyee Dabalee, Beqele Simee and Tufaa Washaree; see also Tsegaye Zeleke, p.52.

<sup>75</sup> **Zag** is an Amharic word which literally means 'one who shut the door.' It is said that it was the generic name given to those who guard (keep) the government store. Informants: Abraham Tesemma, Mabree Goofee, Takle Yamane Birhan and Ijaaraa Gammadaa; see also Bairu, "Some Aspects of Land Tenure and Taxation," pp.7-8.

<sup>76</sup> Abebech Afework, p.8; Informants: Lemma Destaa, Gabra Hiwot Gabre and Haile Mariam Morodaa.

<sup>77</sup> **ibid;** pp.15-16 **Yalul Ras Kassa Haylu Iraft.** Informants: Abbaa Machal Borja, Lemma Destaa and Abrahaam Tesemma.

<sup>78</sup> **Informants:** Abbaa Machaal Borja, Tirunesh Badhanee, Yeshii Badhiikkee and Beqele Siimee.

<sup>79</sup> Abebech Afework, pp.35-36, 47.

<sup>80</sup> **Informants:** Beqele Simee, Abrahaam Tesemma, Ijaaraa Gammadaa, and Dinqee Jamamaa. In Oromo language informants say that **Xaaliyaaniitu ba'a biyyaa irra buusee** - the Italians relieved the people from their burden.

<sup>81</sup> **Informants:** Tufaa Washaaree, Beqele Siimee, Boggale Waaqjiraa and Shawaa Nagash; see also Bedri Kebri, "Qormaata Iddoo Seena Qabeessa Sadihii" Qajeelchaa Adaafi Beeksisa Godina Shawaa Kabaatti Kutaa Eegumsaa fi Qorannoo Hamba, June 1998 (Type script), p.16.

<sup>82</sup> Abebech, Appendix 4A and B which contains a photocopy of a letter written by the Salaalee notables to Grazziani on **Hidar** 27, 1929 E.C. (December 1936).

<sup>83</sup> Tesemma Wami was one of the descendants of the well known Oromo notables and he was relative of Abbaa Mallee of 1840s and Gabruu Goobee of 1870s. For instance the geneology of Gabruu goes like this:

Gabruu}  
                  }  
Tasamma-Wamii-Lolloo} Goobee Ochee.

**Informants:** Abrahaam - Tesemma - Wamii and Haile Mariam - Morodaa - Ayaanee - Gabruu - Goobee.

<sup>84</sup> Abebech Afework, pp.35-49. Meanwhile it is said that non-Salaalee followers of Abarra advised him not to depend on the advise of Salaalee notables.

<sup>85</sup> **Informants:** Dinqee Jamamaa, Fayyee Dabalee and Tufaa Washaaree.

<sup>86</sup> Informants: Beqele Simee, Wadajoo Badhaanee and Kormee Galaata.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. THE EMERGENCE OF LOCAL CHIEFS IN SALAALEE AND THE INTENSIFICATION OF ATTEMPTS TO INCORPORATE THE TUULAMA INTO THE SHAWAN KINGDOM (C. 1840-1870s)

#### 2.1 The Emergence of Local Chiefs in Salaalee

Although different hypotheses have been forwarded for the emergence of chiefs and states among the Oromo, H.S. Lewis's argument seems to have been the most convincing. He asserts that the emergence of state among the Maccaa Oromo occurred through internal economic, political and social dynamics as a result of the long process of the development of agricultural economy and the emergence of powerful leaders with private armies who controlled land, markets and trade routes.<sup>1</sup>

Taking Lewis's assertion into account Mohammed Hassen went on to say that it was primarily the agricultural peasant economy which formed the material basis of the Oromo states that came into being in Walloo, the Gibe region and Wallaggaa.<sup>2</sup>

Mohammed writes:

*..... First wealth in land and cattle was the source of honor and prestige for the Borana nobility. Earlier during the course of the [movement], only wealth in cattle had counted land being common property of the whole clan. With the transformation of the Matcha mode of production, land not only gained economic value, but also generated struggle among the war leaders for its possession. It was out of this struggle that the new institution was born. . . . In short, along with wealth in terms of cattle, there now appeared wealth in terms of land . . . Wealthy men fought for the control of land, and the control of land made kings.<sup>3</sup>*

The Tuulama Oromo also more or less experienced a similar transformation in their socio-economic and political systems. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the transformation does not seem to have been completed among the Tuulama in general and the Oromo of Salaalee in particular. Conditions among the Tuulama seem to have been categorized somewhere in between that of the regions where the *mootii* system came into being and the traditional gada government. For instance, if we see the magnitude of the transition from pastoralism to sedentary agriculture which is used as a yardstick by many students of Oromo history to measure the degree of the transformation of the Oromo society, contemporary sources witness the following:

*Possessing the finest breed of horses in Ethiopia, and wealth both in flocks and herds, which roam over boundless meadows smiling with clover, trefoil, and butter cups, this **pastoral** people devote their time equally to agricultural pursuits ... aided by a delightful climate, and by a luxuriant, well watered soil. Whilst the women tend the sheep and oxen in the field and manage the hives of bees, the men plough, sow and reap . . . .<sup>4</sup>*

From the above exposition one can discern that by the 1840s the Tuulama Oromo have already started cultivation. As Harris reported animal husbandry also continued to be equally important, in other words, transition from pastoralism to sedentary agriculture seems to have already started earlier but to what extent this transition materialized is tempting to ascertain by depending on the above statement only. This is because, Krapf, another contemporary observer, reported the persistent importance of animal husbandry: "I observe here [around Sululta] as in other places that the [Oromo] leave the plains to their horses, sheep, cows. ... which they love like their children; while they themselves seek their maintenance by cultivating the mountains..."<sup>5</sup>

Our informants indicate that until the period of Salaalee's incorporation into the kingdom of Shawa during the period of **Ras** Darge, animal husbandry continued to be the dominant economic activity because, by then, they claim that the number of population was relatively very small and land was plenty.<sup>6</sup> It is said, land was primarily valued for grazing livestock which the Oromo kept in large numbers. Informants also indicate that the amount of land needed for the production of crops was relatively small as large quantities could be grown on very limited plots. Crops were produced solely for home consumption. Moreover, their main diet consisted of meat, milk and cereals.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, the perennial raids of the rulers of the kingdom of Shawa into the Tuulama land especially in the first half of the nineteenth century must have made animal husbandry as important as before because the Shawan forces could

easily destroy crops than the herds which the local people could take with them and retreat to the mountains and defensive areas.<sup>8</sup> It is also said that Tuulama villages and houses by the 1840s were very light and simple similar to the ones used by predominantly pastoralist groups because they did not construct permanent and strong houses as they were often swept away by fire when the Shawan Amhara forces staged incursions into the Tuulama lands.<sup>9</sup>

The continued importance of cattle in the economic life of the Tuulama could also be discerned from Beke's report about the so-called "voluntary aid" by the 'vassals' of Abbaa Maallee for the war that he was to wage against the Jaarsoo Oromo who killed his cousin. Beke indicated that the 'vassals' of Abbaa Maallee brought in considerable numbers of Oxen, sheep, goats and jars of honey.<sup>10</sup>

One can, therefore, argue that by the mid - nineteenth century a livestock dominated economy was most important to the Oromo of the region under study. This could partially be explained by their traditional culture which gave them an emotional and an economic value, i.e as a predominantly pastoral society, it is difficult for the Oromo to abandon animal husbandry as long as there were favourable conditions for animal husbandry as we have seen other factors remain constant. This was why Krapf indicated that by about 1840 the Oromo love their cattle like their children<sup>11</sup> which is common elsewhere for pastoralists.

Taking into consideration what has already been mentioned one cannot expect a complete divorce of the then political system of the Oromo in the region

under the study from the age old traditional one. It is said that by about 1840 three confederacies were identified within the Tuulama group. As Krapf put it:

*... Every eight years, he said, [Krapf's assistance from whom he got this information who was an Oromo] they appoint a [**Hayyuu**] or a general Governor, a man who has the reputation of being a warrior and public speaker, who passes through the whole tribe, hearing the complaints of the oppressed, and deciding in cases of justice. He also decides in matters of war and peace. Wherever he goes, he is respected, and supplied with all that he wants. When the eight years have expired, he is called **Gedamotsh** [**Gadaamojji**] .... He cannot be chosen the second time. In the south of the Shawa to Hawash, three [**Hayyuus**] are appointed....<sup>12</sup>*

These **Hayyuus** may be identified with the leaders of the three confederacies of the Tuulama namely the Daccii, the Torban Obo and perhaps the Bachoo (Meettaa). The Daccii comprised the eastern Tuulama, the senior of whom were the Galaan, the rough limits of which was the Shawan Amhara provinces to the east and north, the Gorfoo mountains in the west and the Gurageland in the south. The Torban Obo groups inhabited a similar territorial extent immediately to the west of Daccii. The third confederacy might have comprised only some of the Tuulama left out of the two, most likely the Bachoo group.<sup>13</sup>

However, the effectiveness of the confederacy as a political unit must not be exaggerated. Some scholars, for instance, comment that there was little organizational continuity, the yearly assemblies being the main expressions of unity. The officials kept their positions for eight years but had little opportunity to exert any power on the society in the period between the assemblies.<sup>14</sup>

This loose confederacies of the Tuulama groups that made the hierarchy was clearly vulnerable to centrifugal forces. But the disintegration of the confederacies

was probably a gradual process, and political separation did not seem to have caused the abandonment of all the symbols of the union.<sup>15</sup> For instance, contemporary sources reveal, the internecine fighting between the Oromo, an indication that politically the confederacy had by then started to lose its significance. On the other hand, the same sources indicate that Odaa Nabee, the Tuulama gadaa centre (*caffee*) was a central Oromo shrine; ". . . whilst on the banks of the Hawash stands the venerable Wada Nuwee [Odaa Nabee], to which the tribes flocked from far and wide to make vows and propitiatory offerings, and to recount their exploits in war..."<sup>16</sup>

Yet it is doubtful to what extent these were ritual meetings devoid of any political overtones.<sup>17</sup> Whatever the case was, it is said that the main political significance of the confederacy was to resolve the conflicts among the Oromo. As in other societies where disunited groups got together for some purpose, conflicts between the constituent groups had to be resolved or at least be checked. Disputes within the confederacy were often settled by arbitration and the payment of cattle to the injured party; between groups belonging to different confederacies, nonetheless, sometimes conflicts were said to have often been settled by force.<sup>18</sup> Ege admits that this interpretation is in line with scanty information on conflicts in the 1840s.<sup>19</sup> In this connection Krapf with an understandable exaggeration, says that there was a long standing war between the Oborra and the northern Galaan.<sup>20</sup> But the conflicts between the Oromo groups seem to have been very much exaggerated by the contemporary writers. For instance, as will be discussed below, many of the newly

emerged local notables in Salaalee were tied together through marriage alliances and contrary to what they had documented tradition indicates that during the time of chaos, one notable's sphere of influence was used as a safe heaven by the neighboring notables. This was mainly the case on the eve of Salaalee's final incorporation into the kingdom of Shawaa.

It is fascinating that, according to the local tradition, the majority of the notables that came into being in Salaalee by about 1840 were the descendants of the pioneers known as **Abbaa Lafa** and **Abbaa Biyyaa** who tied *meedhicha* during the period of Oromo settlement in the region. Just to mention some of them: Abbaa Maallee of Saggoo, the descendants of Odaa Abbayyii who was the first to settle in Saggoo nine generations ago<sup>21</sup> Jaalee Maasoo of Kuyyuu, Gojii Bariii of Hidhaabuu, Fuursaa Dabboo of Warra Jaarsoo, Gooshuu Gissiillaa of Darroo, Jaankaa Nagaawoo of Oborii and others.<sup>22</sup>

According to the tradition Tesema has collected in Wallaggaa, "these individuals [the pioneers] had either held important effective posts within the gada titles of **Abbaa Boku** or **Abbaa Dula**."<sup>23</sup> Similarly according to the tradition we have collected in Salaalee, the **Abbaa Lafa** and **Abbaa Biyyaa** were the descendants of the pioneers who were the **angafa** of their respective sub-groups and played a pivotal role in the day to day life of the group. Moreover, by then land was not privately owned but it belonged to the clan as a whole. Rather the **angafa** had hundreds, if not thousands of cattle. It is said that traditionally the community was

expected to give gifts in terms of cattle to their **angafa** mostly when their **angafa** was to lead them to a war front.<sup>24</sup> As a result they perhaps became rich.

Beke indicated that when Abbaa Maallee was preparing to wage war against the Jaarsoo in order to revenge the assassination of his cousin by the Jaarsoo notable known as 'Dolu,' a large crowd of Abbaa Maallee's people brought a "voluntary aid". In Beke's own words: "Amules [salt bars], sheep, honey, oxen etc. were brought by each according to his rank or means..."<sup>25</sup>

As to the reason why the pioneers held important posts within the gadaa system, informants rationalize that as Galaan is the **angafa** of Tuulama and played a pivotal role in the Tuulama **Caffee** at Odaa Nabee each sub-group's **angafa** also played similar role in their respective locality.<sup>26</sup>

It seems that it was in line with this that the descendants of the pioneers became the founders of the newly emerging local ruling families that were in the process of formation by about 1840. Yet all the ruling families in the process of formation were not the descendants of the pioneers. The best examples in Salaalee were the families of Nagaawoo Gammadaa of Kuyyuu and Daadhii Maanyuu of Hidhabuu Abootee.<sup>27</sup>

It is also said that conditions that led to the prominence of some families in the region were not accidental, they were in the making long before the period under discussion. To be specific, traditions indicate that the fathers of some of the 1840s notables like Abbaa Maallee of Saggoo, Gumbichuu of Hillammu and Nagii of Jaarsoo were Badhaasaa Guddaa, Shaashi Badhaasaa and Duuloo respectively

who distinguished themselves as gallant fighters and started to raise followers in the last part of the eighteenth century or by the turn of the nineteenth century. They even started to establish relations with the Amhara rulers of Morat. For instance, they started to intermarry with the Amhara ruling class and it is claimed that three of them married the daughters of Tidu Abisa ( ruler of Morat)<sup>28</sup> and acted as a host for the latter when he was defeated by Asfa Wassan (1775-1808). This will be discussed in detail in the section which treats the Oromo Amhara interaction.

Just prior to 1840s it seems clear that the process of state formation was in the making in the region under the study but it is not within the scope of this work to treat the conditions among all of the notables that came into being in the Salaalee area. Now, let us briefly see how two prominent notables Abbaa Maallee of Saggoo and Nagawoo Gammada of Kuyyuu rose to prominence.

To begin with Abbaa<sup>29</sup> Maallee represents the case of how the descendants of the pioneers of the time of Oromo expansion succeeded in transforming themselves into hereditary ruling families. As we have seen earlier, he was the descendant of Odaa Abbayyii, the **angafa** of Saggoo who settled at Saggoo Graar sometimes at the end of sixteenth century or at the beginning of Seventeenth century.<sup>30</sup>

According to tradition, of course notwithstanding the internal dynamism of the Oromo that has been discussed, the most important factor which led to the prominence of Abbaa Maallee and his predecessor (Badhaasaa Guddaa) was their excellence in cavalry. The area around Saggoo is a highland area good for the

production of barley and breeding of horses. Abbaa Maallee and his followers fed their horses on the barley and used them very effectively in warfare.<sup>31</sup> It is said that horses which fed on barley are very strong and hence effective in warfare.

Abbaa Maallee's alliance with the Shawan Amhara ruler, **Nigus** Sahla Sellase was also an additional boost to his power. Contemporary sources indicate that Abbaa Maallee became very powerful after he became ally of the **Nigus** of Shawa. It is said that formerly he had been hostile to the Shawans, and he had probably fought against the Amhara of the neighboring Insaroo or Morat province. By about 1837 he became ally of Sahla Sellase, this was confirmed through marriage alliance, when Sahla Sellase married the sister of Abbaa Maallee and Abbaa Maallee was baptized with the king as his godfather.<sup>32</sup>

The residence of the predecessor (father) of Abbaa Maallee was at Graar particularly at place known as Saggoo Gandda Ujubaa, which Abbaa Maallee used as one of his residences.<sup>33</sup> Beke describes it as follows:

*.... the paternal residence of Abba Moallee, a small village pleasantly situate [d] on a rising ground, in a well cultivated district, ... [found] W.S.W. of Mount Salala. The residence of the chief is not placed at the highest, but towards the lowest part of the village, and is surrounded by a high wooden fence, within which is a low wall of dry stones. In his little court this chief emulates the state of the Negus, having his drums, singers, etc., and his establishment, though on a small scale, would seem, as far as my [Beke's] experience of it enables me to judge, to be conducted in a more liberal manner than that of his royal master....<sup>34</sup>*

However, Abbaa Maallee's court at Saggoo Graar was much smaller than his new establishment at Waggiddi village. According to Beke, Waggiddi was also a large village like Angorchaa,<sup>35</sup> overlooking the valley of the Ziega Wodiam. Abbaa

Maallee's establishment in Waggiddi was on a much larger scale than what was at Saggoo Graar because it was his chief residence. The mountain on which Waggiddi was located has superb panorama of the valley of the Jamaa River and even as far as the Abbay, with the mountains of Gojjam beyond.<sup>36</sup>

As to the court of Abbaa Maallee and the banquets offered at Waggiddi, Beke disclosed:

*In the internal arrangements of his household, the form of Negus's [Sahla Sellase's] establishment would appear to be imitated . . . this [the banquet] . . . was precisely similar to those which I have attended at Ankobar... Abba Moalle reclined on an elevated couch, his near relations and principal chiefs sitting at a small table below him, whilst down the hall extended tables loaded with bread, at which were seated his numerous retainers and attendants, several sets of whom followed each other in succession till all were satisfied. Musicians and singers (of whom I was told he has nineteen, twelve men and seven women) kept up an incessant din during the entertainment, in which, like the Negus, Abba moallee took no part, except drinking, a little mead from a small cut glass brillee....<sup>37</sup>*

Beke also reported that the rank of Abbaa Maallee was inferior only to that of **Nigus** of Shawaa, Sahla Sellase himself. Abbaa Maallee almost preserved the same etiquette, as **Nigus** Sahla Sellase of Shawaa. When Abbaa Maallee traveled one day from Graar to Waggiddi, Beke witnessed, his companions observed nearly the same protocol as was usual among those of the **Nigus**, and on the way he was greeted by groups of his loyal people who came to pay their respects and to swell the parade. At Waggiddi, he was welcomed with music and cries of joy, just in the same way as the **Nigus** was welcomed when he arrived at Ankobar. Abbaa Maallee rode initially a horse and then a mule and also dressed in a cloth similar to those of the **Nigus**, and carried a light spear in his hand.<sup>38</sup>

The tributary relationship was the dominant principle of organization in the Abbaa Maallee's domain. An essential part of the tribute was to serve in Abbaa Maallee's large army (which is estimated to be about 10,000 cavalry)<sup>39</sup> composed of partly of his 'sub-chiefs' and their men. The tribute appropriated in the form of services and goods, seems to have been considerable, demonstrated both by the great display around the chief and by the fact that Abbaa Maallee also established a treasury at Gombol.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to taxes, services and regular tributes from his sub-chiefs, additional revenue were brought when needed. One such occasion was the killing of the cousin of Abbaa Maallee, as Beke witnessed, by the Jaarsoo Oromo. The notable of Jaarsoo Known as Dolu<sup>41</sup> was a great rival of Abbaa Maallee - which led to the preparations for war; one of which was to collect tribute. Beke reported:

*. . . the vassals of the former [Abbaa Maallee] flocked from all quarters, to lay at the feet of their chief. Voluntary "aid" for the war, as in the feudal times in Europe. Oxen, sheep, goats, and jars of honey, were brought in considerable numbers .. amules [salt bars] alone nearly 1,000 had already been contributed.*<sup>42</sup>

We have also a first hand information about the activities of Abba Maallee. It is said that the occupation of Abbaa Maallee during the day included giving audience, hearing cases, superintending his workers etc. Beke further commented that one morning he was with Abbaa Maallee for hours, showing him his instruments and taking a meridian observation of the sun. Abbaa Maallee during that time had his hair dressed by a female slave, while his wives and a favourite sister, who always escorted him, and seemed to have exercised considerable influence over him, sat

around him with their companions, stringing beads, in which occupation Abbaa Maallee also participated. Beke further unveiled that there was no attempt at a formality of any kind all laughing and talking in the most uninhibited manner, appearing to be on terms of perfect equality.<sup>43</sup>

It is difficult to establish the extent of the territories controlled by Abbaa Maallee and his predecessor Gabruu Goobee.<sup>44</sup> Both contemporary written accounts and oral tradition do not give us clear information. For instance, one of the contemporaneous works calls Abbaa Maallee, on the one hand, as the governor of Mugar and of the surrounding Oromo in the west, and on the other hand, indicates that Abba Maallee was at constant war with the Oromo which were found around the Mugar valley.<sup>45</sup>

Another contemporary witness, who had been to Salaalee commented: "what the precise extent of this latter's chief's [Abbaa Maallee] possessions are it may be difficult to determine."<sup>46</sup> But he succinctly explained that Abbaa Maallee was at war with the Jaarsoo Oromo.<sup>47</sup> And the fact that a near relative of Abbaa Maallee was killed by the Jaarsoo and the former would wait till the time when the **Nigus** of Shawa, Sahla Sellase next took the field to avenge, indicates that the notable of Jaarsoo was a very powerful rival of Abbaa Maallee and warns us not to exaggerate the power of Abbaa Maallee and the extent of the territory that he controlled.

According to some of our informants the areas controlled by Abbaa Maallee extended roughly from the Mugar River in the south to the Jamaa River in the north, Wayyuu (Oborii's territory) in the east to Kuyyuu and Hidhabuu in the west.<sup>48</sup> Others

indicate that it stretches leaving Yayyaa Gullallee to the south up to the Jamaa in the north, from kuyyuu and Hidhabuu in the west to Wayyuu and Jaarsoo land in the east.<sup>49</sup>

From what has been explained above, it is difficult to demarcate clearly the domains of Abbaa Maallee. One can, however, argue safely that the degree of the loyalty of the petty local notables to Abbaa Maallee was by no means uniform. It is plausible to assert that notables closer to Abbaa Maallee's stronghold (residence) were more loyal and the loyalty to Abbaa Maallee's hegemony decreased as one went farther away from his strongholds in all directions. Beke wrote that when he crossed the region those chiefs close to Abbaa Maallee's residence treated him very well and those far removed from Abbaa Maallee's residence pressed him hard desiring to exhort him.<sup>50</sup>

Moreover, as it was the time when the transformation among the Tuulama, from an egalitarian to fully stratified system was not complete one should not expect a clearly demarcated boundary of Abbaa Maallee's domain as well as the domains of all the other notables that came into being in Salaalee.

Concerning the period when Abbaa Maallee was in power or active in the region is difficult to establish. But informants hint that once upon a time before the coming of **Ras** Darge or before the region's incorporation into the kingdom of Shawa, Abbaa Maallee had retired due to old age and was succeeded by his lieutenant Gabruu Goobee.<sup>51</sup> The same tradition indicates that since it was the time of war for

territorial aggrandizement only young and active men who could ride horses very well could provide leadership during the turbulent period.<sup>52</sup>

Our informants indicate that Abba Maallee was very active and able leader.

The following couplet ascertain this:

| <b>Oromo</b>                                                                             | <b>Gloss</b>                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Gaanggoolii golatti sooraanii,<br/>Eegaa Maallee du'aa hin oolanii.</i> <sup>53</sup> | <i>Mules are fed (fatten) in the pen,<br/>One cannot be immortal for strength<br/>because Maallee [who was strong]<br/>himself has died.</i> |

It is said that Gabruu Goobee, a close relative of Abbaa Maallee was a man of equal calibre, if not more. He continued the territorial aggrandizement started by his predecessor<sup>54</sup> until the period of Darge (1870s) and he was among the notables who resisted the Shawan encroachment.

Another notable worth considering in the period under discussion (1840s to 1870s) in Salaalee was Nagawoo Gammadaa of Kuyyuu. Unlike Abbaa Maallee who was the descendant of the pioneers during the Oromo expansion, Nagawoo's family came into prominence through the fortune they had amassed. According to fascinating traditions that revolve around the family of Nagawoo, it is claimed that Nagawoo's grandfather Bonayyaa was not born in Kuyyuu and he hence did not belong to the line of prominent chiefs of the region. This view is confirmed by the fact that Nagawoo's genealogy does not go beyond the fourth generation.<sup>55</sup> One story accounts that Bonayyaa was exchanged for grass, that is when the Gojjame came to the region to buy cattle they wanted grass for the cattle they bought and left behind a young boy who was renamed Bonayyaa<sup>56</sup> until they would return and paid

for the grass. But the Gojjame did not return and Bonayyaa remained in Kuyyuu and was adopted into the Hillammuu Oromo sub-group of Kuyyuu.<sup>57</sup>

There is no doubt that Nagawoo and his family were popular among the Kuyyuu Oromo. Tradition indicates that since the area around Kuyyuu is suitable for animal husbandry this family also started raising animals and the number of their cattle considerably increased. Due to wealth in cattle they became prominent in Kuyyuu and then started to challenge the authority of the presumed **Abbaa Biyyaa** of Kuyyuu, who was the descendant of the **angafa** of Kuuyyuu, Hacoo, Jaalee Masoo's family.<sup>58</sup>

One of the memorable deeds which won Nagawoo fame and popularity, according to tradition, was his generosity. It is said that once upon a time about 300 of Nagawoo's cows had calves in a day. He ordered his shepherds to climb up to the top of hills and cry loudly which they did. Surprised by such a cry, the people in the region assembled in the area eager to know about the matter. Beyond their expectation Nagawoo gave each person a cow to milk for free.<sup>59</sup> These stories told in the area in slightly different versions simply indicate that Nagawoo was very rich indeed.

Another tradition concerning the rise to prominence of Nagawoo and his family is related to the invasion by the Shawan Amhara forces. Informants indicate that when the forces of Bazzuu Abbaa Dikkiir<sup>60</sup> raided the Oromo region of Kuyyuu the people bitterly resisted but the Shawans were able to take many people as prisoners and captured many cattle. Then when Bazzuu returned to Ankobar, he

sent a message to the Kuyyuu notables saying that if you come and negotiate with me I would release your people and cattle. By then the **angafa** of Kuyyuu Jaalee Maasoo did not want to go to Ankobar but rather he delegated Nagawoo. When Nagawoo went to Ankobar, Bazzuu asked him what he preferred to be returned to him, cattle or people. Nagawoo replied politely, according to tradition saying: "let the cattle be consumed by your troops, I want my people." The two belligerent groups agreed and Nagawoo's men were released and at the same time Bazzuu recognized Nagawoo as a governor of the area from Kuyyuu to Abbay.<sup>61</sup>

Nevertheless, as to the extent of the domain of Nagawoo Gammadaa and his descendants we have conflicting traditions. One tradition indicates that at the height of his power Nagawoo controlled all the areas in present day Salaalee west of Abbaa Maallee's sphere of influence, namely the present day **waradas** of Kuyyuu, Hidhabuu and Warra Jaarsoo.<sup>62</sup> Another tradition asserts that Nagawoo was an overlord of only a certain part of Kuyyuu. It is said that even in present day Kuyyuu itself, the Darroo led by their **Abbaa Biyyaa** Gooshuu Gissiillaa's family resisted the encroachment of Nagawoo on their territory. On the eastern side, Nagawoo was in conflict with Abbaa Maallee and his successor Gabruu Goobee and with relatively lesser notables like Shanoo Waaqee of Dagam. On the other side he was in conflict with chief of Hidhabuu Gojii Bariii. Last but not least Nagawoo was not on good terms with Warra Jaarsoo notables like Fuursaa Dabboo and Dooluu Jiloo.<sup>63</sup>

Tradition further reveals that the rivalry with Jaarsoo notables cost the life of Nagawoo Gammadaa. Dooluu Jiloo of Jaarsoo was said to be an astute person who

orchestrated the downfall of Nagawoo. It is said that Dooluu sent a message to Bazzuu informing him to get prepared because Nagawoo was going to rebel against him. He also sent a message to Nagawoo saying that Dooluu Jiloo was going to invade his territory. In both cases he had specified the dates. Then when Bazzuu sent a spy to prove the information, it was found that Nagawoo was in the process of mobilization. As a result, Bazzuu mobilized his troops to invade Nagawoo's territory and when Nagawoo heard the coming of Bazzuu's army he galloped a horse not to be captured by Bazzuu's force. While he was galloping he fell from his horse and died.<sup>64</sup>

The above tradition concerning the death of Nagawoo might not be true but no account is given concerning Nagawoo's dealings with Darge perhaps because Nagawoo might have disappeared from the scene prior to the arrival of Darge in the region. It is not, however, clear whether Nagawoo had disappeared from the political scene as a result of old age or death. But we know that his son and successor Hawaas Nagawoo was the one who put up a stiff resistance against Menilek's conquest led by **Ras** Darge.

At this point one can safely argue that the wars that were carried out by the Oromo notables in Salaalee against one another was one of the factors of state formation. It was a war mainly directed against fellow Oromo groups for territorial aggrandizement, characteristically similar to the patterns of the rise of the states among the Oromo of the Gibe region and parts of Wallaggaa. In line with this Mohammed writes: "In the Gibe region, the transition from the collective ownership to

private ownership was a bloody episode in the drama of the struggle between the war leaders..."<sup>65</sup> Similarly the chaotic situations that took place in Salaalee were perhaps attempts to effect the transition from traditionally egalitarian Oromo system to the stratified system which was not consummated during the period under discussion.

In this connection Herbert Lewis maintains that immediately before their incorporation into the Shawan Kingdom, the Shawan Oromo were not ruled by Kings (*mootis*) as were the Oromo of certain parts of western Ethiopia, but were led by what he dubbed "land owner war leaders." These men successfully led their followers in war and gained considerable influence and even power within relatively limited areas.<sup>66</sup>

Furthermore, as we have seen earlier, during the period under discussion the Oromo gadaa system had increasingly become ineffective and it failed to check ambitious individuals who defied the existing gadaa rules and regulations. This does not mean that the gadaa system by then had inherently ceased to exist. It has even survived to these days. It must be noted that the gadaa system was not only a ritual organization, it rather fulfilled the social, political, and military needs of the Oromo people. Its political and military functions appear to have been more important than its ritual roles.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, it is said that the political functions of the **Abbaa Bokku** (possessor/holder of the scepter) were originally more significant than his ritual duties. But for instance, Guluma Gameda highlights that after the emergence of states in the Gibe region the position of **Abbaa Bokku** became increasingly

negligible and he was relegated to inconsequential social roles. Yet, it is said that all elements of the gadaa system did not disappear immediately after the emergence of monarchical rule. Some of the rulers seem to have tolerated the continuity of the gadaa system. It was above all, perhaps the spread of Islam and its influence on the way of the life of the people which dealt final blow to the gadaa system in the Gibe reigon.<sup>68</sup>

On the other hand, it seems plausible to state that the period under discussion (1840s to 1870s) was a period of much social transformation among the Tuulama Oromo. It was probable that among the notables that mushroomed in Salaalee one or the other would have emerged superior uniting the petty notables under one leadership and could have realized the establishment of an Oromo state like their counterparts in the Gibe region and some parts of Wallaggaa. Nevertheless, the future social structure was not determined by the forces within the Tuulama Oromo, as we shall see by the 1870s the Amhara hegemony was firmly established almost over all the Tuulama lands and this fundamentally altered the historical trajectory of the Oromo people.<sup>69</sup>

Meanwhile, sources indicate that during the period under discussion the Shawan Amhara rulers territorial expansion towards the Oromo land also reached its climax. Thus without the knowledge of the interaction between the Oromo and the Amhara during this historical juncture the thesis will be incomplete. The pressures exerted by the aggressively expanding Shawan kingdom on the Oromo people in general and on the Tuulama in particular deserves somewhat a detailed discussion

because of its far reaching consequences which will be elaborated in the subsequent section.

## **2.1 The Intensification of Attempts by the Kingdom of Shawa to Subdue the Tuulama Oromo**

As we have already mentioned the population of the Christian kingdom who were living on the Shawan plateau, including their rulers crossed the Abbay River towards Gojjam during the period of the Oromo movement. But all subjects of the Christian kingdom in general and the Amhara in particular did not cross the Abbay into Gojjam. Some of them remained at their previous habitats and were assimilated by the Oromo and still others managed to survive the Oromo incursions in the gorges of the Jamaa - Addabay system, on mountainous areas of Manz and Geshe as well as on the narrow plains of the eastern escarpment in Antsokiya, Efrata, and Gedem. Small groups also remained in the upper courses of the Qabanna and Qassam valleys in the south.<sup>70</sup>

It seems that notwithstanding the predominantly pastoral Oromo's preference of the high plains it was the terrain which made it impossible for the Oromo to use their cavalry effectively, Asma Gyorgis corroborates: "Had the lands ... been accessible to horses, had they not been precipitous, had they not have caves, grottoes ... no body would have survived..."<sup>71</sup>

By the turn of the seventeenth century the Tuulama Oromo largely controlled all the plains which are found south of the Mofar River, the central uplands up to

Gedem and in the west they also settled south of the Wancit River in the present day Marhabete.<sup>72</sup>

Sources indicate that in the seventeenth century the Oromo pressure had declined, and one clearly notices the commencement of a long period of Amhara expansion towards the Tuulama land. When the Shawan Amhara were not threatened by the Oromo attacks, "they came down from the mountains and up from the river valleys."<sup>73</sup>

The commencement of the Amhara settlement on the territories occupied by the Tuulama Oromo reckoned to the mid - seventeenth century. The Amhara settlement was spearheaded by a number of independent notables, one of the most renowned was Geeraa, the founder of what is dubbed as Greeraamidir in the northern part of Manz.<sup>74</sup> However, it was after Nagasi Kristos (d 1703) came the center of the stage that a more organized Shawan Amhara expansion towards the Tuulama land started to be undertaken in earnest. The renowned Shawan writer, Asma Gyorgis explains this event as follows:

*... Since the [Karrayyu Oromo] did not cultivate, he [Nagasi Kristos] began to remove them [the Karrayyu Oromo] and had the land cultivated. Nagase Krestos made Ayne his capital.<sup>75</sup> There he built the church of Saint Mary. Let us note here the tradition of Rim from those days to the present. Rim means Gassa. They say, 'Gassa means a land on which he settled by chasing out the [Oromo] with our force, power and skill.' Thus Nagase began to allot plots of land or Rim ... Nagase Krestos pacified the south as far as Oobbo, Mangest, Robi, and the south below Tarma Bar as far as Awadi, and settled his kinsmen from Manz on the deserted land and forest...<sup>76</sup>*

Nevertheless, starting from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, i.e. during the period of Asfa Wassan (1774-1808) or during the period of Wassan

Sagad (1808-1813) as we shall see the displacement of the Oromo was replaced by a new policy of establishing an over all Shawan hegemony through a combination of political, diplomatic, and military means. Therefore, the ethnic boundary was established at the Chachaa River to which the Oromo retreated following the bloody massacre of the Oromo in the highland sections from the Barressa to Tara, Qundi and Tarma Bar area during the period of Amha Yesus (1743 - 1774) in the incident communally known as the 'Mad Thursday'.<sup>77</sup>

This being the case in the area known as Shawa Meda, further to the west strong and expanding chiefdoms also emerged in Marhabete and Morat, the Amhara areas contiguous to the Oromo of the region under study. Initially, these chiefdoms were independently ruled by their own local notables. According to Harris the rulers of Morat were: First, Mazamir; the second, Abisa; the third Essayas; the fourth, Tidu; and the fifth Hailu.<sup>78</sup> However, some sources mention a different order: Mazamir, Takla Haymanot, Essayas, Abisa, Tidu and Hailu.<sup>79</sup>

Sources tell that Tidu Abisa seems to have been the first Amhara ruler who crossed the Jamaa River and settled at Angorchaa and built Angorchaa Sellase church (North East of the present day Fiche town). Sources confirm that Tidu came to Angorchaa after he was defeated by Asfa Wassan (1774 - 1808) and subsequently large tribute was imposed on him.<sup>80</sup>

As a result of the conquest this independent region (Marhabete and Morat) was subdued and included into the kingdom of Shawa.<sup>81</sup> It is said that Tidu ruled the surrounding lowland areas on both sides of the Jamaa River from his base at

Angorchaa after he had entered a marriage alliance with the Oromo notables. He gave his daughters to important Oromo notables like Badhaasaa Guddaa of Saggoo, Shaashi of Hillammuu and Duuloo of Jaarsoo. It is said that Duuloo married Walataa Gyorgis and Sahilitu (another daughter of Tidu) married Badhaasaa.<sup>82</sup>

Oral tradition also confirms that Tidu died and was buried at Angorchaa - Sellase.<sup>83</sup> However, tradition is silent concerning Tidu's immediate successors in Angorchaa. This might have been because of the complete subjugation of Morat and Marhabete by the kingdom of Shawa and the subsequent cessation of political activities by these local dynasties in the area. For instance, by about 1840 Beke reported that Angorchaa and its environs were ruled by an Oromo notable, Abbaa Maallee mentioned earlier.<sup>84</sup>

Meanwhile, traditions indicate that Tidu was able to control areas immediately south of the Jamaa River peacefully. It is said that notables like Badhaasaa Guddaa and Duuloo gave land to Tidu. Shaashii of Hillaammuu, who married Tidu's daughter, did not give land to Tidu because his domain was relatively far from the latter's stronghold.<sup>85</sup>

The influence of the local Shawan Amhara principalities, particularly that of Morat on the areas around the present day Fiche was considerable. This long period of influence strengthened the common history of the two areas and this could be attested by the existence of many common attributes. For instance, Stitz states: "The settlement pattern of large compact villages in the whole **Kolla** [lowland] of Moret, Insarro and Zegamal still shows the common history of the three areas...."<sup>86</sup>

After all sources indicate that the lowlands of Insaroo across the Barsana towards the Monastery of Dabra Libanos had been conquered and settled by the Morate.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, as we shall discuss later, the settlement was extended across Jamaa towards the Salaalee proper. Hence, Morat and Marhabete served as a spring board from where the Shawan Amhara cultural and political influences spread more into the Salaalee region.

It was after Asfa Wassan incorporated Morat and Marhabete into the kingdom of Shawa that the region became an integral part of the kingdom. By these conquests the frontiers of Shawa were greatly increased and more stronger Shawan Amhara became contiguous to Salaalee.<sup>88</sup> In other words, after the unification of the Shawan kingdom was effected a more organized phase of the Shawan Amhara expansion towards the Tuulama land in general and the Salaalee area in particular began extensively. At first, it was Wassan Sagad, the son and successor of Asfa Wassan, who carried out wide ranging campaigns in various directions including Salaalee as far as the Abbay River in the west acting as his father's army general.<sup>89</sup>

Harris recorded:

*... the task of reducing the pagans to obedience was thus principally bequeathed to Woosen Suggud, whose strong arm not only kept in submission the territories conquered by his father, but added greatly to the western limits of Shoa by the acquisition of Moogher on the Nile, and by the conquest of Abdichu, Woberi, and Gillan, so far south as the mountains of Gara Gorphoo.<sup>90</sup>*

More specifically, sources confirm that following the death of his father Wassan Sagad (1808 - 1813) continued the process of expansion in his time and he went to Dabra Libanos, where he founded the Church of St. Mary.<sup>91</sup>

The occupation of the strategic highland region of Qundi during Wassan Sagad's reign had great benefit for the Shawan rulers according to Asma Gyorgis. He further corroborates that from Qundi one could see to the east as far as the Harar mountains, to the south the mountains of Arsi and to the west the mountains of Gindabarat, Salaalee and Gojjam. The significance of the occupation of Qundi is that being at this strategic position the Amhara could see when the Oromo lit fire at night. By then it was understood, Asma Gyorgis claims, that the Oromo would lit fire in the evening and saddle up the next morning. Hence, it was caution for the Amhara either to defend themselves or to attack by waiting for the Oromo cavalry at a strategic position.<sup>92</sup> However, the distance that one could see being at Qundi seems to have been exaggerated. It is quite incredible that a person could see with his naked eyes as far as Harar and Gojjam from Northern Shawa.

After the death of Wassan Sagad, his son Sahla Sellase [r1813-1847] came to power. The coming of Sahla Sellase to the throne of Shawa was an important landmark in the history of the region. In the history of the Shawan expansion there were two noticeable periods of Amhara conquest and settlement in northern Shawa. The first one is from the reign of Nagasi up to the death of Wassan Sagad. It was distinguished by the occupation of the Oromo land through settling the Amhara farmers partly by expelling the Oromo and partly by extermination or assimilation. The second stage set in with the coming to power of Sahla Sellase and his successors, a period mainly characterized by the super-imposition of Amhara

overlords over the Oromo people, who were reduced to the status of tenants and by the assimilation of the emerging Oromo notables into Amhara society.<sup>93</sup>

It seems that in the early years of his administration Sahla Sellase was preoccupied with reestablishing the power of his kingdom. Following the death of Wassan Sagad the Oromo staged an uprising and destroyed certain Amhara controlled areas. For instance, when the Oromo heard the death of Wassan Sagad in 1813, they rose up just as they did previously. As Asma Gyorgis put it, "They burnt Attegin (the area around Dabra Libanos) and Dabra Berhan as far as Qundi." when the son and successor of Wassan Sagad, Bakurye, attempted to come to Qundi from Marhebeta, the Jirruu Oromo blocked his way and fought him for eight days. When Bakurye delayed, the young son of Wassan Sagad, Sahla Sellase, was put on the throne of his father. However, it took Sahla Sellase nearly three decades to reorganize his force and to make a successful campaign against the surrounding Oromo.<sup>94</sup> By about 1830 this task had been consummated and the process of expansion was resumed. By then, sources indicate that Sahla Sellase had increased the frequency of his expeditions to thrice a year in the months of January, June and at the end of the rainy season.<sup>95</sup>

As to the purpose of the expedition of Sahla Sellase and his predecessors different views were held. The contemporary writer, Harris commented:

*Sahela Selassie never engages in war, induced either by public principles, by national glory, or, least of all, by love of his people ... revenge, the almost invariable success attending his arms, and the insatiable love of plunder ... impel him thrice a year to gather his undisciplined militia, in order to undertake sudden and sweeping inroads...*<sup>96</sup>

Edward Simone, on the other hand, concludes that Sahla Sellase's ambition to ensure the continuous flow of slaves and produce from south-western Ethiopia into the kingdom of Shawa, as well as the need to obtain cattle, compelled him to carry out military expeditions with increasing intensity against the Tuulama Oromo.<sup>97</sup> According to E. Simone, the amount of cattle consumed in shawa was enormous. Heavy demands were made for cattle and in this manner the governmental hierarchy were forced to look to Oromo lands in the south west for the cattle needed.<sup>98</sup>

According K. Darkwah: "Inspired by the glories of medieval empire and urged on by the prospects of rich gains as well as by the political disunity of the area, Sahla Sellase compaigns towards the south and the south-west..."<sup>99</sup>

Nevertheless, whatever the reasons for Sahla Sellase's campaigns, a contemporary source attests that his perennial campaigns did not succeed in bringing peace and tranquillity in the Oromo areas. Harris pointed out:

*Three annual expeditions made throughout a period of thirty years, for the purpose of collecting the revenues of the crown, have hitherto proved ineffectual to the preservation of permanent tranquillity .... He neither erects fortifications, nor does he establish outposts, and the government being continued in the heathen hands, the tributary tribes rebel during each rainy season, only to be subdued as soon as it is over...*<sup>100</sup>

It seems that it was after the failure of the military campaigns to control the Oromo regions that Sahla Sellase resorted extensively to the already stated realistic policy of political intermarriage, christening and diplomacy with the local Oromo notables. The most important case in point was Abbaa Maallee of Salaalee as elaborated earlier.<sup>101</sup>

According to Beke, Sahla Sellase by no means ruled the Salaalee area directly as the same is true for most of the Tuulama Oromo areas. He ruled certain parts of Salaalee through Abbaa Maallee whom the people recognized as their notable. Beke said that the **shum** of Lelisa, who escorted him from Wagiddi to Abado (Darra) told him that his people knew nothing about Sahla Sellase.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, when the name of Sahla Sellase was mentioned while Beke was in Salaalee, he maintains, " [an Oromo] innocently asked me who he was, and whether he was a **shum** of Abba Moalle's!"<sup>103</sup>

It is said that following the death of Sahla Sellase in October 1847 the Tuulama Oromo rebelled and marched into the Amhara areas and even destroyed some Amhara strongholds. Hence, in order to restore the **status quo** Hayla Malakot, Sahla Sellase's son and successor, began his reign with a series of campaigns against the Oromo. It was by that time that **Ato** Sayfu and **Ato** Darge campaigned mainly against the Tuulama. Sources indicate that they began their campaign against Salaalee.<sup>104</sup>

Oral tradition confirms that **Abeto** Sayfu Sahla Sellase carried out to the highest degree the campaign of the process of expansion that was initiated by his maternal grandfather, Tidu. It is said that he conquered the region around Angorchaa and further initiated the expansion into the highlands above the Salaalee side of the Jamaa valley.<sup>105</sup> **Abeto** Sayfu advanced to the region by using Merhabete as his spring board. He had been sent to Marhabete as governor immediately after the death of his father in 1847. Hence, it was after this that he managed to occupy

the lowlands around Dabra Libanos (Zegamal) and Angorchaa. He was also able to expand his domain as far as what is now known as Fiche and built defensive stone walls known as **Sayfu kab** (literally Sayfu's fort) and also dug trenches known as **Sayfu Gurba** in order to defend his newly occupied domain from the Oromo cavalry. He later on based himself between Fiche and Angorchaa at a place called Qirti.<sup>106</sup>

Sayfu was not able to occupy the highland portion of the area around Fiche permanently; however, for a short period of time he managed to occupy the area around Fiche.<sup>107</sup> It is important to note that Fiche is found near a cliff especially in the northern direction and this reduces the lines of defence which might probably be the reason why Sayfu chose the region around Fiche when he came to the highland part. But even under such circumstances, Sayfu encountered fierce resistance from the local Oromo and could not be able to occupy the plains south of the present day Fiche.<sup>108</sup>

The occupation of Shawa by Tewodros II (1855 - 1868) offered the best opportune moment for the Oromo to liberate themselves from the hegemony of the Shawan Amhara. In other words, the conquest of Shawa compelled **Abeto** Sayfu, who was for instance aggressively campaigning against the Oromo of Salaalee, to direct his attention towards resisting Tewodros and hence the expedition of the Amhara notables against Tuulama at least temporarily subsided.<sup>109</sup>

Sources indicate that after the departure of Tewodros, civil war broke out in Shawa between the appointee of Tewodros and Sayfu, who could claim the throne more legitimately than his half brother. Sayfu's mother descended from the ruling

family of Marhabete and could rally the people of Marhabte as well as Ali Maaree of Darraa and his supporters because Sayfu is said to have been married Wagaye Maaree (the daughter of the famous Darra chief - Maaree Saburo).<sup>110</sup>

During the period of interregnum in Shawa (1855 - 1865) local tradition indicates that Bezzabih, who is commonly dubbed Bazzuu Abba Dikkiir,<sup>111</sup> one of the two officials appointed by Tewodos to govern Shawaa,<sup>112</sup> made attempts to incorporate Salaalee. Oral tradition also claims that of all the rulers of Shawa before Menelik it was Bazzuu Abbaa Dikkiir who made the strongest attempts to incorporate Salaalee into the kingdom of Shawa. It is paradoxical that the local traditions confirm that more than the well known Shawaan ruler Sahla Sellase it was Bazzuu Abbaa Dikkiir who made the most ferocious campaigns in the region<sup>113</sup> and the traditions about him are still more alive than that of his predecessors like Sahla Sellase.

When Menilek escaped from Maqadala Bezzabeh resisted him<sup>114</sup> and later on when Bezzabeh was killed by Menilek, traditions indicate that his wife and son took refuge in Salaalee. It is said that Jaankkaa Nagawoo, a notable of Oborii, took care of the son of Bazzuu Abbaa Diikkiir whom he named Maallee.<sup>115</sup>

The elimination of Bezzabeh, therefore, removed the only possible immediate threat to Menilek in Shawa and soon after this event (i.e. 1865) Menilek resumed the territorial expansion towards the Tuulama and beyond. As a result of this campaigns the Oromo as well as other peoples found south of Shawa were incorporated into the kingdom of Shawa and eventually through it into the Ethiopian Empire. Hence, the

next chapter will be devoted to the process of the incorporation of Salaalee into the kingdom of Shawa and its impact on its inhabitants.

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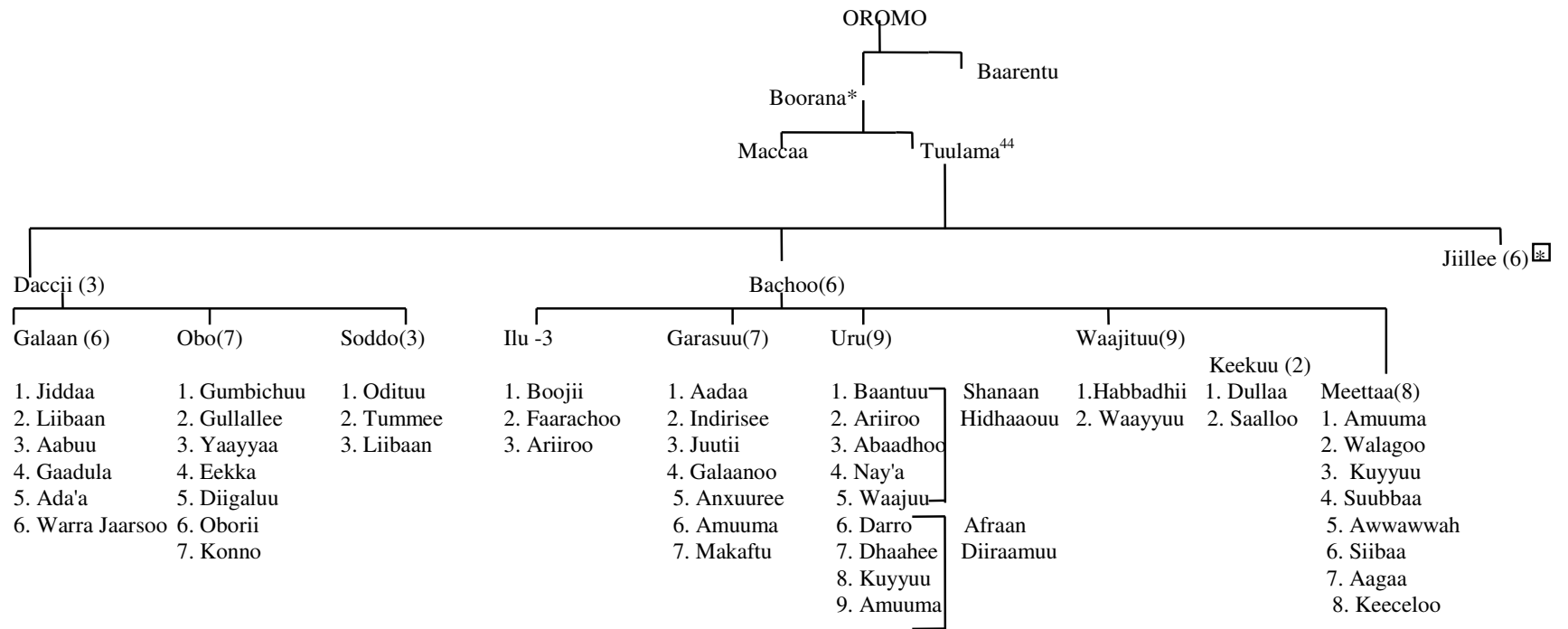
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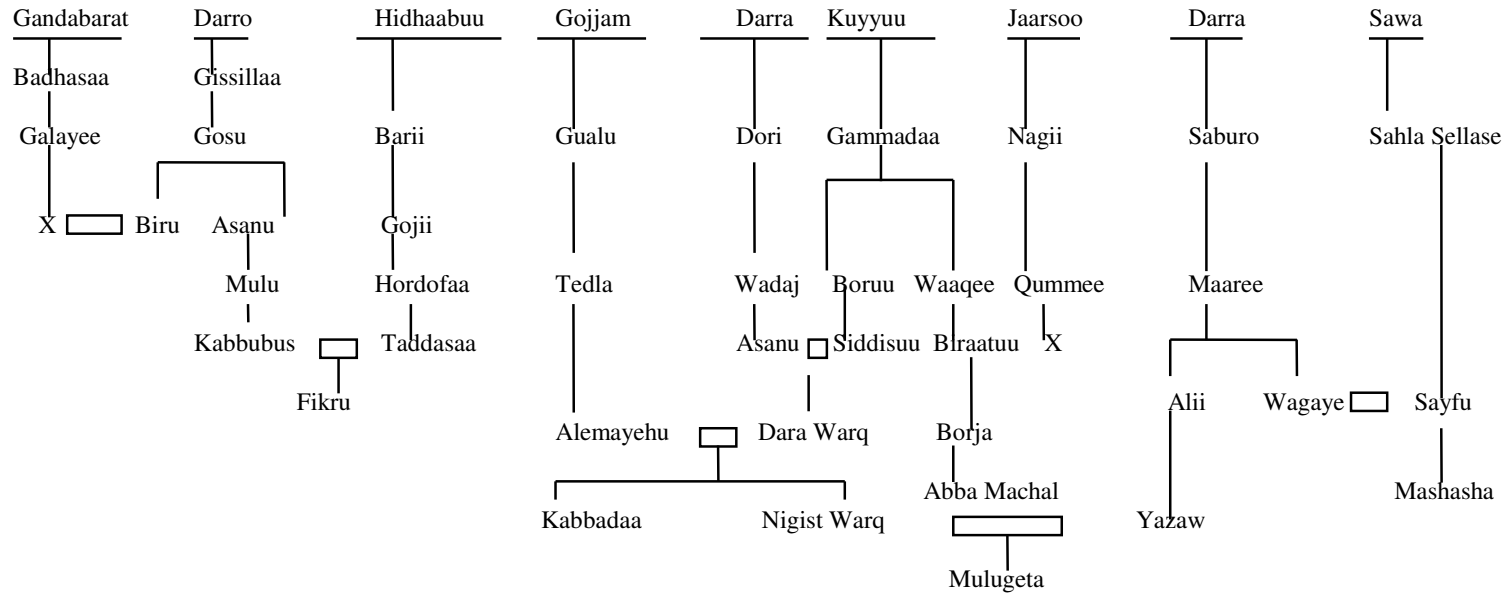
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\* There are other sub-group of Borana known as Southern Bornana which are not include here.

\* I have not included the geneology of the Jiillee because we do not have Jiillee group in the region under study.

*Some of the Political Marriages in Salaalee*



Indicates who married who  
 X \_ whose name our informatns could not remember.