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ETHNIC INTERACTION OF KAMBATA AND HADIYA (1890s -1990s)

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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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DEDICATION

This thesis manuscript is dedicated to my beloved family and my friend Medhanit Desalegn (Qupha) who gave me the moral support throughout my research work.

ABRAVATION AND ACRONYMS

AAU	Addis Ababa University
EECMY	Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus
EKHC	Ethiopian Kale Hiwot Church
EOC	Ethiopia Orthodox Church
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
HSIU	Haile Selassie I University
HZCIO	Hadiya Zone Cultural and Information Office
HZEDCD	Hadiya Zone Finance and Economic Development Coordinating Department
KHC	Kale Hiwot Church
KTZCIO	Kambata-Tambaro Zone Culture and Information Office
SIM	Sudan Interior Mission
SNNPRS	South Nation, Nationalities and People's Regional States

GLOSSARY

<i>Abasarecho</i>	In chief of <i>Magano</i>
<i>Ato:</i>	A civil title given to the ordinary people, equivalent to Mr.
<i>Balabbat:</i>	Individual with the hereditary owner of rest land
<i>Dedacho:</i>	A title in Hadiya people provided based on skilled leadership and to settle disputes among the communities.
<i>Dejazmach:</i>	A military title a step below <i>Ras</i>
<i>Enset</i>	Banana likes plant which produced food in Kambata and Hadiya
<i>Fandano</i>	Paganan in Kambata
<i>Fitawrari:</i>	A military title below <i>Dejazmatch</i>
<i>Garad:</i>	Traditional title in Hadiya communities provided with Requirement socio- political competence
<i>Graz mach:</i>	Commander of the left, politico-military title above <i>balambras</i>
<i>Iddir:</i>	A form of self-help association
<i>Iqub:</i>	Traditional raising capital
<i>Kebele:</i>	Lowest administrative unit
<i>Ketema</i>	City in Amharic
<i>Kitosa</i>	as Christ in Kambata
<i>Neftegna</i>	Gun holder of the land lord
<i>Sebeka</i>	Preaching Gospel

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KEY TO TRANSLITERATION SYSTEMS

In writing Ethiopian names, the following translation system has adapted to write this thesis.

I. The seven Ethiopian alphabet sounds are represented in the following way:

Vowels	Symbols	Examples
1 st order (ge'ez)	ä	Käbädä
2 nd order (Ka'eb)	u	Tulu
3 rd order (sales)	i	Gizän
4 th order (rabe)	a	Fana
5 th order (hames)	é	Béggi
6 th order (Sades)	e	Temeheret
7 th order (sabe)	o	Jot

II. In the six order (Sades), it must be note that “e” will not be suffixed to the letter only if the letter is vocalized. The symbol “e” also not required if the six order (sades) is the last letter of the word.

Example Bebet

Geter

III. Consonants which have palatalized sound represented in the following way:

ቸ = Čä

ጸ /θ = tsä

ኘ = gnä

። = z

VI. Consonants which have Glottalized sounds are represented as follows

ጠ = tä

ቀ = qä

፭ = čä

ጸ /θ = Šä

ጸ = Pä

V. Germination sounds always be written in the following way:

በ ቀ ለ = Bäqqälä

ABSTRACT

This study assessed the history of Kambata and Hadiya relation from 1890s to 1990s. Ethnicity can lead people to go back to their own culture as a last resort for resisting the pressure of the modern life and the repressive successive states governed them. On the other hand, the class manipulation and mobilization of the ethnic sentiments for purely narrow and self-serving interests of a small minority of the elites who continuously struggle for positions and some other ethnic maneuvers. Thus the Kambata and Hadiya Ethnic groups relationship characterized and highly dominated by the Christian highland kingdom relation with the agrarian society of Kambata in which paid tribute to the. As a result the nomadic Hadiya group inherited the practices of agriculture led sedentary way of life .In addition to the above characteristics, the geographical proximity and the language familiarity exposed them to be administered within the same provinces and sub provinces from 1903-174 .That was why the Christian missionaries established both spiritual and secular institutions to serve as one community and enabled them to be highly facilitated their socioeconomic relation. Culturally, one ethnic group shares others' language, religion, wedding, mourning ceremonies, dressing style, hair style, feeding style and others with other ethnic groups. Iddir, iqub and mahber are the natural outgrowth of a common historical background and the process of assimilation and acculturation among the diverse ethnic groups in Kambata and Hadiya. The Kambata had experienced a process of special ethnic relation with Hadiya and other neighboring peoples since the medieval period due to population migration and movement. This occurred because of the wars of Christian highland kingdoms and change of climate and demographic factors such as migration due to population pressure, famine and land degradation in the north. The Kambata and Hadiya had substantial interactions through local trade route. The Cushitic speakers of this two peoples shared long boarder, live together; moreover culturally highly assimilated than others.

PREFACE

The present MA thesis focused particularly on the historical relations between the Kambata and Hadiya people from 1890s to 1990s. This work is divided into five parts. The first chapter consists of a general background of the ethnic groups of Kambata and Hadiya, the statement of the problem, the research objectives, its scope, and the research methodology. The second chapter deals with geographical and physical setting of the region like boundary, latitudinal location and climatic condition. Moreover, the historical setting of the people treats the settlement and population origin, the language of the society is discussed. Finally, the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction with their neighbors as well as the Menelik's conquest and its aftermath on the Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction focused in this part. The third chapter describes about political interaction of Kambata and Hadiya peoples (1890-1990) the customary administrative institution of the society, the *Seera* institution and some of its cultural aspects are discussed in some detail. It also addressed the conflicts and co-operation of the Kambata and Hadiya, and the traditional conflict resolution method of the society. The fourth chapter elaborates discusses Socio-Economic Interaction of Kambata and Hadiya people. The cooperation of people to people, their Socio-economic relation which has taken place spiritual shape after the coming of the religious missionaries to the region. Besides this, means of trade, agriculture and Socio-cultural practices through marriage, mourning, preparation of cultural foods and drinks and house construction were listed in some among both ethnic groups. The historical information of the 1890s to 1990s conflicts are deeply discussed in detail in this. The study also deals with the Kambata and Hadiya interaction through trade relation in the southwest Ethiopia.

The aim of this thesis is the reconstruction of the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction. In dealing with the subject, I have attempted to utilize available archival materials, published and unpublished works as well as informants. However, I faced difficulty while collecting and reading the Archival sources, as they were not easily readable. Finally, I would like to state that, I make no claim to have carried out a comprehensive research of the issue due to the above-mentioned problems and others. I hope that my modest contribution will be of great interest and importance to others who want to conduct further research on the issue. Throughout this paper, I have used the conventional History transliteration system.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

The Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic state inhabited by more than eighty ethnic groups speaking different languages. There are also overlaps of cultural and religious values among different ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Moreover, the ethnic groups inhabiting Ethiopia in some areas overflow into the neighboring countries of Kenya in the south, Sudan in the west, Djibouti in the east, Somalia in the east and southeast, and Eritrea in the north and northeast.¹

Ethnic interaction refers to relationships between groups or society in which its members engage in common interest. It also refers to those members who may consider themselves as they share distinctive and the relationship within a society. This shows that the researcher used ethnic interaction to denote people who share some similarity among the members. Ethiopia is among the countries that have various ethnic groups speaking different languages. However, these societies share some common elements in their administrative institutions, socio-cultural, Socio-economic and other issues that show peoples interaction.²

Such close interaction is the result of continuous interconnections through inter-marriages, trade, migration and other social activities for many years. Hence, the country presents a variety of nationalities, each speaking a language or more languages that resulted from their interconnections. Thus, such inter-dependence and peaceful co-existences helped the Ethiopian society to resist their common enemy and enabled them to keep their sovereignty of the country. Moreover, neighborhood and other types of relationships are among the values that tied the society together. Besides these traditional ways of governance and many other related aspects shows the richness in culture and strength of the social value system. Such

¹Saheed A. Adejumobi, *The History of Ethiopian*, (Published by Green Wood press, 2007), pp.6-7.

²Sisay Gebre-Egziabher, "What Role Should Civil Society Organizations Play to Address Ethnic Conflicts Ethiopia: The Challenges and Opportunities for Peace and Development in Ethiopia and North Africa," *International conference on Ethiopian development studies* (Haworth College of Business, West Michigan University, Kalamazoo, USA, 2007), P.4: Asebe Regassa Debelo, "Ethnicity and Inter- ethnic Relations: the 'Ethiopian Experiment' and the case of the Guji and Gedeo," (MA Thesis, Tromso University, Norway), 2007, p.1-3.

common practices and mutual independence of the society indicate the existences of the people's interaction on different Socio-economic and Socio-cultural issue.³

There has been continued process of interaction and intermingling among the different peoples of Ethiopia throughout their history. Some means of the society's interaction include inter-marriage and commercial ties. However, there were some ethnic-conflicts among these societies, resulting from their need to control some resources such as grazing land, cultivable land, and others issues. Nevertheless, people solved such conflicts using their indigenous conflict resolution mechanism.⁴

The Kambata and Hadiya societies had and continued to have very strong relations with each other and with their neighbors. At present, these societies live in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS). The region has many nations, nationalities and peoples of different origins and various cultural practices. As a result, the ethnic composition in the regional state is diverse. The region consists of different ethnic groups with distinct language and culture. The peoples of the region are also classified into Omotic, Cushitic, Nilo Sahara and Semitic language families.⁵

In their long history, different Socio-economic, Socio-cultural and other related activities facilitated the interaction of the society. In a way, the people have regular and long sustained inter-marriage, political and economic co-operation between them. They had and continue to have very strong relations with each other and with their neighbors. Due to this continuous interaction, they also share a number of socio-cultural similarities. Conversely, that shows the existence of high degree of ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya people.⁶

The study area is located in south central part of Ethiopia. In the current administrative restructuring of the country, there are different zones and special *Woredas* in SNNPRS.

³ *Ibid*, Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the 18th c* (Lawrenceville, 1997), p. 77 and 433.

⁴ *Ibid*, Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the 18th c* (Lawrenceville, 1997), p. 77 and 433.

⁵ Gedeon Addise. "A Socio- Economic and Cultural History of Hadiya (1941-1991)", MA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, 2008), pp.13-15; Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Records of the Peoples of Southwestern Ethiopia and A Short History of Kambata* (Addis Ababa, 1987), pp. 151-3.

⁶ *Ibid*. Informants Ato Heramo Guta, Ato Ersido Mikore, Ato Chufamo and Ato Ayele.

Kambata zone, together with the Hadiya Zone, was formerly called Kambata *Awrajja* under *Arsi Teklay Gizat* being administered from Assela from 1944-1955 and Shawa *Tekilay Gizate* at *Menagesha* (Addis Ababa) from 1955-1974. The administrative region was restructured during the *Derg* regime as Kambata and Hadiya *Awrajja*. After the Ethiopian People's Democratic Revolutionary Front (EPDRF) seized power and gave emphasis to ethnic groups in forming new administrative structures of regional and Zonal clustering, Kambata and Hadiya become separate administrative areas of Kambata and Hadiya zones.⁷

The Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional States (SNNPRS) served as a museum of nations, nationalities and peoples of diverse origin, historical studies of Ethiopia mostly concentrate on the Northern parts and political power of the ruling families. They had given little concern to the peripheral areas and southwest in general for centuries.⁸

Concerning this Levine states that “until recently northern society has been analyzed mostly by historians, in terms of structure of imperial center, while the southern societies have been studied by anthropologists as if they had few links with the center”.⁹

With exception of few citations, the history of these people is not properly documented. This study is carried out on the ethnic interaction in south central Ethiopia with particular reference to Kambata and Hadiya ethnic groups. Thus, it is attempted to produce all-inclusive thesis from the 1890s to the 1990s. The sources used for this study are clustered into two types: the accounts of Ethiopian and Europeans scholars as secondary sources after critical evaluation of their reliability as well as the oral tradition and archives after critical analysis for their genuineness as primary sources. The decade 1890s, could be a landmark in Kambata and Hadiya; that marked the incorporation of the area by Menelik II into Ethiopian Empire State. As a result, the conquest of the Kambata and Hadiya region become one administrative *Awraja*, from its center at Hossana. That could further facilitate ethnic interaction between the two societies. The decade 1990s is also another landmark. It was the time when the former

⁷Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya: Astadader Akababina YebeheresebochTarik* (Kambata and Hadiya: the Administrative Region and the History of Nationalities)” (Addis Ababa, Unpublished manuscript at IES Ethiopian collection, 1994), pp.57-58, 61 Informants *Ato Alemu Mune*, *Ato Tadesse Jelamo* and *Ato Ersido Mikore*.

⁸Pankhurst, Richard, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: ...*, pp. iv-v.

⁹Levine Donald N., *Greater Ethiopia...* p.153.

merged administration come to an end and the Kambata and Hadiya *Awraja* was ended and different administrative structure was created.

Kambata and Hadiya have had better relations, although over the past decade relations have been upset by wars and separatist demands from the minority Hadiya wishing to become part to the north which is predominantly Soro Hadiya inhabited. According to O'Reilly, He also describes the interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya seem they have no peaceful no war relation as if co-operation and unity has not been the norm among them. And thus, small conflicts have flared up over the centuries between the two groups.¹⁰ Thus, at this point it shows a gap that needs historical investigation. For that reason, the thesis would fulfill the gap by collecting the available sources to come up with the where, the when, the how of their interaction on the land and other issues with the neighboring people. As a result the research tries to indicate the position of Kambata as an independent society with its own language, culture and other identities in southwest Ethiopia. Furthermore, it would critically analyze the existing mutual coexistence with other ethnic groups.

Among their neighbors the Hadiya relation with Kambata is very close; there has been regular and long sustained intermarriage between the two. They also share a number of socio-cultural commonalities. Above all, the linguistic affinity is very strong; many people among the Hadiya and Kambata are bilingual. In the town of Hossana, for example, almost all households consist of a mixture of Kambata-Hadiya family origins. Geographically, Kambata lies between the *Badawacho* Hadiya and the other Hadiya sub-groups such as Lemo, Shashogo, and Sooro. In the literature these two areas have been identified by a single name, Kambata, from the conquest of Menelik up until 1974. But this merger did not consider popular consent; The Hadiya was not happy about the decision of the government that identified them with the Kambata. There were also sporadic conflicts on land issues and other related problems. Generally, however, the relationship between the Hadiya and Kambata was more peaceful and cordial than hostile. Many Kambata live in large numbers in Hadiya, Gurage, Silte, Wolaita, Dawuro, Harar, Bale, and Arsi. There has been continuous interaction between these people

¹⁰Siobhan, O'Reilly. "*The Contribution of Community Development to Peace building*: World Vision's Area Development Programmes (Policy and Research Department UK, 1998), pp. 41-42.

and the Kambata both before and after the settlement of the latter in the area where they live now.¹¹

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The study of ethno history in Africa is characterized by plenty of unwritten historical sources such as oral traditions and linguistic sources. Until the 1960s the societies with no written sources were regarded as “a people without history” by European historians. However, this paradigm was changed following the independence of African states. The primary sources like oral traditions started to be the major source in the study of African history in general and that of Ethiopian history in particular¹²

Scholarly works on the relation between Kambata and Hadiya are scant. Most of the literatures on the Kambata and Hadiya of Ethiopia do not discuss historical issues. There are the works by sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists. Historical works and especially those which focus on ethnic relations are very scarce. The few that deal with this issue lack thoroughness and comprehensiveness. For instance, none of the literature on the area fully answer what the relation of Kambata and Hadiya people looked like during Imperial and *Derg* periods, and how relationship between changed over time. Nevertheless, detail research with particular reference to any aspects of this district in detail has been scarcely undertaken. Many written sources on the peoples of the southwest at large and the region between Omo and *Bilate* rivers in particular are largely limited to Kambata, Hadiya, Gurage and others; even researcher who have studied about the history of the Kambata and Hadiya have been seemed silent about the details of the neighbors of Kambata and Hadiya such as Kambata, Alaba, and other small ethnic groups. The proposed research will, therefore be, one of the attempts to make scientific and critical analysis of the existing unorganized literatures and producing a comprehensive written document on the historical survey on relation between Kambata and Hadiya.

Although some researchers have begun to give attention to the region, the themes they explore primarily focus on the issues on political, socio-cultural, and economic and others since the

¹¹Abriham Hailemariam, p.15

¹²Vansina, Jan. “Ethno-History in Africa.” *Ethno-History*, 9, no. 2 (1962):p. 78.

1890. Almost all other works that the research has reviewed were written after 1990s and follow the same approach. The social and cultural interaction between Kambata and Hadiya are ignored. The study deals with the economic, cultural, and political relation between these two groups in South western part of Ethiopia from 1890s-1990s. After giving a general background to the ethnic interaction between Kambata and Hadiya, cultural interchange, the role of trade and agriculture in their relation is examined thoroughly. The thesis seeks to fill the existing gap in the History of the region and bring new insight to the History of inter-ethnic interaction in the area.

1.3. General Objectives of the Study

The overall aim of the study is to reconstruct the social, cultural and economic interaction between Kambata and Hadiya people in south central Ethiopia.

1.3.1. Specific Objectives

This study is designed specifically to:

- ✓ Assess the changes and development in the interaction between Kambata and Hadiya during Emperor Menilik, pre Italian period of Emperor Haile Sellassie's rule, the Italian colonial rule and the *Derg* regime.
- ✓ Examine the religious interaction between the two groups.
- ✓ Analyze the economic contact between Kambata and Hadiya.

1.4. Scope of the Study

The scope of this study will be on ethnic interaction between Kambata and Hadiya in south central part of Ethiopia. The political, economic, social and cultural interrelation ship between these two groups will be dealt chapter by chapter. More specifically it assesses the ethnic interaction of Kambata and Hadiya in south central part of Ethiopia from 1890s to 1990s. From the economic point of view trade will be investigated, social interaction, religion and cultural exchanges are the major issues that will be discussed. During data collection, it was not an easy task for the researcher to get adequate and accurate data from research participants and also the researcher may face shortage of budget.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The following are the major significance of the research findings:

- ✓ It narrows knowledge gap on ethnic interaction between Kambata and Hadiya.
- ✓ It offers an insight for local government conflict management and resolution practitioners on the practice of managing inter-ethnic conflicts.
- ✓ It alleviates gaps of literature sources seen in the study area and serve as a reference to the practitioners and scholars/researchers.
- ✓ Finally, it benefits other interested researchers as a springboard for further research on the issues

1.6. Research Methodology and Design

1.6.1. Research Design

As historical research is mostly qualitative in nature; the main purpose is to get, as far as possible, the reality on the ground as perceived by the people. So as to carry out the proposed historical study, relevant historical methods of research will be used. However, qualitative data will also be gathered concerning demographic and agro-ecological data. In-depth analysis of published and unpublished literature as well as archival documents shall be sought and analyzed anywhere available.

As is true whenever peoples have no written history, it is indispensable to use oral tradition and genealogies in order to reconstruct the broad sketch of their origins and early existence. So as to get desired information on themes under discussion such as the origins, Socio-political, Socio-economic, Socio-cultural circumstances and other state of affairs of the Kambata society within the time frame work of the study. Elder community members are supposed to provide valuable oral accounts. For that reason, interviewing would be operational data gathering tool in order to collect oral tradition from key informants within and outside the study area. With the desire of filling the gap might be left while interviewing, observation together with photo graphing of various historical heritages will be added upon as supplementary part of data gathering process.

Secondary sources would get hold of first and foremost from documentation centers of major libraries in the Haramaya University library, Hosanna Teachers College library, Hawassa University library, Wolaita Soddo University, IES Library, Kennedy Library and; locally available sources of written documents. Gathering of primary data will be undertaken in the following places. Primary data sources will be obtain by visiting 8 woredas of the study area.

1.6.2. Research Methodology

This study is based on a qualitative research approach. This thesis is based on findings that came from both primary and secondary sources. Oral informant information is important for historians. I also gathered data from secondary sources like Books, Journals, Manuscripts, MA, thesis and Ph.D. dissertations. These and others were important religious magazines that are more important for the Islamic religion. These documents were found at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) in Addis Ababa University, Kambata Tembaro and Hadiya Zone Culture and tourism offices. This research was also greatly depended on the field work of researcher as it is vital to search for information from archival and other primary sources. Thus, available archival sources has be collected and analyzed from, Welde Meskel Tariku's Memorial Archival Research Center.

The primary source like administrative files travels documents, photographs, maps, video, audiovisual materials, and artifacts was used in this research paper. The investigation also consulted the draft cultural policy of Ethiopia and the profile history of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples of Ethiopia (SNNPRS). The profile history would give a brief history of the SNNPRS and it gave more than about the 56 and above ethnic group's history of them in which the study area belongs to this administrative region state. The extensive library-based research will be done to gather information from both published and unpublished sources such BA.thesis, Ph.D. dissertations, books, articles, manuscripts and the magazines that found in Addis Ababa and Haramaya Universities libraries.

1.6.3. Method of Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data collected from both primary and secondary sources were carefully selected, cross-checked, and interpreted in the writing of the thesis. The data was, cross-checked which enabled the researcher to overcome some of the gaps. Thus, the use of oral sources and a

variety of written materials made by different individuals and Universities was important for the study of ethnic interaction. The collected data were analyzed by using the qualitative method of data analysis. After collecting the appropriate amount of data an effort was made to organize, analyze and interpret it soundly. While doing this the following important steps were followed. Data reduction is vital and credible data was filtered out from among the bulks of information collected and data displayed in the thesis. The other is the datum which holds similar or coherent information that was arranged and categorized together to make analysis and interpretation easier and simple. Therefore data arranged in various themes especially in time sequential order called chronologically and then final findings wrote.

CHAPTER TWO

2. GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHYSICAL SETTING OF THE KAMBATA AND HADIYA ZONES

At present, the Kambata and Hadiya zones are located in Southern Ethiopia, particularly in the SNNPRS. Kambata Zone together with the Hadiya Zone was formerly called Kambata *Awraja* under *Arsi Tekilay Gizate* at Assela from 1944-55 and later it was changed into Kambata *Awraja* under the *Shawan Tekilay Gizate* at *Menagesha*(Addis Ababa)from 1955-74. During the *Derg* regime, the province of Shawa itself was subdivided into four parts: west, south, east Shawa and Addis Ababa. The Kambata and Hadiya region belonged to southern Shawa, with its center at Ziway. At that time, the region was named as Kambata and Hadiya *Awraja*.¹³

Due to a later emphasis to ethnic federalism by the EPDRF government, the Kambata and Hadiya region become separate administrative areas of Kambata and Hadiya zones (districts) since 1990s. Under this new administrative structure, the Kambata and Hadiya belong to the SNNPRS. Following this restructuring Hawassa, become the capital of the regional State. However, there are many Kambata and Hadiya speaking people outside the present territory of the zones, which consists of ten *Woredas* of Hadiya zone and eight *Woredas* of the Kambata Tembaro zone the scope of this thesis is limited to these zones.¹⁴

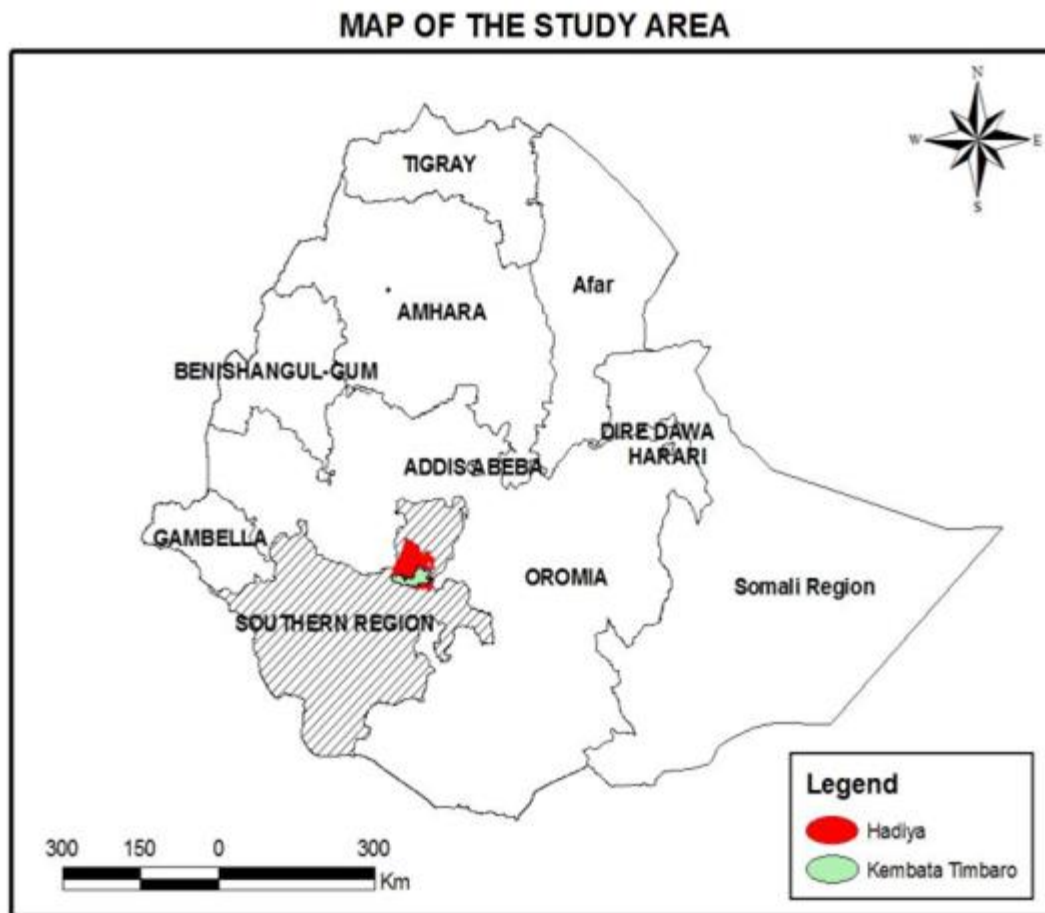
As it can be seen on the map below, the Kambata geographically lies between the Badawacho Hadiya and the other Hadiya Sub-groups such as Duna, Lemo, Soro, Shashogo and the like. The capital town of Kambata Tembaro Zone, Durame, is 352kms from Addis Ababa by Shashamane and 296kms from Addis Ababa through Hossana and 125kms from Hawassa, the capital of the regional state. While Hossana, the capital of Hadiya zone, is 152kms and 173kms from Hawassa and Addis Ababa, regional and federal capitals respectively. Kambata and Hadiya zones is boarded in the east by the Oromia region and Alaba especial *Woredas*; the Silte Zone in the northeast; in the north by the Guraghe Zone; Yem in the northwest; in the

¹³Alebachew and Samuel, *Hadiya Hizib Tarikna Bahil*, (Safir Publisher: Addis Ababa, 2010), pp.5-6.

¹⁴Gedeon Addise, pp.2-3: Tesfaye Habiso, Some Historical and Politico-legal Records of Kambata and Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia, (Addis Ababa, 2008), pp.5-6.

west Oromia region and in the south by Dawuro and Wolayta zones.¹⁵ See the map below that shows the location of the Kambata and Hadiya Zones with in the SNNPRS as well as their neighbors.

Figure 1. Map-1 Kambata and Hadiya Zones by Woredas and their neighucy



Source: The regional overview of the SNNPRS, 2012, p. 25

Kambata lies between 7°10' to 7°20' North latitude and 37°30' to 38°00' East longitude. The Hadiya Zone is located between 7°45'N, and 38°28'E.¹⁶

Mainly three ethnic groups, Kambata, Tembaro and the Donga live in Kambata Tembaro Zone, together with other ethnic groups. The total area coverage of the zone is about

¹⁵ Belachew Gebrewold-Tochalo, "The Impact of the Socio-Cultural Structures of the Kambata/Ethiopia on their Economic Development", (Ph.D. Dissertation, Germany: University of Hamburg, 2001), pp. 10-11.

¹⁶ Ibid.

1355.89s/km. According to the 2007 census, the total population of Kambata is about 10,80,837 of which about 85.64% of the population lives in rural areas; while about 14.36% of the population lives in towns. The region is one of the densely populated parts of the country, which is more than 40 ps/Kms. The altitudinal variation of the Kambata Tembaro Zone is between 1600-3058m above sea level. The highest altitude is 3058m above sea level at the summit of Mt. Hambericho in Kedida *Woreda* and the lowest is 1600m at *Sheshera* areas in *Qadida Gamella Woreda*.¹⁷

Topographically the Kambata and Tembaro Zone is classified into both highlands and lowlands. Therefore, its climate is divided into three parts: highland or *dega* (cold region) constitutes about 24% of the area; temperate area or *Woinadega* (moderate Temperature) is about 70% of the area and the lowland or *Qolla* (hot temperature) constitutes about 6% of the total area. The average annual temperature is from 150c-280c and average annual rainfall is about 1134mm. The average annual variety of the climate is conducive to conduct different agricultural activities.¹⁸

Currently, the Hadiya zone is divided into 10 *Woredas* and one city administration, Hossana. The Hadiya Zone is stratified into three major temperature and altitude zones: *Dega*/ high altitude (23.7%), *Woinadega*/moderate altitude (64.7%), and *Qolla*/ lowlands or hot areas (16%). Hadiya consists of diverse landscapes; the relief ranges from High Mountain to river valleys. The highest altitude is 2970m above sea level at the summit of Mt. Sengiye in Duna *Woreda* and the lowest is 800m in the Gibe river valley.¹⁹

Climate has a great impact on the Socio-economic life of any society. The type of crops, plants, animals and their distribution is directly linked to the climatic condition; climate also influences the amount of food production. People who live in *dega* and *Qolla* areas, for

¹⁷ Grenstedt, "Ambaricho and Shonkolla: From Local Independent Church to the Evangelical Mainstream in Ethiopia; The Origins of the Mekane Yesus Church in Kambata-Hadiya", (Uppsala, Sweden, 2000), pp.122-123, 267-269, 289: the regional overview of the SNNPRS, pp.11-13: Central Statistic Authority. 1996. "The 1994 population and housing Census of Ethiopia; Results for Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Region" Vol.1. Part IV. Addis Ababa, p.35.

¹⁸ KTZCIO, Kambata-Tembaro Zone Culture and Information Office "Kambata Tembaro & Donga Nationalities' History, Culture & Language Profile", Durame, 2008, pp.4-6.

¹⁹ Gedeon, pp.2-3: Braukamper, Die Kambata: Geschichte und Gesellschaft (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 51, 61.

example, specialized in different economic activities. Thus climatic condition must be given due consideration in any socio-economic study. The climate of the Kambata and Hadiya region is a mild type; it is therefore, suitable for the production of variety of crops and vegetables.²⁰

2.1. Historical Setting of the Kambata and Hadiya

2.1.2. Settlements and Population origin

The shortage of historical research on the Kambata and Hadiya society makes it difficult to precisely date the origin of the people and to account for some historical developments. Due to this, scholars who studied their history mainly rely on oral traditions. These traditions consist of genealogies, dynastic list, biographies and descriptions of different happenings and narration of some historical occurrences. According to Pankhurst, a large part of Ethiopia south of Awash River was occupied by states of Dawaro, Hadiya, Gonga and Bali. They were commonly referred to as Sidama. The peoples of the Hamatic settlers inhabited particularly the southwestern part of Ethiopia, which lies south of the Abay River and west of the Wabi-Shabale, before the Oromo expansion.²¹

Even from an early time, it seems that the Sidama state is said to have formed part of Zeila Empire along with the states of Hadiya, Bali, Arbabini, Dawaro, Sharka, Dara and Ifat. There were also other states such as Eanarya, Damot and *Ganz* in the region particularly around river Omo and Bilate. Probably the wars among the Christian Highland Kingdom and Oromo movement contributed for the decline of the power of the states in the southwest Ethiopia. That become among the factors that contributed for reducing of territorial limits of the Sidama people. In a way, such conflicts had caused gradual decline on the influence of the states in the land between Rivers: Omo and Bilate following the 15th and 16th centuries. Concerning this some sources gives information regarding the relation between Christian Highland Kingdom

²⁰Ibid, Grenstedt, pp.11-13; Belachew, pp.127-128.

²¹ Pankhurst, Richard, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: ...*, pp. iv-v; Werner J. Lange, *History of Southern Gonga: Southwestern Ethiopia* (Steiner Publisher, Wiesbaden, 1982), p. 20; see the map -1 at the appendix J – 1 that shows the main states of Southwest Ethiopia before and after Oromo Expansion.

and these states. Accordingly, the competing kingdoms of the Kambata and Hadiya took the lead in this region.²²

As witnessed by Ernesta Cerruli, the Hadiya had early contacts with the kings of the Christian Highland Kingdom since Amade-Seyon (1314-44) and the Kambata during Emperor Yishak (1414-1429).²³ However, the 1604 Christian Highland Kingdom expedition against Hadiya and the arrival of emperor Susenyos' delegated Hamalmal (1595-1635) into Kambata increased its political significance more than the Hadiya. As a result, Kambata had maintained dynastic link through Hamalmal and strengthened its relation with the Christian highland kingdom.²⁴

Nevertheless, the Kingdom of Hamalmal, between the Omo and Bilatte rivers, after the Oromo expansion became a smaller states. Accordingly, after the death of Hamalmal, the relation with the north was cut off. Thus, this region was inhabited by many small states that break into the region from south-central or northern part such as *Yemerera*, *Dallo*, *Kawena*, Gondor and Gedeo owing to the Ahmed Gragn's wars and Oromo expansion. They were led by their own kings and practicing a local political system. These small Kingdoms include the Kambata, Weto-Gira (the Hadiya), Tembaro, Donga, Dubamo, Masmal, Indagagn and Ennar. At the time, Kambata represented the states that existed in the area between the Omo and Blatte rivers. These different states that live in the region had closer interaction through trade, marriage and other socio-economic and socio-cultural issue among themselves for centuries. This Zone shared borders with the Gurage in the north, Halaba in the east, Kafa and Yam in the west, and Wolayta in the south.²⁵

On the other hand, the Kambata region was not fully isolated from the northern Ethiopia, even at the time when the relations between the highland kingdom and the Hadiya had weakened. The following reasons could be mentioned: many clans from the Amhara territories of the northern Ethiopia had migrated to Kambata at different times. Second, Kambata had a dynasty, which claims to have originated from Gondar. Third, Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity

²²Grenstedt, pp.122-123, 267-269, 289; Trimingham, pp. 6, 179-180; Braukamper, *Die Kambata...*, pp.51-52, 61, 67; Informants Ato Elias Chinaso, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz, Meharu and Desta Haile

²³Ernesta Cerruli, *Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia and its Borderlands*. International African Institute Publisher, Michigan University. pp. 85-86.

²⁴Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 26-28; Tesfaye, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 26-28.

²⁵*Ibid*, Informants: Ato Ayele Beyoro, Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz and Ato Girma Erbalo and see the map -1 at the appendix J – 1 that shows the main states of Southwest Ethiopia before and after Oromo Expansion.

was practiced in Kambata. At present, the area between river Omo in the west and the river Bilate in the east is inhabited by Kambata and Hadiya societies. Originally, the Kambata people were settled agriculturalists and the Hadiya were semi-nomads. However, there are different theories concerning the origin of these societies. It is generally accepted that they have had the same origin; as it would be discussed below.²⁶

2.2. The Settlement and Origin of the Kambata People

The Kambata societies consist of many different clans, originating from different parts of Ethiopia that settled at this part of the country around 11th c A.D. The settlements of the society were believed to be resulted from the migration of Cushitic, Semitic and Omotic peoples from and to different directions.²⁷

Concerning the origin of the Kambata people, oral tradition of the society stated that the Kambata people together with other Cushitic speaking peoples were in southeast Ethiopia around the present land of Bale highlands. From there, they moved in the northern direction with the Sidama, Gedeo and others, who settled at the present land of Sidama. This tradition indicates that the Kambata, Hadiya, Tembaro and Halaba people had the same father, 'Xumano'.²⁸

Informants stated that due to the conflict started on hunting in the Sidama region they moved to many directions. From there the first Kambata people like Effegena, Ebejena, Gorroma and others moved to their present site under the leadership of Kambato and settled at mount Hambericho together with the first settlers. They argued that the name Kambata itself was derived from Kambato; who led the first settlers and he was considered as the father of the Kambata.²⁹

Similarly Tesfaye indicated that the Kambata, Hadiya, Tembaro and Halaba people had common ancestor and they have been in present Sidama region before their migration. From there the father of the Kambata, 'Kambato' together with his brothers Tembaro, Hadiya and

²⁶Braukamper, *Die Kambata...*, pp. 51, 61, 67 and see map 4 at appendix-K that shows the Kambata provinces.

²⁷Grenstedt, pp.122-123, 267-269, 289; Trimingham, pp. 6, 179-180; Braukamper, *Die Kambata...*, pp. 51, 61, 67; Informants: Ato Chufamo Hirigo, Ato Ersido Mikore, Ato Abegaz and Ato Asaro.

²⁸Informants: Ato Chufamo Hirigo, Ato Tamiru Leramo, Ato Ersido Mikore, Ato Abegaz and Ato Asaro.

²⁹*Ibid.*

Halaba moved to the northern direction and prior settled around the Bilate River valley. These both arguments justify the societies' inter-connections through their common ancestors.³⁰

Later Kambato left the area and settled at Mt. Hambericho. At his new settlement, he gave birth to seven brothers, Efegena, Ebejena, Tazo, Hinira, Baza, Gozo and Saga and finally returned to the Sidama area. Mt. Hambericho was considered as the center of the Kambata the first where first settlers of the Kambata society reside. As a result, the Mountain is the most important and respected place among the Kambata society. Above all the leader of traditional religion leader Abba Sarecho and the *Woma's* (kings of Kambata) lived at the Hambericho Mountain.³¹ Thus, concerning the origin of the society, most sources agree that the first settlers of Mount Hambericho were people who might have moved from present day Sidama and Gedeo region. Some written sources as well as oral tradition of the society confirmed that, the Kambata people together with Hadiya, Tembaro, Alaba, Qabena, and Sidama belong to the "Highland East Cushitic" language family.³²

According to the Kambata oral tradition, the ancestors of the society comprised of seven houses (brothers), who believed to have evolved eventually into the originals seven tribes of the Kambata. Those children of the Kambato were Ebejena, Efegena, Fuga, Goroma, Hinira, Saga and Tazo. All informants agree on the story of the seven founding tribes. Nevertheless, there is no agreement on the list of the tribes. All informants accepted five of the seven founding ones like Ebejena, Effeghena, Fuga, Hinira and Tazo. While, Goroma and Saga are replaced by either Baza, Gadenna, Oyyeta, Gulba and Hesese.³³

Such disagreements also continued in some of the written sources that deal with the origin of Kambata society. Concerning such variations Belachew stated as different writers give us different list of original settlers as shown in the table below.

Table 1. Proto-Kambata

Author	The Proto-Kambata
N. J. Singer	Efegenna, Ebejena, Gadenna, Goruta, Tazuta, Fuga and Heseseta.

³⁰Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya*..., pp.268, 279-281

³¹Informants: Ato Shuramo, Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz and Ato Asaro.

³²Norman J. Singer, 1977. "Some notes on the Origin of the Kambata of Southern Shoa" *London: School of Oriental and African Studies*, (University of London. 1977). pp.57-58, 61 and 64: Grenstedt..., pp.122-123: Informants Ato Somano, Ato Tomas Abe, Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Tamiru.

³³Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz, and Ayele Anniyo

U. Baukamper	Oyyata, Gulba, Tazo, Hinnira, Effegenna, Ebbejenna and Fuga
W. Gejiba	Effegenna, Ebbejenna, Tazuta, Fuga, Hinnira, Saga and Goromo
R. Bayissa	Effegenna, Ebbejenna, Tazuta, Fuga, Hinnira, Saga and Goromo
T. Habiso	<u>Before the arrival of Hamalmal</u>
	Effegenna, Ebbejena, Tazuta, Hinnira, Goroma, Saga and Baza.
	<u>After the arrival of Hamalmal</u>
	Oyata, Gulba, Goroma, Hinnira, Effegenna, Ebbejena and Fuga

Source: Belachew, The Socio-Economic value ... p. 154

The Oyeta inclusion in the original founding members is not convincing. As stated above the settlement of the Oyeta clan in the Kambata region is in the 16th c and the original settlers arrived at Mt. Hambericho is around the middle of the 11th c. Informants tried to explain that the inclusion of the Gulba to the original settlers is in the 16th century. They mentioned that Gulba competed for Kambata administration and become the second in the fasting competition to take the political administration. Following this the Gulba's political role increased and they declared themselves as the founding members and this become widely accepted among the society. Both statements clearly show that Oyeta and Gulba come to political power among the Kambata people in the 16thc, while the founding settlers of the Kambata arrived to the region long before the 16thc.³⁴

Besides, these first settlers there were other immigrants who settled on the hilly land of Kambata from neighboring Enarya and Damot, most likely around the 12th and 13thc. They settled on and around *Hambericho*, intermingling with members of the seven tribes. Various factors pushed the newcomers from their original location. Some came to escape famine, slavery or persecution. Others came in search of hunting adventure. Still others came with invading bands for opportunistic gains of some sort including conquest, plunder or resettlement.³⁵

As stated above a great number of new settlers came to Kambata during the reign of Zarako (Zara Yacob) and Amde Tsion in the 14thc and 15thc, respectively. Orthodox Christians and religious teachers were among those who came and settled in Kambata during that time. It was said that Emperor Zara Yacob was particularly dedicated to expand the frontiers of

³⁴Belachew, pp.130-131, 137

³⁵Ibid, Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet, p.39.

Christianity, and for that reason, he encouraged settlers from the north. That might be one reason for describing Kambata as one of the Christian settlements in the south.³⁶

Another wave of settlers came to Kambata from the south, east and west during the 16th and 17thc. At the time, the number of settlement was massive and Ahmed Gagn's Jihad and the Oromo wars of conquest probably hurried the process. As a result, some writers stated that Kambata served as a refugee center for political exiles and economically threatened group from northern and southern Ethiopia. Thus, Kambata land received immigrant from Arsi, Bale, Jimma, Wolaita, Borena, Alaba, Gamo, Sidama, Kafa, Gurage, Enariya Dawara, etc. All of these presently constitute an integral part of the Kambata community. While their place of origin or the name of the first immigrant becomes their tribal name. This is justified as the reason for the inter-connection of these societies and sharing of some common socio-cultural elements. Moreover, the existence of such common element among these societies indicates the existences of people-to people interaction in the region.³⁷

2.3. The Origin of the Hadiya People

Hadiya Zone is relatively vast in size. Astronomical extension of the Zone is roughly located at 7° 3'19"– 7° 56'1"North latitude and 37° 23'14"– 38° 52'13"East longitude. The Zone is fully situated north of the Equator. It is also found East of Prime meridian .Because of the Zone's situational location at tropical highland climatically; it resembles mid-latitude countries with an estimated area of 73,978.31sq.Km /362,349 hectare.³⁸

As it is an element of weather and climate, the rainfall distribution in Hadiya Zone is seasonal. The data obtained from Hosanna meteorology station shows that 22.54°C.annual mean maximum temperature. Mean minimum annual temperature is 10.54°C and the amount of rainfall received ranges from 801mm. to 1400mm. The rainy season begins from June to August. This shows that the temperature in the Zone is moderate except in very low points

³⁶ Tesfaye Habiso, Kambatana Hadiya...,pp.61-62, 65: Informants: Heramo, Ersido, Abegaz

³⁷Grenstedt, pp.124-126: Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico-legal ..., pp.54-55, 61, 64: Informants Somano, Petros, Heramo: see the Map shows the population movements towards Kambata in the 16th and 17thc at Appendix – K - 2.

³⁸ Hadiya Zone Department of Finance and Development statistics "Population and Development Main Coordination process."(Hosanna, 2013)p.19.

along the Gibe River valley. Then, the Zone experiences medium temperature or the climate in Hadiya Zone is Mild tropical highland type.³⁹

Due to the shortage of adequate information that tells us the origin of the Hadiya people it becomes very difficult to be certain about their past. Moreover, there are different views among scholars and the Hadiya elders on the origin of the people. Predominantly two views are forwarded concerning the origin of the Hadiya. There are oral informants as well as some scholars who are supporting the view that the Hadiya came from “South Arabia” or “Somewhere” in the continent of Asia. This group also states the name Hadiya was named after the first man who crossed a large body of water and came to Ethiopia.⁴⁰

The other group argues that the Hadiya are one of the indigenous people of southern Ethiopia; they did not come from outside Ethiopia. It seems most probable, despite the divergence of arguments that the origin of the Hadiya people was in Ethiopia, not “Arabia” or “somewhere in Asia”. This shows that the Hadiya people are one of the indigenous peoples of southern Ethiopia.⁴¹

The name Hadiya is first mentioned in the *Kebra Negest*, the origin of which can be dated back to the 13th c. At the time, the term referred to the most western Islamic states, which belonged to the federation of Zeila. The name Hadiya seems mainly to have existed as a political term. Between the 13th and 16th c, Hadiya was a significant political entity. When its territory was shattered, mainly by the Oromo expansion, peoples of diverse stock absorbed its inhabitants. Descendants of the old Hadiya can be traced by means of five different linguistic clusters: the east Gurage, the Oromo, the Sidama, the Qabena and Halaba, and the Hadiya proper.⁴²

Moreover, another wave of settlers came to the Hadiya region from different directions during the 16th c. At the time, the Ahmed Grag'n's Jihad and the Oromo expansion probably hurried the process of settlement. Consequently, the Hadiya region served as a refuge for political

³⁹Hosanna, Meteorology station 2015, Hosanna.

⁴⁰Braukamper and Tilahun Mishamo, Praise and Teasing; Narrative Songs of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia (Frankfurt: Frobenius-Institute, 1999), pp. 51, 61, 67: Gedeon, pp.2-3: Informants Ato Makoro Onse, Ato Desta Lenjiso and Ato Anjach Atiso Lodebo.

⁴¹Tesfaye Habiso, Kambatana Hadiya..., pp.122, 123, and 265, 267-269: Lapiso, Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil Ediget Zemacha BeKambatana Hadiya Awraja 1971eska 1975 (Addis Ababa, 1983), p. 121: Informants Ato Deneke Hafebo, Ato Tedesse Jelamo and Ato Gintamo Sebro.

⁴²Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 26-28: Gedeon, pp.3-4: Informants Ato Kassa Batiso, Ato Emam Desta and Ato Demissie Lodamo and Ato Solomon Walacho

exiles and economically threatened group from different directions. Thus, the Hadiya region attracted immigrants from various parts of the country like: Arsi, Bale, Jimma, Wolayta, Borena, Halaba, Sidama, Kafa, Gurage, Enariya Amhara and the other parts. All of these people currently constituted as central part of the Hadiya society. Their place of origin or the names of the immigrants remained as their tribal name.⁴³

The Hadiya proper sub-groups are the Lemo/Badogo, Soro, Shashogo and Badawacho. The Hadiya language belongs to the same “Highland East Cushitic” group as Kambata and Sidama. When the great Oromo expansion started in the 16thc, it caused the Hadiya people to move westwards, often practicing a pastoral life. About 1770 two other Hadiya sub-groups, the Shashogo and Urusso, who later formed the Badawacho together crossed the Bilate River and were invited by the Kambata to form a pact against the Weto-Gira.⁴⁴

Together they defeated the Weto-Gira and co-operated with each other more or less up to the time of the Amhara occupation at the end of the 19thc. The Hadiya sub-groups of the Lemo and the Soro, which were individually strongest groups in the Kambata/ Hadiya region, settled in their present areas between 1780 and 1815. They were fierce rivals in the struggle for land. The Shonkolla Mt. primarily becomes a point of reference for the Soro Hadiya.⁴⁵

Tradition holds that the land was divided among the Soro at large assembly close to this Mountain. The Soro invaded the Kambata-speaking Dubamo and Donga. When the Badawacho emerged at the end of the 18thc, they were heading south into what is known as Wolayta. There they found plenty of grazing land. Gradually they were, pushed northwards by the expanding kingdom of Wolayta.⁴⁶

As mentioned above, the origin of the Kambata and Hadiya people passed the same process and the same stock, the Sidama group. Moreover, different population movements and immigration of different ethnic groups to the area similarly affected the region as well as the peoples’ way of life. The presence of clans claiming descent from Sidama, Gurage, Wolayita,

⁴³Grenstedt, pp.124-126: Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico-legal..., pp.54-55, 61, 64; Informants Ato Hussien Unamo, Ato Imam Gemachu, Ato Ayele Anniyo.

⁴⁴ Grenstedt, pp.45-46 and see maps at the appendix-L1- L3, that shows different population movements and the settlement pattern of the Hadiya people.

⁴⁵Tesfaye Habiso, Kambatana Hadiya..., pp. 265-267, 269: Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico-legal ..., pp.54-55, 61, 64; Gedeon, pp.4-7: Informants Ato Eyo Chakiso, Ato Emam and Ato Daniel.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

Oromia, Amhara, in the Kambata and the Hadiya region indicates that movement of clans back and forth was the norm.⁴⁷

As a result, there are clans in both Kambata and the Hadiya with similar names and they claim the same origin. Some of clans with similar name and origin in Kambata and Hadiya include Jumma, Jiga, Hessesse, Malga (Sidamo group), Badogo, Dada, Farzano, Gebara, Guji, Qarriso(Ekka), Womalo, Ganza, and Zato etc. (Oromo group), Weshesheta, Damota, (Wolayita group), Saga, Wereza (Gurage group); Oyeta, Gulba, Inagos, Nurto, Amhara (Amhara group). As discussed so far, this interrelation and similarity is the result of people-to-people inter-connections.⁴⁸

That shows deep ethnic interaction of these people which began from their origin and continued until today. This is clearly identified in the similarity of the two society's socio-cultural, political and economic activities, which could be discussed later. Due to this closer relation in these societies, they can understand one another's language, as shown below. This is also shown in people-to-people interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya societies and other socio-cultural issues.⁴⁹

2.4. Language of the Kambata and Hadiya people

Language serves as a means of maintaining people's belief, culture, identity and traditions. It also used to transmit these values to the coming generation. The Kambata and Hadiya people share a number of socio-cultural features. Their language similarity is very high, where most people in the region are bilingual, who speak both Kambattissa (Kambata language) and Hadiyissa (Hadiya language).⁵⁰

Sources indicate that the Kambata and Hadiya languages belong to one of the four families of languages spoken in Ethiopia. It belongs to the Cushitic languages family. Among the latter, it

⁴⁷Grenstedt, pp.124-126: Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico-legal..., pp.54-55, 61, and 64: Informants Ato Hirgete, Ato Yaekim Ato Imam and Ato Hirigo.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰Braukamper, Die Kambata..., pp.294-295.

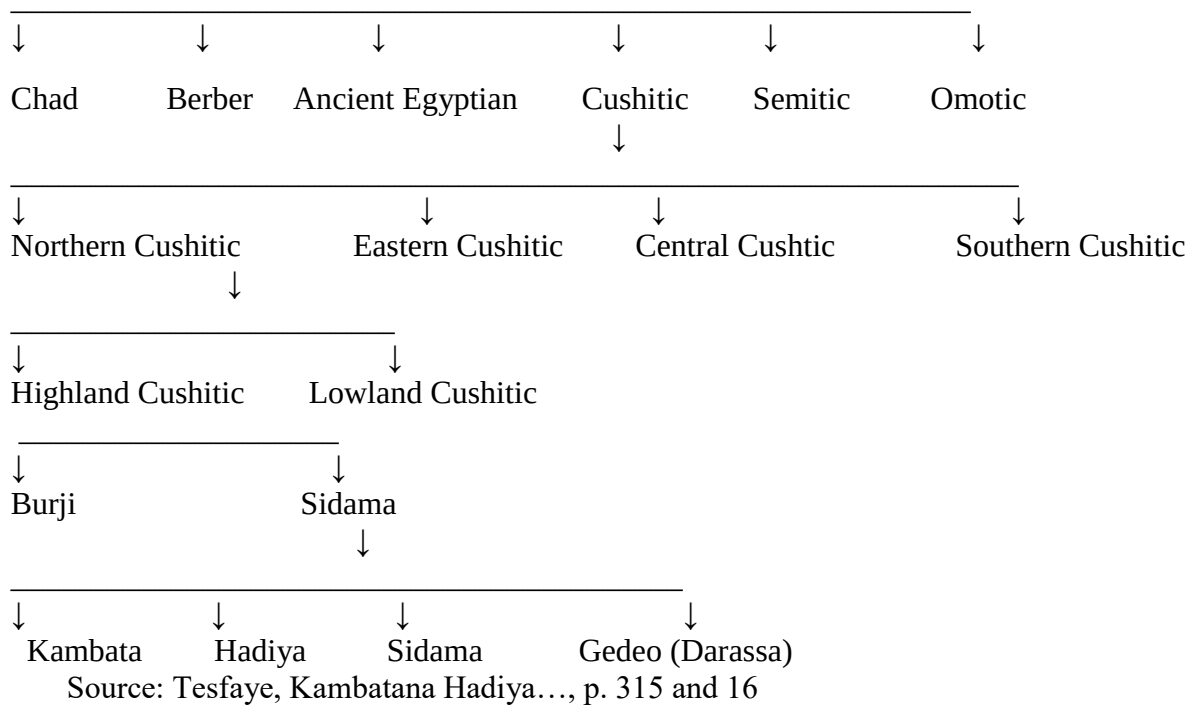
Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico ..., pp.161; Gedeon Addise, pp.6-7: Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Bekele H/Mariam and Ayele Anniyo. Informants Ato Makoro, Ato Desta, Ato Hirgete, Ato Yaekim and Ato Anjach Atiso.

is classified into the Highland East Cushitic Group; specifically to the Sidama group. This could be one of the vital reasons for their linguistic resemblance.⁵¹

Concerning the language similarity of the Kambata and Hadiya society informants justified it relating with the origin of the people as one reason. They stated that before their settlement in the present location both the Kambata and Hadiya societies together with the Tembaro, Halaba, Donga, Sidama and other Sidama groups were in the central highlands of the Sidama. From there they moved to the area between the Omo and Bilate rivers at different times. They settled there for long time in closer environment. Thus, both societies claim the same ancestor that could be cited for their language and other socio-cultural similarities. Moreover, such closeness and relations of both societies indicate their people-to-people interactions on different issues.⁵²

Besides this common settlement and having the same origin, they interact in much way as socio-economic and socio-cultural activities indicate the society's common value with the neighbors. This became among the factors that contribute towards their linguistic and ethnic similarity and shows the existences of high ethnic interaction among the society.

Figure 2. Diagram of the Afro-Asiatic Language Families



⁵¹Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico ..., pp.161; Gedeon Addise, pp.6-7: Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Bekele H/Mariam, Ato and Ayele Anniyo.

⁵²Informants Ato Makoro, Ato Desta, Ato Hirgete, Ato Yaekim and Ato Anjach Atiso.

Such inter-dependences of the society mentioned among is the contributory factor of the high degree linguistic similarity. As it has been discussed so far, such relationships and interaction were and are the direct result of population movements that took place in different times. This in turn contributed to the existence of various languages in the same region and the creation of the Kambata and Hadiya language from the combination and adoption of many words and languages from the above mentioned groups of people.⁵³

However, this aspect was not studied in detail; certain studies undertaken by researchers as certain that the languages of the Sidama Group are closely related to each other. In a way, these languages have similar words and expressions, and they show similarity in accent. Therefore, such language relations of the society also indicate the existences of high degree of ethnic interaction and inter-relationship among these people.⁵⁴

Moreover, the Kambata and Hadiya language is closely related to the languages of the other Sidama Group and non-Sidama groups like the Oromo, the Wolayta, the Amhara, the Gurage and other neighboring languages. Such word affinities and language similarity justifies the inter-ethnic connections of these societies. Informants listed some of the similar words in these languages as shown in the following table.⁵⁵

Table 2. Words Similarities in different Languages

English	Kambattissa	Hadiyissa	Ṭembarissa	Sidama	Afan Oromo
Egg	Quphata	Qunqa	Quphata	Qupa	Buppa
House	Mine	Mine	Mine	Mino	Mana
Cut	Mur	Mure	Mur	Mur	Murii
Donkey	Hare	Halicho	Hare	Haricho	Hare
Cow	Sa'a	Saayya	Sa'a	Sa'a	Sa'a
Two	Lamo	Lamo	Lamo	Lame	Lamaa
Tongue	Arrabita	Allabo	Arrabita	Arabe	Arabaa

Informants mention different population movements that occurred in the region as well as social inter-connections in various socio-economic and socio-cultural activities for the language similarity of these societies. Before the conquest of Menelik II towards the second half of the 19thc Kambata and Hadiya, societies had been using their language for various purposes. They call their children and their cattle by local names. At times, they also use

⁵³ Ibid and Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet, p.17; Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Emam, Ato Sebro and Ato Kassa.

⁵⁴ Ibid and Gedeon, pp.6-7: Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico ..., pp.161.

⁵⁵ Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Emam, Ato Sebro and Ato Kassa.

various songs of their own during funeral and wedding ceremonies, praise and teasing. After the Menelik II incorporation, the Kambata and Hadiya were forced to adopt the language and culture of the Amhara at the expense of their indigenous way of life.⁵⁶

Following this, the local people started to use Amhara names, dressing styles, Amharic language, Orthodox religion and the like. Informants remind that, such cultural domination continued even during the *Derg* regime. In the period, there was no freedom to religion and to use local languages at work places. With the coming of EPRDF government, the Kambata and Hadiya people got freedom to use their languages for official purposes. As a result, at present both societies use their language for communication, education (mainly at primary and secondary levels), at courts and for other purposes. Outside their region, the Kambata and Hadiya language is spoken among the Alaba, Gurage, Silte, Wolayta and other places; where there is large number of Kambata and Hadiya settlers. Besides, Kambata and Hadiya also use the language of their neighbors during their interaction on different issues as trade and other socio-cultural issues.⁵⁷

Their language has various dialects. The Hadiya have the Lemmo dialect, the Sorro dialect, the Badawacho dialect and the Shashogo dialect. Among these, the Sorro and Lemmo dialects are the most widely spread and used dialects. The languages of its close neighbors, Kambata and Wolayta, have influenced the Badawacho dialect. The Sorro dialect has more uniformity than others do. Some features such as pronunciation, ways of expression, and vocabulary distinguish these regional varieties of Hadiyissa, but they all comprise together a single language, Hadiyissa. The Kambata also have the Tembaro, Halaba, Qabena and the Donga dialects.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam and Ato Eyob

⁵⁸ Asebe, p.36; Levine, Greater Ethiopia: ..., p.40; Sisay, p.4.

CHAPTER THREE

3. THE POLITICAL INTERACTION OF THE KAMBATA AND HADIYA PEOPLE (1941-1991)

3.1. Political and Economic Relationships

3.1.1 Political Relationship

3.1.2 The Kambata and Hadiya interaction with their neighbors

There has been continued process of interaction and inter-connection among different peoples of Ethiopia throughout their history.⁵⁹ The Kambata and Hadiya people also had regular interaction through population movements, intermarriage, religious activities, trade and other socio-cultural activities among themselves and with their neighboring communities. These factors were and continued to be among the causes that could facilitate the society's interaction. In the course of such inter-connections over time they had established inter-ethnic interactions involving mutual interdependence with Tembaro, Donga, Wolayita, Dawuro, Oromo, Gurage, Silte, Alaba and others. These people are the neighboring people who could significantly determine the socio-economic and socio-cultural issues as well as the whole history of the Kambata and Hadiya peoples. The linguistic and ethnological similarity of the Kambata and Hadiya with these neighbors is remarkable.⁶⁰

As discussed so far, some of the means of this interaction include inter-marriage among the society, inter-connections through trade and other social activities. Due to such co-existences many Kambata and Hadiya people live in Gurage, Silte, Wolayta, Dawuro, Tembaro, Alaba, Bale, Arsi and other areas. Similarly, large numbers of people live in Kambata and Hadiya areas from these regions.⁶¹

Above all, more friendly contacts continued to be formed through the process of migration, trade and inter-marriage with these peoples. There has been continuous interaction between these people and the Kambata and Hadiya society; continued to be for long periods in their

⁵⁹ Asebe, p.36; Levine, Greater Ethiopia: ..., p.40; Sisay, p.4.

⁶⁰ Tesfaye Habiso, Kambatana Hadiya..., pp.153-156; Gedeon, pp. 15-17: Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Ayele Anniyo.

⁶¹ Ibid.

history from the time of their settlements. In most cases these people share more or less similar marriage practices, trade activities, religious beliefs and cultural traits as well as similar way of life that include food habits, styles of clothing and others.⁶²

There are only small dialectal differences between the Kambata and the Tembaro society. Tesfaye justified the reason for such language similarity relating it with the origin of the two societies. He stated that seven groups from Tembaro entered into Kambata from 1550-1570 and continued to live together. These could be one of the important reasons for the linguistic similarity between Kambata and the Tembaro. Moreover, Zato, Weshesha and Hatte-Amhara as the ancestors of Dubbamo and Donga that imply historical and genealogical connection of Kambata, Dubbamo and Donga. At present, it stands for the clan names that exist in Tembaro, Donga, Hadiya and Wolayta.⁶³

Informants mention that the ethnic relation of the Donga and Dubamo with that of Hadiya was the result the Badawacho and Soro Hadiya groups' conquest around 1800. Following that time both states were ruled by the Hadiya and highly tied together. That could be mentioned among the factors for their ethnic and cultural closeness.⁶⁴

The Bädawacho Hadiya and the Wolayta maintained a strong relationship among themselves; their geographical closeness played a big part in this regard. These two areas had long established socio-cultural, socio-economic and religious inter-connections. For example, both had resisted the conquest of Menelik jointly as explained in the previous section. Hadiya who live in Wolayta adopted the language and culture of the latter and vice versa. There were indeed conflicts between the Bädawacho Hadiya and the Wolayta, but these conflicts did not continue very long and peaceful contact is maintained still today.⁶⁵

Commercial ties between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with their neighbors were very strong. Various commodities were sold and bought in many market places where they met frequently. Thus, the market centers served as the major communication centers between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with their neighbors. Large numbers of the Gurage, Silte and

⁶²Ibid, Belachew, pp.144-147: Informants Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and Ato Hirgete.

⁶³Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, p. 96.

⁶⁴Informants: Ato Sebro, Ato Heramo, Ato Imam and Ato Kassa.

⁶⁵Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Aman, Shuramo and Ato Eriso.

Kambata traders controlled the retail transactions of Hossana town in Hadiya. Similarly, many Hadiya, Wolayta, Alaba and Kambata people who own transactions at Soddo, Durame, Areka, Kulito towns and the surroundings. Therefore, these towns and market places become very good examples of peaceful co-existence among these different ethnic groups. In way commercial activities served as a means of the Kambata and Hadiya society's ethnic interaction with their neighboring peoples.⁶⁶ This will be further discussed latter in socio-economic section.

As discussed in the previous section, there is strong inter-marriage between the Kambata and Hadiya people as well as with their neighbors. Thus, the inter-marriage between neighborhoods served as means of peaceful interaction as well. Besides, the society also believed that inter-marriage would promote smooth relationship between these neighbors and contribute to resolve conflicts peacefully. Thus, inter-ethnic marriage between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with their neighbours' could be among the main factor for the high degree of ethnic inter-connection of these societies.⁶⁷

As a result, the Kambata and Hadiya people as well as their neighboring communities were and continued to be interrelated with each other. Therefore, their crisscross settlements, commercial connections, long sustained inter-marriages and other related factors resulted for their linguistic and other socio-cultural as well as socio-economic resemblances among these societies. Moreover, such similarities and inter-connections could be among the manifestations for the existences of high ethnic interactions among these societies.⁶⁸

3.2. Menelik's Conquest and Its Aftermath on Kambata and Hadiya Peoples

Emperor Menelik II started the process of expansion as a Shawan ruler that was to culminate in the creation of modern imperial state of Ethiopia. It has been argued that Menelik carried through the tradition of territorial expansion that his ancestors started earlier. Some scholars underscore that Menelik's conquest of southern Ethiopia was meant to "reunite" territories which his predecessors had failed to control and administer effectively. Moreover, it is argued

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Braukamper and Tilahun mishamo..., P.23; Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam and Ato Eyob.

⁶⁸Informants, Ato Chufamo, Ato Somano, w/ro Anite, w/ro Abebech .

that his conquest was a response to the encroachment of the European colonial powers. Hence Menelik has been hailed as the “creator” of modern Ethiopia by the proponents of this view.⁶⁹

On the other hand, writers with an ethno-nationalist stand and those who share their viewpoints associate the conquest of Menelik with the exploitation of the resources of the south; they considered it a “colonial undertaking”.⁷⁰

But it should be noted that Menelik’s conquest was not a direct replica of European colonialism; both are not exactly the same experiences because internal realities differed considerably.⁷¹ In Kambata, for example, oral informants on the conquest of Menelik are unanimous in telling that the conquering soldiers of Menelik committed various atrocities against their fathers; there was mass killing, imposition of inferior status, plunder, enslavement and deprivation of the possession of lands.⁷² Some writers, basing themselves on such information from the people of the subjugated parts, conclude that the expansion of Menelik was not just territorial acquisition in its essence; rather it was a “colonization”.⁷³

Before the 19thc many parts of southern Ethiopia were relatively autonomous. In this connection Holcomb and Sisay argued that there were various “independent nations” in southern Ethiopia which were far away from the direct control of the Christian empire.⁷⁴ Some of them, however, were tributary states. But this should not be taken for granted because the degree of autonomy might have varied depending on the nature of the relationship with different regions had with the center. This relatively autonomous existence of various people of southern Ethiopia such as the Kambata was brought to an end with the conquest of Menelik during and after the 1880s.⁷⁵

The Kambata were among the first to be probed by the military campaigns of Menelik. The conquest was a defining event in the history of the people; it shaped various developments in

⁶⁹Ernesta Cerruli, pp. 85; Levine, *Greater Ethiopia: ...*, p.40; Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil...*, p.103

⁷⁰ Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 157-179; Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands...*, p. 77

⁷¹Gedeon, pp. 15-17; Ernesta Cerruli, *Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia...*, pp. 85

⁷²Informants: Makoro, Desta, w/ro Hirgete, Yaekim and Anjach Atiso.

⁷³Tesfaye, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 157-179; Pankhurst, *the Ethiopian Borderlands...*, p. 77.

⁷⁴Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil...*, p.156; Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 57-59.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

the region during the period under discussion. Menelik started his encroachment into the Kambata region north of Hadiya (Qabena) in 1875. The pressure of the territorial expansion on the southern Ethiopian states changed into occupation in later years, mainly after 1880s and 1890s. Different reasons mentioned the Menelik's territorial expansion: some scholars underline that Menelik's conquest of the southern Ethiopia was an attempt to bring back the territories his predecessors had failed to control and administer effectively. Moreover, they mention that his conquest was a response to the encroachment of the European colonial powers.⁷⁶

The other justification for Menelik's southern expansion could be his need to control the resources and trade routes of the region in order to strengthen his bid for imperial power.⁷⁷ The expansion of the region had already begun when he took possession of part of Gurage areas to the central Ethiopian Empire between 1875 and 1876. In a way, Menelik's forces fully conquered the Gurage in 1889. Then the process of expansion extended to Hadiya. It started when the force of *Ras Gobana Dache* invaded *Shashogo* and *Lemo* in 1890.⁷⁸

The *Shashogo* and *Lemo* Hadiya were the first Hadiya groups to be defeated by Menelik's forces in the Kambata areas. At the time, the authority of Menelik's representative *Ras Gobena* continued to the Kambata areas after long time. Though, *Ras Gobena* was not able to control the whole Kambata areas, part of the region was included to *Ras Gobena's* rule of the Gurage before the final surrender from 1891-1894. *Ras Gonena* died before completing his conquest of the Kambata and his son *Dajach Wodajo* and *Ras Wolde Ashagre* completed it.⁷⁹ *Tesfaye* expressed that the Kambata areas was rule by *Ras Gobena* from 1882-1884.⁸⁰

⁷⁶Ibid, Informants: Ato Heramo, Ersamo, Ato Abegaz and Ato Meharu.

⁷⁷Ibid, *Tesfaye, Kambatana Hadiya...*, p.155-158; Bahru, pp. 16-17; Lapiso, Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil..., p.96-99.

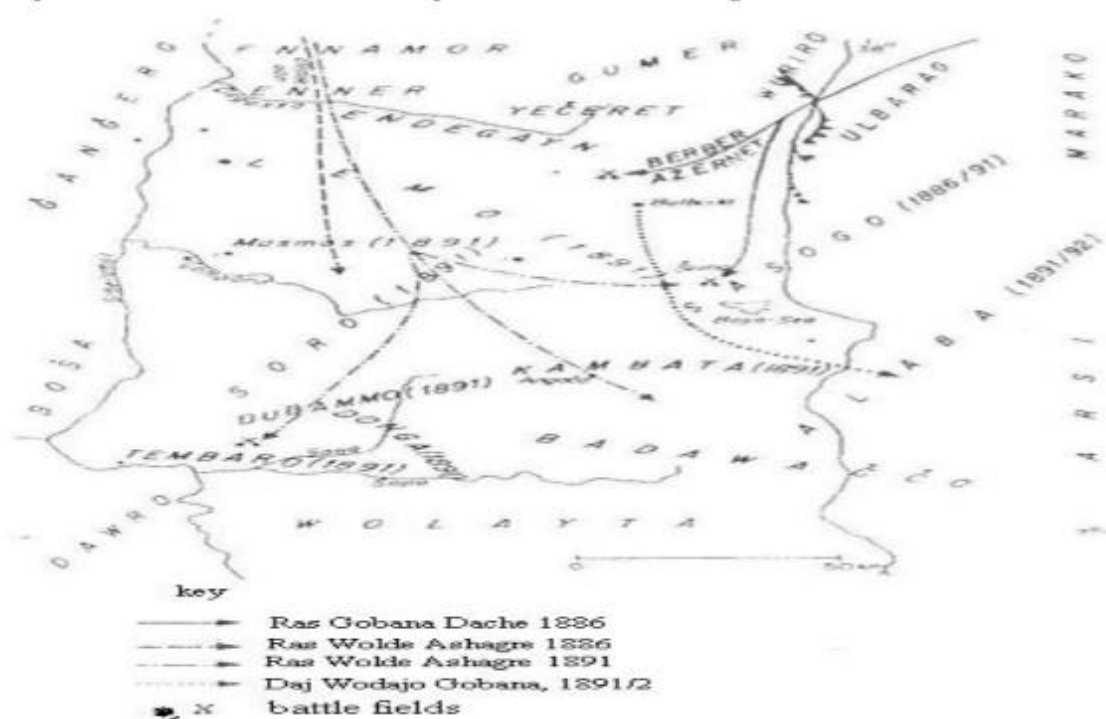
⁷⁸Bahru, pp. 16.

⁷⁹Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 79-80; Lapiso, Abiyotawi..., pp.95-97; Braukamper, *Die Kambata*, p. 84; Tesfaye, *Some Records...*, pp. 137-139; Informants: Yaekim, Emam, Daniel and Tesfaye Tadewos

⁸⁰Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, P.364. Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 79-80; Lapiso, Abiyotawi..., pp.95-97; Braukamper, *Die Kambata*, p. 84; Tesfaye, *Some Records...*, pp. 137-139; Informants: Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Zelalem and Ato Bekele

Wodajo, son of Gobena, continued the subjugation. The Hadiya groups of Lemo, Shashogo and Soro were fully controlled from 1889-1892. The expansion further extended to Kambata and the southern Hadiya (Bädawacho) peoples after the defeat of the northern Hadiya groups. At the time, the Bädawacho formed an alliance with the Wolayta in order to fight the Shewan forces. Though there was stiff resistance and bloody battles between Menelik's forces and the combined forces of the Hadiya and Wolayta from, 1891-1894 they were not able to subdue the military and numerically superior Menelik's forces.⁸¹ As a result, both of them were defeated and surrendered to Menelik's forces in 1894. In a way, the whole of the Kambata and the Hadiya region had been defeated from 1890-1894.⁸² See map below that shows the routes and some battlefields of Menelik generals in their way to Kambata region.

Figure 3. line of Menelik II's forces incorporation of the Kambata region



Source: Singer, 1977, p.41

Different justifications were given for the victory of Menelik's campaign in the region. Some of the reasons include; Menelik's troops were militarily superior. While the local peoples in

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Tesfaye Habiso, Kambata Hadiya..., P.364. Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 79-80; Lapiso, Abiyotawi..., pp.95-97; Braukamper, Die Kambata, p. 84; Tesfaye, Some Records..., pp. 137-139; Informants: Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Tomas and Ato Imam Gemachu

this region were fighting only with their spears. Thus, the joint force of *Ras Wolde Ashagre* and *Dajach Wodajo* had marched against the peoples of Kambata, Tembaro, Donga and Welayta from 1889 to 1894.⁸³

Following his battles of incorporations Menelik II assigned his favorite generals to rule the the conquered peoples of the region. As a result, Menelik's territorial expansion caused several violence on occupied peoples and states. This could be Sevier when there was strong resistance against the invading forces. Therefore, there was mass killing, imposition of lower position, robbery, enslavement and denial to the possession of lands. As stated earlier, before the 19thc many parts of the southern Ethiopia were relatively autonomous; which were far away from the direct control of the Christian empire. However, some of them were tributary states. This relatively autonomous existence of the southern peoples like Kambata ended with the conquest of Menelik in early 1890s.⁸⁴ Moreover, the conquest brought several socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political biases on conquered society, like Kambata and Hadiya in the period under discussion. It was a defining event in the history of these people and regarded as a turning point. Since the incorporation, they started to lose their indigenous practices and cultural elements kept with them for centuries. After 1894, they become no longer autonomous. As common to other conquered peoples of Ethiopia, the Kambata and Hadiya people were reduced to the status of *gebbar* (tribute paying peasants). The occupied peoples were supposed to provide the *naftegna* (gunmen) with food and other services.⁸⁵

After his occupation, Menelik made all the conquered lands his own property. Hence, he begun to grant these lands to the various individuals or institutions he favored immediately after his conquest. That led for the redistribution of the Kambata and Hadiya land among the government officials, soldiers, the Orthodox Church and other settlers.⁸⁶

As mentioned above, the conquest resulted in socio-political and economic changes in the region. Politically, the indigenous organization and administration of the society was replaced

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Tesfaye, Kambatana Hadiya..., PP. 28-31; Grenstedt, pp. 49-51: Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Elias.

⁸⁵ Tesfaye Habiso, Kambatana Hadiya..., PP. 28-31; Grenstedt, pp. 49-51: Informants, Ato Alemu, Ato Someno, Ato Tamiru Ato Tadesse.

⁸⁶ Braukamper and Tilahun mishamo..., p.22-23: Informants Ato Erisamo and Ato Aman.

by a new feudal order. After defeating all the peoples of this region, *Ras Wolde* ruled and handed over Kambata administrative region (*Kambata Awrajja*) in 1892 to *Dajach Wodajo* who led from Anna (political center). Then *Dajach* Bashah Aboye, *Dajach* Tesema Darge and *Ras Abate Buayalew* served as representatives of Menelik in this region in different times.⁸⁷

It appears that the region was divided among many *Dajazmaches* after *Dajach Wodajo*. Concerning this Lapiso argues that Soro, Lemo, Kontab and Shashogo were given to *Dajach* Bashah and his capital was Anna in Lemo. Whereas Tembaro, Kambata and Bädawacho given to *Dajach* Tesema who used Mt. Ambaricho as his capital. Tefaye states that the domain of *Dajach*.⁸⁸

Tesema could reach as far as Azernet barbare and Endagagn. Therefore, after incorporation, the Kambata and Hadiya entered into new socio-political orientations, which was the most significant in destroying their indigenous traditional institutions. This is because, the participants of armed forces compensated for their efforts in the conquest and subsequent administration.⁸⁹

Furthermore, under the new administrative system the Hadiya region was merged with Kambata. Then Kambata and Hadiya region become one administrative structure and known as the province of Kambata, though the Kambata were a minority. The new Amhara administrative structure preferred the Kambata based on some reasons, regardless of the majority Hadiya and other peoples inhabiting in the region. One of the reasons seems that the Kambata's *Woma* Dilbeto accepted Menelik forces through negotiation without serious fighting unlike the Hadiya.⁹⁰

In addition to this, it was also more considered as Christianized for longer time by the kings of Christian Highland Kingdom than the Muslim Hadiya. The other justification might be the Kambata's dynastic linkage with the Christian Highland Kingdom through Hamalmal that

⁸⁷Braukamper, *Die Kambata*, p. 84: Tefaye, *Some Records....*, pp. 137-139: Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam and Ato Gintamo.

⁸⁸Tefaye, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 157-158; Tefaye, *Some records...* pp. 139-140 and Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Tadesse.

⁸⁹Tefaye, *Kambatana...*, pp. 157-158

⁹⁰Grenstedt, pp.49-51; Gedeon, pp.7- 9, 11-13: Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Mathewos and Deneke.

increased its political significance more than the Hadiya. Due to the above-mentioned reasons, the Kambata region was not fully isolated from the northern Ethiopia; even at the time when the relations between the highland kingdom and the Hadiya had weakened beginning from the 17th c.⁹¹

The new territorial amalgamation resulted in elimination of former ethnic boundaries and contributed for the assimilation of the people along the border to the Hadiya or with the Kambata. Consequently, Ajora clan inhabited the area at angle of rivers Sana and Ajora waterfall gradually assimilated to Kambata. Similarly, peoples along the borders with Hadiya become Hadiya. Moreover, Menelik's representatives established new administrative structures in the region that combined both societies as one. However, the Kambata and Hadiya people had strong ethnic interaction before the arrival of the Menelik's forces; the conquest further strengthened it by avoiding the ethnic boundaries in the region.⁹² Informants expressed that "*Mineleke doollaan Kanbatee, Hadiyaa, Tambaaro yeenno gashu ba'een Amaari awonsoon mexooma gashu haraaro*" implies following the Menelik's arrival the separate Kambata, Hadiya and Tembaro rule was replaced by the common rule under the Amhara forces. This is mentioned from the factors for the augmented ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya society.⁹³

Socially, the Kambata and Hadiya were forced to adopt the culture of the dominant groups at the expense of their indigenous practices. Related to social problems the psychological shock among the society was also significant. Concerning this, the local people started to use Amhara names, dressing styles, speak Amharic language, accept Orthodox religion and the like. The political, socio-economic and cultural changes in the region following Menelik's conquest will be further discussed in the following units. Furthermore, there was mass settlement in the Kambata and Hadiya region from different directions of the Ethiopian parts. Most of the settlers were from the northern parts of the country; those moved to south to

⁹¹Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 26-28; Tesfaye, Kambatana Hadiya ..., pp. 26-28; Trimmingham, p. 95 and Cerruli, pp. 85-86, 118; Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Imam Ato Mathewos and Deneke.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Informants, Ato Kabamo, Ato Somano, Ato Bekele, Ato Alemu

escape the causalities related to the famine, which is more serious in the northern parts than the south.⁹⁴

One of the informants Ato Asaro explained the settlement of the period as “*Menelike oli doollu saffaare doola agudano*” this means “the period after Menelik’s conquest looks like the new settlement policy”. He used this expression to show the mass settlement of the people from other parts of the country in the area. These new settlers occupied on the lands that were not settled or sharing the lands with local people through peaceful means as well as there was eviction of the local peoples mainly by the naftaña and the Amhara officials. He mentioned such settlement of different ethnic groups at one place as one of the factors that facilitated wider ethnic interaction with different peoples in the period under discussion.⁹⁵

Concerning this Tesfaye wrote different ethnic groups settled in Kambata and Hadiya region during the reign of Menelik II from 1889-1913. Most of the settlers were those who come from various directions of Oromo, Amhara, Gurage, the naftaña forces and others. Meanwhile, all of them adopted the Amhara culture, language, religion and they became and called Amhara.

....ከአዲስ አበባ ደረሰው የግዛት ምኒልክ ዘመን መንግስት (1881-1905) ጀምሮ ወደ ካምባታ የዘመቱት ከአሮሞ፡ ከአመራ፡ ከጉራጌና ከተለያዩ ለሎች ብሔረሰቦች የተዎጣጡት የግንዳባልና የነፍጠኛ ሠራዊት (በኋላውም “አማራ” የመባልና የመሆን የበቁት ይኸውም የአማርኛን ቋንቋ፡ የአማራን ባህል፡ የአማራን እምነት ይኸውም የኦርቶዶክስ ተዋህዶ የክርስትናን ሃይማኖት የራሳቸው አድርገው በመቀበል “ከአማራ የበለጠ አማራ ሆነው” የኖሩት ወገኖች⁹⁶

Thus, the developments following Menelik’s incorporation led for the settlement of various societies in Kambata and Hadiya regions, who came from different directions of the country.

⁹⁴ Alebachew and Samuel, PP.82-83, 85-86, 88: Informants Ato Emam Ato Mathewos and Deneke.

⁹⁵ Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Yaekim.

⁹⁶ Tesfaye, Kambatana Hadiya ..., p.265

Such mass settlements of the people in the region encouraged inter-ethnic interaction of these societies.⁹⁷

The period up to the Italian invasion in 1935 was characterized by the consolidation of the Amhara rule in the region. The opposition from the Kambata and Hadiya people mainly challenged this. The transition period after Menelik and the subsequent struggle between officials, particularly the late years of *Ras Abata*, the Hadiya and Kambata tried to restore their land. Moreover, the annex of the letter from Minister of Interior to the Police Commission describes the long sustained opposition of Hadiya against Amhara.⁹⁸

The Amhara soldiers, who won the Gurage and Wolayta as allies against the revolting ethnic groups, were then able to regain control of the region. At the time of the Italian occupation, the *gäbbar* system was abolished, not to reintroduce. The Kambata province was a *residenza* and clustered under the Oromo and Sidama from its center at Jimma during the Italian period.⁹⁹ Moreover, the Italian period witnessed the construction of some social services like roads, bridges and the like in the region. The road that links *Durgi* and Hossana-Soddo highway and some other roads that join the two societies together at the Halaba-Soddo highway, Hossana-Damboya-Halaba, Shone-Mazoria-Durame, roads are among Italians contribution. In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya region got modern transport that concerned and continued to tie them together and with other neighboring regions. Besides this, their collaborators gained their daily income to purchase goods such as bread, clothes, and flour. Informants also remind that it was for the first time to see cars and corrugated iron roofed houses as modern developments. Opposing to their contribution by ending exploitative feudalism and slave trade, the Italians also collected different kinds of taxes from the people.¹⁰⁰

The places in southern Ethiopia were not restored to imperial control before 1943. After the emperor's restoration, which was completed in 1944, the former Kambata province became an *Awraja* (sub-province) in the Arsi province with its capital at Assela. Land tenants, who were forced to pay heavy taxes, now cultivated large areas in Kambata and Hadiya region. The gap

⁹⁷Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Yaekim, Ato Alemu and Ato Bekele.

⁹⁸See the letter at appendix A-1.

⁹⁹Lapiso, Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil Ediget ..., p.23-25: Grenstedt, pp.49-51: Informants Ato Somano, Ato Eyob.

¹⁰⁰Informants: Ato Mathewos, Ato Bekele and Ato Deneke, Ato Chufamo and Ato Erisamo.

between the landless peasants and the privileged landlords seems in fact to have widened after the Italian occupation. In 1962, the Kambata Awraja became part of the Shawa province with Addis Ababa as its centre.¹⁰¹

As stated above, most informants justified the assimilation of the different peoples in the region by the new administrative structure as among the reasons that increased ethnic interactions with the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with their neighbors. They remind that the settlement of different ethnic groups following the incorporation could have facilitated this interaction. The other justification of the informants is that the nature of interaction with Kambata and Hadiya people as well as with the Oromo neighbors could be due to the merged administrations during the Italian rule (1936-1941). Such interaction of the societies continued in subsequent years through trade and other socio-economic activities.¹⁰²

However, following the 1942 the Kambata and Hadiya region clustered under the southern Shawa and administered from the center at Assela. As a result, the people-to-people interconnection was high at the time. In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya society had been performing many activities jointly as one state and the same ethnic group following the incorporation. Both societies perform many socio-economic activities for their masters in one group. They also attend different meetings and community activities together. Thus, such co-operative socioeconomic performances could have further helped the interactions of these societies in the period. That could be among the reasons for the high ethnic interactions between the Kambata and Hadiya peoples.¹⁰³

Economically, the incorporation brought about a new order, i.e. land tenure and tribute systems. In Ethiopia, land tenure and tribute were considered as source of income for the government. As a result, many sources explain the control of land and the sources of tribute become one way for power and prosperity for Ethiopian rulers and for those who controlled it. The economic and social conditions of the people had faced serious problem in the subsequent

¹⁰¹Gedeon, pp.7-9, 11-13; Belachew, pp.145-147, 159-160 and see the headings of the letters written between 1940s and 1960 and indicate different territorial arrangements of the Kambata and Hadiya region at appendix A1, B1, C, D1, E-K.

¹⁰²Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Tomas, Ato Eyob.

¹⁰³Ibid.

years of incorporation.¹⁰⁴ In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya were introduced to the term *gebir* (tribute) and obliged to pay it. The *naftegna* used to impose various tributes upon the *gebbar*, like supplying firewood and grass for cattle of *naftegna*; which they locally refers it as *haqqena Hixe gibera*. Besides this, the *gäbbar* had also required to perform many activities for the *naftegna*¹⁰⁵

As discussed above Menelik's expansion had brought changes in the religious practices of the Kambata and Hadiya. The people were forced to adopt the new religion at the expense of their traditional religious elements after the incorporation period. Thus, Orthodox Christianity started to influence the Kambata and Hadiya traditional religious practitioners. However, Christianity expanded in the region latter from 1930s to 1950s mainly due to European missionary activities. Concerning the religious developments of the society Orthodox, Protestant and Catholic Christianity expanded in the Kambata and Hadiya at the time. The Sudanese Interior Mission (SIM), which was led by Dr. Lambie, started the missionary idea in the provinces called Lambuda (near Hossana) and Taza (Durame) around 1920s. The SIM played vital role in expanding Protestant Christianity in the Kambata and Hadiya.¹⁰⁶ Changes and continuities on religious issues further discussed under unit four. The older town emergence started on military camps following Menelik's incorporation. The early *ketema* in the region was established at Angacha, just northeast of the Mt. Ambaricho. In 1910, Hossana (Wachemo) became the leading *ketema* and the new provincial center, succeeding Angacha. The *ketemas* soon developed into commercial and administrative centers. They were mainly the living centers for the officials and dominant Amhara soldiers in the region.¹⁰⁷

Therefore, Menelik's territorial incorporation in the Kambata and Hadiya region reshaped several historical developments of the society. This political transformation led for the change in the local political administrative system, socio-economic as well as socio-cultural activities

¹⁰⁴Lapiso, Rejim YeItiopia.... p. 262; Lapiso, Abiyotawi...p. 199 and Tesfaye, Kambatana Hadiya...p. 205.

¹⁰⁵Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Yaekim, Ato Ayele and Ato Mathewos.

¹⁰⁶Informants Ato Mathewos, Ato Tamiru, Ato Eriso and Deneke

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

of the people. Above all, the developments following this territorial incorporation had played important role in the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interaction.¹⁰⁸

According to my informants, sometimes it was difficult to discuss in separate way Kambata from Hadiya because for a century, Hadiya was part of Kambata province and they also lived together.¹⁰⁹ After the Italian victory in the spring of 1936 the people of Kambata and Hadiya rose against the remaining Amhara soldiers in the region and threatened the *ketema*.¹¹⁰

After the Amhara restoration of the land which was completed in 1944, the former Kambata province became an *Awraja* (sub province) in the Arsi province with its capital in Assela. Large areas in the Kambata and Hadiya region were now cultivated by land tenants, who were forced to pay heavy taxes.¹¹¹ As a well-organized society the Kambata could offer good socio-political structures to the administrators of the central Ethiopian government after the south-expansion of the Emperor Menelik. That was why they usually chose the Kambata to make their political focal point. When Kambata became part of Arsi with Assela as the capital city, the administrative region consisted of Kambata, Hadiya, Alaba, Endegayn-Gurage and Azernet-Berberre- Gurage, from Omo to the Shalla. The group was represented by the Kambata. One of the main reasons for choosing it as their focal point was not only because the Kambata were well organized, but it might have been also because it was a less revolutionary society in comparison with the Alaba, Arsi, Hadiya, etc. The reason could be that Kambata, as an agricultural society.¹¹²

In addition, Ato Gizaw Fitamo explained that, from 1903s until 1974 and 1974 to 1991 the Kambata and the Hadiya peoples were governed within Kambata *Awraja* and Kambata and Hadiya *Awraja* respectively. Their political centers changed from time to time. This was started from the reign of the Christian highland kingdom. From the early period the Kambata

¹⁰⁸Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Mathewos and Deneke.

¹⁰⁹Informants: Ato Solomon Wachango, Ato Mitiku Sebiro, and Ato Ayele Mune.

¹¹⁰Braukamper, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens* 1980.pp.354. 436; 1983, pp.105

¹¹¹Braukamper .1980, pp.369, 439; see Pausewang 1990, pp.38.

¹¹²Braukämper, *Die Kambata: Geschichte und Gesellschaft*.p.113.

had a strong relationship with the imperial government of Ethiopia.¹¹³ Lapiso listed the *Awraja* Land Lords, governors and administrators from 1941-74, As follows:

Table 3. The Kambatan and Hadiya *Awraja* Land Lords From 1941-1974

No.	The land lord's name	Years of administration and government
1	<i>Fitawrari</i> Tesfaye Enkusilassie	1941-1947
2	<i>Dejazmach</i> Shiferaw Wendimagegnehu	1947-1948
3	<i>Dejazmach</i> Zeleke Desta	1948-1951
4	<i>Dejazmach</i> Shiferaw Wendimagegnehu	1951-1952
5	<i>Fitawrari</i> Kassa K/Maryam	1952
6	<i>Bejrond</i> Zewde Mulat	1952-1954
7	<i>Dejazmach</i> Yohannis Girmay	1954-1955
8	<i>Dejazmach</i> Zewde Tilahun	1955-1960
9	<i>Fitawrari</i> Ruga Ashami	1960-1965
10	<i>Fitawrari</i> Tedla Tamirat	1965-1966
11	Colonel Demeke Tessema/6 month/	1967
12	<i>Shaleka</i> Asfa Berihe	1967-1968
13	<i>Shaleka</i> Desalegn Shirka/6 month/	1969-1970
14	Ato Alemayehu Tabor	1970
15	<i>Shambel</i> Solomon Bogale/3 month/	1970
16	<i>Guwad</i> Petros Gebre	1970-1991

Figure 4. Picture of Guwad Petros Gebre, chairman of the Kambata and Hadiya *Awraja*



Source: Lapiso G.Delebo's, *Abyotawi yemirtina yebahil edget zemecha beKambatana Hadiya Awraja* (in Amharic) (1971-1975)

¹¹³ Ato Gizachew: culture and tourism office head of Doyogena.

During the *Derge* regime land was declared to be in the hands of the peasants under the slogan of “Land to the Tiller”. But all peasants of Kambata and Hadiya were not free to use the output of their efforts due to the command economic policy of the military government that was hindered by the free market economy. The Kambata and Hadiya nationalities as all nations, nationalities and people of Ethiopia were not having the democratic right to self-governance. It’s during that time the name of province was changed to “Kambatana Hadiya *Awraja*” until the down fall of the *Derge* regime thus this was the period when the Kambata peoples began to stand from nothing to establish their administrative capital at Durame. Then *Ato Wolebo Asafa* became the first ruler of the Kambata, Halaba and Tambaro Zone/KAT/.¹¹⁴

3.3. The Customary Administration of the Kambata and Hadiya Societies

As discussed in the previous section, the Kambata and Hadiya region had early contacts with the kings of Christian Highland Kingdom since 14thc-16thc. However, Ahmed Grag’n’s war and the Oromo expansion cut off the relation of the north with the Kambata and Hadiya region. Such developments led for the emergence of semi-autonomous administrative structure in the region. In a way, both societies continued their traditional administration ruled by their own kings and practicing a local political system. As a result, from the 17thc towards the end of the 19thc they continued their indigenous administrative structure. This administration had its own rulers and indigenous institutions. Traditionally they had both religious and political leaders. This administrative structure was developed over centuries.¹¹⁵

The original council form of administrative structure was called *Kokata* (the representation of the whole Kambata/Hadiya) which was used in which representatives from territorial and tribal units can attend. The *Woman* (king) headed it. These traditional administrative institutions were similar in their functions as well as structural organizations between the two societies. Thus, the society developed a hierarchically organized council form of administrative structures. This traditional institution is organized under territorial bases and

¹¹⁴Informants: *Ato Markos Debero*, *Ato Ayele Wabito*, *Ato Kabamo Ashebo*

¹¹⁵Tesfaye Habiso, “Kambatana Hadiya...”, pp.181-183; Grensted, pp.45-46; Lapiso, Yeitiopiya RejimYehizb ..., pp.15-17, 21- 23, 25; Informants *Ato Mathewos*, *Ato Danamo*, *Ato Eriso* and *Deneke*.

kinship lines. However, Menelik's conquest resulted in political, socio-economic and cultural changes on Kambata and Hadiya people in the period under discussion.¹¹⁶

Consequently, the indigenous organization and administration of the society were crushed and a new feudal order was replaced. The new authority destroyed some of the institutions and transformed some others. Woma continued as balabat, *Gochi-danna* transformed to *ČäQäshum* and *Sangaqoro*. Although the *Heera* institution remained intact; similarly, the tribal or lineage organizations sustained functioning.¹¹⁷

This traditional administrative institution as well as changes and continuity following the incorporation are discussed below.

3.3.1. The Kinship based Administration of the Kambata and Hadiya

The Kinship based administrative institution was organized under bloodline relationship of the Kambata and Hadiya society. These hierarchically organized institutions are with their respective leaders, who deal with the political, legal and social affairs of the society.¹¹⁸ These kinds of traditional administrative structures include *Mine*, *Boko* and *Ilamo*, respectively, from the lowest to highest level of organization.

The *Mine* is the lowest administrative unit in the kinship-based structure for both Kambata and Hadiya. It constituted a wife, husband, their children and other close family members such as grandparents, uncles and aunts. The eldest man of individual families could lead the *Mine*. The leaders of mine could transfer their power to junior members. These leaders had the title of *Minidaana* (family leader). They were responsible for keeping peace among the family members and resolving conflicts that could arise amongst them. In case some serious conflicts that arise from the mine members and not solved at the *Minidaana* level, would be transferred to the next council at *Bokkidaana* level.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶Ibid and Yacob Arsano, *Seera: A Traditional Institution of Kambata*, in Bahru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang (eds.) *Ethiopia The Challenge of Democracy from Bellow*, (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala and Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa, 2002), pp.46-48, 50-52; Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Buta Gute and Ato Imam.

¹¹⁷Tesfaye, *Kambatana...*, pp. 157-158; Tesfaye, *Some records...* pp. 139-140; Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo and Ato Buta.

¹¹⁸Yacob, pp.46-49; Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115-116; Informants Ato Somano, Ato Ayele.

¹¹⁹Informants: Ato Shuramo, Ato Asaro, Ato Eriso and Ato Mandero.

The second administrative unit in the kinship structure was *Bokko* (*Moollo*, in Hadiya). It consisted of many Mines who traced their origin and decent to the same ancestor. The leaders of *Bokko* had the title called *Bokkidaana*. They were elected only from the members of the *Bokko* based on their knowledge about kinship affiliation among the people whom they administered and had a commitment to enforce law and order. In a way, they were responsible for keeping peace among the *Bokko(mollo)* members and resolving conflicts that could arise amongst them. Serious cases that could arise from the *Bokko(mollo)* members and not solved at the *Mini daana* level could be transferred to the *Ilamo* council, which is the higher administrative organ of the kinship structure.¹²⁰

The *Ilamo* is a collective membership of a clan group of a patriarchal lineage. Day-to-day activities and community functions take place in inter-tribal settings. However, the *Ilamo* council (*Ilami-ya'a*) deals with matters that particularly concern members of a tribe. There were several activities specifically handled within the bounds of *IlamoSeera*, including marriage, inheritance and blood settlement.¹²¹ The *Ilamo* council ensures that marriage is strictly exogamous. No person of the tribe marries internally from his or her paternal line. On the maternal line, marriage is permissible after seven generations have elapsed. The tribal council settles all matters of inheritance among the members of a tribe. If one of the parties or all involved are not satisfied with the decision of the tribal council at all level, they may wish to take the case to the *Kokata*, or even to a civil court.¹²²

The tribal council gives special attention to maintaining peace in the community in accordance with the requirement of *Seera*. Overall, the *Ilamdaana*, appointed by the tribal council for life, coordinates tribal affairs. His functions are not limited territorially as tribes are not only at the specific territory, but settled in wider areas. He is the coordinator of his tribal affairs and represents the tribe in external relations where and when that is required.¹²³

¹²⁰Braukamper, "The Ethno-genesis of the Sidama" ..., pp.5-6, 8-9; KTZCIO, pp.7-9, 11; Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Tamiru.

¹²¹ Ibid and Yacob, pp. 46-49; Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz, and Ato Tadesse.

¹²² Informants: Ato Abegaz, Ato Shuramo, Ato Asaro, Ato Eriso and Ato Yohannes

¹²³ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and W/ro Hirgete.

He is closely assisted by lineage heads and counseled by elders consisting of the most experienced, knowledgeable and influential personalities of the tribe. The *Ilam daana's* function is not limited within Kambata or Hadiya. He attends different tribal concerns beyond specific territory as members of tribe were residing in the neighboring territories of Alaba, Wolayta, Kambata or elsewhere in the country. Accordingly, the *Ilamo* council facilitates people-to-people interaction within inter-tribal settings and beyond the limits of tribes in the neighboring territories or elsewhere in the country. Such inter-tribal interconnections could have facilitated the ethnic interaction between the Kambata societies.¹²⁴

According to informants justification the kinship based administrative structure is among the strong knot that tied the Kambata society together. This structure reinforced the society's inter-connection through their common ancestors and different activities carried out in such bloodline based administrative structure. As a result, the societies were and are considered as relatives and friendly. Various socio-economic and sociocultural issues that facilitated the society to work together also supported such sociable co-existences.¹²⁵

This administrative structure was and is mainly limited to the issues related to the clan and tribal bases. It could not extend its function to political activities beyond the tribal issues. This enabled the structure to survive the socio-political and socio-cultural influences of the Amhara following Menelik's conquest of the region. While the political structures of the societies like *Woma(Adila in Hadyissa)* (king) were removed and replaced by the *balabat*. However, the expansion of education and changes related to the growing awareness of the people reduced their reliance on Illamo council and related traditional institutions; it continued to be among the binding elements of the societies. As a result, this structure is still functional among the Kambata peoples.¹²⁶

3.3.2. The territorial based administration

The territorial based administrative institution is all-inclusive structure of the Kambata and Hadiya society under one rule. In this administrative structure, there was no exclusion of any

¹²⁴Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico-legal ..., pp.112-113, 118-120, 124: Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and W/ro Hirgete.

¹²⁵ Informants: Ato Tadesse, Ato Markos, Ato Asaro, Ato Imam and Ato Ayele.

¹²⁶Informants Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and W/ro Hirgete.

social group, in bloodline or clan bases as that of the kinship-based administration. In a way, this institution comprises all territories and the social groups of the Kambata or Hadiya people. This structure was organized under *Kokata* (*Giira* in Hadiya), *Gocho* and *Heera* from the higher to lower level of structures. It was headed by *woma* (king), *gochi-danna* (leader of the *Gocho*), and *Muricho* (leader of the *Heera*) respectively.¹²⁷

The *Kokata* (*Giira*) council was the general assembly of the whole Kambata and Hadiya in which representatives of territorial units known as *Gocho*, *Heera* units known as *Muricho* and tribal units called *Illamo* can attend. The *woma* (king) headed the council. It is a deliberative assembly where *seera* (rules) were laid down and sanctions given through *lallaba* (oratory). A series of orations on political, military, security and social affairs of the community were made by representatives of territorial and tribal units.¹²⁸

Lallaba continues until the final decision by consensus. The decision of the *Kokata* is binding and respected as the Kambata and Hadiya people believed that the eyes and the spirit of society are behind it, as a hidden force. There is a general belief that the *gadda* (grace) and the *ayaana* (blessing) of *Kokata* are in it. Disobedience or break of a *Kokata* decision believed to attract the “black” eyes and unpronounced curse of the *Kokata* on those who go against it. *Woma* is a territorial chief, a concept more or less denoting “king”. The institution of *Woma* was maintained through hereditary succession, in the male line. Every time when the *Woman* died, *Kokata* sat in council and selected successor from among the sons of the deceased *Woma*. Then, the *Kokata* formally conferred the office on the new chief through special *giffata* (ceremonial chanting known as *hebboyyata*)¹²⁹

According to informants, local rulers in the Kambata and Hadiya region used different mechanisms to legitimize their rule and strengthen their power. Political marriage was widely used among the locally notables as well as with the ruling families of the neighboring peoples. They used these strategies to avoid conflicts with local power contenders and with the neighboring peoples. They also used it to extend their political power by developing friendly

¹²⁷Informants Ato Asaro Helamo, Ato Markos Aloto Yaekim and Ato Imam.

¹²⁸Yacob, pp. 46-49; Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115-116; Informants Ato Somano, Ato Tamiru.

¹²⁹Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115-116; Tesfaye Habiso, Some Historical and Politico-legal..., pp.112-113, 118-120, 124; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam and Ato Manderero.

relations. They mention *woma* Dagoye who married five wives from the neighboring states noble families as an example. These were from Bädawacho Hadiya, Soro Hadiya, Tembaro, Wolayta and one from the known *gulba* clan in Kambata.¹³⁰

Such marriage ties among the different ethnic groups could be mentioned as the leading factors that facilitated the ethnic interactions with these societies. Besides, the Kambata and Hadiya people were closely interconnected in social, cultural, psychological, language, etc activities that show the existences of high ethnic interaction among the society. Therefore, kambata people mostly have established marriage relation with Hadiya people more than with other neighboring peoples.¹³¹

Similar ideas are stated by Elias Aweto on his work titled “*Yesamen Omo Hizboch politikawi Tarik*” He discussed that traditional marriage relationship between states of Southwestern Ethiopia was commonly recognized practice to avoid difference and to consolidate the mutual benefits among themselves. Therefore, these people usually established marriage relation with each other to strengthen such objectives. That led for the close relatedness in their socio-political, sociocultural and other issues of these people. Therefore, the marriage between these rulers had its own role to consolidate the relation between these different societies.¹³²

After the incorporation of the kambata and Hadiya to the Ethiopian empire in the late 19thc, the imperial regime destroyed some of the traditional institutions. The *Kokata* assembly was one of such traditions destroyed at the time. The *Woma* institution was modified to *balabat*. Informants confirmed the replacement of the local administrative structure by the Amhara following the incorporation of the region. They stated as “*Amaari olliiichi zakiin Kokaati gashi seeru dooramo.*” Meaning the *Kokata* administrative structure changed since the Menelik’s wars in the Kambata and Hadiya region.¹³³

Besides this, informants also list some of the representatives of emperor Menelik, who ruled the area after the incorporation. They stated as “*Woma Dilbatoochi zakiin Womu Woldi, Womu Wodaaju, Womu Baashi, Womu Abooyi, Womu Tassami, Womu Abaatu Kambaati Uulata*

¹³⁰Informants: Ato Elias, Ato Bekele, Ato Solomon and Ato Danamo

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Elias Aweto, "Yasamen Omo Hizboch politikawi Trak"i, part one, (Addis Ababa, Negged Matemiya bet, 1990.E.C), p.178.

¹³³Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Soman and Ato Ayele Anniyo.

gashitee'u". These names are related to the king Dilbato, *Ras* Wolde, *Dajach* Wodajo, *Dajach* Bashah Aboye, *Dajach* Tesema Darge, and *Ras* Abate Buayalew. These people ruled and landed over Kambata administrative region (Kambata *awraja*) after the king Dilbato in this region in different times. They served as representatives of Menelik for Kambata *awraja*. *Woma* is a local term used to denote king, *Dajazmach*, *Ras* and other related titles. They used the term "*Kambaati Uullata*" to refer the Kambata *awraja*.¹³⁴

The Italians following their victories in the spring of 1936, they removed the Amhara soldiers in the region. That led for the end of Amhara rule in the Kambata and Hadiya region from 1936-1941. At the time, the Italians gave the governorship of this administrative region to Bargano Moliso of Kambata and all the local representatives (*balabats*) over the area and made to submit him. Later *Qegnazmach* Băyănă Barana replaced Bergamo Moliso.¹³⁵

Figure 5. Bargano Moliso(1892-1940), who ruled Kambata province



Source: Tesfaye, Kambatana..., pp. 157

¹³⁴ Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Tadesse, Yaekim and Ato Imam.

¹³⁵ Ibid and Tesfaye, Kambatana..., pp. 157-158.

However, these local rulers were subordinate to the Italian representatives in the region like *Bissaset* and *Aborte* the administration of the local rulers revived in the region during the Italian period. This was due to the Italian preferences to administer the region through local rulers. Nevertheless, this could not last long, as the feudal system and direct rule of the emperor Haile Selassie through his representatives continued since 1942 that extended up to the Ethiopian revolution in 1970s.¹³⁶

The 1974 revolution abolished the *balabat* and *chikashoom* institutions and replaced them by peasant associations. After the overthrow of the *Derg*, the new EPRDF regime was not immediately able to ensure the necessary level of peace and security at community level. This circumstance contributed to the renewal of the Kambata and Hadiya *Seera* and the reemergence of *Kokata* (*Reeda* in Hadiya as well as some parts of Kambata like *Qachabira* and *Hadero* areas), handled by the elders representing each clan. However, the institution of the *Woma* was not able to reemerge. Presently, not only the structure of *Kokata* continued throughout the Kambata and Hadiya, but its function became increasingly binding, mainly for resolving serious conflicts.¹³⁷

In the territorial based administrative structure, *Gocho* Assembly was the next political organization of the kambata and Hadiya society. When the initial settlement of the society expanded, territorial sub-division was necessary in order to keep the peace of the people and the style of *Kizoma* internally and to protect the community from external threat. Thus, the territory was divided into asymmetrical units known as *Gocho* (gate). It is sub-district of the *Kokata*. It had its respective territorial assembly called *Gochi-ya'a* and their traditional leaders known as *Gochidanna*. The members of the assembly organized from the representatives of *Heera* (subdistrict of the *Gocho*) known as *Muricho* and the representatives of the Clan heads called *Boki Dana*. *Gochi-dannas* were the permanent members of *Kokata*. They sit in council together with *Woman*, clan heads and other notables of the community. Historically the territorial assembly called *Gochi-ya'a* selected them. When the *Woman* became increasingly influential, they became his appointees. The *Gochi-danna* administers and settles disputes within his respective *Gocho*. However, serious disputes and cases not settled at *Gocho*

¹³⁶ Ibid and Tesfaye, Kambatana..., pp. 157-158.

¹³⁷ Ibid

assembly were transferred to the *Kokata* assembly. At present *Gocho*, administrative structure is no longer functional because the *Gocho* as a territorial unit has been abolished since the Ethiopian revolution of 1974.¹³⁸

The *Heera* is the smallest unit of territorial organization in Kambata and Hadiya administrative structure. It had its own *Heera-ya'a* (assembly of *Heera*) and leaders called *Muricho*. The *Muricho* selected in *Heera-ya'a* and presented in to the *Gochi-ya'a* and to the assembly of *Kokata*. The *Muricho* was a non-hereditary appointment or election to which was highly competitive. The office rotated every few years among the energetic personalities. The minimum criterion is that, the candidate for *Muricho* must be good at *Lallaba* (oratory). He functioned as judge and administrator in his respective *Heera*. His activities were checked horizontally by the community elders, including his own tribesmen and vertically by the *Gochi-danna and Woma*. *Heera* is the strongest and most powerful organization of Kambata and Hadiya. When most of the traditional institutions submerged under the dominance of the national state structure, *Heera* survived and has become the repository of *Seera*¹³⁹

Hence, every person in the society is a member of a *Heera*. He/she remains the embodiment of *Seera* at the lowest level of community or organization. *Heera* is a basic institution that binds together all households irrespective of their tribe, religion, level of wealth and education, political or social function, caste or class. It is a self-help organization. The Kambata and Hadiya people consider the *Heera* institution as necessary for overcoming bad time through collaborative endeavor. Presently the function of *Heera* have grown to include local funeral services, community protection and crime control, public work, local conflict management and community welfare.¹⁴⁰

Neighboring *Heera* has a long tradition of collaborating in crime control, public works and conflict management. The *Heera* ground is important in the lower level of administrative structure, with its own rules. *Heera* elders first handle violations of the *Heera's Seera* by

¹³⁸Informants Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and W/ro Hirgete.

¹³⁹Yakob Arsano. 2002. "Seera: a Traditional Institution of Kambatta," In Bahru Zewde and Siegfried Pallscalang (Eds.). Ethiopia: The Challenge of Democracy from Below. Nordiska Africa institute, Uppsala and Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa. Sweden: Elanders Gotab, Stockholm. Pp. 45-58.

¹⁴⁰Grenstedt, pp.124-126; Braukamper, Die Kambata, pp. 51, 61, 67: Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Deneke

individuals in their relation with other members or groups within Heera. If the cases are not so important, they are pushed downwards to relevant adjunct organizations. If the cases are very important to the extent of affecting other *Heeras* or the community at large, they will be brought to the *Gocho* assembly or *Kokata* arena. Heera is territorially sub-divided in to several functional neighborhood units, each having its own elected head and council.¹⁴¹

As discussed above, sharing of such common and similar political structures among the Kambata and Hadiya peoples played a big role in facilitating the ethnic interaction among these societies. Informants expressed the role of political structures for the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interaction mentioning different reasons. From their justifications, sharing political structures that bind the societies together and the role of such organizations in solving conflicts that arise among the societies was and is among the reasons for both societies inter-ethnic interaction. Moreover, the inter-ethnic marriage ties the leaders of these organizations as well as other members of the two societies. This could be the main factors that contribute for the high ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya societies. Therefore, sharing similar socio-political activities, attending different political assemblies as well as the inter-connection of these two societies in different socio-economic and socio-cultural issues could be mentioned reasons for the existence of high ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya societies.¹⁴²

3.3.3. The Seera institution of the Kambata and Hadiya

The *Seera* in the Kambata and Hadiya society refers to the code of conduct; practiced and internalized among them. *Seera* regulates relations between individuals, tribes and territorial units. It is a broadly conceived normative realm within which individuals and groups expected to behave. The territorial or tribal councilors function on according to their respective *Seera*.¹⁴³ According to informants, some of the issues regulated by the *Seera* include some activities that bind all love affairs, marriage and family relations, peer group associations, work and entertainment parties, games and sports, hunting bands, etc. Childcare, socialization

¹⁴¹ Informants Ato Eriso Ato Abegaz, Ato Danamo and Ato Aman

¹⁴² Informants Ato Someno Aloto, Ato Heramo.

¹⁴³ Yacob, pp.48-49; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115-116

of the young, circumcision, initiation and rites of passage handled, as *Seera* requires. *Seera* prescribes the way farmer relate to the environment, young to old, women to men.¹⁴⁴

Young person must give precedence to older ones as a sign of respect to older generation because the older generation believed to poses experience, knowledge, wisdom, grace and power. In addition, elderly persons believed to have the power to award or punish, to bless or curse the younger ones, depending on what they deserve. *Seera* is not a codified body of rules but it is several sets of norms. There are no particular experts specializing in *Seera* sanctions which are not formalized, but influenced by circumstances as the elders sees fit. The entire exercise of the implementation of the *Seera* is creative, consultative and compromise oriented.¹⁴⁵

Seera administration aims at pacification, correction and reintegration. The community elders are in charge of *Seera* administration. Generally, elders are expected to have wisdom, patience and broad views about justice and peace. They are preferred to restore and maintain balanced relationship in the community. Although, it is widely believed that women's judgment is important and clear-cut they are not favored for the formal handling of the *Seera*. Their husbands, sons, relatives or neighbors, who are assigned for the administration of *Seera*, often consult women in the house. During the deliberation, the elders may take a recess of a few days or weeks. The time gap is often needed for consultation, additional fact-finding and opinion gathering about the case at hand. Women's opinion is of special value during this time.¹⁴⁶

However, serious violations of the *Seera* will lead to sanctions, locally called *Yaayya* or *Yaayyu*. *Yaayyas* under the *Seera* range from mild to punitive measures. Elements of precedence and future implication influence any particular proceeding of the *Seera*. Mild sanctions take the form of reparation to the aggrieved party. In addition, a material contribution is requisitioned for ritual performance as a sign of the formal end of the conflict. More stringent *Yaayyas* imposed in the form of ostracizing the offending party and excluding him and his family from the social, economic and political life of the community. All

¹⁴⁴Informants Ato Imam, Yaekim and Ato Gintamo.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Yacob, pp.48-49; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants Ato Solomon and W/ro Hirgete.

members of the community join in effecting the *Yaayya* after the final decision. In the case of a member of the community failing to comply with applying this ultimate sanction, he/she will be liable to the same *Yaayya*.¹⁴⁷

Therefore, the *Seera* institution as the code of conduct binds the Kambata and Hadiya societies together. The similarity in the practices and function of this institution between these societies indicates the existences of high ethnic interaction. Its role in solving conflicts that arise among the societies was and is significant. As mentioned above society's inter-ethnic interaction, sharing similar socio-political activities, attending different political assemblies and the society's inter-connection in different socio-economic and socio-cultural issues could be reasons for their interactions. In a way, the *Seera* institution played its role for the two societies by facilitating friendly relation and reducing the probabilities of conflicts.¹⁴⁸

3.4. Conflicts and cooperations of the Kambata and Hadiya people

There has been a long sustained process of interaction and intermingling among the Kambata and Hadiya peoples throughout their history. There was and is individual or group contacts and interactions on different issues. There had been in a long process of interaction through migration, intermarriage, religious activities, trade and warfare as well. In the course of such encounters over time, they have established interethnic interactions involving mutual interdependence among themselves as well as with their neighboring states of Šāmbaro, Donga, Wolayita, Dawuro, Oromo, Bosha, Kafa and other peoples. Primarily, more friendly contacts formed through the process of migration and intermarriage. As it is mentioned earlier in the oral tradition, some groups of the Kambata and Hadiya have long been accustomed to migration from place to place.¹⁴⁹

There were also numerous other situations and ways of inter-community interactions. Moreover, they also share similar socio-economic and socio-cultural activities. The socio-economic and socio-political relationship of the Kambata and Hadiya society was characterized by war and peace. Some of the issues that facilitate the people's interaction include participation in different social issues. Moreover, marriage and trade relations are

¹⁴⁷ Ibid and Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115- 116.

¹⁴⁸ Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Someno, Ato Ersido and Ato Tamiru.

¹⁴⁹ Asebe, p.41; Belachew, pp.141-142: Informants Ato Emam and Ato Ayele Anniyo.

other means that tied the two societies together. Thus, conflicts might also arise from their regular interaction among themselves and sometimes with other neighboring peoples.¹⁵⁰ Some of the issues that indicate the cooperation as well as the conflicts of both societies discussed below.

3.4.1. Cooperation of the Kambata and Hadiya people

The Kambata and Hadiya people did not live as isolated unit; they had strong relationship among each other and with their neighbors. The people had and have very strong relationship with each other. As discussed in the previous unit the major modes of the people's interaction is characterized by mixed settlements, intermarriage, economic interactions and cultural ties, which facilitated their closer cooperation. Informants expressed that both societies had and continue to have the experience of working together in their day-to-day life as well as during their bad time, in defending external enemies. These people had lived together and still living in the same communities. Similarly they also cooperates in many activities.¹⁵¹

Informants expressed that the alliance and cooperation of the society had long history that started from their occupation period. The *Uruso* and *Badeoso* Hadiya groups settled in the northwestern part with the assistance of Kambata people. At first, they tried to settle in this part, but blocked by the Badawacho Hadiya. Finally, they managed to settle in the region by the support of the Kambata. This argument justifies the existences of the closer relations among these societies from very ancient times. In a way, both societies developed friendly relations from their settlement periods. However, there were some conflicts between these societies, which could not last long; as they have strong conflict resolution institution.¹⁵²

Informants confirmed that when the Kambata King Dagoye decided to expand his territory towards Soro and faced serious causality, the Lemo Hadiya helped the Kambata to occupy the territory and fortified it with dams around 1840. Moreover, during the conflict between Kambata and Alaba from 1842-1843, where the former suffered heavy casualties, the Shashogo Hadiya supported the Kambata from complete loss. The cause of the conflict was the Kambata's territorial expansion towards the Alaba pastureland. Furthermore, the Kambata

¹⁵⁰ Informants Ato Eriso Ato Abegaz, Ato Daniel and Ato Aman.

¹⁵¹ Informants Ato Eriso, Ato Ato Abegaz, Ato Daniel and Ato Aman

¹⁵² Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Elias.

had also stood by the Hadiya side and supported them in their conflict with the Wolayta in 1848. This shows the strong mutual inter-dependences of both societies. As a result, the Kambata and Hadiya society had developed strong inter-ethnic interaction in their long history. Besides, such collaborations by both societies were cemented by inter-ethnic marriage and other social institutions. These indicate the existence of high ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya people.¹⁵³

In the face of the growing population density of the Kambata and Hadiya, the nomadic life of the Hadiya declined and the later gradually started settler agriculture due to this interaction. Their relationship with the Kambata, who were experienced farmers, set a new course for their new agricultural life. Hence, Kambata became an attraction for the Hadiya. In addition to the women of Kambata were highly desired by the Hadiya. As a result, the latter could learn agricultural activities from the Kambata women. Concerning this, the Alaba used to say the one, who has relative in Kambata would not go hungry.¹⁵⁴

The other role of socio-economic cooperation in the Kambata and Hadiya is their different organizations and self-help associations, like *Gezima* and *Dawa*. These organizations were and are formed in order to share burdens in difficult works like harvesting, house construction and the like. The *Gezima* is a cooperative group, in which members come together to perform usually the same type of work for the members. Its members are mostly of the same age, so that the rate of output is balanced, since service in return is expected.¹⁵⁵ Some of the works performed are cutting grass, harvesting *enset*, plough during the sowing season, preparing arable land for cultivation, weeding and the like. The *Dawa* is a cooperative Group called by one who needs the help of friends and relatives. No service in return is expected. Thus, these socio-economic organizations played great role in strengthening the cooperation and ethnic interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya people.¹⁵⁶ This will be further discussed under socio-economic part.

These people also had trade interaction among themselves as well as with their neighboring people and states. In a way, trade served as a means of peaceful communication. The peoples

¹⁵³Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Makore and Ato Ayele Mune.

¹⁵⁴Ibid and Gedeon, pp. 22-23: Belachew, pp.141-142.

¹⁵⁵Gedeon, pp. 22-23: Belachew, pp.141-142.

¹⁵⁶Ibid and Belachew, pp.141-143.

of the Kambata and Hadiya had linked to local markets through regional trade routes and markets. In Kambata and Hadiya, there were markets that were also important for their neighboring states. However, this interaction and cooperation was not only limited to Kambata and Hadiya community. It is common to any societies who interact and cooperate among themselves on different issues.¹⁵⁷

Hence, they had experience of cooperation and friendly relation with their neighboring communities like Wolaita, Gurage, Silte, Šāmbaro, Yem and with the regional state of Oromia and others. Their geographical and long established relations facilitated this interaction. Therefore, trade ties could be very good example of peaceful co-existence among different ethnic group. Generally, trade constituted a major form of interaction among these people for thousands of year. Notwithstanding to their peaceful relation, the peoples inhabited the land between Omo and Bilate Rivers had been fighting with their adjacent fellow citizens to gain territory and defend their identity.¹⁵⁸

Conflict is beyond mere disagreement; that involves a struggle between opposing forces. Some scholars argue that conflict can stimulate new thought and it can promote social change and define individual or group realities. They also justify that it may be difficult to avoid conflicts totally, since it is an unavoidable occurrence within the working environment in a society.¹⁵⁹ People interact and cooperate among themselves on different issues. Thus, conflicts also arise from these interactions. As a result, they concluded that as long as there is the existence of interaction and cooperation among the social groups there could be probabilities for the conflict occurrences resulted from such relations.¹⁶⁰

As discussed so far, conflict is a normal part in human life. Informants stated that, even though, the Kambata and Hadiya people had and still have more harmonious and friendly relations among themselves as well as with their neighbors for long period; there were also conflicts among these societies. In most cases conflict would take place because of the disagreement in

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Alebachew and Samuel, pp.39-41, 44-46; Tesfaye, Kambatana..., pp. 257-258: Informants Ato Imam, Ato Abose, Ato Someno, Yaekim and Ato Deneke.

¹⁵⁹John Markakis, *Ethiopia, Anatomy of Traditional Polity*. Addis Ababa, 2006, pp.117; Sisay, p.4-6; Gedeon, pp.118-119, 121, 124-126, 127-128; Informants Ato Eriso, W/ro Buta Guta and Ato Aman.

¹⁶⁰Ibid and Asebe, p.41

which the members of the group who identify a threat to their needs, interests or concerns. Thus, conflicts among the Kambata and Hadiya people could also be resulted from such rivalry of interests between individuals or groups relations. In other words, conflicts usually arise from simultaneous but incompatible feeling among the society. However, there were and are many instances mentioned as causes of conflicts between these societies; economic interest had been the underlying causes of conflict among these societies.¹⁶¹

In spite of their peaceful relation, the Kambata and Hadiya had been fighting with each other as well as with the adjacent communities to gain some resources and defend their identity. There were conflicts among different groups of Kambata and Hadiya like Lemo, Soro, Shashogo and Badawacho. They were fighting against each other mostly on land issues. There were also conflicts against Wolayita, Halaba, Arsi Oromo and other neighboring peoples because of different factors. These conflicts occur due to the scarcity of the land that was caused by population explosion. This led to many border conflicts among the Kambata and Hadiya as well as other neighboring peoples.¹⁶²

According to the informants' expressions the Wolayta and the Kambata expansion in the region was the key factor that stressed the relations between the ethnic groups, who lived along the northern border of Wolayta. For instance, Wolayita had been fighting against Qucha, Gamo, Borada, Guji, Arsi, Kambata, Donga and Tembaro due to the disagreements related with land issues. Similarly, Kambata had been fighting against Hadiya, Halaba and Arsi Oromo; just as, the Arsi were fighting with Wolayita, Guji, Kambata, Tufte and Hadiya. The Hadiya were also doing the same with Jimma, Tembaro, Yem, Kambata, Wolayita, Bosha, Masmas, Dawuro, Arsi, Hulbareg and Donga. However, it is difficult to identify the exact date of the conflicts, as they are not stated in the written sources and the informants' inability to show the right time.¹⁶³

On the other hand, the Tembaro did fighting with Wolayita, Tufte and perhaps with others too. In contrast, neither oral source nor literatures trace Tembaro's conflict with Donga and

¹⁶¹Informants Ato Someno, Ato Bekele, Imam Ato Ersido and Ato Tedesse.

¹⁶²Tesfaye, "Kambatana Hadiya...", pp. 96, 122 and 173: Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Teshoma and Ato Tadesse.

¹⁶³Informants Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido and Ato Abegaz

Kambata.¹⁶⁴ Informants recall that the dispute over the right to use river Satame was the cause of war between Tembaro and Hadiya. The dispute shifted to war (*Olla* in local term) when *Bobiro* kidnapped Hadiya girl called *Sinšo* while she was looking after cattle alongside River *Satame*. Hence, the battle was called as *Woi Olla* (water war). The conflict escalated and adjacent borders became battlefield when she responded that: “*Shormi Boborina Sage abbaayina affénam afaamo gatulandim eeyis ikona*” while she was asked to divorce. Meaning “Bobiro, Shormo’s son and brother of Sage, whom I married, is Satame’s hero so that other girls better marry such a brave man”.¹⁶⁵

The Hadiya attacked the Tembaro who settled at Garbicho, in order to expel them and to take the land. Thus, the battle was called as *Garbichi Ola* (*Garbicho* battle) and it extended as far as *Ga’eča* where the force of Hadiya led by Gololo Tirore killed Gazäna Hage Dide of Tembaro. *Gazäna* Amache Sidde succeeded Gazäna Dide and defeated Hadiya.¹⁶⁶ Most of the conflicts occurred by the attempt of territorial expansion and by the reaction to defend their territory and resources on the other hand. Some of the conflicts include the Wolayta territorial expansion toward the Bädawacho Hadiya. In fact, the northern and the middle parts of what is today Wolayta was for a long time the grazing land of the Bädawacho groups of Hadiya and the Halaba. The pushing back of the Badawacho to their present territory led for the enmity between the Wolayita and the Badawacho. The Bädawacho became bitter enemies of the Wolayta and the Halaba, whom they pushed eastwards. Therefore, the Alaba ended up along the middle of Bilate River.¹⁶⁷

As mentioned above the Kambata people were in alliance with the Bädawacho Hadiya beginning from their occupation periods. Thus, the former become enemies of the Wolayta, too. The Kambata did not sell their renowned horses to the Soro and the Wolayta, in order not to strengthen their fighting capacity. Besides this, the Kambata had marriage alliances with the Badawacho supported them military. From 1810 onwards to 1890s, the Kambata started to expand its territory along the Wolayta border. This was the period when the Kambata

¹⁶⁴Lapiso, pp. Yeityopia Rejim Yehizb ..., pp. 162-163; Alebachew and Samuel, p. 57 and Tesfaye, “Kambatana Hadiya ...”, pp. 96, 173 and 380.

¹⁶⁵Informants Ato Somano, Imam Ato Ersido and Ato Teshoma.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Lapiso, Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil Ediget ..., p.123-125: Tesfaye Habiso, Some Historical and Politico-legal..., pp.311-313, 318-320, and 324.

expanded its territory in all direction under famous leaders of *Woma* Dagoye (1810-1845) and his son *Woma* Dilbato (1845-1892).¹⁶⁸

In spite of the marriage relationship and war agreements with the Badawacho, the Kambata secretly continued their territorial expansion towards the Badawacho too. Later on the *Woma* Dilbeto of Kambata, ordered to set up fortifications in the pasture areas of southern neighbors that increased the suspicion between these both groups, while he tried to convince the Hadiya group as it was for the mutual benefit. In a way the *Woma* Dilbeto argued that, the fortifications were set up against their common enemy the Wolayta and therefore due to such persuasion the Hadiya accepted the Kambata's settlement. In this way, the Kambata could have freely expanded their territories as far as Adilo, Abbonsa and Siqe (inside the Badawacho) before Menelik's occupation.¹⁶⁹

The Soro Hadiya posed a grave danger for the Kambata in the time of Dilbato (1845-1892). As a result, together with the Lemo-Hadiya, Kambata fought the battle with the Soro Hadiya at Doyogana (some 27 km from Hossana on the Hossana-Wolayta high way). The result of this war pushed the Soro Hadiya to the Sanna River.¹⁷⁰ According to informants, the son of Dilebato, Gagabo, was pushed across the Shonkolla Mountain to the Omo River. Nevertheless, Gagabo was killed at Shonkolla and the boundary became fixed at Sanna River. In this war, both had suffered heavy casualties. Even though Kambata made an agreement with the Hadiya time and again they could not keep the peace accord. Since Kambata was a highly populated society, it was always tempted to expand its territory. That becomes the main cause for the Kambata and Hadiya conflict in the 19thc.¹⁷¹

Parallel to this, informants explained that once again when the Soro-Hadiya women came to the Gamasha market in Qachabira then *Woma* Dilbato of the Kambata ordered to close the gates, so that those who were within the Kambata compounds could not go. When the Soro heard that their women captured, they took their spear and attempted to free their women by force. However, they understood that using force could have been dangerous for their women.

¹⁶⁸ Belachew, pp183-5.

¹⁶⁹ Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam A to Mathewos and Deneke.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Historical and Politico-legal Records ...*, p.89; Lapiso, *Yeitiopiya Regim Yehizb ...*, pp.15-17, 21-23, 25.

¹⁷¹ Informants Ato Someno, Ato Tadesse, Ato Makore and Ato Asro.

Hence, they had to look for another solution and asked the leader of the Lemo Hadiya, Ashawyeniye, who had friendly relation with the Woma Dilbato for mediation.¹⁷²

The mediator ordered that they should swear by their spears [this was for the traditional culture of the Hadiya a specially sanctioned oath] not to fight against the Kambata anymore. The Soro Hadiya agreed to accept the preconditions of the Ashawyeniye and then the Soro-women were freed and went back to their people. This agreement ended the conflicts of the Kambata and Soro-Hadiya. Following this time both groups agreed to exchange their daughter through marriage and developed friendly relationship.¹⁷³

Similar wars waged between the Lemo and Shashogo-Hadiya, in the northeast of Kambata. This played an important role for the Kambata as the region became politically very weak, when they suffered heavy casualties in the conflict among themselves as well as with the fighting of the Weto-Gira, who were treating the Kambata badly. Later on, the Shashogo Hadiya and the Lemo Hadiya clashed with Kambata, due to the Kambata's king Dilbato territorial expansion from 1867-1870 to the eastern and northern direction. As a result, the Kambata pushed its boundary to the Bilate River, Adancho and Adaygita areas respectively, which were Hadiya's territory at first.¹⁷⁴

Moreover, informants also remind the existences of conflicts between the Kambata and the Arsi Oromo. They expressed that the Kambata society was highly warrior. They tried to justify their arguments by mentioning the above continuous wars between different societies. According to these informants the Kambata society were continuously fighting with the Arsi Oromo before the arrival of the Menelik's forces to the region. This took place during the famous leaders of *Woma* Dagoye (1810-1845) and his son *Woma* Dilbato (1845-1892) that expanded Kambata's territory in all direction. As mentioned above the cause of the conflict was the Kambata's continuous territorial expansion towards the grazing land of the Arsi Oromo. In such a way the Kambata controlled, some of the areas like Lagabora, Dato, Sheshera and Adilo from the Arsi, the areas at present Qedida *woärädä* bordering the Halaba

¹⁷²Informants Ato Someno and W/ro Abebech Hosiso

¹⁷³Informants Ato Someno, Ato Tamiru and W/ro Abebech Hosiso

¹⁷⁴Informants Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido and Ato Abegaz and see Figure 5 Map-3 shows the territorial expansion of the Kambata in the 19th c and trade routes linking Kambata and Hadiya and with their neighbours.

special Wārāda. This pushed them beyond the Bilate River and the River served as the boundary.¹⁷⁵

Besides, such serious conflicts among the Kambata and Hadiya societies as well as with their neighbors, there were also some simple conflicts that occurred for shorter period and easily solved through arbitrations. The causes of these conflicts might be resulted from abduction, plunder of property and other socio-economic issues. Therefore, the Kambata and Hadiya societies' interaction is characterized by peace and war relationships. Above all, informants articulated that there was no fighting between the Kambata and Hadiya society after Menelik's incorporation of the region. Thus, all the conflicts occurred before the incorporation. They expressed that following the conquest both societies come under the direct rule of the Amhara balabats from one center. As a result, the local people became under the influence of the naftagna rule were not able to excise their leading role in their socio-economic as well as political issues that became source of conflict between these societies.¹⁷⁶

3.4.2. Traditional conflict resolution method

Conflict resolution implies the way of termination or elimination of conflict either formally or informally or using both methods. Heinz Antonio and Oliver state some classes and the process of the resolution followed; a large number of studies on negotiation, bargaining, mediation, and arbitration fall into the conflict resolution category.¹⁷⁷

However, these conflicts could not last long and solved easily by using the society's traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. As mentioned above the Kambata and Hadiya societies give strong value for such traditional institutions. Therefore, the Kambata and Hadiya people had and continued to have more harmonious and friendly relations among themselves as well as with their neighbors, due to such common elements that tied the society together for long period.¹⁷⁸ Conflicts contain substantive, procedural and psychological dimensions to be negotiated and possibly resolved. Conflict resolution is referred to as conflict management, conflict regulation and dispute resolution. Thus, its mechanisms differ from society to society.

¹⁷⁵Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam, Ato Kabamo and Ato Tedesse.

¹⁷⁶Informants Ato Someno, Ato Deneke, Ato Makore and Ato Elias.

¹⁷⁷Heinz A, Antonio M. and Oliver S. *The research project on Conflict settlement through Europeanization*,2006:16

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

The Kambata and Hadiya people maintained their own indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms. Among these societies, conflict resolution involved customary practice and relatively effective remedy.¹⁷⁹

In this subsection, focus will be given to historical changes and continuities of conflict resolution mechanisms between the Kambata and the Hadiya people. Hereunder, different sources of conflicts and indigenous mechanisms used by the people to resolve conflicts are discussed. Among the society there was and still is individual or group contacts and interactions on different issues as trade, marriage and participation in different social affairs. Thus, conflicts also arise from their regular and day-to-day interactions among themselves and sometimes with their neighboring peoples.¹⁸⁰

Conflicts were and still are resolved by means of the meeting of elders (*nubaabo* in Kambattissa and *lommanna* in Hadiyyissa) that literally stands for reconciliation through elders. The gerontocracy and *maganancho* continued in managing justice under the proceeding called *nubahooqaa* to mean elders conciliation. The society used to deal with conflict resolution upwards from the grassroots level or verbal abuse or physical fighting among the individuals or groups. They believed that individuals must come to peace at an early stage of conflict. This was because there was fear among the society that simple disagreement might escalate into higher level of conflicts. Thus, elders used to advise and urge disputants to settle their problems before they became serious.¹⁸¹ By tradition local elders and clan leaders have a managing power over their community and play pivotal role in conflict resolution by maintaining peace and security. The data gathered through elder's interviews and observations show that traditional resolution endeavors are pursued in accordance with customary law orally transmitted norms and value sand practices that govern the everyday life of the community. Traditional conflict resolution methods are preventive and deterrent measures of conflicts within the community. Respondents stated that the indigenous conflict management mechanisms make groups respect solutions given by elders and discharge their respective duties accordingly without the need for other coercive measures. Groups tell the facts to elders

¹⁷⁹Gedeon, pp.118-119, 121, 124-126, 127-128; Alebachew and Samuel, p. 57; Sisay, p.4-6: Asebe, p.4.

¹⁸⁰Informants Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido and Ato Abegaz.

¹⁸¹Yacob, pp.48-49; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants Ato Someno and W/ro Abebech.

in fear of bitter effects in future. The person's responsible for the wrongs can confess their wrong doing, apologize and ask forgiveness and victims can accept the apologies and forgive. Moreover, Sisay regarded that indigenous conflict management mechanisms are that they consider wrong doings and offences as violence against the whole.¹⁸²

The term *nubaabo* does not necessarily show age, but the responsibility of reconciliation with skill of negotiating complicated matters. Among the society, whenever conflicts arose among individuals or groups they would appeal to the *nubaabo/lommanna*. The *nubaabo* draw on different traditional mechanisms to resolve the conflicts after serious study of the underlying case. The investigation of cases would be carried out under the shade of tree, *haleecho/haffa* or at one of nubabo or disputants' house. The conflicts related to failed promises, kidnapping, divorce, border conflicts on farmland among the individuals, between different clans and conflicts with their neighbors fall under *nuba-hooqa*. The *nubaabo* use different traditional mechanisms to solve these and other problems and restore peace. They use *hidiro*, *neqaasha* and *guddo* based on the degree or seriousness of the conflicts.¹⁸³

Among the Kambata and Hadiya words of *hidiro* (oath) of innocence was and is regarded as means of conflict resolution. The *hidiro* is highly feared and respected among the society. There was a strong belief that once taken the oath would have serious consequence if the oath taker commits lying under oath. In this regard, the nubabo would ask the accused to take oath sayings that "if I said this and that, let my tongue turns to dumb for insult, let my ears spoil, let my eyes spoil" and the like. The blessing or curse institution has more than one can say and it touches all the areas of life of the society.¹⁸⁴ As a result, the Kambata and Hadiya people did not and still do not want to take an oath in front of the elders. Rather they prefer to accept it, if they have done the mistake. They also believe that they would perish if they do not swear the truth to elders in their oath. Through words of blessing or curse, the community carries out its

¹⁸² Sisay Gebre Egziabher (2007:18), "what role should civil society organization play to address ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia: the challenges and opportunities for peace & development in Ethiopia and Northeast Africa" *On the 4th international conference on Ethiopian Development Studies* (4th ICEDS). Haworth College of Business.

¹⁸³ Informants Ato Someno, Ato Deneke, Ato Makore and Ato Girma.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet, pp.96- 98: Tesfaye Habiso, "Some Historical and Politico-legal Records", pp.112-113, 118-120, and 124.

authority. That is why most of my informants agreed up on that “*nubaabu tellele tellelu massa’emassaata iilitaha*” i.e. the curse or blessing of elders is unavoidable.¹⁸⁵

The *nubabo* would also use the *näqasha* (eyewitness) to investigate and to resolve conflicts. The *näqasha* were expected to witness what they saw or heard as firsthand information. The *nubaaabo* would ask them a series of tricky questions and make observation testimony carefully to identify the truth of the information. After careful analysis of the information obtained from the witness, they pass decisions. The decisions of *nubaabo* at any rate would be irreversible and binding. If the *näqasha* found to witness, what they did not hear or see they would be punished seriously.¹⁸⁶

The other conflict resolution mechanism of the society was *guddo* (ritual purification) that deals with serious offences as murder. The killer and his family in seeking protection take refuge far from the victim’s relatives where they could not get him. His lineage requests the *baadi nubaaabo* (community elders one man from each clans) to intervene and initiate reconciliation through *gudda* ritual. To begin the ritual process the elders need one blanket and one corduroy, one black one gray sheep and one cow provided by the killer group. The rituals would formally open when both groups were by those in command of the intervening group, *nubabo*, at mid-night. Until the celebration of re-integration, the slayer and his family kept apart because the slain’s family possibly may embark on vengeance.¹⁸⁷

To this end, the intervening group or *nubabo* keep killer’s family home on the right side of the river and their counterpart at the opposite side. Yet they communicate with light signals, whence the murderer to show his remorse by slaughtering the black sheep and steps on the blood of the slain sheep. His family would do the same thing and go to the home. Symbolically, it connotes that the sheep represents the slayer and its blood was shed instead of him like his victim. The mid-night denotes hatred that occurred due to the murder.¹⁸⁸ Using the light signal the *nubaabo* call up on the slain’s family to come where the sheep is slaughtered and to step on the blood. Then the slayer had taken home where he also slaughters

¹⁸⁵Informants Ato Eriso, W/ro Buta and Ato Aman.

¹⁸⁶Informants Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido and Ato Abegaz.

¹⁸⁷Ibid.

¹⁸⁸KTZCIO, pp.7-9, 11; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Gedeon, pp. 121, 124-126, 127-128; Informants: Ato Someno, Ato Deneke and W/ro Abebech.

a gray sheep at the gate of dark house. Where by girls take the blood and mix it with milk, repeatedly shaking it and waiting for the next ceremony pronouncing that anyone who taunts to commit further crime would be shackled and unstable.¹⁸⁹

The culprit's family, the victim's family and all attendants get into the dark house by stepping on the blood while at the gate girls drop the mixture on all who are entering the house. Then the killer greets the victim's family. They would jointly wear a blanket, which would be tied by a cord. The girls would unite them and would give the blanket and the rope to the bereaved family. Finally, they would light the house. This marks the celebration of re-integration. Only the members of both families would eat the meat of the sheep slaughtered at the gate to confirm reintegration. From among the intervening group, an elder slaughters the cow and allow one-third of it consumed by both family and the rest by those who attended the ritual. After that, the intervening group determines the blood price called *gumaa* (*gomegizza*). The term *gumma* to some extent refers to a piece of meat, a hunk. Thus, the meaning of the term is related with firmness as of a hunk is indivisible which ties the flesh.¹⁹⁰

Therefore, in both cases it denotes the cooperation among respective lineage. First, in view of that, the members of the lineage are responsible in taking the initiation of reconciliation to pay the *gumma*. Theoretically, the amount of *gumma* paid by contribution from the clan of the slayer and not to be collected to more than fixed share-out and not to serve other purpose, except blood feud. The ritual reconciliation finalized when the elders pronounce the ritual oath of promises. It goes as "hereafter, the homicide is compensated; you were reconciled and not taunt to hurt each other. Have food in each other's house, if nothing to eat at least drink water and chew grains. Don't grab each other land border".¹⁹¹

With the expansion of modern education and world religions, not only the traditional religions were undermined but also the stabilizing force of in settling disputes has been lost. The subject of administering justice, which previously undertaken by traditional system was subjected to modern judicial system. The *Gudda-ganbala* ritual system has maintained its own peculiar profiles to this day. Any slayer even after his release from prison after governmental judiciary

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰Ibid.

¹⁹¹Ibid, "Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet", pp.96-98; Informants Ato Eriso, W/ro Buta and Ato Aman.

courts was expected to undertake the *gumma* ritual unless it pursues another blood due vendetta, *gomme*. Both societies' used these institutions as a means of solving the conflicts between individuals, clans and other ethnic groups. By doing that, they maintained peace and stability among the society by creating friendship and unity. Therefore, such common elements of the society contributed for the peaceful interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people.¹⁹²

The Hadiya ethnic group have their own hierarchy ranging from the Garad, down to the Gira, *Gicho*, *Sulo*, *Mollo* and *Mine* local chiefs at village level. The *Woma*, *GochDana*, *Kokata*, *Gogota*, *Muricho*, *BokiDana* and *Mine* for Kambata. In Kambata Hadiya and, local chiefs first solve a crime or dispute at village level. If they could not solve it, the problem is referred to the *gossa* leader at the clan level. At any rate, the clan leader (*Mi'inDana*) solves most of the crimes and disputes¹⁹³.

Table 4. the Kambata and Hadiya Traditional Institutions

No	Traditional institutions of the Kambata and Hadiya	
	<u>In Kambata</u>	<u>In Hadiya</u>
1	<i>Woma/Negus</i>	<i>Garad/Negus</i>
2	<i>Goch Dana</i>	<i>Gira</i>
3	<i>Kokata</i>	<i>Gicho</i>
4	<i>Reda</i>	<i>Sulo</i>
5	<i>Gogota</i>	<i>Mollo</i>
6	<i>Muricho</i>	<i>Mine</i>
7	<i>Boki Dana</i>	<i>Min Dana</i>

Sources: from the local council's interviewee

As my informants claim, the above traditional institutions are know a day's more or less become old fashioned by society except *Kokata* in Kambata and *Mollo/moldana* in Hadiya, the community most of the time uses modern court, sometimes the religious leaders and the local elders. No (*woman*) or *Garad* are functional as *Negus* of the Christian highlanders of the medieval Ethiopia. The modern or the western form of non-democratic or democratic political superiority by the ruling party's form of the government system abolished to some extent these traditional institutions. In addition to modernity the religious institutions are also responsible

¹⁹²Yacob, pp.48-49; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, Gedeon, pp.112-113; KTZCIO, pp.7-9, 11: Informants Ato Eriso, W/ro Buta and Ato Aman.

¹⁹³Sisay Gebre Egziabher (2007:18),

for the eliminations of the institutions. They teach about them as the evil and cursed or an abomination of as Gods/Allah/order. Because there is a curse and blessing by their own ancestors ritual spirits which opposed by the religious teachings. However, the *Gogota* and the *Mollo* are functional still today. Particularly in time of murder and border conflicts from different ethnic groups or within the same ethnic groups; they play an arbitrating role.¹⁹⁴

Every matters of the society are managed by these elders. These could synonymously be referred to as when any sort of conflict, trivial or serious in nature, occurs in the community, the council of elders eagerly strives to help them resolve it in a peaceful mechanism without harming or inclining to any of the conflicting parties. The council of elders requests the disputants to handle their problems in a set of expression as saying: “*Magganitta*”, *Maganato*”. This is the same as saying let’s try to resolve the problem under a help of Almighty. *Magganitta/Magana* to/literally means complain made by one of the disputant parties to the council of elders. As to many of the interviewees, the council of elders does not, however, have the authority to mediate the disputants to bring about reconciliation. Instead, it only facilitates the situation to get calmed through the involvement of a third party.¹⁹⁵

In fact, when electing mediators, they could also include from among the council of elders up on agreement. Some informants stated that elders who are elected to get involved in the process of mediation the elders must not be closest relatives of the disputants and the knowledge in handling conflict matters. This is done basically because of the conviction that the process of the mediation and the final result of the verdict ought to be free of bias and any tendency of nepotism.

¹⁹⁴Informants: Ato Kabamo Ashebo ,w/ro Anite Wolero ,Ato Thomas

¹⁹⁵Informant: Ato Aman Nuriye,ato Tamiru, ato Solomon Wachango

CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INTERACTION OF THE KAMBATA AND HADIYA PEOPLE

In the previous two units, I have presented about the background and the political interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people. In this unit, I will try to discuss the role of the socio-economic activities for the inter-ethnic relations of these two societies. As discussed above, it should be clear that the Kambata and Hadiya societies shared important indications of ethnicity as similar traditional practices, language, political administrative system, shared memory of history and others. There were and continue to be many factors that played great role in facilitating interdependence among these peoples.¹⁹⁶ Accordingly, common settlements, sharing common ancestry, having similar socio-economic and socio-cultural issues are the leading factors that have facilitated the ethnic interaction among these societies. In a way, these societies shared several economic activities that could contribute for their interaction.¹⁹⁷

Thus, this unit focuses on some of the common socio-economic issues as well as their role for the Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction. Some of the economic activities like agricultural activities; crop plantations, livestock breeding, co-operative working, land tenure system and crafts works are given due consideration in the following sections. Moreover, the role of trade for the economy of the Kambata and Hadiya society's ethnic interaction could be discussed.

4.1. The Role of Agriculture for the Kambata and Hadiya Ethnic Interaction

Agriculture is a general term that includes many activities as crop production, animal husbandry, forestry, horticulture fishing and the like. This section of the thesis focuses on crop production, animal husbandry, land tenure, crafts work and some other related agricultural activities. Moreover, the role of these activities for the Kambata and Hadiya peoples' as well as with their neighboring society's ethnic interaction could be discussed. Among various societies of Ethiopia, agricultural activities took place under a closely inter-connected

¹⁹⁶Gedeon, pp.118-119, 121, 124-126; Tesfaye Habiso Some Historical and Politico-legal ..., pp.112-113, 118-120, 124; Informants Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido and Ato Abegaz.

¹⁹⁷Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam, Ato Mathewos and Deneke.

foundation of farming and livestock breeding. As stated earlier in unit one; at the beginning, the Kambata people were settled agriculturists; whereas the Hadiya practicing semi-nomadic activities. Nevertheless, later they adopted agriculture due to their closer interaction with the Kambata people. At the time, both people practice agricultural activities through “hoe” (digging stick).¹⁹⁸

4.2. Crop Production

As stated under geographical location, the Kambata and Hadiya societies settled in the fertile lands of the Bilate and Omo rivers. This favorable environment diversified climatic condition and sufficient rainfall in the region enabled the society to practice different agricultural activities. Thus, the society used to cultivate various crops, for local consumption as well as for market. Like many other peoples of Ethiopia, the Kambata and Hadiya people depend mainly on seasonal rains. The peasants of the region produce maize, cabbage and other crops and vegetables. The major cereals produced in the region include wheat, *teff* (*Eragrotis teff*), maize, sorghum, millet, barley and oats. Oil seeds and leguminous plants produced widely in the region include beans, peas, lentils, soya beans and the like. These are mainly used for local consumption. The *dega* and the *woina dega* areas are suitable for the production of these and other seeds and plants.¹⁹⁹

Moreover, red pepper, green pepper, potatoes, sweet potatoes, carrots, tomatoes, onions and others are cultivated in the region. Besides, ginger, coffee and chat have continued to be very important cash crops and planted respectively in the region. The climatic condition and soil type of the Kambata and Hadiya region are very suitable for the production of the aforementioned food crops, plants and vegetables. The diversity of the environmental conditions made possible the diversity of production.²⁰⁰

About 80% of the Kambata and Hadiya people still depend for their subsistence on the cultivation of *Weese* (*enset* or *enset edulis*), it is also called ‘false banana’. Broadly speaking, *enset* was and is a major food plant in many parts of the south-central and southwestern Ethiopia. It is widely cultivated in the *dega* and the *woina dega* areas of the Kambata and

¹⁹⁸ Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Girma.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid and KTZCIO, p.2.

²⁰⁰ Ibid and Belachew, pp.141-143: Gedeon, pp.118-119.

Hadiya region. This climatic condition is favorable for *enset* plant, because in the *kolla* areas there are various plant diseases that can affect *enset*.²⁰¹

Due to high population density in the Kambata and Hadiya region, land shortage is the fundamental problem of agriculture for the people. The *enset* (*Weese*) has been providing the largest quantity of the Kambata and Hadiya people's foodstuff. Over forty different variants of *enset* have been cultivated in the region. Some of these include *Dirbo*, *Kaseta*, *Bannaja*, *Xoroora*, *Gishira*, *Astara*, *Zobira*, *Qanciwa*, and others. The Kambata and Hadiya people's agricultural life has rested on the *enset* cultivation that satisfied and has continued to satisfy many of their essential needs. Therefore, *enset* was and is a very important source of livelihood in Kambata and Hadiya region.²⁰²

These societies have been living together in the same communities. They have a very strong relationship with each other. They also cooperate in many activities. Agriculture served as the major means of the people's interaction, which facilitated their closer cooperation, mainly by exchanging agricultural commodities, ideas and working experiences. It also continued to have an important role by bringing different people together especially at the time of works that require huge labor force. The Kambata and Hadiya society have the experience of working together in their day-to-day life.²⁰³ As among many other societies of Ethiopia, farming has been labor-intensive activity. Some of the agricultural activities as sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and collecting the output done by human labor with the help of oxen that required the collaborative working of the societies.²⁰⁴

4.2.2. Livestock breeding

In Ethiopia there were and are various types of animals that live under different climatic regions. Some sources indicate that Ethiopia's livestock population is one of the largest in

²⁰¹Valentina Peveri. 2006. "Enset, the tree of the poor: nutrition and identity in Hadiya Zone (South-Central Ethiopia)", University of Bologna, Italy, pp. 2-4, 8, 11-13:: Informants Ato Yaekim Ato Bekele.

²⁰²Ibid and Grenstedt, p.48

²⁰³Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Markos Onse and Ato Girma.

²⁰⁴Shiferaw Jamo, "An Overview of the Economy, 1941-1974", in Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), *An Economic History of Modern Ethiopia* (Dakar: Codesria Books Series, 1995), p.5: Belachew, pp.141-143.

Africa.²⁰⁵ In many societies of Ethiopia, livestock breeding is closely associated with their socio-economic and socio-cultural history.²⁰⁶ The Kambata and Hadiya people are part of such societies, whose socio-economic history had long tradition of livestock breeding. Animal husbandry has multiple functions for these societies. They plough exclusively using oxen. Cattle are source of milk and milk products. In addition to this, the manure of these animals is highly used as organic fertilizers, while the dried manure serves as a source of fuel. At earlier times, the people produced clothes from skins and hides of these animals locally.²⁰⁷

Moreover, the importance of livestock breeding is beyond these economic values among the Kambata and Hadiya societies. Animal husbandry had much socio-cultural and socio-economic significance. They considered cattle as measure of social values. In the former times the possession of wider land and as many cattle as possible was considered a sign of good economic position and high social esteem.²⁰⁸ They also measured it as a sign of blessing for the family and its generation depending on the amount of the possessed land and cattle. Therefore, it was not encouraged to sell once cattle and land among the society. Cattle have largely higher social significance for the Hadiya, who lived for centuries as nomadic herdsman, than in an agricultural society like Kambata. Both societies are accustomed to raise cattle as capital saving, as sign of wealth and showing of their property and prestige.²⁰⁹

Animal husbandry and farming in Kambata and Hadiya are functionally inter-connected. Animal husbandry without land cultivation is impossible, because cattle fodder is usually the remnant of agricultural products. To subsist only on animal husbandry is not possible, since there is huge shortage of pastureland, due to over population. To live only on farm products is also difficult, because of the need of milk and milk products. Since milk cannot be bought among the society and the manure of the domestic animals is significant for the cultivation of some plants like *enset*, cabbage, etc. Furthermore, as we have seen above, domestic animals have the significance of social value measurement.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵Bahru, p.191: Shiferaw, pp58-60.

²⁰⁶Solomon Haile-Mariam, *Animal Health Review: Ethiopia 1972-1979* (Addis Ababa, no date), p.10.

²⁰⁷Braukamper and Tilahun Mishamo, p.24; Informants, Ato Abose and Ato Someno.

²⁰⁸*Ibid.*

²⁰⁹*Ibid* and Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz and Ato Deneke.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*

Livestock breeding was and continued to be among the socio-economic activities that tied the Kambata and Hadiya society together. They share many activities, which could facilitate their closer co-operation and interaction along with the people. Some of the activities could be exchange of animals and animal products through trade as well as other social practices. In addition, there were also other social institutions related to animal husbandry like *Wogano* practice and the practice of *Kumisaa*, self-help practices related to livestock breeding that strengthen the social ties among the people. There has been long established practices of celebrating a feast of significance, where cattle would be counted, blessed and the owners would be given honorary titles. This traditional practice locally called the *Wogana/Xibana* practice.²¹¹

The *Wogano* practice is huge and highly respected ceremony among the societies. The ceremony is arranged for the counting of the cattle of the man, whose cattle numbered up to hundred for the first time and the man was given the honorary titles. The Kambata and Hadiya societies believed that the possession of a hundred or thousand cattle involves long process and hard work. Thus, the cattle owners, whose cattle numbered up to hundred could be considered heroes and would get new names through the *Wogana* ceremony. In a way, they were called *Maharancho* or *Woganancho* among the Hadiya and *Xibana* among the Kambata. The ceremonial practice could need long time and huge preparation. They prepare honey, butter, bulls (for slaughter) and different types of traditional foods and drinks. Besides such preparation, relatives of the cattle owner, his close friends, community elders and those who had passed through a similar experience would be invited.²¹²

On the ceremony day, the selected women would prepare butter, honey and lead the cattle and all the participants to the river early in the morning. On their way, they would play traditional songs like *Massehe! Awanssehe! Let us go! Lead us! Sabinamxibana! Let's praise the xibana!* (a man who possessed hundreds of cattle) and other traditional songs. When they reach the river, the counting process would take place and finally elders would give their blessings to the owner of the cattle and to his cattle. Then all the participants would return to the feast prepared by the cattle owner. The celebration of the *Wogana* ceremony might last 4-6

²¹¹Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Makore and Ato Solomon

²¹²Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Makore and Ato Eyoel.

days. Therefore, its role for the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya was very great, by interconnecting people from distant and nearby areas.²¹³

Furthermore, there were and continue to exist various self-help practices related with cattle breeding. From these the *Wozino* and *LaliSeera* are the main ones. The society organized these practices mainly to help each other at bad times. This is because individuals might face loss of some or all of their cattle due to various cattle diseases. In such cases, they used the *Wozino* and *LaliSeera* to assist the man who faced such losses. They used *Wozino* to help the man recover from the loss by contributing money from his clan members. In a way the *Wozino* is only limited to ones lineage groups.²¹⁴

They used *Lali Seera* to support the man, who faced such a serious loss of his cattle from the members of that *Seera*. This is voluntary association organized by community members, but not on the bases of blood relation. Thus, all such traditional practices related with cattle breeding played a big role in inter-connecting these societies. Accordingly, the *Woganancho* or *xibana* ceremony, the *Kumaamo* title, the *Wozino* and *LaliSeera* practices served as socio-economic institutions that could inter-connect different societies in the region. Therefore, such socioeconomic and socio-cultural practices could facilitate ethnic interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya societies as well as with other neighboring societies.²¹⁵

However, there was change in livestock breeding after Menelik's conquest among the Kambata and Hadiya society. The peasants lost their rights of land possession and the conquerors expropriated the peasant's cattle by the name of different taxes as well as they could take main fatten cattle to slaughtering for different ceremonies and holidays. The Amhara settlements greatly discouraged the cattle breeding in the region and that decreased the number of the cattle among the Kambata and Hadiya peasants.²¹⁶ Informants stated that the Italian period saw little improvement in this regard. The Italians had given the freedom for the peasants for the land possession and property ownership. As a result, during the Italian period the Kambata and Hadiya societies continued to practice their former socio-economic activities.

²¹³Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz, Ato Tamiru and Ato Deneke

²¹⁴Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Sebro Wasoro.

²¹⁵Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam and Ato Solomon.

²¹⁶Getahun, pp.12-13: Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Someno and Ato Eyoel.

That encouraged the society to continue cattle breeding and performing activities related with it.²¹⁷

4.2.3. Crafts work among the Kambata and Hadiya people

The Kambata and Hadiya society used various handcrafts in their day-to-day activities; locally made by the people or exchanged through trade from the neighboring people. As common to any other society, these people had the experience of doing different handcraft from locally available materials like clay, skin, *qancha* (fiber like structure from *enset*), animal horns, iron, stone and others. These items are parts of the people's culture. These craft works could be used for different purposes. Some of the craftworks and their functions include for preparing and eating various food items like *Sooro*, *leemata* etc (are made of especial grass called *duffa*). The *buuxqasha/buudmooqo* (spoon made of horn) used for eating porridge, *Xenqo'o* (a cup made of clay, it is used to drink milk), *Qure'e* (a pot made of clay; it is used to cook various food items like potatoes, *ha'michcho*, cabbage and others).²¹⁸

There are some materials locally made and used for holding materials like *zaambeela* (made of *kancha* or fiber like tinny rope from *enset*). It is made from *zambaba* leaf and used as female's bag and holding material. *Qara* or container (made of bamboo and used to collect coffee, potatoes, maize and others). Moreover, *Ma'inna* (beds) made of trees and animals skin, rope or from timber, *barchuma* (benches) used to sit down and made from timber or different tree types. There are also locally made materials used as jewelries and many other functions.²¹⁹

Moreover, labor classification was and is common among the society. In most cases, those who work these crafts were named after the item they work. For example, those who work materials made of clay are called as *sheklaseri* or *fuga* (potters); iron workers are called *tumaanno* or *qatiqachi*; wood workers were called *qenaaxee* or *anaatsi* (carpenters); those who work items from skins and hides were called *faqi* or *awado* and the like. These people were and are despised social groups among the Kambata and Hadiya society. However, there are some improvements recently due to expansion of the modern education and religious

²¹⁷ Informants, Ato Asaro, Ato Imam and Ato Ersido.

²¹⁸ Getahun, p.45: Belachew, pp.168-170: Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso and Imam Desta.

²¹⁹ Informants, Ato Abose, Imam Desta and W/ro Erome.

preaching among the society; still there is a sign of using derogative names towards craft workers among the Kambata and Hadiya people.²²⁰

However, these materials and local technologies are very important for the society in their day-to-day activities; culturally people who make these items were undermined until very recently. As common to any society, the Kambata and Hadiya people share these craft works mainly from their neighboring societies. Due to socio-economic and socio-cultural inter-connection among these people, there is similarity in using these crafts. Besides buying the item from other areas, it was common among the society to bring the people skilled with these craft from other neighboring areas. For example, well skilled men in house construction, clothe making and those people skilled in making different house hold furniture's can move from one place to the other without ethnic boundary. Such interactions and inter-dependences of the people further facilitated their ethnic interaction among themselves as well as with neighboring peoples.²²¹

4.2.4. Land tenures system

For performing agricultural activities, the ownership of the land is very important. However, the discussion of the land tenure is very complex to deal in depth; the basic features of the changes and continuity are highlighted in this section. Land tenure is among the main factors that affect agricultural productivity. Before Menelik's conquest, land was owned through inheritance by kinship or lineage by families at a clan level in Kambata and Hadiya region. The *Seera* (customary law) of the society used to distribute and administer land among various households. In a way, elders had a big role in administering all questions related to land.²²²

According to the tradition of the society, male children could inherit the lands of their fathers. Children could also partition the lands of their fathers among themselves while he was alive. Apart from inheritance, the people could take free and unoccupied land in groups by the recognition of the community elders.²²³ However, this traditional land holding system was not unique to the Kambata and Hadiya society; it was common among the many peoples' like

²²⁰Informants, Ato Abose, Imam Desta and W/ro Erome.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²²Getahun, p.18: Informants, Ato Asaro and Ato Ersido

²²³Informants Ato Somano, Ato Chufamo, Ato Heramo and Ato Kassa.

Wolayta.²²⁴ “Communal land tenure has been a feature of the system of land holding in every society at some stage of its history.”²²⁵ Many African countries had communal land ownership, especially in the pre-colonial period.²²⁶

Under communal land ownership, all the children of the supposed founding father could claim and obtain land. Similarly, as among many other societies, the Kambata and Hadiya people claim the right to land possession through considering ones patrilineal descent. Under normal circumstances, only men could inherit land, while that denied the right of women inheritance partly because the people feared that land could be transferred to the husbands from other clan. Nevertheless, women could inherit land in the absence of men. As part of their inheritances, women would be given enough property in the form of gifts or *gegeeyya*, when they got married. In addition, their husbands were expected to have enough land that supports his family. The traditional land holding system was changed since 1890s due to the conquest of Menelik II. The incorporation enabled the ruling class to control the peasants land through the tribute system and various land holding rights.²²⁷

The major forms of land tenure systems applied in the Kambata and Hadiya areas are *madarya* (land in *leiu* of salary), *yemengistmaret* (the government land), *yegasha maret* (measured land), *yebalabtmaret* (local officer's land), Therefore, following the incorporation officials who played important role during the occupation period and those who have closer contact with the government owned *yegashamaret*. The local official appropriated *yebalabtmaret* whereas his relatives and other officials owned *yegimitmaret*.²²⁸ The letter from Minister of Interior to Police Force Office verifies the data obtained from informants. The letter states about the amount of the land, that the officials possessed. Accordingly, fifteen *gasha* land was given to each Naftegna whereas one to five *gasha* to participants of Adwa. Mostly, the part of archive suggests that the Amhara used to live on the land that they inherited with its *gebbar*

²²⁴Feleke Mitiku, “Land tenure system and trade in Wolayta (1830s-1941)”, B.A Thesis (Addis Ababa University History Department, 1999), p.17: Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Sebr Wasoro

²²⁵J.C.D.Lawrence, Communal Land Tenure in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa, 1963), p.2.

²²⁶Sara Bery, “Hegemony on a Shoestring: Indirect Rule and Access to Agricultural Land”, Africa, Vol. 62.3, 1992, p.31.

²²⁷Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Someno, and Ato Deneke.

²²⁸Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Someno, and Ato Tamiru.

that granted to their fathers and grandfathers as *madarya* since incorporation and the battle of Adwa.²²⁹

Therefore, the Amhara settlers granted land in *leiu* of salary for their participation in the incorporation of the Kambata and Hadiya according to both oral and archival accounts. Such land appropriation also continued even after Menelik, during the reign of Iyasu and Zewditu. According to oral tradition, the immigrant rulers and settlers expropriated and took the fertile land, which the Kambata and Hadiya were using before. Tesfaye expressed similar information to the informants *Naftegna* (armed settlers) from the north expropriated all the lands of the Kambata and Hadiya. As a result they ruled over them with cruelty and exploitation that reduced the local peoples to the level of slavery and miserable tenancy in the land of their forefathers.” This shows that the government monopolized the Kambata and Hadiya people’s land until 1970s land reform proclamations.²³⁰

Informants explain that between 1937 and 1941 the Kambata and Hadiya got limited access to land through the Italians, who abolished the *gabbar* system as explained earlier. At the time, the Italians terminated the feudal exploitation. Slave trade was not practiced after the Italian period.²³¹ Accordingly, it terminated feudalism and slave trade. As a result, Italian occupation ended exploitative feudalism until it was reinstituted after the liberation of the country from Italians. Contrary to ending exploitative feudalism, the Italians also collected different kinds of taxes like firewood, grains, honey, eggs, milk, butter, goats and sheep for meat consumption and intensive labor as well. Moreover, the productive power was killed in addition to it had been serving the Italians interest than own economic right.²³²

The Emperor’s return in May 1941 also led for the re-establishment of the administrative structures as before the Italian occupation period. Accordingly, the Empire made provinces (*Teqlay-Gezat*) and sub-provinces (*Awraja Gezat*). *Awraja Gezats* were sub-divided into sub provinces (*Woreda fGezat*) that further divided into *mektel-Woreda Gezat* and *atibya Gezat*. Accordingly, the former Kambata *Akababi* became an *Awraja* (sub-province) in the Arsi *Teqlay Gezat* with its capital at *Asella*. It consists of five *woredas*: *Leemo*, *Kontab*, *Angacha*,

²²⁹ See the letter at Appendix-G.

²³⁰ Tesfaye, *Some Historical...*, p. 140: Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido and Ato Abegaz.

²³¹ Informants: Ato Tadesse, Ato Girma, Ato Danamo and see archive on appendix B.

²³² Informants: Ato Mathewos, Ato Bekele and Ato Deneke and See archive on appendix B.

Tembaro and *Qadida-Gamela*. In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya were ruled under Arsi *Teqlay-Gezat* until 1960s when the latter became Shawa *Teqlay-Gezat* and Addis Ababa replaced Asela.²³³

However, the administrative region consisted of Kambata, Hadiya, Tembaro and Halalaba; it was named as the Kambata *Awraja*. As mentioned above, several reasons were given for the choosing the *Awraja* name to be called by the numerically minority Kambata compared to Hadiya.²³⁴

On the other side, the Hadiya majority persistently struggled for the *Awraja* name to be modified into Kambata-Hadiyana *Awraja*. Their request was deprived and some of them were accused as conflict instigators in the *Awraja*, according to the archival source. Accordingly, *Qegnasmach* Seyoum Anore, Haile Gebremichael, Haile Arficho and Abebe Busuro were supposed to be troublemakers. Haile Woldemichael and Haile Arficho tried to ensure that they were not conflict instigators. Rather they tried to show the request of Hadiya people that needs to modify to the name of the *Awraja* into Hadiya and Kambata like *Qabena* Gurage, *Tagulatna-Bulga* etc.²³⁵

After the implementation of the administrative structures, the Emperor Haile Selassie moved to recognize provincial administration and the collection of taxes. In such objective, the emperor took successive actions on land and introduced many tax reforms in the country. That intended to generate a means of state revenue. Like other areas, the post-liberation period brought land measurement, land sales and privatization of many land in the Kambata and Hadiya region. Land was classified in to four categories by law.²³⁶

In a way, the imperial regime was intensively involved in land issues after 1941 in the Kambata and Hadiya region as elsewhere in Ethiopia. It began to take punitive measures, particularly on those who were recognized to be “collaborators” with the fascist forces during

²³³ Alebachew and Samuel, p. 113; Lapiso, Abiyotawi..., p. 119, 121; Braukamper, *Die Kambata*, p. 289; Informants, Ato Abegaz, Ato Abose, Ato Someno and and See the titles in archives in appendices E-J.

²³⁴ Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 101-105: Informants Ato Someno, Ato Deneke.

²³⁵ Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 101-105: Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Yaekim, Ato Imam, Ato Sebbero and Ato Kassa and See part of the verification to Public Peace and Security at Archival Sources on Appendices A1-A5.

²³⁶ Ibid and see the archive at Appendix E and F.

the occupation years; the prime mechanism of punishment was land alienation and eviction. Consequently, number of poor peasants lost their land. The government was also engaged in distributing land among its officials and political appointees whom it considered loyal to the emperor. Overall, the officials of Haile Selassie, his soldiers, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and local chiefs, commonly called *balabatoch*, had large possessions of the Kambata and Hadiya lands between 1941 and 1974. Local *balabats* served in different capacities and were given free holdings. As a result, poor peasants in the region were land less and had been living a miserable life during the imperial period.²³⁷

The *Qalad* system (named after the rope used to measure land during the imperial regime) was another big drive against the Kambata and Hadiya's agriculture in general and peasant land holdings in particular. After the introduction of the *Qalad* system land was measured simply by using ropes and given to different *balabats* and government officials. The *Qalad* system facilitated the expropriation of the Kambata and Hadiya land. After the measurement, government could take any land that it considered "extra". However, most lands that the government expropriated through the *Qalad* were not "extra" lands. In a way, *Qalad* enabled the state to appropriate large areas of land either for its own benefit or for that of individuals and institutions it wanted to reward.²³⁸

Moreover, the *chisegnas* had to render labor services that included grinding grains, tiling land, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, mending fences, constructing houses, collecting firewood, herding cattle and other related activities. Such activities of the peasants performed to the *balabats* in the region served as a means of people's interaction. At the time, the Kambata and Hadiya region from one center and the Amhara *balabats* had several *gashas* in the region that was not arranged in the ethnic bases of the society. Thus, people from Kambata and Hadiya could perform different activities for their *balabats* that accelerated their interaction in the period under discussion. Moreover, this common rule enabled both societies to attend different meetings at common. These hastened their nobilities to and from their administrative centers become source of their interaction in the time.²³⁹

²³⁷ Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz and Ato Kabamo.

²³⁸ Ibid and Geber Wolde Ingda, pp.305-306.

²³⁹ Informants: Ato Shuramo, Ato Yaekob, Ato Heramo and Ato Yaekim.

Besides these services, the *chisegnas* had to pay taxes in various base; like annual fixed amount of taxes, *asrat* (tithe) and tribute in kinds. Failure to fulfill all or some of the abovementioned burdens meant automatic eviction from land. Hence, peasants have to make up all payments and services despite the fact that whether they got surplus production or not. As indicated by informants many peasants fled to Jimma, Shashamane, Addis Ababa, Adama, Wonji, Dire Dawa and *Metehara* in search of job opportunities. Above all, the agricultural performance in Kambata and Hadiya declined. As a result, the economic condition of the peasants was declined.²⁴⁰

As stated above the land, holding system was changed in the Kambata and Hadiya region following Menelik's conquest in the late 19thc. Consequently, local people lost most of their productive lands to the new Amhara settlers and government's officials. That forced the local poor peasants to work on the lands of these officials and settlers or migrate to the towns and cities or to other areas. The increased nobilities of poor peasants, the coming of new Amhara settlers to the Kambata and Hadiya region and their intermixing with the local people increased the degree of ethnic interaction in the period under discussion.²⁴¹

Some changes were brought after the 1974 Revolution that nationalized the land. In a way, the 1975 land reform proclamation ended the *melkenga-chisegna* relationships. Following this, the *Derg* organized different peasant associations and unions in Kambata and Hadiya *Awraja* to implement its agricultural policy. During the *Derg* regime, the peasants got some rights to land possession by the land redistribution policy. Even though the *Derg* tried to improve the peasant agriculture by its development through cooperative campaign, it was not successful as expected.²⁴² Some of the mentioned factors that discourage agricultural productivity in this period include heavy taxation, shortages of fertilizers, forced Villagization and resettlement schemes. Moreover, there were increasing grievances among the peasants who were forced to sell their produce to the government at the fixed price. These weakened the decision-making of the peasants and in reverse; it undermined the agricultural performances of the peasants. There was some decline in agricultural productivity during the *Derg* regime. The land

²⁴⁰Ibid.

²⁴¹Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Someno, and Ato Bekele.

²⁴²Lapiso, Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil Ediget ..., p.125: Kidane Mengisteab, Ethiopia: Failure of Land Reform Crisis, New York: Greenwood Press, 1999, p.24.

redistribution and Villagization policy played some role in facilitating ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other peoples of the region.²⁴³

Moreover, the *chisegnas* had to render different services like grinding grains, tiling land, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, mending fences, constructing houses, collecting firewood, herding cattle and other related activities. These activities become center of the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction at the time. Besides, their common administration and participating in different socio-economic and political activities together facilitated these societies' ethnic interaction.²⁴⁴

4.3. The Kambata and Hadiya Interaction through Trade

Commercial activities were and are a big channel of communication between different peoples who produce goods and those who consume these goods. As in all economies specializing in primary activities Ethiopian economy depend on the export of primary products and intermediate goods, industrial raw materials and consumer goods. Internally local markets and long-distance trade played a big part for inter-connecting different peoples and for the national economy of the country. Trade was carried out in local markets and in long-distance trade that joins different markets usually conducted for the exchange of agricultural and craft products. Hence, trade enables people to exchange goods, ideas, technologies and the like.²⁴⁵

In a way, marketing in the Kambata and Hadiya include supplying agricultural and nonagricultural products on the markets; retailing products within different parts of the regions. It also includes transaction of the products from other parts of the country; distributing industrial manufactured items; export of different products to different regions in Ethiopia or to the central market in Addis Ababa etc. Periodic markets are important centers in which the economic life of the urban as well as rural peoples depends. These markets are not only service centers for the local people but also outlets for commodities marketed and distributed by the government.²⁴⁶

²⁴³Ibid.

²⁴⁴Informants: Ato Shuramo, Ato Eyob, Ato Heramo and Ato Yaekim.

²⁴⁵Alemayehu Lirenso, The Function of Periodic Markets in Kambata and Hadiya Awuraja Seminar Paper (Addis Ababa University, 1983), p.7 ; Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Sebro and Ato Kassa.

²⁴⁶Ibid.

Trade could be conducted among various states or within a state. Moreover, it became an important source of income to the Kambata and Hadiya people for long period both among themselves and with other territories.²⁴⁷ The people have very strong trade connection with the each other as well as with their neighboring communities such as Wolaita, Gurage, Silte, Tambaro, Yem and the Oromiya regional state and others. In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya society maintained a long tradition of commercial activity both within and beyond their territories that could facilitated the ethnic interaction of these societies.²⁴⁸

As stated earlier, the major means of the Kambata and Hadiya society interaction is commercial ties, different economic activities and cultural ties. Thus, commercial activity denotes a big channel for the interaction of the society. Concerning such continued interactions informants expressed that the Kambata and Hadiya society have day-to-day inter-connections by trade activities. Similarly, both societies have commercial interaction with their neighboring peoples. The local markets are the most regular place for such interactions and transactions. In the context of long distance trade of the past centuries, the people's participating closely associated to the slave trade.²⁴⁹

In addition, informants indicated that Kambata and Hadiya have regular commercial contacts with Wolayita, Alaba, Tambaro, and others at the market centers of Kuluto, Araka, Gimbecho, Doyogana, Durame, Adilo, Hossana, Jajura, Homecho, Shishicho, Shone, Hadero, and Mudula because of their geographical and long established neighborliness.²⁵⁰ However, transportation problem and difficulty of the roads in the region become among the major challenges for the trade at times. Some roads were constructed after the 1950s by the collaboration of the people and government. From the major roads constructed at the time, two of them were the highway that connect Hossana to Alemgena and the highway that connect Hossana to Wolayta. These roads were constructed in the early 1960s and others were constructed in the latter years. The

²⁴⁷Ibid.

²⁴⁸Gedeon, pp.39-40: Belachew, pp.172-173: Informants Ato Someno, Ato Mitku, Ato Heramo and Ato Kassa.

²⁴⁹Gedeon, pp.39-40: Belachew, pp.172-173: Informants Ato Somano, Ato Chufamo, Ato Heramo and Ato Kassa.

²⁵⁰Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz and Ato Desta Lenjibo.

Kambata and Hadiya people contributed money and participated in labor work during the construction of these roads.²⁵¹

As a result, the movement of merchants and goods were affected by the transportation problems. In a way, transports used for goods and people's transportation purposes were irregular and uncomfortable in the Kambata and Hadiya region. Some of the major transport routes that interconnected Kambata and Hadiya as well as with various peoples and states of the region are listed below.

1. the Hossana-Butajira-Alemgena-Addis Ababa gravel road constructed in 1962 (now asphalted):
2. the Hossana Lera-Wolkite-Addis Ababa (partly gravel, partly Asphalted):
3. the Hossana-Butajira-Zeway-Nazareth-Diredawa (partly gravel, partly Asphalted):
4. the Shone-Boditi-Wolayta Sodo-Arbaminch Asphalted road:
5. the Hossana-Angacha-Damboya-Alaba-Shashamane (partly gravel, partly Asphalted):
6. the Hossana-Angacha-Damboya-Durame-Shone gravel road:
7. the Hossana-Shishicho- Durame-Awasa road (partly gravel, partly Asphalted):
8. the Hossana-Hadero-Mudula gravel road:
9. the Mudula-Hadero-Shishicho-Durame-Adilo-Halaba-Shashamane (partly gravel, partly Asphalted) are some of important roads that facilitated trade activities in the region.²⁵²

Before the constructions of these roads, the commercial activity was limited to a small-scale local trade. However, later on, traders began to visit distant market centers. Such interconnection of the Kambata and Hadiya among themselves as well as with their neighboring regions facilitated the people-to-people interaction and socio-economic interdependences. Moreover, these commercial activities and social inter-dependences of the people contributed to the very high ethnic interaction in the region. The development of large-

²⁵¹Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Yaekim, and Ato Imam and A Letter from Qegnasmach Ruga Ashame to General Yilma Shibeshi, reference No. 5234/651/62, 1962 E.C see the letters at Appendix-H and Appendix-H.

²⁵²Geber Wold, pp.305-306: Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Makore and Ato Tamiru.

scale trade is mostly a recent phenomenon in the Kambata and Hadiya region, except for the slave trade of the past.²⁵³

For instance, the Hadiya had regular commercial ties with the kingdoms of Jimma, Limmu Enarya and others in the *Qebena* market in the northern part. The strategic location of *Qebena* played a big part in the commercial activities. In time, the *Qebena* market becomes one of the busiest trade centers in the region.²⁵⁴ As a result, it becomes a trading center for the people of *Qebena*, Gurage, Hadiya, Jimma and other areas. Moreover, the Kambata and Hadiya maintained strong commercial ties with the Wolayta and Dewuro peoples. The Kambata and Hadiya merchants used to exchange goods in the markets of Sodo, Areka, Mudula, Hadero and Shone. The Badawacho Hadiya had regular commercial contacts with the Wolayta, Kambata, Halaba and Tembaro areas because of their geographical closeness and long established hospitality.²⁵⁵

On the other hand, merchants who came from Gurage and Silte used to visit Hadiya frequently. Even today, the Gurage and Silte traders dominate the retail transaction particularly in Hossana town. Therefore, trade served as good means of peaceful co-existence among different ethnic groups. Moreover, it shows the significances of the trade that encouraged ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other neighboring peoples. The indigenous merchants were involved in wholesale trade, hotels and other business activities. Generally, trade has constituted a major form of communication among the people of the region for centuries.²⁵⁶

After the conquest of Menelik, the economic importance of trade in the Kambata and Hadiya area weakened to some extent. This resulted from the preference of agriculture by the Amhara *naftegna*, who even started to force the Kambata and Hadiya peasants to give labor services for their agricultural works and the peasants, had less time to engage in trade. During the Italian occupation period, trade did not show much improvement. The Italians gave much attention to the issues of *gabbar* system, but they did not particularly encourage local trade.

²⁵³ Geber Wold, pp.305-306: Informants: Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Makore and Ato Alemu.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Alemayehu, p.7: Informants Ato Somano, Ato Abose, Ato Heramo.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

After 1941, population pressure and the shortage of land in the region necessitated the expansion of trade in the Kambata and Hadiya region. Some poor peasants, whose lands appropriated by the government started to engage in commercial activities. However, the slave trade was losing its ground. In a way after 1941, trade begun to play a significant role in the economy and the interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people.²⁵⁷

After the 1974 revolution, commercial activities showed some change in the region. Now trade fell under the direct control of the government; in which the government fixed production and prices. Grains from various rural areas collected and sent to Addis Ababa, Adama and other areas. Therefore, the Kambata and Hadiya traders were not permitted to sale their products in the markets where they chose and at the price, they fixed. There were also various associations organized by the government that closely supervised trade activities. Before 1974, a relatively free market-oriented trade exercised in Ethiopia.²⁵⁸

After the revolution, however, centralized economic management characterized by an over restricted trade system was put in place that weakened the development of the trade during the communist period. However, changes after the downfall of the *Derg* regime led for the development of trade activities. The government policy that allowed the economic freedom of the society contributed for such changes. As a result, people got the right to engage in any economic activities they like. Thus, trade activities started to expand after late 1990s.²⁵⁹

Therefore, the above discussion justifies the importance of the trade for the inter-connection of the Kambata and Hadiya society. Their closer geographical location and high people-to-people mobility's in the region facilitated their commercial activities. The Kambata societies are almost encircled by the Hadiya and shared longer boundaries. Thus, they had many market places that served for both societies that become center of these people's interaction. Besides, the peoples ethnic, language and cultural closer relation could be mentioned factors for their easier communication through trade and other socio-economic activities. These could be among the main reasons for the high ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷Lapiso, Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil ..., p.120; Informants Ato Someno, Ato Elias, and Ato Girma.

²⁵⁸Ibid, Muluneh Eyoel, "Trade Liberalization and its Economic Effect in Ethiopia" B.A. Thesis (Addis Ababa University Economics Department, 1999), p.20

²⁵⁹Ibid.

²⁶⁰Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz and Ato Desta Lenjibo.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. THE CULTURAL INTERACTION OF THE KAMBATA AND HADIYA PEOPLE 1880s-1990s

As already discussed in the previous section, Kambata and Hadiya societies had deep ethnic interactions in their history. Several factors facilitated the ethnic interaction of the people in the region. The socio-economic activities, socio-cultural issues, common settlement and claiming the same origin are the main ones.²⁶¹ In a way, cultural activities play great role in interconnecting different people. Thus, they become among the means that facilitate the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya societies. Informants remind that it is difficult to differentiate these societies in their socio-cultural issues. They stated that both societies live in the same community and most people speak their language exchangeable. Moreover, both societies had deep marriage relation and similar cultural practices.²⁶²

Tesfaye wrote similar ideas with the informants that expressed the existences of different ethnic groups who live in the region peacefully for long time. As a result, they are sharing similar traditions, religion, culture and way of life. This closer inter-connection of the people contributed for their friendly relations of the society.

...በከምባታ አስተዳደር የሚኖሩት የከምባታና የሀዲያ፤የእንዳገኝ፤የኤነርና ሌሎችም ማህበረሰቦች ከ16^{ኛው} መቶ ክፍለ ዘመን አንስቶ በብላቴና በግቤ ወንዞች መካከል በሚገኘው ቃም ምድር አብረው በመኖር በጉርብትናና በንግድግንኙነት፤በሰላማዊ መንገድና በጦርነት፤በጋብቻና በባህል፤በቋንቋና በማህበራዊ ኑሮ በረጅሙ የታርክ ጉዞ ዘመን የሕወትወጣ ወረዶችን በተመሳሳይ ሁኔታ ያሳህፉት ህዝቦችከመሆናቸውም በላይ አንዱ የሌላውን በመቀበል፤ በመዋሐድና በመዎራረስ፤በቋንቋ፤በባህል፤በደም ወይም በዘር ሀረግ እጅግ የተገናኙና ተመሳሳይ ህዝቦችናቸው።²⁶³

They shared common settlement and have many inter-connections in marriage, trade and other social activities. Moreover, they experienced conflicts and co-operations in their long history.

²⁶¹Informants, Ato Dana Damissie Lombamo, Ato Abose, Imam Desta

²⁶²Ibid.

²⁶³Tesfaye Habiso, “Kambatana Hadiya ...” p. 196.

As a result, they exercised similar cultural practices and way of life. This indicates the existences of high ethnic interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya people.²⁶⁴

However, cultural issues are general and include many activities; this chapter focuses on some of the cultural issues that facilitate the Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction within the period under investigation. From these many socio-cultural issues indigenous marriage practice, childbearing ceremony, the circumcision ceremony, the mourning ceremony, traditional religion, are discussed in this chapter.

5.1. The Indigenous Marriage

Marriage is a practice or process by which the legal relationship of husband and wife is constituted. Thus, it served as legal union between man and woman and governed by mutual relationship between them. It also implies the act of friendship between one or more men to one or more women.²⁶⁵ In a way, the marriage relationship is usually formed with social, religious or governmental recognition or recognition from all three. Hence, it brings two unrelated partners together in any society. In a way, marriage is the starting point of kinship ties, which link together genealogically independent clans or groups and serve as means of Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction.²⁶⁶

As common in any society, marriage is one of social institution that makes the beginning of the family among the society. This shows that marriage served as socio-cultural institutions that show their common values and identities. Moreover, marriage practices facilitate social interdependence of the people. Therefore, it serves as a means of the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interaction as well as with other neighboring ethnic groups. However, among the society marriage between endogamous clans is strictly forbidden. As a

²⁶⁴ Ibid and Informants, Ato Abose Milkiso, Dana Atiso Lodebo, Imam Desta Lenjiso.

²⁶⁵ Edward Wester Mark, *A Short History of Marriage* (London, 1968), p.1.

²⁶⁶ Ersido Antese, *Ye Hadiya Bahil Meseretawiyen* (Hossana, 1999 E.C.), P.71: Informants, Ato Abose Milkiso, Dana Atiso Lodebo, Imam Desta Lenjiso

result, they trace back at least up to seven generations before they approve any marriage relationship.²⁶⁷

Inter-ethnic marriage is used as the mechanism for enhancing inter-group cohesion among the society. As indicated by informants of both societies marriage relationship for their harmonious relations. This argument justifies that inter-ethnic marriage relationship useful among the societies was and is the main factor that enhanced their ethnic interaction for long period. For instance, king Dagoye of Kambata had married five wives from noble families of the neighboring peoples. Among his wives, Wolame was from Hadiya. His son Dilbato also made it his main task to create peace with Hadiya, who were militarily stronger and territorially wider than the Kambata. Moreover, Inter-marriage was undertaken between neighborhoods and served as means of peaceful interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya people that facilitated their interactions.²⁶⁸

Similarly, the *Tembaro's Manjole*, a supposed daughter of the *Boyamo* (one of great ten ancestors of Hadiya), as the wife of *Moolla. WomaWaqo* (1768-1803) of Kambata married *Qarichoo Shashe, QarichooLaakoana Qarichoo* Alamme from Tembaro. The Tembaro king married *Qarichoo Sibate* from Kambata. Therefore, such inter-ethnic marriage practice was and is common among the Kambata and Hadiya people that facilitated their social interdependence. Consequently, it served as means of the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interaction as well as with other neighboring ethnic groups. The Kambata and Hadiya society never married a member of a despised caste. Selections of wives by parents for their children or by the partners themselves usually governed by social, economic, religious and ethnic factors among these peoples.²⁶⁹ In this section of the thesis types of marriage, the wedding ceremony and the role of marriage for the Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction are discussed.

²⁶⁷ Tagesse Halibo, "indigenous Marriage Practice among the Kambata People of Kachabira Woreda", B.A. Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Sociology Department, 1995), pp.22-24: Informants, Ato Dojjamo Doboch, Ato Abose, Imam Desta

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Tagesse, pp. 22-24: Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta and W/ro Erome

5.2. Types of Marriage practices

As common to any society, the Kambata and Hadiya ethnic groups had developed their own cultural values and marriage systems in their long history. In most cases, these cultural activities as well as their ways of practices were and are performed. Informants indicated that these societies have developed such similar practices due to their common settlement and many socio-economic and socio-cultural interactions among themselves. However, they give different names for some of the marriage types there are the same marriage types and similar practices among these societies. In the Kambata and Hadiya society for a young man to get married there are five ways. These include *Heratto*, *Labitu*, *Rage*, *Middu* and *Qorsisha* according to the necessities of the culture.²⁷⁰

The *Qorsisha (Ilgana)* is a marriage by the consent of parents on both sides. In the past, this marriage type was widespread and most respected form of marriage between the Kambata and Hadiya. In this case, the friend choice was absolutely in the hands of the parents, mostly the father. Parents of young boys and girls would arrange the marriage relationship regardless of the consent of the couples, especially the girl. Prestige and economic interests played a big part in this regard. Informants expressed that, in most cases parents choose a friend for their children from the clans or parents with whom they want to create relationship. In a way, it facilitated the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people at the time, as both societies encourage inter-ethnic marriage.²⁷¹

Qorsisha involves long and elaborate processes of *bolocha* (wedding ceremony). The bridegroom and his family inform the members of accompaniers called *Sifla* and the best man (*tamishra*). Nevertheless, later, since 1950s the role of missionaries and expansion of modern education increased the ability of the couple's decision-making in marriage issues. Thus, *Qorsisha* as a type of marriage started to decline and currently it is almost abandoned. Therefore, at present decisions for marriage is based by the interest of the couples among the society. However, this does not mean that the family and relatives have no role in choice and

²⁷⁰Ibid.

²⁷¹Ibid.

facilitating marriage process. As a result, the *Laabito* and *Heerato* are widely used marriage types among Kambata and Hadiya region replacing *Qorsisha*.²⁷²

The *Labito* (*Cee'aqancha* in Hadiya) is marriage by the consent of the couples. At this marriage, the couple took the leading role in the whole arrangements by their agreements. This is also a widely practiced type of marriage among the society. It is conducted by the agreement of both families and both partners; there is compatibility in this case. Markets and wedding ceremonies were and continued to be (especially in the rural areas) the major places where girls and boys see each other and select their future partners. In *Laabito*, a boy would visit the girl whom he loved along with his future best men and check her beauty, personal behavior and other related qualities. After such crosschecking and agreements, the boy's parents would send elders to the girl's parents for negotiation.²⁷³

After their final agreement to the marriage proposal, they would fix a specific date to give the *qota* (bride price). The bride price would be given in cattle, household utensils and money. It would be given to the parents of the girl, to her grandparents, to her brothers and sisters and to her aunts and uncles. On that especial day, mutual promises or contracts for the future marriage would be entered. Locally it is called *gumagana* or *angsunqa* (ring ceremony). At the end, they fix the date of wedding ceremony. This is commonly a practiced marriage type at present among the Kambata and Hadiya society.²⁷⁴

Heerato is marriage by lure. In most cases, the couple make an agreement among themselves without the knowledge and/or approval of their parents. Mainly it is conducted through an agent called *gaanna*. The *gaanna* is responsible to facilitate marriage and the subsequent negotiation. In this case, there are no formal procedures or ceremonial practices. After accomplishments of crosschecking they arrange favorable date in which the girl could secretly depart her families and kept somewhere among the relatives or friends of the boy for some

²⁷²Gedeon, pp.39-40: Informants Ato Somano, Ato Heramo and Ato Kassa.

²⁷³Ibid, Handebo Ergano, "The Family System of the Nationality of Kambata", B.A. Thesis Addis (Ababa University, Sociology Department, 1982), pp.21-23.

²⁷⁴Ibid, Informants, Ato Abose Milkiso, Dana Atiso Lodebo, and Ato Heramo

days. Then the girl could stay there for some days until the elders would perform the negotiation process.²⁷⁵

Following the accomplishments of the negotiations, the girl would formally enter into the boy's house. The Couple's used such marriage type due to several reasons. Some of them include if the partners fear their parents never permit the marriage due to economic or family background reasons. They also use this option if the boy face financial shortage to give *qota* (bride price) for the girl's family and to arrange the marriage ceremony. This type of marriage is still practiced at present.²⁷⁶

The *Middu* (*Gosimma* in Hadiya) or kidnapping was another marriage type that took place among the society. It happens when the kidnapper was asked a dowry that he cannot afford or if the girl or her family refused his marriage request and disgusted him. The kidnapper takes off the girl while she came from market, fetching water or from other places.²⁷⁷ The abducting boys would only return to their own villages following the restoration of the peace through the intervention of elders. However, such marriage practices have been abandoned in Kambata, while some of the practices related to abduction have continued even today among the Hadiya, though it was strongly discouraged by the official propaganda.²⁷⁸

The *Rage* (*Lago*) or inheritance was also a common marriage type among the society. The brothers or close relative can inherit woman when her husband die. Informants expressed some of the reasons that *rage* as a type of marriage among the society. The society practices such marriage in expectation to support the children, property and wife of their deceased relative. The other reason is that, if the wife married beyond the closer relatives her husband can take the property of their relative. Moreover, there was also fear that the children of the deceased would not get enough support and that would lead to the breaking of the family. Except the *laabito* the rest were abandoned marriage practices among the society. This was

²⁷⁵Ibid.

²⁷⁶Ibid.

²⁷⁷Ibid.

²⁷⁸Alebachew and Samuel, pp.229-231: Tagesse, pp. 23-25: Informants, Dana Damissie, Dana Atiso and Imam Desta, Ato Somano, Ato Heramo and W/ro Rewida Hussien.

due to the religious teachings of the missionaries and expansion of the modern education in the region.²⁷⁹

As discussed so far, the existence of very high inter-ethnic marriage between the Kambata and Hadiya served as one of the mechanisms for enhancing interaction between the two societies. Informants also stated that their economic, cultural and social interactions contributed to this bilateral marriage arrangements between these societies. As a result, marriage relation may have been among the main factors that contributed to the Kambata and Hadiya people's closer relations. Moreover, their marriage relation is not only limited to the two societies. Due to continued interaction with their neighboring peoples, the Kambata and Hadiya society had also marriage relation with the Tembaro, Halaba, Gurage, Silte and others. This played a great role for continued ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya peoples as well as with their neighbors.²⁸⁰

5.3. The Wedding Ceremony in the Kambata and Hadiya

Marriage is declared by a wedding ceremony among the Kambata and Hadiya society. Locally the wedding ceremony is called *bolocha*. The word *bolocha* implies happiness, joyous feast or great ceremony. Among these people a betrothed lady, her fiancé and their families will make preparations, both materially and psychologically. Best quality *wassa (kocho)*, bulla, fattened sheep or goats, bulls, honey, butter, milk and other foods and drinks would be prepared. A few days before the wedding feast girls of the same age group with the betrothed lady would start singing and dancing using traditional instruments especially *xarbee* or *dibe'e* (the small drum). All relatives and friends of the couple informed for the date of marriage ceremony. There have been different levels of marriage ceremonies based mainly on the economic competence of the parents of the couple. These include *Kiiffa*, *Ilmoocha* and *Hoshaaro*.²⁸¹

The *Kiiffa* was an extended ceremony in which many people participate. They usually arrange it for fame. It involves the biggest and most celebrated feast in the wedding ceremony of the Kambata and Hadiya people called *calalaqa*, in which people eat and drink up to their maximum satisfaction. On the wedding day, the bridegroom and *Sifla* would arrive at the

²⁷⁹ Informants Ato Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta, W/ro Rewida, W/ro Erome.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid and Tagesse, pp. 25-27.

home of the bride. After his arrival, all people would eat and drink according to the capacity of the feast arranged. *Sifla/Hamamota* (companion of the bridegroom) would stay for about two days in the home of the bride's parents eating, drinking, singing and dancing. In *kiiffa* before their departure the bride and bridegroom will be given an escorting gift called *gégéya*; usually household materials by the family and relatives of the bride for their new home. Then, elders would give their blessings to the newly married couples and the ceremony would end.²⁸²

Only strong men could arrange such ceremony. This type of marriage had played important role for the ethnic interaction of the people. It enabled many people to come together from different areas, clans and ethnic group at a place for days. In a way, it further encouraged relation and inter-connection of the society. Currently such extended marriage ceremonies are not being practiced among the society. People started to consider it as extravagant practice. *Hamamota* could stay only for a day at the bride's house and in most cases arranging exaggerated ceremonies, foods, drinks and the like practices were abandoned. In a way, *Ilmoocha* and *Hoshaaro* types of marriage replaced *Kiiffa* among the society.²⁸³

The *Ilmoocha* is moderate feast whereby the *Sifla/Hamamota* would stay only for a day. Relatively fewer people would participate in *Ilmoocha* than the *Kiiffa*. Similarly, the feast arranged for *Ilmoocha* could also be smaller than that of the *Kiiffa*. The *Sifla* would accompany the bride and bridegroom. When they reach the home of the bridegroom, the bride would enter her new home and all would eat, drink and sing. Following that, the family and relatives of the bridegroom would offer the gifts called *erifo'o*. Both *gegeeyya* and *erifo'o* are an indication of both families to help in establishing the new home.²⁸⁴

The *Hoshaaro* is a brief ceremony that involves fewer peoples and very small feast. In the case the bridegroom would not go to the house of the bride, the *Sifla/Hamamota* could go and bring the bride. After the arrival of *Sifla* to the bridegroom home, the bride would enter her new home and the participants would eat, drink and sing. Finally, the family and relatives of the bridegroom would offer the *erifo'o* and the ceremony would end. The first marriage is greatly respected among the Kambata and Hadiya people. Economically, weaker people

²⁸² Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet, p.70-72: Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso and Imam Desta.

²⁸³ Informants Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

usually arranged the last two marriage ceremonies in the past. However, at present the brief marriage ceremonies are preferred by most of the people in the region.²⁸⁵

Mini-agisha (return invitation) is the other form of ceremonies undertaken after wedding ceremony. The *Mini-agisha* is a ceremony that the bride's parents prepare to "mix" the bridegroom with the new family, relatives and friends. As it can be seen from the analysis of oral tradition, modern religious practices gradually displaced traditional marriage celebrations. People started to abandon and disgust extended ceremonies and polygamy. Modern religious leaders, intellectuals and modern law played a big role for such changes. Therefore, traditional beliefs that previously safeguard traditional practices has already been abandoned mainly after the time of student movement and expansion of Protestantism.²⁸⁶

As stated earlier, marriage served as the beginning of the kinship relationships and connects genealogically different clans or groups. In such a way, marriage becomes one of the most important social institutions that bind people with different background and create relationship among them. As common to any other societies, there is a marriage ties between Kambata and Hadiya peoples. Thus, marriage is a very significant social bond that involves many people in these ceremonial practices. This facilitates inter-connection of different people and opens a way for the ethnic interaction between Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other ethnic groups.²⁸⁷ These societies used marriage as one of the important political and Economic strategies, for peace, territorial expansion and alliance among themselves. They also use it in order to create diplomatic relationship among themselves and with other neighboring states. Thus, the existence of strong marriage relationship with the Kambata and Hadiya society shows the existence of strong ethnic interaction among these ethnic groups.²⁸⁸

5.4. The Child Bearing Ceremony

Child bearing is instrumental in extending the family member next to marriage. Moreover, in addition the marriage, child bearing is accompanied by various ceremonial practices among the Kambata and Hadiya society. According to the tradition of the society, women usually

²⁸⁵ . 25 Ibid and Alebachew and Samuel, pp.229-231.

²⁸⁶ Informants Ato Dana Demissie, Dana Atiso, Ato Gabra and W/ro Rewida.

²⁸⁷ Ibid and Alebachew and Samuel, pp.229-231.

²⁸⁸ Ibid

give their first birth in the home of their parents if not at home. This is because it is believed that the experience of her mother could help her greatly. Secondly, her parents are preferred for better protection and care. Thirdly, it is believed that going back to the house of the girl's parents was a sign of honor and respect for the parents. The newly born child could be considered as a child of his grandfather (mother's father) and would get right to share the property of his grandfather. This interconnection used as the means that contribute for the people's interaction.²⁸⁹

Some of the ceremonies related to birth ceremonies include pre-birth preparations, practices during birth and post-birth practices. Here under, the focus is to deal with the indigenous practices related to childbirth and its role for ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people. Concerning the pre-birth preparations, a pregnant woman would make preparation for herself and the baby for about four to six months before her birth. They start collecting and preparing food items for long time; like barley, spices, butter, bulla and other food types. Especially barley would be ground finely and made ready for various purposes. The preparation of barley required the participation of relatives and the villagers of the pregnant woman.²⁹⁰

The other exhaustive work that needed huge labor was the preparation of *bu'illa* and *qocho* from enset; that used for long period. In a way, relatives and friends of the pregnant woman would participate in groups for such works. Moreover, the material preparation also consider her future baby; for whom they arrange a holding material called *Halaama*, a soft spongy material extracted from the inner bark of the enset plant. They arranged *Halaama* very carefully and to give much comfort to the baby and keeps it warm. In addition, they used it to keep the body of the baby clean. However, at present *Halaama* is not used for such purposes due to the introduction of different comfortable clothes and holding materials. On his part, the husband of woman could make several preparations; provide money for the preparation of all essential materials like barley and butter. He would also prepare a comfortable bedroom called *Jijiira*. Besides these he would prepare fatten sheep or goats for slaughter.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Informants W/ro Rewida, W/ro Erome and Ato Heramo.

²⁹⁰ Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta, W/ro Erome and Ato Heramo

²⁹¹ Ibid and Tagesse, pp. 25-27.

During labour, the home would be heated with fire to ease and facilitate the birth and the pregnant woman would lie on her back on the *Jijiira* prepared for that specific purpose. All of her neighbors would come to her home and encourage the woman but men could not enter the home. Up until very recently in Kambata and Hadiya women would give birth with the assistance of local midwives in their home. At the time, her relatives and villagers support her constantly pray to goddess called *Ammawotaa* for assistance; to mean “assist the mother’s spirit” that was associated with traditional belief. It seems that it was replaced by the teaching of St. Mary after introduction of Orthodox and Catholic Christianity. Perhaps for that reason women say Ama *Marama maarise!* (Mary the mother! help her!) Instead of *Ama wotaa*. After safe delivery and the removal of placenta, the women at home would express their pleasure by ululating five to eight times and three to four times for male and female births respectively.²⁹²

This tradition is common among many Ethiopian societies. Then the news of the birth was dispatched and females bring butter and put on the head of the mother. The villagers and relatives bless saying that “*Hashuu! Hashu! Eman bejigenta-macharaaffun*” for male and “*Hashu! Hashu! Eeman bejigentaqarataechiye*” for female; respectively it means congratulation! – It inherits you and receives a dowry. Just after birth four days for male and three days for female infants a very special ceremony, *Wobeta* would be undertaken in the case of the first-born child. The *Wobeta* ceremony is giving bath to the mother and her baby by the villagers and relative women. Up on which the women could celebrate by eating the especial porridge prepared by *bu’Illa* or flour. The men even including the husband of delivered could not participate in this ceremony.²⁹³

This has continued to be a warm ceremony. Women would sing, dance and play various traditional games. Anyone who entered while women were singing would be expected to give some amount of money to them. After they received the money, the women would give blessings to him. Child naming would be an integral part of the ceremony. Traditionally, names are given in *Kambattissa* in Kambata and in Hadiyyissa among the Hadiya to newly born children based on the social and economic circumstances of the society and the family. Nevertheless, after incorporation into the Ethiopian empire Amharic names were used. Some

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ 5 Informants W/ro Rewida, W/ro Erome, W/ro Buta Guta, W/ro Almaz and Denamo.

religious names were also used to give Biblical or Quran names to their children, mainly after the expansion of the universal religion in the region.²⁹⁴

Moreover, closer relatives of the woman as well as her husband could visit the *Woman* who gives new birth. Most of the time, this ceremony was arranged by the relatives and friends, mainly after a month. This was carried out in groups; that extend from seven to fifteen women. In which the relative or the friend could organize others who could go with her, preparing especial foods and drinks, including a sheep or goats to slaughter. This ceremonial practice was called *anggisunqa* among the Kambata and *Massa'ee* (blessings) in Hadiya. It should be noted that all the practices and the preparations made by the pregnant woman, her husband and her relatives are similar among many societies in southern Ethiopia.²⁹⁵

These common practices as preparations made before birth, the ceremony during the birth and the care for her husband, her relatives and her villagers provided are not unique to the Kambata and the Hadiya society only. The Tembaro, Wolayta, Halaba and the Gurage, the closest neighbors of Kambata and the Hadiya, share a number of common practices in this regard. However, it was not as strong as that of the marriage. Such ceremonial practice could play a great role in organizing people from different parts and cultures. Because of continued and strong marriage, economic and cultural relationships between the Kambata and Hadiya people such ceremonial practices play great role by facilitating their ethnic interaction among the societies.²⁹⁶

The tradition of Kambata and Hadiya encourage high birth rate. In local terms there is saying related to this (*ossut womihansa lee'au*). This means children would be born and grown up according to their chances or a “predetermined fate”. Hence, the number of children born was not limited. This in turn contributed to the high population density in these areas. However, it has begun to show remarkable change since the 1970s because of expansion of education and

²⁹⁴Ibid.

²⁹⁵Tagesse, pp. 25-27: Informants Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, W/ro Rewida and W/ro Erome.

²⁹⁶Tesfaye Habiso, “Kambatana Hadiya ...” p. 196: Tagesse, pp. 25-27: Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet, p.70-72: Informants W/ro Rewida, W/ro Erome and Ato Heramo.

contraceptives. Moreover, the role of religious institutions and health centers at least contributed in raising awareness toward family planning roughly after the 1980s.²⁹⁷

In the past the disabled births and twins are considered as a curse and thrown into a deep valley. They do the same if an unmarried girl gives birth. Women of the village would take it to throw into a deep valley saying *Keehoo! Keehoo!* This custom was intended as a lesson for other girls. Thus, the Kambata and the Hadiya girl are careful in keeping their chastity. However, after incorporation, particularly following the Italian occupation, adultery spread. Despite its social and economic merits, Christianity also weakened the strict ritual of the society, owing to the principles of mercy and forgiving. Therefore, adultery and births of unmarried girls began to increase in number.²⁹⁸

These common practices related to marriage and childbearing ceremonies were and continued to be among the important social inter-connections that bind various people with different background and create relationship among them. Accordingly, such socio-cultural issues are very important social connection among the Kambata and Hadiya society that involved many people in these ceremonial practices. Therefore, child bearing ceremonies and the whole practices related to it became one of the factors that facilitated the inter-connection of different people and opens a way for the ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other ethnic groups.²⁹⁹

5.5. The Circumcision Ceremony

The circumcision ceremony is locally called *nuggussa*(*ballacha* in *Hadiyissa*). It is strictly practiced between the Kambata and the Hadiya society from the very beginning, which is applied on both sexes. In this ceremony the family, relatives, friends and neighbors of the individuals from different parts could participate. That contributes for the interaction of these people. As they get younger children would pass through circumcision (*nuggussa*) to

²⁹⁷ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.229-231: Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso and Imam Desta.

²⁹⁸ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.229-231: Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso and Imam Desta.

²⁹⁹ Informants Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, W/ro Rewida and W/ro Erome.

adolescent and adulthood. This ritual was accompanied by different ceremonies that created a number of social ties.³⁰⁰

According to the Kambata and the Hadiya tradition, boys and girls were circumcised roughly between the ages of 16-20. Thus, the circumcision of small babies was very recent phenomenon. In the earlier tradition, small children were not circumcised for fear that their growth and physical strength would be affected.³⁰¹

The whole practices related to circumcision include pre-circumcision preparations, ceremonial practices on the eve, and practices on the actual day of circumcision, the stay of the circumcised individuals at *qonqona* or *duma* and the ceremonial way of rejoining the society. *Qonqona* is a confinement where circumcised individuals would stay during the circumcision period. Thus, various traditional practices and ceremonial feasts like marriage and birth ceremonies accompanied circumcision. The pre-circumcision preparation includes preparation of various items especially butter and fattened sheep and/or goats. On the other hand, boys and girls who were going to be circumcised would select their best men (*illejaalla*) among their peer groups, relative or neighbors. The *illejaala*, is the person who would “cover up the eyes of the circumcised” individual that could require strong social ties among themselves. It is carefully selected and would create very intimate friendship between *ille jaala* and the circumcised individuals. In most cases, such relationship would continue to their lifetime.³⁰²

On the eve of the circumcision date boys and girls would spend the whole night together singing and dancing. All the relatives and the neighbors would praise the one who is going to be circumcised the next day with the traditional song: *HeelinsomoHelame!* to mean we praise you, be praised; *KabarBaabooto!* You might be horrified today etc.³⁰³ Circumcision takes place usually on saturday early in the morning with local dance and songs until church songs replaced it after the domination of the universal religion. A piece of basaltic rock (*reeqqeeta*) was used to cut the prepuce before the introduction of the *maggallaale* (very small knife) for male and blade for female. Latter with the introduction of health centers they began to be

³⁰⁰Gedeon, pp.87-89, 90-91: Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta

³⁰¹Informants Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra.

³⁰²Ibid.

³⁰³Alebachew and Samuel, pp.267-269: Informants: Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra and W/ro Rewida.

circumcised in clinics that pave a way to abandon local circumciser and their instruments. The newly circumcised boys and girls would stay in a confinement 3-4 months. During their stay at home, they would be given various gifts from their parents, peer groups, friends, neighbors and relatives.³⁰⁴

Above all, they would be provided with special food and drinks so that their body could recover. They would join the society and return to their routine activities after a ceremonial practices called *finajja* for girls and *GammaGamma* for boys. During the *finajja*, circumcised girls would sit down in a place where all people see them. The mothers and aunts of the circumcised girls would bring *Sha'imeetaa* or *Borde* (a local drink prepared from barley) and spill it under the legs of the latter in the belief that it would protect them from the “evil eyes”. These shows the circumcised girls would be free to enjoy and play with their peer groups before their return to their homes at night.³⁰⁵

Circumcised boys would wear shorts and shirts, hold a whip and stick, go to their friend's home pronouncing *imma! Imma!* In Hadiya or *Gamma! Gamma!* in Kambata. This is to show their physical strength, provoke their counterparts for wresting and praises themselves. It is free struggle among the circumcised boys that took place as a final stage of the circumcision ceremony, in which they used to test their strength. As discussed above the circumcision ceremony play a great role in inter-connecting the society. Thus, such a ceremonial practices were and are among the factors that played important role in facilitating the Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction.³⁰⁶

5.6. The Mourning (Oonna) Ceremony of the Kambata and Hadiya people

The funeral ceremony is probably as old as the society itself and they had been following it as part of their requirements. Like many other peoples of Ethiopia, Kambata and Hadiya people pay due attention to mourning ceremony. It is among the serious practices followed by the society. The Kambata and Hadiya society give greater value for a careful and well handling of the corpse that took place immediately after the death of the individual.³⁰⁷ After careful

³⁰⁴ Informants Ato Ayele Mune, Ato Heramo and W/ro Erome.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid

³⁰⁷ Tesfaye Sodeno, pp.16-18; Informants Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam.

handling of the corpse all the relatives, villagers, acquaintances gather and encircle the corpse and begin to mourn. In the past, the people did not use coffin to put the corpse. They simply dig a hole that joins transversally with pocket like opening that locally called as *qoossie*. Gradually tombs become different and an oval shaped coffin made of a single log (*woongro*) used until progressively replaced by rectangular coffin.³⁰⁸

Informants expressed that there are different degrees and natures of funeral practices between the Kambata and the Hadiya society, for children, adults, famous persons (heroes, the wealthy, etc). If the baby dies immediately after birth it is said *ciilu ba'eu* or *ciilichch bi'uuko* (in Hadiya) to mean the child has lost. In case of miscarriage, it is said *foollifa'eeu* in kambata or *ciilichchgodabonebi'uuko* among the Hadiya; this is to mean the child has been lost in the womb. In both cases, there is no extended ceremony, but women would weep beating their breast and elders would beat their heads to express their sorrow.³⁰⁹

When youngsters die, the people could express their feelings to the deceased by performing several actions. According to the earlier traditions of the societies, all mourners who came from distant areas would pierce their faces with thorns to express their deep love and sorrow for the deceased. Men and women will lament and cry, recite funeral songs and sing the praises of the departed. All these are punctuated with the painful notes. They would cry singing funeral poems: like *Aye! Aye! Dooyuko!* to mean Ah! I feel sorry. *Lomanchibiyuko!* *Lomanchibiyuko!* To mean Ah! Great man passed away! and the like. The closer relatives and friends perform different actions to show their sorrow. Some of the practices include tearing their clothes, throwing themselves to the ground; appear in sackcloth and ashes to express their deepest feelings for the deceased.³¹⁰

The funeral ceremony of famous persons involved procedural ceremonial practices of which one is Lassa (traditional obituary). *Lassancho* is a person who dispatches the news of the deceased. In all his ways, he could explain the glories of the deceased and informing the date of the funeral ceremony. Many *Lassancho*'s would go in different direction up to distant places where relatives and friends could live. They dispatch news of the deceased's in all their

³⁰⁸ Ibid and Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 297-299, 304-306, 308; Informants Ato Heramo and W/ro Erome.

³⁰⁹ Informants: Ato Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta.

³¹⁰ Informants: Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Daniel

way by singing funeral poems like *Doyouko! Gazaanchu* Gonchu.... (Oh! a warrior or leader died ...), *Doyouko! LomanchiDoyouko!* (Oh! the famous one passed away!) for male and for female “*sangema*” aye! (Oh! Famous in her cattle!) *Lubaameaye!* (Oh! Our skilful lost) etc. were few among such songs sung for the dead as informants remand’s.³¹¹

See picture and dressing of the *Lassancho* at Figure 7 below who is dispatching the news of the deceased in Lemmo area.

Figure 6. the *Lassaanchu* and Figure 7B the *Farsanno* at the funeral ceremon

Figure 7 A the *lessaanchu*



Lessaanchu, praising the deceased in his way as a call for the funeral ceremony in Lemmo area

Source: Braukamper and Tilahun p. 112

Figure 7 B the *farsanno* at the funeral ceremony



Farsanno, at funeral ceremony in Hadero area

Source: Yebiheresebocho Mikir Bet, p.72

In most cases the burial ceremony undertaken between in three to five days. Playing two big drums or *Negarita* of different sizes and a horse ride treat was part of the burial ceremony. The team that shows horse riding treat is locally called *farsanno* (horsemen). See the photo above, showing the *farsanno* treat entering to the funeral ceremony in *Hadero* area under Figure 7 B. The family, relatives and friends make dance like treat, following the beat of the *Negarita*, holding clothes, spear and other things of the dead. This treat was locally called *NagarritiinHigu* to mean showing funeral treat following the sound of the *Negarita*. Hereby it calls many tears from the attendants. Moreover, mourners would hurt themselves by thorns, by beating their chest, wail and fall down to show their affection. Such practices were gradually

³¹¹Ibid and Tesfaye Sodeno, pp.19-21.

casted out by Christian teachings and enlightening thoughts after modern education. As informants reminded that, the sound of Negarita “*Buchaqotiinjijikku’in*” suggests share the sympathy of the bereaved.³¹²

The Kambata and Hadiya people graves are marked by planting trees particularly *Masancho* or tid tree as sepulture. Modern burial symbols with Christian cross symbol and the Islam’s half-moon marked sepultures introduced after the respective religions. Latter they started to use Well-built and roofed sepultures. A trip at graveyards reveals historical continuities and changes. Except relatives’ mourners who would come after the funeral ceremony would say “*Maganu qaarsuu!*” meaning, “May God consoles you!” In a way, funeral ceremonies are strong social practices that gather relatives and friends of the people from different areas. Thus, funeral ceremonies played great role in inter-connecting the society. This shows that such ceremonial practices were and are among the factors that facilitated the Kambata and Hadiya societies’ ethnic interaction.³¹³

Besides performing such practices related to mourning activities the people do other social activities like conflict resolution meeting at funeral places. Moreover, they also use it as a means for meeting their relatives and friends. Even more funeral ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, market places and other cultural ceremonies served as a means for looking for the would be friends among the society. Such wider inter-connection of the society by these ceremonial practices, have big role for the peoples interaction. Therefore, peaceful co-existences of the Kambata and Hadiya people and their different socio-cultural inter-connections indicate high degree of ethnic interaction of the society.³¹⁴

5.7. Religion and Its Social Values in Kambata and Hadiya Societies

5.7.1. Religious beliefs and practices

Religion is a very strong knot that ties people together in multi-national and multi-ethnic countries like Ethiopia. People tend to live in harmony when they have the same religion or, hopefully, when there is tolerance, when religions differ. Evidence is abundant that human

³¹²Informants: Ato Somano, Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra and W/ro Rewida.

³¹³Ibid.

³¹⁴Ibid.

beings in general are or have been basically religious.³¹⁵ “Religion is the pattern of belief and practice through which men communicate with or hope to gain experience of that which lies behind the world of their ordinary experience”. Various religious beliefs have developed among human societies at different times.³¹⁶ Religions rest upon belief in supernatural forces. Some religious also show deep respect for ancestors and their cultural traditions. The term religions, therefore, refers to both personal beliefs and communal practices.³¹⁷ Ethiopia is the abode of various religions, both universal and solely indigenous forms. What happens to religion can influence socio-cultural, political and even economic edifices.³¹⁸ In the following section the religious history of Kambata, including “traditional religion” will be discussed.

5.7.2. Traditional religion and its rituals

It is, indicated that the world's traditional religion preceded the present universal religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam).³¹⁹ “Prehistoric” and “primitive” “tribes” manifested their religious impulse in animistic and totemistic practices from time immemorial. Similarly, Frehiwet argues that people believe in visible or invisible objects/entities/ as saviors, protectors, guardians or destroyers of their lives and environment; this belief led to the emergence of traditional beliefs.³²⁰

Grenstedt, basing himself on oral traditions, argues, “The Cushitic religious practices with which the Church [Orthodox Church] had to contend were dominated by worship of the sky-god and an indefinite number of spring, rivers, lakes, hills, trees and other object”. This is apparent that Ethiopian rules had always maintained a negative attitude towards traditional religions; Emperor Zara Yacob, for example, said, “If a Christian kill “pagans” he shall be a martyr [i.e. like a martyr] with the same status] and the “pagan” whom he kills shall be

³¹⁵Petrol Michael and Others (eds.), Reason and Religious Belief: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion (Oxford University Press, 1991), p.3; Braukamper and Tilahun misham, p.36: Informants: Somano, Heramo, Gabra and Rewida.

³¹⁶Ibid

³¹⁷Ibid.

³¹⁸Ibid.

³¹⁹Grenstedt, pp.64-67; Frehiwet Adnew Ersulo, Yekambata Mahbereseb Haymanot (Kambata Folk Religion) (AAU, Ethiopian Literature and Folk lore, 2005), p.24.

³²⁰Frehiwet Adnew ..., p.35.

considered for him as an offering to God whoever kills “pagan” has committed no sins”. Thus, indigenous beliefs were undermined from the very beginning.³²¹

Fandaano was the indigenous belief professed by a large number of people among the Kambata for centuries. It was the only indigenous belief in Kambata. There are various hypotheses regarding the Kambata *fandaano*. Some people argue that two persons named Itta and Albaja who were believed to have encroached by the people of Oromo who came to by lying like birds came to Kambata and introduced the religion.³²² The other group underlines that a man named *Boyamo* introduced *Fandaano*.³²³ Versions, lack clarity and precision. On the other hand oral informants and some written sources indicate that *Fandaano* was born with the Kambata people (as old as the society itself), but, exact dates and places of the origin of these traditions cannot be traced. True, many societies who profess traditional religions do not know when, or by whom, where and how their belief system originated.³²⁴

Nevertheless, it is probable that *Fandaano* preceded any other religious beliefs in Kambata and it seems that its origin was among the Kambata themselves. *Fandaano* has never been practiced outside Kambata though but there were similar religious beliefs elsewhere. It served as the core element of Kambata’s socio-cultural and socio-religious life; it held the people together. In the earlier tradition of Kambata those who did not profess *Fandaano* were isolated from socio-economic and politico-cultural participation. The essence of *Fandaano* was, therefore, extremely important in maintaining social cohesion among the Kambata and Hadiya people.³²⁵ This indigenous belief in some Kambata areas was inhabited by a huge number of the followers of *Fandaano* from the outset.³²⁶ The term “Fandaano” refers both to the religion and its practitioners. *Fandancho* stands for the singular. Nonbelievers, especially those who did not participate in fasting with *Fandaano*, were known as *ibje’e* meant “pagan”.³²⁷ But oral informants underline that *ibje’e* had basic religious beliefs in their hearts, although they did not practice it seriously unlike the committed *Fandaano*. *Magano* is the sky God of *Fandaano*.

³²¹Grenstedt, pp.66-67.

³²²Informants: Desalegn Herano, Petro, Heramo, Gabra and Rewida

³²³Informants: Ersido, Shuramo, Somano, Petro, Abose, and Imam Desta.

³²⁴ Grenstedt, pp.85-87; Frehiwet Adnew Ersulo, Yekambata Mahbereseb ..., Pp.55-57; Informants: Aman, Heramo, Emam, Sebro and Kassa.

³²⁵Ibid.

³²⁶Ibid.

³²⁷Ibid.

They strongly believed that there always lives only one supernatural power, *Magano* or *Dolihache'anchuMagano* is believed to be the creator (*qoocaaicho*) of all creatures, benevolent, kind, and merciful. The eyes of *wa'a* can see all of his creatures at once thus no one can hide himself/ herself from his presence. His ewes are represented the sun (*arincho*) and the moon (*Agana*).³²⁸

Before the 1970s and even up until very recently *Magano* and his components such as *wota* and *jaara* were worshipped among the *Fandaano* of Kambata by sprinkling blood, *xaliila* (melted, purified butter) and milk on the ground. These and other sacrificial drinks would be sprinkled using a handful of special grass called *Mada*. The sun was worshipped after its rise, but the moon and stars were worshipped at night. *Fandaano* believed that there always exist various subordinate gods and “benevolent” spirits below *Magano*.³²⁹

Jaara is one of the most respected spirits; every believer of the *Fandaano* has his own personal *Jaara*. Whenever *Jaara* gets angry it automatically and instantly terminates its major function, protecting people. In most cases an angry *Jaara* could cause diseases and dangers to the lives, properties, and children of individuals. To keep *Jaara* pleased part of the first ripened fruits, vegetables, and crops were sacrificed (people do not collect their harvests before they give sacrifice for *Jaara*). For example, *Zonboro* (milk collected for the first time from a cow) would not be drunk unless some of it was sacrificed for *Jaara*.³³⁰ Wole, *woriiqa*, *idota* or *heeficho* (a spirit that protects women, primarily from any abuse or mistreatment from their husbands), *Jina*, *Ibliisa*, *Habusa*, and others constitute the major body of gods and spirits of the *Fandaano*. *Jaara* and *Idota* are protecting spirits. *Fandaano* strongly believed that all gods and spirits needed regular sacrifice (*kitima*) and player. Honey, *Bullo*, butter, milk, blood and meat were the major sacrificial foods and drinks. The practice of giving praises to the *Fandaano* gods and spirits was called *boroodiso*. *Boroodiso* involved calling the names of god's spirits and giving them praises.³³¹

³²⁸Frehiwet, p.26: Informants: Someno, Petros, ,Imam Desta and Shuramo

³²⁹Ibid.

³³⁰Alebachew and Samuel, pp.200-202, 203, 204-206: Gedeon, pp.50-53: Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet, pp.93-94: Informants: Heramo, Ersido, Abegaz, Somoano, Petros.

³³¹Ibid.

Fandaano believed in spirit possession; all individual families wanted to be protected from diseases, have blessed new years and future, blessed marriage, blessed fertility, blessed cattle, and blessed crops. The prayer performed by the *Fandaano* to get these and other needs was known as *Xibaasima*. In the past *Fandaano* used to make prayers under big trees which they called *Adbaara*. For *Wa'a* special sacrifice would be given by respected people, not by ordinary individuals. All major sacrificial feasts and offerings were practiced between September, and January; favorite days of the week for sacrifice were Tuesday and Thursday.³³²

The *Fandaano* heads of individual families woke up early in the morning and performed their prayers. Among the usual prayers:

Hilarichqorabe'e Protect me from evil

Daafichi qorabe'e Protect me from tribulations

Magano hoshata xumma asi protect me in your peace (the whole day)

*Soji hawaranqate xuma ihuni*³³³ protect me down to dusk.

It seems that some of the *Fandaano* gods and spirits had a Christian background; these included: *Kitoosa* (probably related to Christ), *Maraame* (probably related to St. Mary), and *Gorgisa* (probably related to St. George).³³⁴ There has also been serpent veneration among the *Fandaano*. The serpent was considered to be the stallion of *Jaara*. Brown and red serpents were believed to carry good spirits while black serpents were associated with evil spirits. *Fandaano* venerated brown or red serpent, they did not kill or harm them. In the earlier tradition a sheep would be slaughtered and its blood would be mixed with butter and given to a brown or red serpent when it entered the house of an individual. If it licked the blood that family would be very happy, otherwise it would be considered that *Jaara* had got angry. In

³³²Frehiwet, p.33; Grenstedt, pp.88-91; Informants: Petros, Atiso, Imam Desta and, Yaekob.

³³³Informants:Someno, Petros,Yohannes,Desta and Shuramo.

³³⁴Ibid

such a case blood would be scarified to please *Jaara*. Black serpents, however, were hated and killed whenever they approached men.³³⁵

AbaSarecho or *Sarecho* (sing. *Maganimanicho*) were ritual specialists and had also political influence in the traditional administration and conflict resolution practices of the Kambata. *Anjaano* had played a big role in the religious, political, and social spheres. *Sarecho* were believed to possess a very powerful spirit that could even kill wrongdoers. For *SarechoMagano* would reveal many of his mysteries, and give them especial knowledge and wisdom so that they could even forecast bad or good events that were to happen at the right time. They would tell the possible solutions for any problem they saw in advance. They could also cause or cure diseases. It was generally believed that there was a special way of communication between *Magano* and *Sarecho*.³³⁶ The followers (masses) of the *Fandaano* religion were known as *awanaano*; they participated in funeral ceremonies very actively, took part in day today social life and other common activities. There were also respected fortune tellers whom *Fadaano* called *Magani manacho* (sing. *Maganancho*).³³⁷ *Fandaano* had a tradition of transmitting their children and other non-*Fandaano* Kambata. New converts to the *Fandaano* religion had to pass through three stages: circumcision, baptism, and fasting. Before *soommano* (the fasting practice of the *fandaano*) commences *Sarecho* would announce the exact date in market centers and other places where the public gathered a week or two in advance. *Soommano* was the basic pillar of the *Fandaano* religion. The males in *Fadaano* religion used to go to the nearby river early in the morning, undress themselves and sink into the river pronouncing *Arrapp! Arrapp!* and wash their body and clothes. This purification process is called *hybaana* (*hybana* was equivalent to baptism, but *Fandaano* practiced it simply for purification). They believed that *hybaan* would cleanse all their sins.³³⁸

On their return to their homes they would bring grass or a small stick or a flower from a special plant called *soomma'nhagga* that grew near river sides to signify the onset of *soomna* (see the photo below). On the day when male heads of the *Fandaano* family performed *hybaana* all household materials; *soommano* would begin in the next morning. *Fandaano*

³³⁵ Informants: Yaekob, Deselegn Herano and Heramo.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

would not eat or drink from sunrise to sundown during their *soommano*. They maintained the tradition of eating between 7 and 8 p.m.; the first meal they eat during the *soommano* days is known as *afixra*.³³⁹

Figure 7. the *fandaano*’s bringing grass or *soomma’nyaqqa* in their return to homes



Source: Frehiwet, p.25

Fandaano believed that they had to end their fasting and eat meals before the hyena howled; if a hyena howled before their fasting, would be polluted. In such a case *Fandaano* would extend their fasting period into the next day. According to the *Fandaano* belief the hyena is “*najaasa*”.³⁴⁰

5.7.3. Religious Institutions and the Kambata and Hadiya People’s Socio-Cultural Transformation

5.7.3.1. Ethiopian Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus

The EECMY was founded on work begun by Northern European Missionaries in the late 19th and early 20th c. These missionaries concentrated their work in Southern Ethiopia, where Orthodox Church influence was less profound their strategy was to plant protestant church in

³³⁹Informants: Heramo, Ersido, Abegaz, Someno, Petros.

³⁴⁰Informants: Heramo, Ersido, Abegaz, Someno, Petros.

thiopia was on development.³⁴¹ From having been limited to work concentrated mainly to Hosanna, the *Mishgida* School (Durame), literacy schools in all the nine *sebakas* some visiting programs, the synod now expanded its ambitions. From 1974 and onwards road-building, spring-protection, animal husbandry, soil conservation and clinics became essential parts of the KS's regular work. The start of an "immediate relief program", and the EECMY's continuing co-operation with the LWF in a follow up long-term rehabilitation program, gives the background to the inception of treks Development Department and the KS's increasingly holistic approach.³⁴²

It was inevitable that the emphasis on a more holistic approach would have political dimensions. These mainly concerned the necessity of improving the living standards of ordinary people in the Kambata/Hadiya region, that is, of Ethiopian peasants. As has been noticed, part of the Kambata Famine Relief Program was to build roads and bridges in order to be able to transport food and other material to starving people. On the basis of what has been related previously concerning local Ethiopian initiatives in the region, the EECMY development work, especially the building of roads and bridges, had strong symbolic meaning to local people in 1974 and onwards.³⁴³

5.7.3.2. The Ethiopian Kale Hiywot Church (EKHC)

The Ethiopian Kalehiwot Church was founded in 1927 in Southern Ethiopia by the Evangelical missionary organization SIM and Dr. Tomas Alex Lambie.³⁴⁴ On his book Cottrell described that on July 13, 1946 Dr. and Mrs. Wilson and Miss Warhanik reached Dubancho. On their first Sunday three hundred and fifty gathered for the service.³⁴⁵ Also Trimmingham stated that the SIM missionaries soon settled closer to Hosanna, in *Bobicho*, where the centre of the KEC was gradually transferred. In 1949 the missionaries were running a clinic, a Bible-

³⁴¹ Eide, Oeyvid. *Revolution and Religion in Ethiopia: Growth and persecution of Mekane Yesus Church, 1974-1985*. 2nd (ed.) Oxford: James Currey, 2000 (Print). p.37.

³⁴² Ibid

³⁴³ According to the statistics of the Kambata Synod in Apr. 1976 the Synod had built more than 50 km of roads and "many bridges". EECMY-A: EECMY 9th Conference. General Assembly, Apr. 21-28, 1976, Kambata Synod Report, p.9.

³⁴⁴ Tibeb Eshete. "The SIM in Ethiopia: A Preliminary Note". *Journal of North East African Studies* vol. 6 no. 3 (Addis Ababa, 2003). pp. 27-8.

³⁴⁵ Cottrell 1973, p.121

school and an elementary school. A number of villages schools, teaching literacy were started.³⁴⁶

Three problems areas which SIM missionaries taught the baptismal candidates to separate from where: multiple marriages, intoxicating drinks and ancestral spirits. Missionary adopted what Fargher calls “. . . an aggressive attitude towards culture.”³⁴⁷

He further contends that: The expatriate evangelists claimed they did not legislate right or wrong. But they left no doubt in the Minds of the converts what they considered to be sinful. They felt obliged to teach the necessity for radical separation from any association with such things as intoxicating drinks and dancing.³⁴⁸

According to *Ato Tamiru Abamo*, before the arrival of the protestant missionary to the Kambata *Awraja* the peoples worshipped into different type of religion and followers of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity (EOC) lived backward socio-cultural condition. After their arrival in 1920s the in the Kambata and Hadiya peoples region (Kambata *Awraja*) the missionaries built various social services such as schools, clinics and roads. When the imperial government of Ethiopia was invaded by Fascist Italy the missionaries left from the country for eight years. Within eight years those infrastructures and social services were owned by the Kambata *Awraja Kalehiywet* church. EKHC was expanded the education services which were reached up to 99 in number.³⁴⁹

Abagole also helped to establish primary schools both in Hadiya and beyond. At first; elementary schools began in local *Kale Hiywot* churches and then developed into recognized public and government schools. One such school was the KHC/SIM *Bobicho* primary and secondary school (near Hosanna town) which was a prime mover in breaking the bondage of illiteracy. This school produced many who became professionals, who are now scholars, doctors, and ambassadors.

³⁴⁶Trimingham 1950, p.36; KHC-A: Tamiru 1984, pp.50, 57 (Amharic); Duff 1980, p.380. SIM-A: Play fair “Ethiopia”, n.d. (1949?). 83

³⁴⁷Fargher 1996, pp.113, 30.

³⁴⁸Fargher 1996, p.29.

³⁴⁹Wendiye Ali, the church which flourished through persecution.pp.233-243

CONCLUSION

On the findings of this study, the following conclusions are identified and drawn from the findings and subsequent discussions and explanations. The study reveals that the Kambata and Hadiya relation has advanced in the region for several hundred years in sharing happiness and Sorrow, good and bad. On the findings of this study, the following conclusions are identified and drawn. When the struggle between the British and the Italians was going on in 1941, except for auxiliaries fighting on both sides, the Hadiya and the Kambata stayed neutral. After the arrival of the Christian missionaries in the region the people traditional religion, cultural dances, drinks raiding horses. The people accepted the missionaries and the religion because they were harshly treated by the land lords. As a result they look the whites as the angels those who sent from heaven. Moreover, their sociopolitical relations strengthened after the arrival of the catholic and the protestant missionaries in the region. It is established that the Kambata and Hadiya people had strong socio economic and political relationships which is strongly chained them together. It has handled every facet of their life activities which include political economic and social things etc.

It should be noted that these interactions brought about the establishment of better level of economic as well as social goals. i.e. it provided a peaceful coexistences and harmonious relationship finally, as the findings of the research tell the people are highly chained with the socio-cultural and economic patterns. They tied in marriage, religious relation, and culturally very similar. As they are chained through marriage, their togetherness in funeral feasts, wedding ceremonies and sharing happiness and sorrow in general and asking the ill are at a standstill common, whatever they disintegrated politically by the newly appeared government constitutional guarantee for the sake of self-administration. Their common markets such as Wachamo or Hosanna Saturday, Hadero Saturday , Alaba Thursday Shone Friday, Shinshicho Saturday and Doyogena Friday are serving as not only for economic purpose but also a communication channels.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

1	Abebech Hosiso	78	F	Kechabira	07/7/2013	She is formerly merchant and told me about the Kambata and Hadiya relation through trade activities.
2	Abegaz Tirkaso	92	M	Hadero	06/7/2013	He was known orator with good memory on the traditional administrative system of Kambata and Hadiya before and after the Menelik II's occupation.
3	Alemu Mune	70	M	Durame	15/9/2013	He gave me important information about expansion of education in Kambata Tembaro Zone.
4	Aman Nuriye	82	M	Durame	15/9/2013	He is officer in Kambata-Ṭāmbaro Zone Cultural and tourism office. He wrote paper to be presented on Kambata Cultural symposium in sep, 2014 on the Kambata traditional marriage.
5	Anite Woloro	80	F	Shashogo	3/6/2013	The religious leader at Shashogo Kalehiwot Church
6	Arase Legamo	80	F	Badewacho	18/7/2013	She is old woman with good memories and told me about Kambata's traditional
7	Arsaro Heramo	87	M	Woldeyo	15/07/2013	He is good oral informant who responded well on traditional socio-political and socioeconomic activities and their role for ethnic interaction of the society.
8	Abose Mikore	92	M	Doyogena	09/7/2013	He is a good oral informant who responded well on traditional socio-political and conflict resolution methods mainly about gudda ritual in conflict resolution institution of the society.
9	Atiso Lodebo	97	M	Lemo	5/6/2013	He told me about Kambata and Hadiya socio-cultural interaction, mainly their trade and marriage inter-connection.

10	Ayele Anniyo	80	M	Shone	22/7/2013	The religious leader at Weera Boshera Kalehiwot Church
11	Ayele Mune	70	M	Siqe	22/3/2013	Leader /Chairman/of Dunna woreda He is with good memory.
12	Ayele Wabito	56	M	Shasho	3/6/2013	Head of culture and tourism at Shashogo
13	Bekele H/Mariam	86	M	Fonko	7/6/2013	An old man &the former local chief with good memory. He told me about Kambata and Hadiya relation by trade activities.
14	Buta Guta	78	F	Siqe	24/7/2013	She told me about cultural changes and continuities on marriage practices and their role for the Kambata.
15	Chufamo Hirigo	95	M	Qedida	13/9/2013	He is an old man with good memory about religious issue. He told me about Catholic missionaries in the Kambata and Hadiya region; owing to his contacts with Catholic missionaries around Taza
16	Denamo Egebo.	94	M	Bette	9/6/2013	He lives at places where Orthodox church planted, the first at Angancha Amhara settled and Italians camped so that has sound information related to Menelik campaign and Italian Occupation due to his eyewitness.
17	Deneke Hafebo	65	M	Qedida	9/6/2013	Culture & information Office personnel at Qedida Wārāda, he told me very valuable information and provided me a book used in this paper.
18	Desta Mandoye	78	M	Shone	09/7/2013	Religious Elder at Misrak bādwacho Wārāda Shone
19	Dojemo Doboeh	77	M	Hadero	06/7/2013	Elder at Mugunja
20	Erome Delbato	79	F	Angacha	01/7/2013	She told me about child bearing, the issue of “amma woṭṭa”, the “Wobeta” ceremony, etc.

21	Eyob Chakiso	79	M	Adilo	27/7/2023	He is a religious leader in Geshgola
22	Eyoel Fuge	72	M	Doyogena	26/6/2013	Local missionary elder at Doyogena
23	HirgetoGemachu Getiso	70	M	Adilo	27/7/2013	He is an old man having knowledge in my concern.
24	Girma	80	M	Mudula	10/6/2013	He has good memory on the origin of Tembaro, traditional mourning ceremony, traditional marriage, conflict resolution method.
25	Gizachew Fitamo	65	M	Doyogena	11/6/2013	Head of culture and Tourism office at Doyogena.
26	Haybane Kobro	68	F	Qedida	10/09/2023	She told me about cultural changes and continuities and the wобеṭa ceremony, nugussa.etc.
27	Heramo Guta Delbato	80	M	Qedida	10/09/2023	He told me about the mourning ceremony, traditional political system. He also told me some of the means that facilitated the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction.
28	Heramo Guta Lejibo	85	M	Taza	09/7/2013	He has good memory on the origin of Kambata, traditional mourning ceremony, traditional marriage, conflict resolution method ... as well as the role of these traditional practices for the Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction.
29 n	Hirgete Addissie	82	M	Qedida	09/9/2013	He is a good oral informant who responded well on traditional socio-political and conflict resolution methods. He also told me changes and continuities on Kambata and Hadiya relation, focusing on issues after Menelik's incorporation.
30	Hussen Unamo	81	M	Siqe Daanama	24/7/2013	He told me about Kambata relation with Oromo, Hadiya, Wolayita and the impacts of Menelik incorporation and Italian Occupation in Kambata.

31	Imam Desta Lenjiso	90	M	Shone	10/7/2013	He told me about Hadiya relation with Oromo, Hadiya, Wolayita and the impacts of Menelik incorporation and Italian Occupation in Hadiya
32	Kabamo Ashebo	76	M	Doyogena	15/6/2013	Leader /Chairman/of Doyogena
33	Kassa Batiso	83	M	Doisha	1/6/2013	An old man having knowelge about Fandaanana religion and the Ethnic groups.
34	Lata Sugebo	76	F	Shinshicho	01/8/2013	Elder at Shinshicho
35	Lodame Aloto	71	F	Siqe Dannama	5/09/2013	Local Elder at Siqe Dannama or Mirab Badewacho woreda
36	Markos Debero	75	M	Damboya	07/8/2013	Head of culture and Toursim officc at Damboya
37	Markos Onse	80	M	Damboya	11/8/2013	He has important information on history of the Hambericho Lamala, traditional Kambata administrative system about the Kambata and Hadiya relation through trade and marriage.
38	Mathewos Dolebo	94	M	Shone	15/8/2013	He gave me important information on means of Badawacho Hadiya's interaction with Kambata and Wolayta.
39	Mendero Abida	79	M	Mudula	14/6/2013	An old man with good memory and told me about Hadiya's co-operation with the Tembaro on different issues.
40	Mitku Sabiro	85	M	Shone	15/8/2013	Elder at Misrak badewacho Woreda Shone.
41	Shuramo Delbeto	90	M	Qedida	08/9/2013	An old man with good memory. He told me important information about Menelik's conquest, Italian occupation period and post liberation period. Besides, he gave me information about Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction through socio-economic and socio-cultural issues.

42	Solomon Wachango	73	M	Hadero	19/8/2013	Chairman at Duna Woreda
43	Someno Aloto	88	M	Qedida	03/9/2013	He is an important Kambata oral informant. He told me about Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction through socio-economic issues like <i>Dawa</i> and <i>Gezima</i> .
44	Tadesse Jelamo	75	M	Jore	17/9/2013	Jore primary school director
45	Tamiru Leramo	69	M	Durame	16/9/2013	Local Elder at Durame Town
46	Teshome Maharu	74	M	Hadero	22/8/2013	Head of culture and tourism office at Hadero
47	Tomas Abe	78	M	Durame	16/9/2013	He is a local elder in Jore
48	Yaekem Obola	94	M	Qerchicho	01/9/2013	He is an old man with good memory about religious issue.
49	Yakob Keshamo	83	M	Gewa	20/6/2013	He is an old man with good memory about religious issue. He is well known oral informant among Kambata society, owing to his contacts with Catholic missionaries
50	Zelalem Nana	75	M	Hossana	18/6/2013	Head of culture and Tourism office at Hossana

APPENDICES

Appendix A-1

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Appendix A-3

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הוא נשאל על ידי המורה: "אם אתה רוצה להיות חכם, חפש את האמת".

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Appendix A-4

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Appendix A-5

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አሁን ዘንግ የሙሉ ለሙሉ በአጭር ጊዜያት ላይ ይህን ይህን ልዩ ልዩ ስራ
የሚደረግ ሲሆን የሚገባው እርሶች አስተዳደር እንዲሁ በዘንግ ይህን ስራ
ለሁሉ ገደብ ሆኖ ይህን ይህን ስራ ለሁሉ ስራ ሆኖ ይህን ስራ ለሁሉ ስራ ሆኖ

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TABLE 4

ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਸਰੋਵਰ ਵਿਖੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੀ

ඇති මෑත අතීතය

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Appendix B-1

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ለበሰር ሊጠራል ተስቀ ነዛው
የበዋባታ አወፊኝ ነዛቱ ፖሊስ አዛዥ
ሆኖና ።

አወሰኝኸኝ የበዋባታ አወፊኝ ልዩበት በኢጥባዕነታችን የገባል በበተሰበ
ባዕሪ ለሀብቱ በበ የሆኑት በ— በወህን በዘጋጅኸኝ ያለ የገባኝ ለበሰር
ነፃ የታሰብኩትን ለበርጥረኛ ለበየታ የመቀጠልን ቅክጥንታችን ባዕሪፈኛ ባዕ
ከፈፈረ በታች አካሪ ዕስት ተቀጭ ያለውን ለኢጥባዕ ያሳገደኝን በታች የሚገባውን
አገገገርና የገዛ ይገጥሙኝ እንዲያወረድ በተሰቀ አካሪናለሁ ።

በሰር ሆኖ ፤

ገዛቱ በበዋባታ አወፊኝ ዕስት የአጋሪትን ልዩበት፤ ያለውን የ
ሚያገኝ የገዛ አቅጣጫ በበሰር የሽህግኝ ሥራ አካሪ በገፈፈ አባርቻችን በአገሩ
አበበ ሰላኝ ወሬን፤ ወገንበት የሚያባዝን ሆኖ ለገኘኛል ።

በበዋባታ አወፊኝ ዕስት የተሰጠው ገዛችን ወፊትን የታወቀ ነው ።
በተለይም ባህቱ ገዛ አበተየቀኝ አርቶ የገዛባችን ገዛ ነገራችንን ነገርና የገዛ
ያል ሥላሴ አህጉራችንን አካሪን አባቶች የሆኑ ለአባቶቹ በጥረት ገዛ ገዛ
አንድ ለአንድ በሚተረፉት ገዛ በበዋባታ አወፊኝ ዕስት የአገገገኛና ገዛ
ለቶ በገዛ የሚሰራቱ አባቶች ለዛሬው ሊገባሉ የገዛቸውን ወህንንና ለአገሪቱ ያለ
ላላች ሥራውን አስተዳድረው በበሰርነት ያወጋሉ ።

የሽህግኝ ሥራ አካሪ የታወቀ የገዛችን ገዛ ሥራባችንን በመታወቅ
ባለታችን ወገን ወገን ወገን ወገን አካሪ በሰላኝ አካሪና ገዛ በአገገገኛ ዕስት
ያለኝ በአገገገኛ ዕረፃ ዕረፃችንን ዕረፃችንን አባቶቹ በአገገገኛ ዕስት በሚገኙት
ወገኖች ላይ እንዲባሉና ዕረፃችንን በታችኛው ባህሉ ታሪክ አላችን በዋባታ የገዛችን
ገዛ ዘረዘረ በባችኛ ነው ። ያላችኛ ለሰላህ አገገገኛና የዕረፃ አካሪና ገዛ
ሆኖ ነገር የሚሰራው በገዛችን በሰላህ በሰላህ በበሰር በሰላህ የሚሰራ በሰላህ
ባላችና የገዛ የሆነውን በታች በታች ረታ በአገገገኛ ገዛ በላይ ለበሰር እንዲረዳ
የታወቀ ነው ።

ይሁን ያንን የገዛችን ዕረፃ ያዛቱ ነፃ በሰላህ ገዛችን ለሆነ የሽህግኝ ሥ
ራ ነገ ዕረፃችን ለባለቤቱና በሰላህ ያለ ሰላህ ገዛችን እንዲባሉና ዕረፃ የ
ገዛ ገዛ የሚገኝበትን በር የተባሉትን የበሰር በሰላህ ለሰላህ ታች የታወቀ የገዛችን
ወገን የበር ዕረፃ ባለታችን የሚታወቅ ነው ። ነገ የበር ዕረፃ የሚባል በበዋባታ
አወፊኝ ዕስት ያለተለወጠ የገዛችን ወህንን ገዛ ያወጋሉ ። ነገ የሽህግኝ ሥራ
ወህን የሚያደርግ ዕረፃ ለተባሉ ለሰላህ ገዛ በኢጥባዕ ያሳገደኝን ዕረፃ የሆነ ለአገገገኝ

Appendix B-2

የሚረዳን ገዢ የሆነውን ሥራ ላይ ማስተካከልና ለሌሎች ሰራተኛዎች ማስተካከል ይቻላል፡፡

[illegible]

1092 A

1ኛ ሰላም ጥላብ ጽ/ጤት
2ኛ / ሰላም ታላቅ ትር
አካል ሰላም ፡

Appendix -C

600000 500000 400000 300000 200000 100000 0

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

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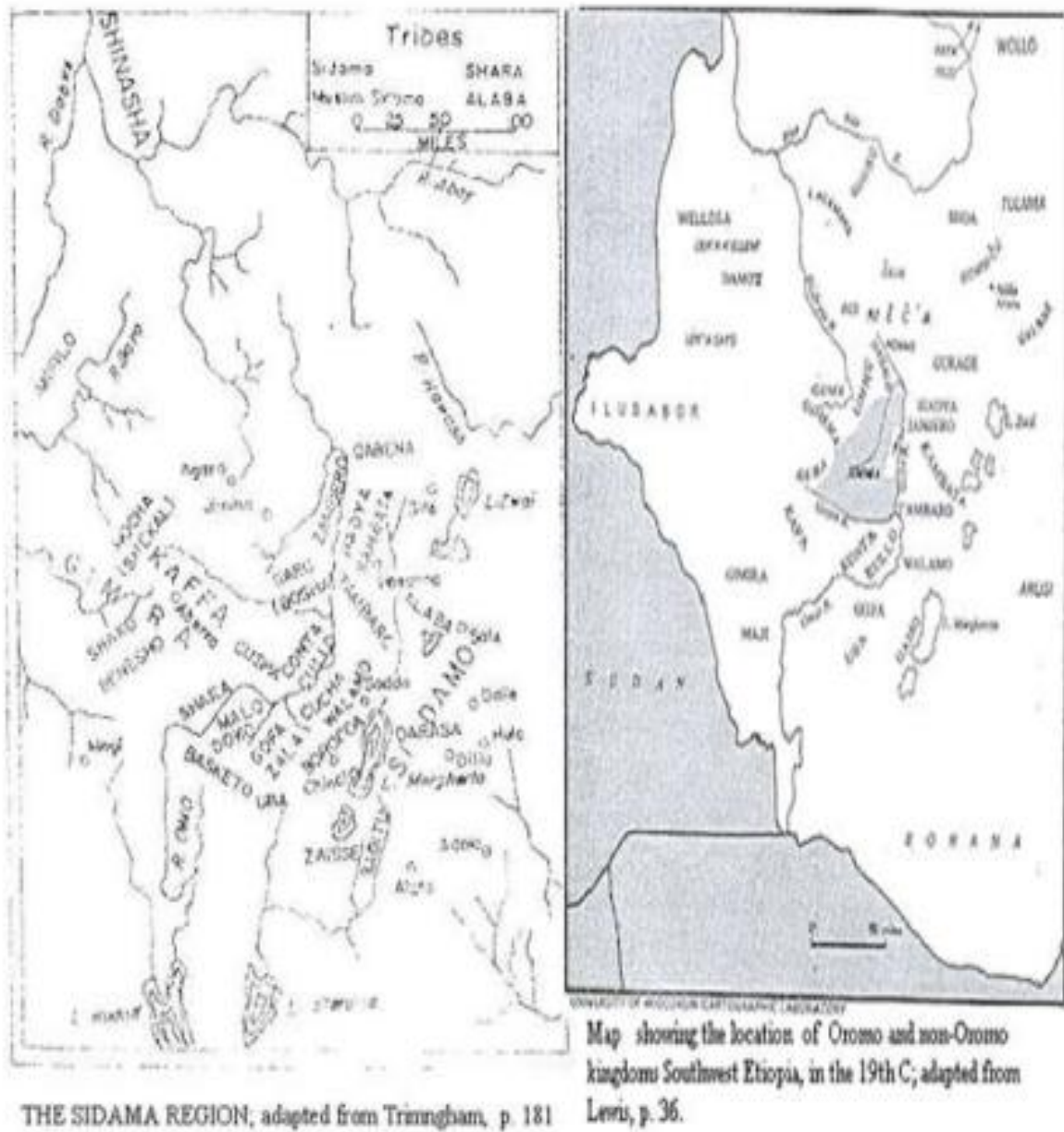
၁၆၈ ဘဝသိက္ခာတော်

23A ACCT

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ለቦታ ለጥቅም ዘመን ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ጥረት ማድረግ
ለቦታ ለጥቅም ዘመን ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ጥረት ማድረግ

App Appendix J - 1



Map -1. The Southwest Ethiopia before and after Oromo Expansion

Appendix J - 2

